

THE POLITICS OF HERITAGE REGENERATION IN SOUTH-EAST EUROPE



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**John Bold
and
Martin Cherry
(eds)**

Council of Europe

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Foreword

The way Europe's cultural heritage is managed is important. Done well, it can help societies weather all manner of crises, rebuild trust in divided communities, stimulate local economies and improve quality of life.

This is the rationale behind the "Ljubljana Process: rehabilitating our common heritage", a joint Council of Europe–European Commission initiative, which has been running in South-East Europe since 2003. And it is encouraging to note that recent opinion polls confirm that there is public support for the use of cultural heritage in conflict resolution.

This book is the third in a series of volumes about the Ljubljana Process. It provides analyses from some of the international experts involved in the project, some since its inception. It identifies progress, but also acknowledges issues that still need to be resolved; some are legal and administrative, others, matters of co-ordination.

From the beginning, the Ljubljana Process has aimed to go beyond administrative reform and capacity building, important though these are. The ultimate aim is to help the countries of South-East Europe unlock the potential of the region's rich cultural heritage, to accelerate the development of democratic, peaceful and open societies with the active engagement of all citizens, without compromising the special character and cultural value of the historic environment itself.

The economic crisis has made heritage-led development more urgent and underlined the need to reduce the dependency of heritage protection on public funding. Today, the unprecedented migration crisis means that issues of solidarity, mutual understanding and dialogue are even more pressing.

Based on the experience of those involved, this book argues that there should be a greater sharing of responsibility for the identification and future planning of the historic environment between public bodies, local communities, voluntary organisations and individual citizens to create a greater sense of shared ownership.

I thank the many specialists who have contributed to the Ljubljana Process and, in particular, the authors of this book, whose insights will help inform our European Cultural Heritage Strategy for the 21st Century.

Snezana Samardzic-Markovic
Director General
Directorate General of Democracy (DG II)

Introduction

Martin Cherry

The collapse of the former communist states in South-East Europe and the wars and disruption that followed presented a challenge to the Council of Europe: how best to promote its core principles – the protection of human rights, the consolidation of democratic stability, the promotion of European cultural identity and social cohesion and the rights of all, irrespective of religion, ethnicity and nationality – in the field of cultural heritage protection? The internationally funded programmes that are the subject of this book were designed initially to support those ministries and institutions in the region that were responsible for the protection of immovable cultural heritage (buildings, monuments and sites of outstanding historic, archaeological, architectural or artistic importance) in revising legislation and developing policy to conform with international standards and good practice. Central to the brief was a commitment to the cultural heritage as being fundamental to the building of national and European identities. While it was busy winning over the hearts and minds of politicians and practitioners in the region, the Council of Europe, like other players in the heritage sector, was forced to adapt and rethink its own objectives and priorities in what was a fast-changing environment. A programme that set out at first to help build institutional capacity soon needed to address a more complex set of issues. The most compelling of these was how to exploit the potential of key monuments in the region in such a way that they would help revitalise the local economy and improve local people's standard of living without compromising the monuments' intrinsic cultural value; how, at a time of severe economic crisis, when traditional public resources were severely strained, to finance the rehabilitation of these monuments from the private as well as the public sectors; and how, in countries where civil society is poorly developed, to win public support for the conservation of historic and archaeological monuments and at the same time take into account local community views of significance in heritage policy making.

In 2003, the European Commission and the Council of Europe launched the Regional Programme on Cultural and Natural Heritage in South East Europe (RPSEE), a joint initiative with nine partners in South-East Europe – Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”¹ and Kosovo.² With its three elements (institutional capacity building, heritage rehabilitation and local development), it was directed at contributing to peace and reconciliation in the region. The second component of the programme, the Integrated Rehabilitation Project Plan/Survey of the Architectural and Archaeological Heritage (IRPP/SAAH) operated from 2003 to 2010. Its cumbersome title at least had the merit of describing what it intended to do. This was to establish transferable methodologies for heritage-led rehabilitation in these countries, all of which were undergoing political, social and economic transition, and to persuade conservation and planning professionals and – equally if not more importantly – politicians in the region, that the protection of important historic sites and monuments could be integrated into the wider process of economic and social revitalisation. The project has had significant financial impact, attracting over 76 million euros of grant aid by the end of 2010. Over 80% of the 186 key sites selected by specialists from within the region to be part of the project had undergone or were undergoing some level of rehabilitation.

The IRPP/SAAH worked on the premise that careful and sustainable heritage management can stimulate local economies and improve the quality of life of local communities without compromising the character and cultural value of monuments – that is, the qualities that make them so special in the first place. Although the evidence needs to be treated with care, experience worldwide, attested by much specialist literature, confirms that the rehabilitation of historic monuments can help create jobs, lead to improvements in infrastructure, bring redundant spaces back into use and rekindle local pride in the historic environment (see Chapter 3.5 for an overview of the literature and the difficulties of obtaining reliable data in the region; and, for a more sceptical view, Chapter 4.1). Supported throughout by the Forum of the Heads of State of South-East Europe, the project received a new lease of life and funding in 2008 when the Conference of Ministers of Culture met at Ljubljana under the auspices of the Slovenian Presidency of the European Union (EU). It also received a new name: the “Ljubljana Process: Rehabilitating our Common Heritage”. Ministers recognised that heritage sites were, or could be, assets – part of the solution rather than an obstacle to economic development. Since its inception, the IRPP/SAAH had focused on the peculiar challenges of funding monuments and historic ensembles during a period of radical economic transition, from a command to a market economy. The Ljubljana Process was launched, with a combination of optimism and determination, just as the economic crisis broke. This injected a greater degree of urgency into finding imaginative solutions to raising funds, accelerating the need to move away from a dependency on public funding (whether local government, state or international) towards seeking (or rather bidding for) private investment in a free-market environment where the heritage is one competitive element among many.

With a new sense of *realpolitik*, ministers of culture, at a conference held in Cetinje in 2010, confirmed their decision to implement the programme, which received the final tweak of its name to Ljubljana Process II. This book takes stock of the situation five years into this new phase of the programme, which was managed neither by the Council of Europe nor the EU, but by the member states. It is written by members of the Council of Europe expert team, some of whom have been involved in the project from the start. Part 1 looks at the context within which the IRPP/SAAH was launched in

1 All reference to “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” is made in line with Council of Europe guidelines; generic references to the wider, historic area of “Macedonia” remain.

2 All reference to Kosovo in this book, whether the territory, institutions or population, shall be understood to be in full compliance with UN Security Council resolution 1244 and without prejudice to the status of Kosovo.

2003; Part 2 moves on to describe the processes and principles that underpinned the programme in both its IRPP/SAAH and Ljubljana phases; Part 3 reflects on the challenges, opportunities and effectiveness of the programme; and Part 4 teases out some of the key issues that have emerged and suggests how these might help identify operational policies over the next five to 10 years. Although our book is necessarily an outsiders' view, it could not have been written without the engagement and commitment of the many conservation professionals and administrators from the region itself who owned the programme and without whom nothing could have happened. Ideally this study needs to be read alongside two others that together will bring the whole process into sharper focus. *Heritage for Development in South-East Europe* (Rikolović and Mikić 2014) provides a comprehensive view from the region of the impact of the Ljubljana Process – on management, policy and perceptions – and *The wider benefits of investment in cultural heritage* (Bartlett et al. 2015), a collaboration between the London School of Economics and Political Science and regional specialists, measures the broader economic and social impact of heritage rehabilitation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia, as far as it is possible at this early stage, and provides pointers as to how best to monitor progress in the future as more solid information comes to hand.

The nine territories that were partners in the Ljubljana Process occupy a land mass of around 614 000 square kilometres and have a combined population of a little over 48 million – roughly equivalent to that of France, Belgium and the Netherlands in terms of area, but almost exactly half in terms of population. They are often dismissively placed in the terminological basket, “The Balkans”. This, along with the pejorative term “Balkanisation”, carries negative connotations – of fragmentation, the construction of barriers, instability and violence – and, more recently, of economic collapse and general misery. Such stereotyping is neither wholly accurate nor helpful and the term is not generally used in this book. In any case, as Misha Glenny observes, “a consensus has never been found” regarding what is meant by “Balkan”. The difficulty of definition “arises from the conflation of political and geographical descriptions that are themselves problematic” (Glenny 1999: xxii). Indeed, the peninsula as an entity had no name until the early 19th century (Jezernik 2004: 23). More often than not, the use of the term says more about outsiders' prejudices than internal realities: “the Balkans have served as a repository of negative characteristics against which a positive and self-congratulatory image of ‘European’ and the ‘West’ has been constructed” (Todorova 1997: 188). Even the term “Western Balkans”, that enjoyed a short-lived respectability before “South-East Europe” became politically correct, quickly assumed the special connotation of being a “purgatorial house of correction one dwells in before being granted entry to ‘Europe’” – better perhaps than the “double banishment” to the “Southern Balkans”: Macedonia sits rather unhappily between the two (Goldsworthy 2013: xi). The Balkans is sometimes taken to include Romania and not infrequently extends to take in Greece and Turkey, neither of whom is happy with the sobriquet. Most authorities that use the term as a working shorthand include different countries in the region to suit their own purpose. It is a moving feast: The Balkan Trust for Democracy – hoping to keep everyone on board – includes all of the countries that concern us (including Kosovo), while the International Crisis Group – hoping to lose rather than gain countries from its remit – focuses on Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Kosovo with watching briefs on “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”, Albania, Croatia and Montenegro, “where the risk of conflict has decreased but not disappeared” (Balkan Trust for Democracy at www.gmfus.org/civil-society/balkan-trust-democracy; International Crisis Group, at www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/europe/balkans.aspx).

The region's diversity of cultural heritage monuments is enormous in terms of both range and quality – the rock paintings of Besarabi; the Palace of Diocletian at Split; the Ottoman towns of Berat and Gjirokastra with their mosques and Byzantine churches; the bridges of Mostar and Visegrad; the monasteries of Sopoćani and Kosovo; the painted churches of northern Moldavia (Romania), all of

them UNESCO World Heritage Sites, of which there are 29 in the region – with many in the pipeline on the tentative lists. Over 54 000 architectural and archaeological monuments, many of them complex groups and ensembles, are formally protected, a small proportion of those that are known to survive. (This is covered in more detail in Chapter 4.2.) But such lists as these in themselves mean very little. They do not convey any sense of a distinctively Balkan cultural heritage, although much is shared within the region as well as beyond – whether it be extraordinary funerary monuments such as the *stećci* of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia and Croatia; vernacular house types; Roman, Byzantine and Islamic monuments; or 19th- and 20th-century industrial complexes – sites that respond variously to the minute variation of local administration or lordship, local economies and drift geology as well as to the continental influences of empires, ecclesiastical institutions and international trade.

What does give some degree of homogeneity to these countries is that they have been subject to such a wide range of distinct ethnic, religious and political currents in their recent shared history: their experience of communist regimes and the repercussions of the collapse of those regimes. Even so, as Will Bartlett makes clear in Chapter 1.2, “shared” is not an entirely apposite word: while Serbia, Croatia, “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” and Bosnia and Herzegovina together comprised the former Yugoslavia (although each enjoyed a different status within it that would determine their various responses to the events unleashed in 1989), Romania and Bulgaria lay beyond the Iron Curtain and Albania pursued its own eccentric solitary path towards socialism. The more distant, partially shared, history – as part of the Roman Empire, of the Christian world, of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, of the Muslim world and the Ottoman Empire – has tended to exacerbate tensions, not least since 1989, a period that has witnessed the development of “biased and one-sided views of the cultural heritage that often fail to take account of the context within which cultural heritage emerged” (Bartlett) and hardly promote a favourable attitude towards the culture of the “other”.

The collapse of communism and the meltdown that followed required a rapid and co-ordinated response on the part of agencies tasked with helping to rebuild democracy in the region based on the rule of law and respect for human rights. The progress made in the field of cultural heritage through the medium of protocols, conventions, recommendations, resolutions, processes and so forth – documented by John Bold and Robert Pickard in Chapter 2.1 – went a long way to securing sign-up at a high political level, but the impact of these in some of the more intractable areas, such as social cohesion, conflict resolution and the fight against organised crime remains something of an ongoing quest. Many of the long-term problems besetting the historic built environment, while undoubtedly systemic, are not legacies peculiar to communist regimes. Weak planning and the lack of effective controls and sanctions, tax evasion and corruption or a poorly developed civil society are widely prevalent, within as well as outside the European Union. As Chapter 1.3 suggests, issues such as the cumulative impact of long-term neglect, of economic policies that encouraged the burgeoning of cities and the depopulation of the countryside, or of heritage protection regimes that favoured individual monuments over historic landscapes, are not exclusive to South-East Europe. The concentration of the IRPP/SAAH at first on institutional reform and capacity building, together with a top-down approach that insisted that all the programme partners proceeded along the same lines and at the same pace, diverted attention away from their individual complexities and special needs and, in the case of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), made some potentially fruitful co-operation difficult to achieve. The Heritage Assessment Reports, drawn up for each country, highlight the considerable divergence of experience between them in terms of legislation and policy making regarding the cultural heritage. Robert Pickard’s careful examination of this evidence (Chapter 3.3) indicates, among many other things, how inadequately the key principles of sustainable

rehabilitation in the field of historic monuments protection percolated down to those responsible for carrying out new policies – a factor exacerbated in the heritage ministries and institutions by the leaching of young talent into the private sector.

The IRPP/SAAH and Ljubljana Process reflected and at the same time fed into changing attitudes towards the management and rehabilitation of heritage sites, changes that were both rapid and deep. As Bold and Pickard suggest (in Chapter 2.1, which examines the principles and methodologies underpinning the programmes), “placing the heritage as a function of democratic participation and human rights in the forefront of an initiative that was directed towards rehabilitation was a bold and inspiring move.” Even though, at first, activity necessarily focused on establishing sound conservation techniques and management structures for the sites selected by the participating countries, conservation had been recognised from the beginning as a means of promoting socio-economic development. Realising the potential economic and social benefits of urban rehabilitation had been at the heart of the Council of Europe’s action plan for the regeneration of Tbilisi (1998-2001 in partnership with the Georgian Government and the World Bank). In many ways, as Bold and Pickard argue, the IRPP/SAAH programme anticipated some of the key objectives of the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro Convention) insofar as it married the objective of promoting the diversity of the region’s cultural heritage as a means of achieving more cohesive societies with the objective of developing it sustainably for the long-term economic benefit of local communities.

Demonstrating the positive impacts of the sustainable rehabilitation of historic sites and monuments has created a challenge for the IRPP/SAAH and Ljubljana programmes. Measuring impacts in this field “is problematic and the ‘evidence’ is seldom robust” (Evans 2005, quoted in Chapter 3.1), a problem exacerbated in a region in a state of political and economic flux where the concept of heritage-led regeneration was little understood and the data for impact assessment virtually non-existent, at least in the early years. As Bold argues in this chapter, “evidential, historical, aesthetic and communal ... values are not susceptible to ready measurement but we must guard against the sentimentality which sees values everywhere”. Politicians in particular, but funders generally too, seek the comfort of clear financial evidence and robust projections to justify investment in heritage sites. Gradually such evidence is accumulating in the region, but most comparative statistics on the benefits of heritage regeneration are still drawn from outside. Chapter 3.2 shows how extensive partnership funding has been, but it has come in the main from public sources, the largest of these being the EU. There are three areas that need urgent attention if investment in the sector is to increase and its sources diversify. First, argues Nancy McGrath and John Baguley in Chapter 3.5, is to adopt the culture of business planning based on “detailed analysis, rigorous thinking, and reasoned argument” in order to strengthen project management and convince potential investors that there is a case worth funding. The second is to develop fundraising techniques that set up sustainable income streams and avoid dependency on one-off grants. Then, in order to underpin these activities, the wider benefits of heritage investment need to be established: at present the evidence base for the region is small but growing and Will Bartlett assesses the scale of the task in Chapter 3.5 (along with Bartlett et al. 2015) and proposes the development of methodologies to help build the information bank that is currently missing.

Poor levels of liaison and co-ordination between institutes and ministries have bedevilled the integration of conservation projects (that have the potential to help regenerate historic towns and countryside) into the mainstream programmes of those ministries with the most muscle, such as economic development and regional planning. The Council of Europe Heritage Assessment Reports (HARs) were established in recognition of the fact that these big issues were really about how the

state was run and that they needed to be tackled head-on if the potential of heritage regeneration was to be released. Analysed by Robert Pickard in Chapter 3.3, these are hard-hitting reports that document structural fault lines as well as significant reforms. Both Pickard and (in Chapter 3.4) David Johnson find disturbing signs that heritage and conservation management remain isolated from the other key environmental players, as well as being semi-detached from the mainstream of European good practice. Impeccable legislation is of little use when corruption and the failure to conform to planning requirements go unchecked. And at the grass roots, inadequate training and the difficulties of maintaining continuity of high-calibre personnel at project management level make it difficult to build on success. The various stages of the Ljubljana Process – from the initial prioritisation assessments to feasibility and business planning – are much more likely to succeed if the top-level issues highlighted by the HARs are tackled in parallel. What might be called the “Ljubljana total package” of initiatives that helps a global view to be achieved is eminently transferable and, for instance, forms the basis of the Kyiv Initiative that focuses on historic towns in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine.

The Kyiv Initiative, while enshrining best Ljubljana Process principles and practice, breaks new ground, in that it is substantially spatially driven: digital mapping is the key management tool allowing the whole gamut of values and constraints to be assessed simultaneously – or at least as part of the same exercise. Indispensable for urban planning, this map-based methodology also marks a conceptual departure from the traditional single monument-led approach of the IRPP/SAAH in the early days. The concentration in participating countries on the single monument derives in part from an old established, indeed august, inventory approach that demands intensive research and recording. This may form a sound basis for repair and maintenance (if the crafts skills exist to carry these out) but it is a poor foundation upon which to capture and assess the relative significance of all the monuments in a region or country – the prerequisite for a proportionate statutory protection system (see chapters 3.1. and 4.2). As a planning tool, inventory-based records are cumbersome and often counter-productive. (These defects together with the opportunities presented by landscape and area approaches to heritage assessment are explored further in Chapter 4.2.) If the “valorisation and preservation of heritage [are to be] part of broader long-term development plans”, as an important EC communication urged they should be (EC 2014), then the “listing” of outstanding cultural monuments needs to be made much smarter. “Listing” is time-consuming and resource-hungry (for comparative figures regarding South-East Europe, see Chapter 4.2). In England there are in excess of half a million protected listed buildings and protected archaeological sites – and this excludes areas of special conservation value; in Italy it is estimated that 50% by area of the country is protected by heritage legislation; Germany boasts 1.3 million protected sites (each containing many individual components) and 250 000 specific listed buildings in addition. Are these levels of heritage protection sustainable? It may be that the partner countries of the Ljubljana Process should explore less intensive and less costly valorisation programmes that focus on areas or types of buildings or sites that are under threat, on historic areas that are undergoing rapid development or on areas that possess special sensitivity and, possibly, tourism potential – in other words, focus assessment and regeneration where there is an urgent need to balance conservation and economic development needs, or where there is a strong local demand, or a demonstrable justification on grounds of natural justice, for such action.

There are many competing, sometimes conflicting, views as to what comprises our shared and cherished inheritance (which Bold examines in Chapter 4.1), and this complexity has to be reflected in public policy. More and more, in Western Europe and the US – but also in South-East Europe where, admittedly, civil society is less well developed – community values are assuming equal weight to expert values as to what is significant. It has become far more difficult to justify monuments as icons

invested with mystical (also known as expertly determined) status and somehow detached from real life. As John Bold argues in this book, heritage “does not stand alone as a collection of isolated artefacts which serve only to sentimentalise the past and present an inconvenient barrier to progress.” Despite the many shortcomings and challenges facing the region in the field of cultural heritage, the present situation, so often characterised in terms of austerity and the erosion of the quality of life, should be seen as an opportunity: an opportunity to use the lessons learned from the IRPP/ SAAH and the Ljubljana Process to avoid some of the traps laid by the cumulative and sometimes inconsistent heritage protection legislation of the past 60 years, and focus heritage policies in such a way that they address the central issues facing society in the 21st century.

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Part One

Background

Chapter 1.1

The technical co-operation programme: context and evolution

John Bold

The activities initiated through the Technical Co-operation programme have been a mainstay of Council of Europe cultural heritage policy and practice since the mid-1970s. The Ljubljana Process in South-East Europe has been the most ambitious of all such activities to date. The context and evolution of the integrated conservation strategy are here described, as the Technical Co-operation programme continues to demonstrate and promote the instrumental potential of cultural heritage in the maintenance and continuing development of European democratic culture.

Meeting in Namur, Belgium, in April 2015, the Sixth Conference of Ministers of the Council of Europe responsible for Cultural Heritage resolved “to continue and intensify their co-operation in order to provide responses that meet with the challenges facing the conservation, enhancement and use of heritage as a fundamental right at the beginning of the 21st century”. Predicated on the recognition of the enormous challenges facing our societies (climate change, demographic changes, migration, political, economic, financial and social crises), the Namur Declaration has reaffirmed the centrality of cultural heritage as a key component of European identity and called for a strategy for its redefinition in response to these challenges, calling for a vision and framework for the next 10 years (Council of Europe 2015a). Such a vision, with consequent actions and projects, will necessarily be looking forward, but will represent a continuation rather than a fresh start. Cultural heritage, rooted in the core values of the Council of Europe (see Chapter 2.1) – a common heritage for which we have a common responsibility (Council of Europe 1954 and 2005) – is recognised in the year of the 40th anniversary of the European Charter of the Architectural Heritage as a unique resource and fundamental component of democratic society. Forty years of conventions, declarations, recommendations and actions have both initiated and reflected a profound evolution in attitudes to the heritage across Europe so that now, in co-operation with the European Union and other national and international actors, the Council of Europe intends further to address its operational priorities for the cultural heritage in the context of unifying and consensual themes: citizenship, societies, the economy, knowledge, territorial governance and sustainable development. These will be implemented utilising the available tools and instruments – not only the conventions, databases, networks and so on which have informed practice to date, but also the “Technical Co-operation and Consultancy Programme related to the integrated conservation of the cultural heritage”. It is this programme, in operation now for 40 years, and responsible for the implementation of the major project described in this book, which has the accumulated experience and expertise, as well as the ambition, to continue articulating and defending the fundamental role of cultural heritage in society, and moreover supporting the development of the “democratic culture” identified in a recent substantial report by the Secretary General of the Council of Europe as crucial in combating the current challenges posed by the fallout of the economic crisis and the rise of populism and extremism (Council of Europe 2015b: 75).

Since the mid-1970s, the Technical Co-operation and Consultancy Programme (initially known as Technical Assistance) has advised national authorities and practitioners on a very wide range of issues relating to the conservation, rehabilitation, enhancement and management of the cultural and natural heritage, at national, regional and local levels. A small staff has successfully identified and harnessed the skills of almost 600 experts, to produce over 1 200 assessments within over 128 projects: from the conservation of the Pont du Gard and the floor of the Cathedral of St John, Valletta, to the creation of heritage-management systems in Cyprus and Malta; from advising on heritage policy within the Baltic States, Croatia and Belarus to making recommendations on the conservation of numerous historic centres, including Segovia, Valencia, Funchal, Cracow and Telc (Council of Europe 2010a). At least 40 projects have been directly concerned with urban rehabilitation. This programme, prompted by individual national needs, and informed by the Council of Europe's conventions, charters and recommendations, has played a major role in contributing to the establishment of a cultural heritage sector in the Council of Europe as the principal European promoter of the theory and best practice of heritage protection and management. The scope of the programme is wide-ranging in interpretation and application. It is regarded as an instrument for strengthening social cohesion while respecting and celebrating diversity, informed by the broader guiding principles of developing democracy, defending human rights and advancing the rule of law. The organisation has become the moral conscience of the European cultural heritage, with an impact acknowledged as being out of proportion to its size: the Council of Europe "has become adept at working with the grain of developing sectoral trends, whilst challenging member countries to move forward more quickly from ideas to principles and from principles to rights" (Fojut 2004: 4). Currently, 47 member states are the potential beneficiaries of its actions.

The "Rules for Technical Assistance relating to the Integrated Conservation of the Cultural Heritage of Monuments and Sites" were adopted by the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers in October 1973. Assistance was to be directed towards the conservation and revival of monuments and sites as an integral part of regional development plans. It was made clear that assistance would be for integrated conservation projects – projects that tackled all the challenges inherent in striking a balance between the sensitive conservation and improvement of old districts and the enhancement of local economies and quality of life, with a view to integrating historic fabric usefully within the functional life of the city. Integrated conservation had been highlighted in the European Charter of the Architectural Heritage and the subsequent Amsterdam Declaration: conservation should be one of the first considerations in all urban and regional planning, with full public participation (Council of Europe 1975). The concept was explained more fully in a subsequent detailed resolution (Council of Europe 1976), which was cited as a point of reference in the revised "Rules for Technical Assistance", which were issued in 1979 in order to speed up the Council of Europe's own internal procedures in considering applications.

Malta was quick off the mark in applying, but although the importance of the architectural heritage of the island was acknowledged along with the desirability of making a practical demonstration of solidarity among member states, the request for assistance, in being concerned with traditional restoration work, failed to meet the requirement for integrated conservation and was, moreover, seeking material aid (photographic equipment, etc.) rather than simply expert advice: the Committee of Ministers advised an approach to UNESCO, whose Technical Assistance programme covered traditional restoration work (UNESCO 1972).

Although the rules had been agreed in 1973, the first mission was not completed until 1977, two years after a request was made by the Federal Republic of Germany for advice on the Münsterberg at Breisach-am-Rhein, a historic quarter that was regarded as "a special case of integrated conservation" which required a new town-planning scheme to take greater account of the characteristics of

the densely built ancient town (Council of Europe 1977). This was followed three years later by the submission of the second technical assistance report to the German government on the historic city of Oldenburg (Council of Europe 1980). It is significant that both of these German examples, and subsequent investigations in Toledo (Spain, in 1981), Evora (Portugal, in 1984) and Guimaraes (Portugal, in 1985) were devoted to the problems of historic town centres. The Council of Europe had by this time developed considerable experience in this subject following the launch in 1973 of 44 exemplary pilot projects on about 60 historic towns, designed to illustrate the various aspects of integrated conservation, to shed light on the particular difficulties posed by each and to propose appropriate solutions. It was perhaps this initiative, as much as the unwieldy bureaucratic procedures, which delayed the beginnings of technical assistance missions, the commencement of which was then given impetus by the events and publicity of European Architectural Heritage Year (1975).

The revised rules (1979) reaffirmed that technical assistance was available only for integrated conservation (rather than individual restoration projects), that is, the whole range of measures aimed at ensuring the safeguarding of heritage, its maintenance as part of an appropriate environment, whether man-made or natural, and its utilisation and adaptation to the needs of society. The measures were to have two main objectives: first, the conservation or enhancement of monuments, groups of buildings and sites; second, their integration into the physical environment of present-day society, initially through programmes designed to revitalise monuments and old buildings belonging to groups by assigning them a social purpose, possibly differing from their original function but compatible with their dignity and as far as possible in keeping with the character of their setting; and subsequently, through rehabilitation of buildings, particularly those intended for habitation, by renovating their internal structure, adapting it to the needs of modern life while carefully preserving features of cultural interest.

The Committee of Ministers adopted further revisions in 1987 to counteract a perception that the existing rules were insufficiently flexible and in acknowledgement of the continuing shortcomings and delays in procedures. It was further acknowledged that the complexity of problems was such that short missions were not always productive and that assistance spread over two or three years could be more effective. These revisions were made in light of the undertaking expressed in the Granada Convention: "to afford, whenever necessary, mutual technical assistance in the form of exchanges of experience and of experts in the conservation of the architectural heritage" (Council of Europe 1985: Article 18). The emphasis on integrated conservation was reaffirmed but expanded so that the assistance was designed to provide national, regional and local authorities with help in solving complex problems relating to the conservation and enhancement not only of individual monuments and sites but also of the wider built environment. Recourse to Council of Europe assistance was to be justified not only by the complexity of the conservation problem but also by the multinational interest inherent in the cultural property. Nominated experts, experienced in conservation and town planning were to be drawn from the widest possible geographical area. Following their reports, which were to be published as public documents, follow-up missions might be considered and the Council of Europe also undertook to liaise with the member states and the European institutions with a view to obtaining funding for the carrying out of recommended work.

Following the tumultuous political changes which swept across central and eastern Europe in 1989, further adaptations to circumstance were inevitable as the extension of the Technical Co-operation programme to the new member states of the Council of Europe established it as a key instrument for the future of European solidarity. The new rules drawn up in 1992 were far-reaching, extending the scope of applications for assistance to problems concerning the protection, conservation, enhancement, management, use and reuse of the architectural and archaeological heritage, the protection and improvement of sites and landscapes; they also related to town-planning problems

and the protection and restoration of movable items. This broadening in scope represented a tacit acknowledgement that technical assistance had already been extended beyond the confines of integrated conservation (Pont du Gard, France, 1988; Bois du Cazier, Belgium, 1991; Church of St Mary, Cracow, Poland, 1991). Successful applications for assistance were agreed on the basis of the need to enlist international expertise in carrying out the project, helping to deal with the special intrinsic interest of the monument, the intractability of the problems facing it, or – importantly – the potentially exemplary nature of the problems involved and the solutions offered, which might then be transferable to other situations. The responses might now go beyond experts' reports to include workshops, pilot projects and financial contributions to enable activities to be launched. Technical assistance was cited explicitly in the Valletta Convention (Council of Europe 1992: Article 12) in which parties were enjoined to afford mutual technical and scientific assistance through the pooling of experiences, encouraging exchanges of specialists in preservation, including those responsible for further training in the various occupations and trades involved in the conservation of the archaeological heritage. Resolution No. 3 on the priorities of a pan-European cultural heritage project, adopted in Valletta in 1992 at the Third European Conference of Ministers responsible for Cultural Heritage, broke new ground in scope and ambition, urging the Cultural Heritage Committee (CC-PAT) to take an anticipatory approach, setting the integrated conservation of the heritage within the context of broad cultural and social development within the physical and human environment. Here lies the beginning of the process that led to the Faro Convention over a decade later (Council of Europe 2005). With specific reference to technical co-operation, CC-PAT was urged to intensify its programme of technical consultancy by using leading specialists from all parts of Europe in solving complex conservation problems; by organising multinational professional workshops for such common legal or technical problems as the updating of legislation (the basis for the establishment of the Legal Task Force); by developing inventory techniques (ongoing at the time and culminating three years later in a recommendation on co-ordinating documentation methods and systems: Council of Europe 1995); and by devising funding arrangements. Ministers also urged the further development of vocational training, including professional exchanges, and further efforts to raise public awareness of heritage and its values. Intensive training sessions for East European professionals subsequently were held in France, England and Belgium.

Although the revised rules had increased the scope of subjects eligible for technical assistance, it was recognised only one year later in 1993, as the needs for revived heritage management and legislation within the central and eastern European countries became clearer, that an extra level of technical support was required, extending the scope of technical assistance by connecting it with other components of the working programme of the Council of Europe's Cultural Heritage Committee: those already devoted to professional exchanges, training programmes and the raising of public awareness. So the short finite missions of the technical co-operation programme were greatly expanded within Specific Action Plans which might extend over two to five years, with workshops, multidisciplinary activities, technical co-operation missions, pilot operations, training programmes and public-awareness campaigns, in all of which experts appointed by the Council of Europe worked with the countries' leading specialists in a dynamic and creative forum for the exchange of views and knowledge, enabling, *inter alia*, the further development of national heritage policies, management and legislation (for example, in the Baltic States, 1993; in Croatia, 1993; in Slovenia, 1994, in the Czech Republic, 1995; in Albania, 1996; and in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1996). These plans, as also in less complex programmes, represented a learning process for both experts and specialists who worked in partnership towards agreed solutions. This differed from conventional commercial consultancy in which the consultant determines the outcomes on the basis of evidence, discussion and, more often than not, the preconceptions and political intentions of the host institution. Within the framework of Specific Action Plans, the Legislative Support Programme was devised in 1996

in response to the requests from central and eastern European states for support in aligning their legislation and administrative systems with the European standards which stemmed substantially from the Granada and Valletta Conventions, while respecting the country's specific context. The programme was implemented by a small permanent group of international experts, representing the main European legal cultures, each with experience of cultural heritage, urban planning and environmental law, as well as the broader European context of human rights and associated laws.

A weakness within the technical assistance programme before the introduction of Specific Action Plans lay in implementation, which might or might not have happened, depending on availability of finance, political change and will, or shifting priorities. The introduction, agreed in 1994, of the Follow-up Programme as a new working tool, was designed to assist the national authorities on the implementation of the recommended strategies and actions over a two- to three-year period. The programme included exemplary pilot operations (from analysis to completion) and training programmes, with the first phase funded by the Council of Europe, which then provided technical support to help find appropriate continuing funding.

The benefits of this approach were clearly illustrated in the Specific Action Plan for the urban regeneration of Tbilisi, Georgia, from 1998 to 2001, a project carried out in partnership with the Government of Georgia and the World Bank. This project marked the beginning of a shift towards investigations with the potential for long-term sustainable impact not only on the dilapidated built fabric and infrastructure in need of rehabilitation, but also on the potential economic and social benefits that might accrue (Council of Europe 2002a; 2004: 83-7).

These evolving programmes demonstrated an adaptability to the rapidly changing political and economic circumstances of the times as well as displaying an ever more sophisticated understanding of the instrumental role of heritage in society and the continuing need for co-operation in its protection and enhancement, as heads of state and government had stated as a principle in the Vienna Declaration of 1993:

We express our conviction that cultural co-operation, in which the Council of Europe is a prime instrument – through education, the media, cultural action, the protection and enhancement of the cultural heritage and participation of young people – is essential for creating a cohesive yet diverse Europe. (Council of Europe 1993; see also Grosjean 1997)

In a report issued in December 2000, an outside observer noted the enormous changes to which Europeans had been subject over the preceding decade and reaffirmed the crucial role played by the Council of Europe in helping countries to navigate political and operational challenges:

The Council of Europe is a focus of practical co-operation, based on comparisons of experience, case studies, analyses and pilot projects involving both governments and non-governmental organisations. All these activities have enabled it to develop a body of knowledge and know-how and create networks of partners to find solutions to common problems. (Council of Europe 2001a: 5)

The major contribution of the Technical Co-operation programme to cultural co-operation between all member states was confirmed in an evaluation issued in January 2001. It was found that the results of the programme were “not quantifiable as a whole and cannot be reduced to statistics ... [marketisation] would run contrary to Council of Europe rationale” (see also Chapter 3.1). Rather, the programme had to be evaluated in terms of its strategy and the degree to which it had met its objectives. The evaluation considered the programme to be remarkable not least for its “extreme adaptability to different political and social contexts”, offering “swift and pertinent solutions to specific problems”, bringing “international prominence [to] the protection and enhancement of the cultural heritage”: “its activities ... will endure” (Council of Europe 2001b: 28-9).

The newly created Directorate of Culture and Cultural and Natural Heritage in 2003 reviewed its programme of Co-operation and Technical Assistance (Council of Europe 2003) in response to continuing evolutionary change in the concept of cultural heritage, with a new emphasis on its role in sustainable development, recognising continuing major political and economic changes within central and eastern Europe which saw the number of members of the Council of Europe rise from 27 in 1992 to 45 in 2003, and in response to the opening for signature of the European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe 2000) and to the issuing of the resolutions and declaration on Cultural Heritage at the European Conference of Ministers held at Portorož (Council of Europe 2001c). The great and rapid expansion in the number of member states had significantly increased the number of applications for assistance, and the number of actions taking place at any one time, underlining the need for regional co-operation, the promotion of mutual understanding and cultural co-operation in the consolidation of democratic stability. The cultural heritage was being seen more and more as a major factor in social and economic sustainable development: "Sustainable development has in fact gradually become the main focus of the technical co-operation programme's real mandate, while its development entails an ongoing, repetitive learning process" (Council of Europe 2002b: 5). The key principle of sustainable development – development which responds to the needs of the present without compromising the capacity of future generations to respond to their own needs – accorded well with the principles underpinning the long-standing notion of integrated conservation which the Technical Co-operation programme continued to promote. These stressed the value of cultural heritage in contemporary society, with a social and economic dimension, recognising the heritage, common to all Europeans, as one of the essentials in the management of territories as a whole, crucial to tolerance and conflict prevention, a key resource for sustainable development and social cohesion. These principles underpinned the European Landscape Convention, which sought to promote sustainable development "based on a balanced and harmonious relationship between social needs, economic activity and the environment".

The innovative feature of this convention was its application to ordinary landscapes no less than outstanding ones, since all, both urban and rural, influence the quality of the surroundings and form the setting for the lives of the population. At Portorož the following year, ministers proclaimed their commitment to the framework of co-operation set up by the Architectural and Archaeological Conventions of Granada (1985) and Valletta (1992), and welcomed the opening for signature of the Landscape Convention. In the context of globalisation, they stressed the need for access to cultural heritage for all and awareness of its value as an asset for sustainable development and quality of life. Particular emphasis was laid upon the need to develop international and transfrontier co-operation in order to preserve and enhance the distinctive heritage of communities, maintaining cultural diversity and identity: "individuals and communities have a fundamental right to self-defined identities, to know their history and to shape their future through their heritage. They have a right to enjoy their heritage; they equally have an obligation to respect the heritage of others and to consider the common interest in all heritage". Referring to future activities (2002-2005) within the Council of Europe, ministers highlighted the Technical Co-operation and Consultancy Programme, noting the continuing need to meet specific requests for co-operation and assistance; promoting the use of common criteria for documentation; assisting in reforming management and planning techniques and administrative and legal frameworks; and, through practical action on the ground, promoting the Council of Europe's principles and ethical values.

The shift from finite projects towards Specific Action Plans with the potential for long-term sustainable impact not only on the built fabric but also on economic and social development underpinned the launch in 2003 of the Regional Programme for Cultural and Natural Heritage in South East Europe (see Chapter 2.1). This programme, which included the Integrated Rehabilitation Project Plan/Survey

of the Architectural and Archaeological Heritage (IRPP/SAAH), and the Ljubljana Process, the subject of this book, demonstrated the clear trajectory of Technical Co-operation and Consultancy from the specific problems and solutions for integrated conservation faced by professionals to the very broad, all-embracing approach which sees a much wider range of professional and lay participants working together in an often experimental process of heritage-led regeneration that has society as a whole as its beneficiary. In arriving at this stage in the evolution of Technical Co-operation, the programme in many respects anticipated and contributed to the formulations on cultural heritage and society expressed in the Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (the Faro Convention, 2005; see Chapter 2.1, Annex).

Alongside the Regional Programme, other activities continued in response to specific problems, notably, for example, in Kosovo where there has been expert involvement in devising strategies for integrated conservation; in preparing a “cultural strategy” for cultural heritage, cinema and media, the visual and performing arts; in the drafting and later revision of the Cultural Heritage Law; and in discussions preceding the publication in 2007 of the “Ahtisaari Plan”, the “Comprehensive Proposal for Kosovo Status Settlement”, which, *inter alia*, established 45 Serbian “protective zones”. This took place in the long shadow cast by the riots in 2004 in which 35 Serbian Orthodox cultural and religious sites were damaged or destroyed. In response, the Council of Europe, together with the European Commission and the United Nations interim administration in the territory (UNMIK), set up an emergency action plan as an exceptional addition to the ongoing Regional Programme: the Reconstruction Implementation Commission embarked on consolidation and protection, followed by works of reconstruction. Composed of Kosovo Albanian, Serbian and international experts, the commission offered a model for post-crisis collaboration.

So the Council of Europe, notwithstanding the constraints suffered by all major institutions – bureaucratic, political and economic – has continued to be extraordinarily adaptable and timely in response to circumstances. All of the cultural heritage activities here described have been made possible by the intellectual and procedural consistency, and dedication, of a relatively small secretariat, supported by a large number of consultant experts who have worked together in what they have seen as a common cause. These experts have not just applied knowledge and experience but have engaged in a creative, often experimental act on site in finding solutions to specific problems. The results have often been as important in their encouragement of collaborative work, and in their contribution to confidence building, as the recommendations made on the ostensible subject of the mission. True sustainability in the heritage has been shown to include sustainable and adaptable processes as well as sustainable outcomes for buildings and sites.

In an evaluation in 2010 of Technical Co-operation, following the commencement of the Ljubljana Process, the Culture, Heritage and Landscape Steering Committee reflected upon the overall achievements of the programme, noting that with the expansion of its activities in central and eastern Europe it had helped to consolidate the Council of Europe’s political role, by its presence in the field, providing assistance, and by its demonstrable fostering of human rights, particularly in post-conflict zones:

The Programme’s key contribution is political, social and philosophical, in contributing to the strengthening of common principles, in moving forward the perception of cultural heritage and in stimulating new ideas and new shared visions, especially by placing heritage more firmly at the centre of development and revitalisation processes. (Council of Europe 2010b: 16)

Cultural heritage comprises artefacts and activities, the celebration and protection of which should be geared towards socially beneficial ends. There is no toolkit for this which is fit for all circumstances; rather, there are overarching principles which have guided the activities of the Council of Europe

since 1949 and the Technical Co-operation programme focusing on heritage since the mid-1970s, bringing people together in an innovative, adaptable and collaborative process to address and solve the common problems faced by society. The Ljubljana Process, the most ambitious of all Technical Co-operation activities to date, through its inclusive vision and demonstrable impact, has not only played a major role in the advancement of a heritage consciousness in South-East Europe, enabling a fuller understanding of the meanings of heritage and its potential as an agent of change, but also has pointed the way towards future co-operative directions for cultural heritage policy across Europe as a whole with an instrumental, catalytic focus on the wider ends emphasised in the Faro Convention: reconciliation and dialogue, social inclusion, protection of the environment, local and economic sustainable development. Building on the principles and achievements described in this book and on the body of knowledge and experience accrued over 40 years of Technical Co-operation, these perennial issues will continue to be addressed through the medium of cultural heritage – the common cultural heritage of Europe – increasingly widely recognised as a key element within “democratic culture”.

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Chapter 1.2

Socio-economic and historical background

Will Bartlett

This chapter provides a brief summary of the history of the region and identifies forces both for cohesion and for conflict, and suggests how different historical circumstances affected the development of conservation policies and the allocation of public resources (see also Chapter 4.1).

Balkan history and the cultural heritage

The region of South-East Europe has had a turbulent history, being the meeting point of several distinct ethnic, religious and political currents in world history. In the second and first centuries BC Roman legions conquered the native Illyrians and absorbed the region into the Empire. Little physical evidence of the Illyrian civilisation remains, though several historical and archaeological sites have been identified in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Lovrenović 2001: 24). However, the elegant ruins of Roman architecture can be found throughout the region, as can numerous coins and artefacts. Prime examples include the Diocletian Palace in Split, Felix Romuliana in Serbia and Butrint in Albania. Eventually, the indigenous tribes of the region were absorbed into the Roman Empire. Under Emperor Constantine, the Romans converted to Christianity and in AD 330 established a new capital, Constantinople (later Istanbul), on the Bosphorus. The teachings of the Christian Church gradually spread throughout the region. Attacked by the Huns, Ostrogoths and Visigoths, in AD 395 the Roman Empire split into the Eastern and Western Empires. When the latter finally collapsed in AD 476, only the Eastern part remained, known as the Byzantine Empire.

The Slavs entered South-East Europe in the 6th century in a migration from Central Asia, their various tribes settling in different parts of the region (Barford 2001). The main Slavic groups included Bulgars, Croats, Serbs and other tribes. The exception to Slav settlement was the area that is now Albania, where the indigenous Illyrians continued to live. The Romanised population also held on to Dalmatia longer than elsewhere until the mid-7th century. In 612, they moved inside the Diocletian Palace in Split as protection from the invaders (Barford 2001: 62). The encounter with the Romanised populations in Dalmatia influenced the cultural development of the Croats. Following a period in which pagan beliefs were dominant, the Slav populations converted to Christianity in the 9th and 10th centuries under the influence of Slav missionaries, the most important of whom were Cyril and Methodius (Lovrenović 2001: 40). This “reconversion” also bequeathed the Cyrillic alphabet, designed to enable the people to read the biblical texts.

Figure 1: St Sophia Basilica, Sofia (interior)



An early example of Romanesque architecture in South-East Europe, the basilica of St Sophia, Sofia (Bulgaria), built on a grand scale in the late 5th or early 6th century, contains archaeological evidence of four earlier churches and the Roman extra-mural cemetery.

Politically, a struggle for domination of the region, fought out over centuries, led to a bewildering succession of rival empires contesting the territory. The Bulgarian Empire (681-1018), the Kingdom of Croatia (925-1102), the Serbian Kingdom (1217-1345) and later Empire (1345-1371), and the Kingdom of Bosnia (1377-1463) all rose and fell during this period. Each left its mark on cultural heritage in the region, with numerous monasteries and churches and other religious buildings still standing.

Khan Asparuh, who led a loose federation of Slavic and Proto-Bulgarian tribes of Turkic origin, established the first Bulgarian Empire in 681. The Bulgarians converted to Christianity in 864 under the command of their ruler Boris, and an autocephalous Bulgarian church was established in 870. The beautiful Rila monastery – now a World Heritage Site – was established soon after by the hermit Ivan Rilski. The Bogomil heresy was active in Bulgaria, preaching an inner spirituality and a communitarian ideology (Crampton 1987: 5). Under the reign of Simeon the Great (893-927), the borders of Bulgaria were extended as far as the Adriatic and the Aegean. After the death of Simeon, Bulgaria's fortunes declined and in 1018 Bulgaria was incorporated into the Byzantine Empire.

Macedonian identity has been shrouded in mystery, being claimed variously as a version of Serbian or Bulgarian ethnicity, or neither. According to Rossos (2008: 25), numerous Slav tribes colonised the whole of geographic Macedonia in the early 7th century. The Bulgarian Tsar Simeon conquered the Macedonian lands in the 9th century, creating a large Bulgarian Empire in the Balkans. Following a revolt against the Bulgarians, Tsar Samuil (969-1018) briefly created a Macedonian kingdom centred on the town of Ohrid. According to Rossos (2008: 32) Macedonia became a "cradle of Slav Orthodox culture". Several medieval churches and monasteries in Ohrid and elsewhere provide the best-known element of Macedonian cultural heritage from this time.

Figure 2: Jusuf Mašković Han, Vrana



The Jusuf Mašković *han* near Vrana (Croatia), dating from 1644-45, was a caravanserai or hostel providing respite to travellers but was mainly intended to oil the wheels of trade and commerce by providing secure facilities for merchants on the move. It is one of the most important Ottoman monuments in Dalmatia, built by the conqueror of western Crete, who was a native of Vrana.

As a result of the “great schism” in the Christian Church that took place in 1054, the Church split into two halves – Eastern Orthodox and Catholic (Clark 2000). Most of the populations of South-East Europe chose to remain within the Orthodox Church while others, mostly in present-day Croatia, but also in Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina, remained within the Catholic Church. While the latter insisted on the primacy of the Pope in Rome, the Orthodox Church adopted a more decentralised approach. And while the Catholic Church maintained a separation from the state, the Orthodox belief maintained a unity of church and state. Distinct national Orthodox communities therefore developed, such as Greek Orthodox, Serbian Orthodox and others, each evolving in different directions concerning their practice and cultural heritage.

Croatia had developed as a kingdom under King Tomislav in 910-928. In the 11th century, Petar Krešimir IV (1058-74) brought together the Dalmatian and Slavonian lands within a single state, and by the mid-11th century Croatia, in terms of its political institutions, began to resemble contemporary Europe in many respects (Goldstein 1999: 19). About 100 churches were constructed in the Croatian pre-Romanesque style between the 9th and 11th centuries (Goldstein 1999: 16). In 1102, Croatia came under the rule of the Hungarian Arpad dynasty on the basis of marriage between the royal families. The Hungarians introduced a feudal system in parts of the country, enabling the development of the nobility. Under the Hungarians, German and Italian craftsmen and merchants gained prominent positions and a characteristic commercial and urban culture developed. In the 13th and 14th centuries, these urbanised and newly rich craftsmen and merchants began to build splendid town houses in the Romanesque style, usually with three stories and a grand portal (Goldstein 1999: 24). Many towns gained a bishop’s palace, a town hall and a loggia during this period. Andrija Buvina carved the wooden door of Split cathedral (in 1214) and Master Radovan built the portal of Trogir cathedral. The rule of the Arpad dynasty ended in 1301 and Croatia came under the rule of the French house of Anjou. From the 15th to the 18th century, Dalmatia came under the control of the Venetian Republic and further developed its cultural distinctiveness and orientation towards Italian cultural influences.

The Serbs arrived in the Balkans along with the other Slavic tribes in the 6th century and initially settled in what is now the region of Novi Pazar, then called Raška, on the border between present-day Serbia and Montenegro (Temperley 1917). In 924 Raška was invaded by Tsar Simeon, who laid waste to the region and nearly wiped out the Serbian population. The Serbian rulers of Zeta (Montenegro and Scutari)¹ were protected by the remoteness of the mountainous region. The first real Serbian expansion came in the early 12th century under Stephen Nemanya, Grand Župan of Raška, who was able to expand Serbian power eastward after the decline of the Bulgarian Empire. He conquered Belgrade, Niš and Serdica in alliance with the Hungarians. Stephen united Raška and Zeta, and in 1217 was crowned king by the legate of the Catholic Pope. Stephen was determined to secure his rule and crushed the Bogomil heresy within his state borders, which survived only in Bosnia. In order to strengthen his power, he sent his brother Sava to negotiate with the Byzantine Emperor and the Greek Patriarch to establish an autocephalous Serbian church within the Orthodox faith. This was agreed and in 1222 Stephen was again crowned, by Sava, establishing Serbia’s place within Orthodox Christianity. The Nemanyid dynasty expanded over the subsequent century, becoming an Empire in 1345 under Tsar Dušan until its collapse following defeat by the advancing Ottoman Turks at the Battle of Maritza in 1371. The last Serbian resistance by Prince Lazar to the Ottoman advance was defeated at the Battle of Kosovo Polje in 1389. The mausoleum of the Sultan, who also died in battle, is still preserved and tended in the valley of Kosovo Polje. A lasting legacy of the period of Serbian expansion in the 13th and 14th centuries are the great monasteries of the Serbian church, constructed throughout the lands controlled by the Nemanyids, in Kosovo, Montenegro and Serbia (Kindersley 1976).

1 According to Temperley (1917: 32) this was their first real national kingdom.

Figure 3: Ancient city of Apollonia



The ancient city of Apollonia (Albania), near Fier in Albania, about two hours' drive from the capital, Tirana, is among the largest and most visited of the scores of outstanding classical sites surviving in the region.

In the 13th century, Franciscan monks entered Bosnia and established numerous monasteries and many churches that still stand to this day. When the French rule over Croatia waned in the late 14th century, the power of the Bosnian feudal nobility briefly surged. Under the rule of King Tvrtko Kotromanić in 1377-91, Bosnia attained its greatest extent, taking in much of the Adriatic coast and islands. A high artistic level was reached within the kingdom during this time with the development of fortified towns, the most important of which is the royal city of Jajce, where the last king of Bosnia was killed (Lovrenović 2001: 59). Elaborate stone gravestones known as *stećci*, of which there are estimated to be 60 000, were constructed between the 13th and 16th centuries.

In the 14th century, the Ottoman Turks began their conquest of the Balkans, eventually reaching as far as Vienna. Serbia was conquered in the 15th century, in the years following the battle of Kosovo in 1389. The Ottoman advance was spurred on by the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Belgrade fell to the forces of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent in 1521, and was renamed *Dar ul Jihad* (House of Jihad) (Norris 2008). Bosnia was conquered in 1528 following the fall of Jajce. The Ottomans ruled the region for four centuries, introducing Islam as the leading religion while tolerating other religions, albeit in an inferior position, enabling the survival of many Christian churches and monasteries as active institutions. During this period, the Ottoman Turks constructed many buildings, including mosques, bridges, madrassas, caravanserais, gravestones, baths, fountains and covered markets. They also built the town of Sarajevo (Donia 2006). Travellers are said to have compared it to Damascus as one of the most beautiful cities of the East (Lovrenović 2001: 111). Croatia, on the other hand, did not succumb to Ottoman occupation.

Figure 4: Husein-pasa mosque, Pljevlja



Built between 1585 and 1594 by a prominent Ottoman court official, the Husein-pasa mosque in Pljevlja (Montenegro) is now a major attraction in a locality that also has important Orthodox Christian churches and medieval Christian burial sites.

Ottoman rule in the Balkans gradually declined during the 19th century. Bosnia was occupied by Austria-Hungary following the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, and formally annexed in 1908. Under the governorship of Benjamin Kallay, the Bosnian economy and society developed at a relatively rapid pace, and local secular intelligentsia emerged in Sarajevo, Mostar and Banja Luka (Lovrenović 2011: 152). Many public buildings were erected at this time, often mixing European and Oriental styles, such as the *Vijećnica* (Town Hall) in Sarajevo that was built in a pseudo-Moorish style by Aleksander Wittek and Ćiril Iveković. Many schools, railway stations, museums and administrative offices were erected in this style. The National Museum in Sarajevo was another important building from this period that achieved European renown as a centre of cultural history. After the Congress of Berlin in 1879, Serbia, Montenegro and Romania were recognised as independent states. Monumental buildings were erected that projected a sense of national pride and confidence: the Roman Catholic Cathedral (1884-9) and the Town Hall in Sarajevo (1891), the restoration of the cathedral in Zagreb (1880-4), the new cathedral at Osijek (1888), and the remarkable complex of royal and private palaces (later embassies) at Cetinje (1892-6). Macedonian nationalists rebelled against Ottoman rule in 1903, establishing the Republic of Kruševo, which held out against superior Ottoman forces for only two weeks. Nevertheless, Kruševo has become a symbol of Macedonian national identity and two imposing monuments have recently been constructed to commemorate the event (Brown 2003).

The Balkan Wars of 1912-13 and the First World War led to the final withdrawal of the Ottomans from the Balkans, and to the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) and to independence for Albania. The Ottomans left behind a rich cultural legacy that is visible in the region to this day in the form of mosques, bridges, baths and other cultural monuments. Prominent examples include the coloured mosque in Tetovo, the Ferhad-pasha mosque in Banja Luka and the Gazi Husrevbeg mosque in Sarajevo.

After the Second World War, communist governments came to power in the Balkans. Romania and Bulgaria lay behind the Iron Curtain under Soviet control, while Albania practised a highly centralised form of socialism under Enver Hodzha. The regime in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (later the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) was more open, especially after the split with Stalin in 1948, and power was decentralised to six republics and two autonomous provinces. Cultural developments were more innovative in Yugoslavia and a rich architectural heritage from the socialist period can be found throughout the territory of former Yugoslavia, many in the form of socialistic monuments and memorials to the partisan struggle in the Second World War, but also fine examples of modernist architecture.

Transformation of the region since 1989

With the collapse of the Soviet system of government and the break-up of Yugoslavia, all the countries of the region have carried out a transition to various forms of market economies. New states have emerged from the former Yugoslavia, based on the republics of that federation. Their founding principles were based at least in part on the mobilisation of nationalist sentiment that was reinforced by the horrors of war. Nationalist movements and political parties based their legitimacy in part on the memory of the medieval Balkan kingdoms forming new ideologies that led to the violent break-up of the country. A set of biased and one-sided views has emerged that often fails to take full account of the context within which the cultural heritage emerged.

The economic transition and the post-war transformation of the Balkan states have led to new views of the cultural heritage in the region. Instead of being viewed simply as relics of the past as was often the case under the socialist systems, the heritage has become a resource for local and national elite interests. In the post-war period, cultural heritage came to represent a symbolic

representation of national identity in all the Yugoslav successor states, and as such became highly politicised. An accurate and informed account of the cultural heritage seems essential to counter the propagandistic uses to which it has been put, and is still being put, even through the creation of entirely new “historic” monuments such as in the city centre in Skopje. The thorough study and reconstruction of the rich cultural heritage of the region can, if carried out in the full understanding of its origins and significance, contribute to the neutralisation of the new political meanings that have been attached to them, and lead to reconciliation and the construction of a more peaceful future that respects, but is not tied to, the past.

New views of the cultural heritage

Since 1990 the region has been involved in a tumultuous process of political and economic transition, which has been punctuated by wars and conflicts as well as massive economic and social upheaval that has replaced one socio-economic and political system with another. The cultural heritage has been used and misused for political purposes. During the wars of Yugoslav succession, the cultural heritage attracted the particular attention of military commanders who frequently sought to destroy the cultural heritage of the enemy populations in a form of “cultural cleansing” (Violich 1998: 302).² Many cultural monuments were damaged or destroyed, including the *Vijećnica* in Sarajevo and the Ottoman bridge in Mostar. Both have since been rebuilt.

Outside Bosnia and Herzegovina, some of the worst damage occurred in Croatia. Attacks on cultural monuments sometimes signified a materialistic envy, as in the case of the attack on Dubrovnik and its hinterland where Montenegrin reservists plundered and looted the properties of the wealthier residents of the prosperous tourist region (Violich 1998: 301). Catholic churches were frequent targets (Goldstein 1999: 236). The attacks against historical cultural centres in Dalmatia were especially striking. Almost one third of Dubrovnik’s historic building suffered heavy damage and one tenth was destroyed in shelling over 25 days from October to December 1991. The Inter-University Centre, just outside the town centre, was heavily damaged and its library destroyed. Within the town, 12 shells struck the Monastery of the Little Brothers of St. Francis and other religious buildings were also severely damaged. Further up the coast, the Yugoslav navy attacked the town of Split in November, with 40 shells falling on heritage sites such as chapels, as well as residential areas. Further north, the historic town of Zadar was struck by 150 shells, hitting 20 buildings of historic significance as designated by UNESCO. In 1993, estimates made by the State Institute for Macroeconomic Studies and Forecasts and by the Ministry of Culture, indicated that 590 towns and villages had suffered war damage. Of these, 35 villages were razed to the ground, and 34 territorial units, including some towns and cities, suffered significant damage. Among all this destruction, 323 historical sites or settlements were destroyed or damaged (Baletić et al. 1994). Further damage to resources and infrastructure took place in 1995 when the Croatian Government reasserted its control over the Serbian occupied territories by military force (apart from the occupied territories in Eastern Slavonia which managed a peaceful transition in 1998).

In Albania also, a civil conflict broke out in 1997 following the failure of several “pyramid” banks that briefly led to the collapse of central government authority. A fierce rebellion in the south of the country resisted the deployment of the Albanian army, and a *de facto* independent rebel area emerged (Pettifer and Vickers 2007). As the army collapsed, the Albanian defence minister fled to Italy. The looting of army barracks and weapon stores released hundreds of thousands of small arms, many of which found their way into Kosovo to supply the growing Albanian insurgency there. In 1999, the Kosovo Liberation Army succeeded in winning the support of NATO, which began a bombardment

2 Violich states that “the military motivation and strategy had been to strike at those buildings that carried the cultural, historical and religious meaning closest to the hearts of the dwellers of these places”.

of Serbia with much physical destruction. In 2001, the Albanian uprising spread to Macedonia and was only brought to an end with an agreement to offer greater autonomy for Albanian municipalities in the west of the country. These later conflicts caused less damage to the built cultural heritage than had the wars in Bosnia and Croatia. In addition, throughout the 1990s, the difficult transition from socialism to new market economies caused a deep economic recession in all the countries of the region (Bartlett 2008). This hindered attempts at conservation of the cultural heritage due to a lack of funds, which remains a major difficulty facing policy makers in the region.

Key issues underlying contemporary cultural policies

As has been shown in the previous section, the cultural, social and political history of the countries of South-East Europe is rich and complex and has bequeathed an equally rich and complex cultural heritage. Despite their different histories, the countries of the region share substantial common experiences, which have bequeathed a common cultural heritage, whether as part of the Roman Empire, as part of the Christian world, both Catholic and Orthodox, and as part of the Ottoman Empire with its legacy of Islamic architecture. The coastal regions were strongly influenced by the Venetian Empire and Italian cultural influences. The whole region was also touched to different degrees by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. All these imperial powers and religious movements left their indelible imprint in the form of the built heritage throughout the region. The process of rehabilitation of cultural heritage sites has the potential to increase awareness of the rich history of the region in which all communities can share a sense of pride and an understanding of the benefits of cultural interaction and reconciliation. Remembering all these historical influences as part of a shared heritage serves to provide an understanding of the fact that the countries' histories have more that connects them than divides them, despite recent and ongoing political antagonisms. However such a sense of connection can only be achieved if policy and resources – human as well as financial – are well organised, the relevant policy makers have suitable strategies and plans in place and the cultural heritage sector is sufficiently well financed, whether from public or private sources.

Policy-making institutions and cultural heritage

The effectiveness of the policy-making process differs across countries. All have a Ministry of Culture that is responsible for the cultural heritage, but in several countries this ministry is weak and ineffective. Perhaps the most effective policy-making institutions have been developed in Croatia and Montenegro – countries which have a well-developed tourism industry and therefore the experience and incentive to include cultural heritage as a tourism resource that is well represented among overall policy priorities.

In Croatia, the Strategy of Protection, Preservation and Sustainable Economic Use of Croatian Cultural Heritage 2011-2015 seeks to protect and preserve the cultural heritage through a variety of measures (Jelinčić and Žuvela: 2014). It focuses on cultural tourism and cultural heritage entrepreneurship. The Directorate for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, within the Ministry of Culture, organises protection and conservation activities through a network of regional conservation departments based in the county-level administrations. Croatia spends more than any other country in the region on the protection and preservation of cultural heritage (Rikalović et al. 2014). Similarly, Montenegro has a relatively well-developed policy framework for the development of the cultural heritage (Kapetanović and Ljumović 2014). Following independence in 2006, the country has developed its first National Programme for the Development of Culture 2011-2015. Montenegro spends the second largest amount per capita on the preservation of cultural heritage in South-East Europe, after Croatia. The EU accession process has also had a substantial influence on improving cultural heritage policies in “the

former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”, where a National Strategy for the Development of Culture has brought about a significant change in the perception of the contribution of heritage to development (Biceva 2014). Some elements of responsibility for cultural heritage protection and preservation have also been transferred to lower levels of government in line with the country’s move to a more decentralised political model, a change that has been carried out successfully in several municipalities.

Influenced by their EU membership, Bulgaria and Romania also have a reasonably well-developed policy framework for the development of the cultural heritage. Bulgaria has the second largest number of individual cultural heritage sites recorded in the region. However, following the collapse of the socialist system, the institutional capacity for their preservation and restoration was much reduced due to the disintegration of government structures. Since Bulgaria’s accession to the EU however, there has been a renewed awareness of the importance of cultural heritage. The Cultural Heritage Law of 2009 highlights the cultural heritage as a resource for economic development. Access to the EU Structural Funds has provided financial support for the preservation and restoration of the cultural heritage with the development of tourism in mind, increasing interest in cultural tourism significantly. Similarly in Romania, there is increasing attention to the cultural heritage. Romania has the largest number of heritage sites in the region, and while there is a good system of legal protection of these sites, the policy framework has significant weaknesses (Becut 2014). Repeated restructuring of the institutions responsible has had a negative impact on their ability to carry out their functions, and relatively few national monuments have actually been restored in recent years. The general level of human resources in the cultural heritage field remains rather low.

Elsewhere, domestic approaches to policy making are generally characterised by a relatively weak role for ministries of culture and the conflicting pressures, both political and financial, to which they are exposed. In Albania, the government is finding it difficult to protect the cultural heritage as a resource for future economic and social development (Berberi and Tummers 2014). There has been little attempt at public engagement and there is little awareness of the value and wider benefits of the cultural heritage among the population at large, and thefts and vandalism are widespread. Recent public-awareness campaigns are beginning to improve public awareness, but more needs to be done in this respect. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the responsibility for the protection and preservation of the cultural heritage is fragmented among numerous state bodies reflecting the divided governance system of the country between different political entities and cantons. Political disagreements make it hard to secure a consistent and coherent policy towards the cultural heritage. The closure in 2012 of the National Museum in Sarajevo due to an inability to agree on responsibility for funding this important institution is a case in point. In Serbia in contrast, the responsibility for cultural heritage is highly centralised, and a national investment plan established in 2006 directed some significant funds towards the sector. However, with the onset of the economic crisis in 2008, public funds for cultural heritage have diminished, and the absence of local caretakers and managers of sites leads to the frequent neglect of the cultural heritage with the exception of the most important World Heritage Sites (Mikić and Drača-Muntean 2014).

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Chapter 1.3

Cultural heritage in South-East Europe

Martin Cherry

While all of the Ljubljana Process partner countries experienced communist rule and the repercussions of its collapse, seeking out generic features can mask the variety of local conditions, which were often significant and in many cases have grown more so: all generalisations need to be tempered by reference to local realities. Of the legacies of totalitarian rule and its breakdown, the slide of the former Yugoslavia into civil war and the resulting destruction is the one most widely covered and, because it is the subject of a large amount of literature, we touch on it lightly here. In any case, other legacies, less obvious at first, are perhaps in some ways more intractable than those of war: long-term neglect, rapid economic and social change, the weakness of planning regimes and lack of accountability, together with the levels and nature of the statutory protection of cultural heritage, a subject which is covered more fully in Chapter 4.2.

The loss of heritage: war

The scale of damage to historic monuments during the wars following the break-up of Yugoslavia has been well documented, although it is still subject to debate in some quarters, partly because no consistent unit for assessing it has been adopted, even though an established methodology for doing so exists (UNESCO 2010). Figures range from 1 700 cultural heritage sites damaged or destroyed in the former Yugoslavia – presumably including sites that contained many individual buildings – to 2 771 in Bosnia and Herzegovina alone – which were single properties. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the richness of the Islamic, Orthodox Christian and Roman Catholic heritage testifies to a pluralistic and tolerant tradition, the systematic targeting of buildings representative of the beliefs and cultures of different faiths and ethnicities – churches and mosques especially but libraries and archives too – was catastrophic in its effects. Based on information compiled by the Commission to Preserve National Monuments, 713 historic buildings were totally destroyed; nearly 70% of mosques and nearly 40% of other Islamic buildings (such as schools, mausoleums and charitable institutions) were largely destroyed or seriously damaged. Around 75% of churches were similarly affected, mostly in the Croat cantons and the bishopric of Banja Luka (Armatta 2003; see also Walasek et al. 2015). Thirty-five churches and monasteries were later destroyed and as many as 100 damaged during and after the Kosovo conflict.

Figure 5: St Joseph's Cathedral and adjacent high-rise block, Bucharest



The lack of effective planning constraints – either flawed or not imposed – can create damaging clashes of scale between historic buildings and new development. This is well illustrated by the new tower block next to St Joseph's Cathedral (1874-83), Bucharest (Romania). Planning permission specified that it should not be closer to the cathedral than 100 metres. It is in fact just eight metres away. © David Johnson 2007

Although shocking in itself, because its object was to expunge identities and memory, the loss of monuments in the region formed only a small proportion of total war damage to the built environment: 60% of Bosnia's housing stock was damaged and 18% totally destroyed in the war, and over 50% in the Kosovo conflict – figures that bear comparison with damage sustained in some parts of the region during the Second World War (Suhrke and Strand 2010: 156). While attention has tended to focus on the destruction of historic monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina, other countries suffered grievously too: as mentioned in the previous essay in this volume, the assaults on the historic towns of the Dalmatian coast, some of them UNESCO-designated World Heritage Sites, played out across international TV networks, shocking public opinion throughout the world, but not sufficiently for their governments to take action. And, although on a much less extensive scale, NATO bombing caused considerable damage to some significant monuments in Serbia, including churches and mosques as well as a number of modernist buildings.

The loss of heritage: long-term neglect

Overall, however, cumulative physical damage and the rate of loss to monuments through neglect, decay and economic change, have been considerably greater than wartime losses. Traditional timber buildings, especially, are particularly vulnerable – and wood is the primary building material over much of the northern part of the area. Take Romania, where the buildings form part of what might be called the “architectural history canon” (an issue we return to in the next section and elsewhere in this volume), as with the famous painted churches of northern Moldavia (in Romania) or the shingle-roofed churches of Maramureş (both World Heritage Sites), international attention is more easily obtained and assistance secured. The smaller vernacular churches, however, that have been constantly repaired over time and that are even sometimes difficult to date (for instance those in Northern Oltenia and Southern Transylvania) have fared less well: here, remoteness, unpretentiousness, perennial replacement and patching, together with problems of redundancy, lack of amenities and the high costs of repair mean that many are at risk of collapse. The World Monuments Fund initiative and the ongoing emergency plan to rescue 60 wooden churches in the central parts of the country – with local community support – is one of the many encouraging projects in the region. Less well-known are the wooden churches of Serbia, where there are only around 30 surviving; also in Bosnia's *krjina* (frontier) region: according to research conducted by the Bosnian state monuments commission, of a total of 83 wooden churches that existed there in 1911, some of them 18th century, several were destroyed during the Second World War, but others disappeared later, mainly through lack of maintenance. By 1952 they numbered just under 30 and only ten survive today (Cherry 2009: 193). Similarly, certain classes of vernacular house in Bosnia and Herzegovina, such as those recorded by Astrida Bukarski in the 1970s and early 1980s have almost entirely disappeared and can only be appreciated from drawings and photographs (Bukarski 2001). But this should not lead to a counsel of despair: although the attrition rate is alarming, enough survives to justify sustainable conservation campaigns, and most of the participating countries have identified traditional buildings as a priority action area.

The loss of heritage: economic change

Demographic and economic change was – and remains – the biggest challenge to the historic environment. The centrally planned economies had attempted to manage migration out of the countryside and the concomitant growth and modernisation of towns and cities – only in Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina does the majority of the population still live in the countryside (around

54%). It is questionable, in Yugoslavia in the 1950s and 1960s, for instance, whether the extent of the planned destruction of historic fabric and clearance of run-down but historically significant areas, carried out as part of this process, was appreciably different from levels prevailing elsewhere in Europe. Destructive and intrusive though it could be, only in Romania was there a systematic attack on historic buildings throughout the country. Even so, Ceaușescu's megalomaniac scheme of social engineering that envisaged the displacement of entire rural communities (and the razing of their villages), ostensibly to even out the disparities of living standards between town and country, and the levelling of most of Bucharest's historic quarters fell far short of its target – although the city's current custodians may still get there in the end (ICOMOS 2014). The associated dismemberment of the country's historic monuments protection institutes and legislation arguably had a more lasting impact. There was no national body responsible for protecting historic buildings in Romania after 1978 and attempts by specialists to review the lists were constantly thwarted. The process had effectively to start again from scratch in 1990 (Nemteanu 1992). But in this respect also, Romania proved to be the exception in the region.

Planning and the historic environment

In their study of heritage planning in the cities of Central Europe after the fall of communism, G. J. Ashworth and J. E. Tunbridge identified three particularly problematic obstacles to the development of a more flexible, responsive and realistic policy for heritage protection and planning (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1999). One was the "tradition" of heritage being almost solely the responsibility of the state. This is not a phenomenon exclusively associated with totalitarian regimes. Heritage management – especially the identification of monuments deemed worthy of protection – has been staked out as the preserve of cultural and political elites throughout Europe and beyond. But "state ownership" of the national heritage has had negative repercussions that are not common to all polities. Although, in some key respects, the management of the cultural heritage in the region lay outside (or ran parallel) to the planning system, there were significant overlaps and, in the popular consciousness, the distinction was not at all clear: this leads on to the second legacy problem.

The collapse of the communist regimes led to a crisis in both the planning system and among the planning profession in that the very process of planning became associated in the public mind with a discredited political system, with corruption and lack of consensus, with the sidelining of civil society. It was top-down and inflexible, geared to coercion rather than consensus, to prescription rather than good practice and co-ordination. Under the old regime, planners were "insulated by the state bureaucracy, [they] had little or no contact with people, most people did not know what planners did" (Hoffman 1994: 692). They were ill-equipped to provide those qualities that have – or are becoming – essential in modern planning practice: tact, mediation, engagement and a holistic approach to the (historic) environment.

Thirdly, there was the issue of private ownership, restitution and the problem of uncertain or contested title to property – touched on in Chapter 3.3 – and, related to this, the disjuncture between the new-won benefits of ownership and property rights on the one hand, and a lack of a sense of shared responsibility for public space (the public realm) on the other. Consequently, across much of the region, the question, "whose heritage?" sometimes appears bizarre: when the state has selected for protection a small number of the peoples' monuments and managed, funded and marketed them, however inadequately, with little or no consultation with the people, notions of universal and community value often seem illusory.

Figure 6: House in Sarajevo showing dereliction



With little public investment and few effective conservation area controls, owners usually choose to build anew, leaving older houses to decay and eventually collapse or burn down. This example is in Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina) close to the city centre. © Martin Cherry 2012

Historiography

The exoticism that fed the imagination of the small number of travellers to the Balkans at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, such as Edith Durham or the first intrepid users of the early Baedeker guidebooks, created a mystique – a world that was impenetrable, sublime and savage – that did not begin to be dispelled until after the region emerged from the devastation of the Second World War. Fitzroy Maclean could still write of Yugoslavia in the late 1960s as somehow disturbing and untamed, with its “wide diversity and dramatic intensity” born out of a troubled history “tinged with sadness” and the “inward character of the people” (Durham 1909; Maclean 1969: 7, 49).

This is not to say that the distinctive cultural heritage of the region lacked scholarly attention. Durham herself was a keen observer of human behaviour and wrote a book on tribal origins, laws and customs in the Balkans (Durham 1928) that is still considered pioneering for its day. Some of the earliest serious studies of the historic built environment were subsumed within wider ethnographical approaches or offshoots of social geography. The eminent Belgrade-based academician, Jovan Cvijić, who investigated the villages of Bulgaria, Bosnia, Herzegovina and “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” at around the same time as Durham observed those of Albania, made much of humans as being ecologically sensitive creatures who adapted their dwellings to local climatic and environmental circumstances and thereby created a striking diversity of house and agrarian building types across the region. It was within this tradition that Muhamed Kadić set to work in the 1960s on his classic survey of Bosnia’s traditional buildings, introducing a new generation of readers to the value of traditional house types that were fast disappearing (Kadić 1967). In parallel with these ethnographical studies was the work of architects and architectural theorists such as Dušan Grabrijan, whose studies of popular architecture in the Balkans influenced the thinking of Juraj Neidhardt, with whom he collaborated on the post-Second World War redevelopment of Sarajevo’s Baščarsija. Both men appreciated the “organic” relationship between vernacular – in this case “oriental” or Islamic or Turkish-inspired – and modern architecture. The recognition of regional variants of the vernacular (a local “school”) led, by a process of cultural sublimation, to a melding of the traditional and the modern into a Bosnian national architecture. The story has been ably told by Dijana Alić and Maryam Gusheh: the result, if the original plans for the Baščarsija (in Sarajevo) had been realised, would have been the demolition of all but the iconic monuments, thereby creating “a cultural theme park severed from the everyday life of the city” (Alić and Gusheh 1999: 10) or (to put it more charitably) something akin to Henri Prost’s plans for the historic centre of Istanbul with its great monumental vistas unencumbered with later urban accretions.

The search for regional cultural identities, of which the Baščarsija episode is an example, was widely evident throughout the region in the 1960s. The reaction against the universalism of communism, reflected in the search for “national roads” – policies that were more specifically geared towards local needs – led to some loosening of central control. This was in part a reaction to the strength of growing grass-roots activism (the Croatian Spring was one manifestation of this); it led to a degree of economic and cultural liberalisation, not least in the expression of folk or national character – from dance and costume to historic buildings and modern architecture (which acquired nationalistic veneers) – policy areas considered less threatening to the state but which, when they unravelled, contributed to the cataclysm of the 1990s. This particularism is an important ingredient in understanding the place of heritage in the regional consciousness. In the post-Second World War context, it was a reaction against communist totalitarianism; in the inter-war years, it had been a reaction to the legacy of centuries of imperial hegemony – Hapsburg or Ottoman – or traditions of resistance to it.

Cultural particularism in the region is evident in the historiography of South-East Europe too. When Slobodan Ćurčić was compiling his bibliography of art and architecture in the Balkans in the 1970s (published 1984) he found that of 2 000 entries, only 32 (1.5%) specifically addressed issues concerning the region as a whole. Twentieth-century architectural research on the region, led at first by non-native scholars (mainly French, Austrian and Russian), tended to privilege local over regional traditions – hence the concept of Hellenic, Serbian and Macedonian “schools” – which meant that “national historiographies could be related to broader historiographical frameworks only with the greatest of difficulty” (Ćurčić 2010: 9). The collapse of communism, the fragmentation of Yugoslavia and the slide into civil war tended to accentuate this compartmentalising tendency. Researchers within academe and the heritage institutions tended to focus on the particular, or reformulate the dominant national culture or ethnicity, or both. This may in part explain a major conceptual challenge for the Ljubljana Process – discussed more fully by John Bold in this volume (Chapter 3.1) – the resistance (or reluctance) on the part of heritage professionals to contextualise and think in terms of *relative* significance and “the comparative presentation of heritage values” even when the generic or underlying issues are similar or even identical. This is reflected, also, in the habit of collecting deep data on individual monuments – influenced by the tradition of compiling detailed inventories of the most significant sites – rather than relating them in terms of significance one to another, a prerequisite for effective national heritage planning (this is explored further in Chapter 4.2). The situation was not helped by the fact that the heritage sectors in the region lacked “sound internet infrastructures, hindering their contributions to the world of science and stifling scientific co-operation among themselves in terms of joint papers” (Tonta 2009).

Figure 7: Bridge at Mostar



The rebuilding of Mostar Bridge (Bosnia and Herzegovina) after its destruction in 1993 was one factor in attracting tourists after the war, but generally visitors stay overnight elsewhere (mainly in Dubrovnik) and spend very little time or money in Mostar itself. © John Bold 2014

External perceptions and tourism

In the 1970s and 1980s the growth rate in international visitor numbers to the region, particularly the Adriatic coast, was comparable to that of Spain. The collapse of the communist system and its aftermath dented figures across much of the area; the wars saw a catastrophic collapse in numbers in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro and Croatia – as the table below demonstrates.

Table 1 – South-East Europe: international inbound tourism

Country	Number of visitors (1000s)						
	1968	1978	1988	1992	1996	2000	2004
Albania	n/a	n/a	n/a	111	119	317	383
Bosnia and Herzegovina	170	250	394	1	99	171	153
Bulgaria	1 783	4 570	7 594	1 322	2 980	2 785	5 563
Croatia	2 083	3 853	5 621	1 271	2 649	5 831	7 912
Greece	879	3 961	7 564	9 331	9 233	13 096	14 308
Macedonia	94	215	221	219	136	224	216
Romania	1 451	3 685	5 142	3 798	2 834	3 274	4 793
Slovenia	678	877	1 137	616	832	1 090	1 484
Serbia and Montenegro	718	1 190	1 272	156	301	239	481

Table and data adapted from Gosar 2007: 127.

A more nuanced view of the region's complexity and fascination has emerged out of, and since, the troubles. This substantial literature, which is scholarly, accessible, engaged but impartial, provides fresh perspectives for the modern traveller who wishes to see beyond the superficiality of popular guidebooks or the conventional narrative of structural decline (e.g., Cohen 1993; Donia and Fine 1994; Glenny 1999; Judah 2000; Mazower 2000; Stavrianos 2000). As suggested below, the challenge for policy makers is to balance the needs and expectations of the informed cultural traveller with those who seek the allure of sun and beach, or those attracted by the offer of Croatia's tourist brochures of a nostalgic Adriatic coast "as it was".

Tourism strategies are being revised in the light of visitor preferences: whereas sun, sea and sand were once the main drivers, the lure of cultural destinations and sites of natural beauty to provide emotional uplift and education, together with the expectation that these will be managed sympathetically and sustainably, is growing, but only slowly. The demand for the provision of popular seaside facilities remains dominant. Other trends are developing, including gaming – casinos are a growth area – and the search for "dark heritage" – the detritus of war and distress, further discussed in Chapter 4.2, a growing phenomenon that suggests that in one section of the public mind at least, the Balkans remains compelling as a place of violence and banditry. The relatively slow growth of cultural tourism is a challenge to heritage policy makers and site managers. Research on tourist expenditure, in the monument-rich cities of the Dalmatian coast for example, shows that those visitors, whose primary destinations are cultural sites, spend significantly more than those whose interests lie elsewhere (Jurdana et al. 2013). Positively, it is growth, and the tourism sector has been quick to see its potential: the pressure is on to yield results quickly, often to a timetable that does not allow for carefully planned conservation. Tourist ministries and local offices are often in the lead on developing culturally significant places and, while there are many cases of close collaboration between heritage and tourism (and other) bodies, Rob Pickard (in Chapter 3.3) and David Johnson (in 3.4) find disturbing signs that heritage and conservation management remain isolated from the

other key environmental players, as well as being semi-detached from the mainstream of European good practice. Furthermore, the fact that towns and cities are the engines of the tourist industry means that rural hinterlands, where much of the potential for tourist growth in the region lies, are treated as adjuncts: Mostar and its environs hardly begin to realise the potential from tourism, visited as they are, in the main, by day-trippers from Dubrovnik, who spend almost all of their money there.

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Part Two

Principles and policies

Chapter 2.1

The project: principles and methodology 2003-13

John Bold and Robert Pickard

Set within the Regional Programme for Cultural and Natural Heritage, the Integrated Rehabilitation Project Plan/Survey of the Architectural and Archaeological Heritage (IRPP/SAAH) is described. The purpose and methodology of this ground-breaking project, implemented jointly by the Council of Europe and the European Commission and later to develop into the Ljubljana Process, is explained. The project is shown to be rooted in the core aims of the Council of Europe relating to standard setting and cultural co-operation, and the gearing of cultural policy towards developing European cultural identity, based on the notion of a “common cultural heritage”. The IRPP/SAAH was directed from 2003 towards the countries of South-East Europe which had so recently suffered seismic political, economic and social disruption and had also, in the case of the countries of former Yugoslavia, suffered devastating wars. The project was innovative in methodology and scope, giving responsibility for all significant decisions to the representatives of the participating countries in selecting and prioritising a wide range of sites, which had the potential for economic and social rehabilitation. The evolving methodology enabled the development of fully costed proposals for the rehabilitation of key buildings and sites throughout the region. The continuation of the project as the Ljubljana Process from 2008, assured by greatly increased funding from the European Commission, led to the establishment in 2010 of the Ljubljana Process II, which commenced the following year, overseen by the Regional Cooperation Council, which gave still more directive agency for the continuing development of the project to the individual participating countries. The Ljubljana Process is also viewed against the background of the Council of Europe’s core principles (human rights and the rule of law, democratic stability, resolution of social problems and social cohesion, good governance and sustainable development) and in the context of the Council of Europe’s Framework Convention on the Value of Heritage for Society (the Faro Convention).

Programme and project

The Regional Programme for Cultural and Natural Heritage in South East Europe (RPSEE) was conceived by the Council of Europe as a specific response to the problems suffered throughout the region at a time of enormous political, social, economic and legislative change; some of the countries involved (in former Yugoslavia) had only recently begun the long recovery from devastating wars and others were beset by the effects of globalisation and the abrupt and often brutal transition to a market economy. As has been touched upon in Chapter 1.2, approaches to this transition have been identified as one of the basic choices facing post-communist governments, whether to attempt an overnight “big-bang” transformation from a subsidised socialist economy to market-driven capitalism, or whether to proceed more cautiously, selling off or dismantling malfunctioning sectors while preserving the jobs, social services and cheap rents which mattered most to the local population. Either one of these approaches can cause significant pain and loss (Judt 2010: 686): old certainties and continuities are fractured; the economy gets worse before it gets better; speculation and theft of assets – a wild-west economy – is rife in the absence of regulation and functioning laws; the people’s confidence in due process is shattered and hope for the future becomes a sentimental indulgence when the main aim is mere survival. Into such a void, destructive nationalisms promoting new myths of origin and cultural integrity offer illusory therapy before a more sustainable recovery from trauma is achieved. This, in South-East Europe, is an ongoing process.

In these circumstances, placing heritage as a function of democratic participation and human rights at the forefront of an initiative directed towards rehabilitation was a bold and inspiring move. In an evolving process, the built and natural heritage was no longer to be regarded as the passive recipient of occasional grants to ensure its preservation and conservation. Nor was it to be seen as an inconvenient barrier to necessary development. Rather, it was to be the catalyst for social and economic regeneration, bringing renewed life to dilapidated areas, new uses to old buildings, and revitalising heritage-management institutions, together with the broader aims of building confidence between communities, boosting economies by encouraging new investments and jobs, encouraging tourism and co-operation within and between countries, developing professional networks and promoting grass-roots participation.

As a component of the RPSEE, the Integrated Rehabilitation Project Plan/Survey of the Architectural and Archaeological Heritage (IRPP/SAAH) was implemented jointly by the Council of Europe and the European Commission in the eight participating South-East European countries and Kosovo from 2003 to 2008, a timescale which provided an opportunity for experimentation in the development and implementation of new heritage-management mechanisms. It is this project, the forerunner of the Ljubljana Process, which principally concerns us here. The project was one of the three related components of the programme, together with the Institutional Capacity Building Plan (advice on legislation and institutional management) and the Local Development Pilot Project (encouraging partnerships and participation in conservation and economic development) (Council of Europe 2004). Financed through the “Culture 2000” programme of the European Union (Directorate General for Culture and Education), the IRPP/SAAH was administered through the Technical Co-operation and Consultancy Programme (Directorate of Culture and Cultural and Natural Heritage and later Democratic Governance Directorate) of the Council of Europe (see Chapter 1.1). This collaboration was achieved under the umbrella of the “Joint Programmes” of the Council of Europe and the European Union, first agreed in 1993 in pursuit of common aims with regard to the protection of democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and the rule of law. A “Joint Declaration on Co-operation and Partnership”, made in 2001, was reaffirmed in May 2007 through the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding. The key priority of this initiative was to promote democratic stability and peace in the Western Balkans

and in the South Caucasus, thereby supporting the participation of these countries in the European Union's "Stabilisation and Association Process", or the "European Neighbourhood Policy", facilitating closer association and integration with the European Union. The Joint Programmes, carried out in consultation with governments, are designed to provide legal and institutional reform through training courses, expert reports and advice, together with conferences, workshops, seminars and publications. It was in this context that the IRPP/SAAH was supported by funding from the European Culture Programme through a number of stages (2004-2008), and was further extended with the launching of the Ljubljana Process in 2008 and then again for the second phase of the Ljubljana Process between 2011 and 2014 in co-operation with the European Union Directorate General for Enlargement.

At the time of its inception, the IRPP/SAAH represented the most ambitious of the Technical Co-operation programmes undertaken by the Council of Europe. It was aimed specifically at engendering and supporting major cultural shifts in attitude towards the built heritage and its management. Following the implementation of the Specific Action Plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina (1997), providing technical support for the protection, conservation and restoration of the cultural heritage, and the long-term commitment to providing advice on laws, heritage management and heritage protection in Kosovo, from 2000 onwards, the IRPP/SAAH was developed in 2003 as a project whose remit extended across South-East Europe: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia", and Kosovo (the "participating countries"). Conceived as a contribution towards peace and reconciliation, the project was intended to facilitate compatibility in built heritage protection with the member states of the European Union, providing the management tools which would reinforce state heritage policies, enabling the national institutions to prioritise their interventions in the light of the changing circumstances to which society and the heritage were subjected. It was predicated on the belief that the cultural heritage is fundamental to the building of national and European identities, respecting their diversity and bringing people together to build the future, informed by perceptions of place and an understanding of the past. There is particular resonance in this message in a region which includes the countries of the former Yugoslavia, where conflict during the 1990s was characterised by the destruction of the "foreign" heritage of the "Other", but it is one which must be communicated and embraced if mutual respect is to be achieved and maintained. In accordance with the spirit and letter of the European Charter of the Architectural Heritage and the associated Amsterdam Declaration (1975), the Conventions of Granada (Architectural Heritage, 1985), Valletta (Archaeological Heritage, 1992), Florence (Landscape, 2000), and the Faro Framework Convention on The Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (2005), as well as in light of the Guiding Principles for Sustainable Spatial Development (Hanover, 2000), the preservation, enhancement and rehabilitation of the landscape and the built environment are regarded as crucial to social and economic development.

A common heritage, a common action

The IRPP/SAAH and the subsequent Ljubljana Process have been rooted in the core principles of the Council of Europe – the protection of human rights, the consolidation of democratic stability, the promotion of European cultural identity and the promotion of social cohesion and the rights of all, irrespective of religion, ethnicity, nationality and gender (see Annex to this chapter, below).

Since its foundation in 1949, the Council of Europe has been working to build a Europe that is united in defence of these principles. Standard setting and cultural co-operation are key factors in this endeavour, as is indicated in Article 1 of the foundational Statute of the Council of Europe (Council of Europe 1949) which sets out to achieve "greater unity" between its member states by "safeguarding and realising the ideals and principles which are their common heritage", pursuing this aim through "common action in economic, social, cultural, scientific, legal and administrative matters".

Figures 8a and 8b: Kulla e Ali Bajraktarit, Vranoc



The Ali Bajraktarit *kulla* at Vranoc (Kosovo) before (Figure 8a) and after (Figure 8b, page 55) restoration. Before independence from Serbia, *kullas* (fortified tower houses) were under-represented on the list of protected monuments because they were negatively associated with Islamic traditions. There were huge losses during the wars of the 1990s. With little protection and no national policy or conservation guidelines, they were further compromised by insensitive alterations or left to rot. Since 2006, the government has carried out a systematic survey and the number of protected *kullas* has risen from 22 to 147 (out of an estimated stock of around 700).

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The principles of a “common heritage” and the need to take “common action” were reiterated in the European Cultural Convention (Council of Europe 1954) wherein Article 5 recognised that while objects of European cultural value are properly the responsibility of individual states, they should also be regarded as integral parts of the common cultural heritage of Europe and appropriate measures should be taken to safeguard them and ensure reasonable access to them. The development of a European cultural identity premised on the notion of a common cultural heritage at the same time must acknowledge the distinctive national and local features which contribute to that identity. This requires the safeguarding and enhancement of different cultural manifestations and identities, their diversity and their common foundations, through enabling the growth of mutual knowledge and understanding and respecting the qualities and cultures of others. The development of this policy has been concerned with the relationship between culture and human rights and, in turn, with the protection of both individual cultural rights and the collective cultural rights of vulnerable groups – avoiding conflict between majority and minority cultures and stressing the importance of building community identities through the recognition of the cultural values of others.



European co-operation on cultural heritage has resulted in a substantial body of texts – conventions, recommendations, and resolutions – together with guidelines that have addressed a range of technical, scientific, legal and administrative issues (Pickard 2002). More recently the scope of work in this field has been extended to societal issues, with a greater emphasis being placed on the need to foster mutual understanding and respect between communities and individuals. There has been a shift in heritage management from an object-centred to values-driven approach throughout Europe, with the heritage recognised as a fundamental agent in the management of societal and environmental change.

In response to the collapse of the communist systems in central and eastern Europe in the late 1980s, and the conflict and economic disruption that flowed from it, the policies and initiatives of the European governmental institutions required a fundamental rethink. The European Conferences of Ministers responsible for Cultural Heritage urged the need for concerted action to deal with the problem of wilful destruction of cultural property and to safeguard the cultural heritage of minorities (3rd Conference, Valletta, 1992); to encourage the use of cultural heritage as an engine for building a modern Europe based on the relationship between heritage and identity (4th Conference, Helsinki, 1996); and to promote a more integrated approach to the conservation of the cultural heritage that would involve the effective participation of local communities both in consultation and decision making (5th Conference, Portorož, 2001).

Transfrontier co-operation

The Portorož Conference of 2001 resolved to promote mutual understanding and cohesion through a number of actions including the development of international and transfrontier co-operation and shared projects both at an individual and community level. This followed Recommendation No. R (2000) 1 on fostering transfrontier co-operation between territorial communities in the cultural field (Council of Europe 2000a), adopted by the Committee of Ministers at the beginning of 2000, which identified the importance of allowing access to cultural activities on different sides of a frontier to encourage dialogue, remove psychological barriers and raise awareness about the common cultural heritage.

Arising from these actions, the RPSEE was launched in 2003 with the aim of building a framework of co-operation in confronting post-conflict and development challenges in a region that was

undergoing complex political, legal, economic and social transition (Council of Europe 2004). The programme emphasised the notion of “local development”, within which nested the acknowledgement of diversity as a source of vitality and value; the recognition of the connection between neighbouring countries and the desirability of opening up the region to the rest of Europe; the promotion of an integrated approach to conservation, planning and development issues (based on the established principles of the Council of Europe: Council of Europe 1985; 1992; and 2000b); and the fundamental need for the sustainability of outcomes.

The RPSEE has provided the opportunity for the exchange of expertise and experience between countries facing similar situations in the fields of protection, conservation, rehabilitation and the enhancement of cultural and natural heritage. From the outset, the programme placed a strong emphasis on urban and rural management, democratic and participatory processes, and the improvement of living conditions and the quality of life, in order to encourage the emergence of a more open and tolerant society. It has focused on long-term development projects based on dialogue and the participation of all countries acting in the collective interest, to encourage democratic stability and social cohesion.

Heritage and society

Heritage as a function of society, in which participation and collaboration are implicit, is the fundamental tenet of the Faro Framework Convention (Council of Europe 2005; see Annex, below). This ground-breaking document was signed in 2005 after the commencement of the IRPP/SAAH. But IRPP/SAAH in fact, beginning in 2003, incorporated and developed, “with a certain anticipation” (Council of Europe 2009a: 51), the values set out at Faro. The notion of a common European heritage, with associated rights and responsibilities, fundamental to enriching the quality of life, and underpinning sustainable economic development, is central to both the convention and the regional programme. The focus of the Faro Convention is society itself, rather than the heritage alone, so in this respect it differs markedly from the majority of previous conventions and charters, which have been about the identification and care of the heritage *tout court*. The heritage in this reading is an agent, a resource serving greater ends in which everybody without exception is involved: to maximise its benefits requires managing cultural diversity, improving the living environment and developing democratic participation. But it cannot be an infinite resource since this is always a heritage at risk, if only through the inevitable ageing process, and this notion of mortality should serve to concentrate our minds on the precise nature and potential role of the heritage in society. Although the composition of the cultural heritage has been broadly defined in various national legislations and international instruments, definitions gain greater substance and authority through threat: crisis and risk promote recognition. Threats to historic buildings and sites focus attention, speeding up the processes of documentation and protection, encouraging the search for new, sustainable uses, and bringing people together in a common cause (the “heritage community” of the Faro Convention).

The project throughout has been predicated on the need to direct restoration and rehabilitation activities towards sites with urgent conservation needs to promote socio-economic development. It has been concerned to advise rather than to impose a preconceived view (so differing fundamentally from the conventional “we know what is best for you” attitude that has traditionally underpinned Western aid), while encouraging the active participation of all citizens. It was carried out in conjunction with the national and regional authorities in the countries involved, so ensuring that the individual countries and institutions were regarded, and regarded themselves, as the primary stakeholders right from the start: active participants in a mutually informing process of capacity building. The project provided guidance and methodologies, and set timetables, but all

the significant choices were made by the representatives of the individual countries themselves. They knew better than any outsider what was important to them, not least because this is an architecturally rich, but from the Western perspective, a relatively little-known region, but in times of disruptive and often disabling transition they did not always have the necessary experience of self-determination or the confidence to express that importance succinctly and persuasively. Also, there was little experience of the concept of integrated conservation and of the use of heritage as an agent for wider ends. Procedurally, there was initially only a limited understanding of the notion of the “executive summary” beloved of funding agencies in the West: why is this building or site significant? What do we want to do with it now to ensure a sustainable future for the monument and its associated community?

In its emphasis on the identification of significance, the project has enabled the participants to go beyond traditional statements of historical evolution, privileging major historic monuments and sites, in order to express what it is precisely that makes this particular building or ensemble of interest and importance. Throughout Europe, the traditional inventorying and protection of sites has relied upon the accumulation of facts rather than upon interpretation, so for example the remains of a Roman settlement, or a historic church or mosque would be self-evidently worthy of protection simply through their mere survival in anything like their original form, irrespective of the judgments of relative value which would require the comparison of these examples with others of the same type. The idea of comparing sites to assess whether one might be more important than another (historically, socially, architecturally or technologically), assessing relative values, has followed the ever broadening definition of what constitutes the built heritage, going beyond the traditionally monumental to embrace the manifestations of industry, agriculture, transport and utilities. It would be neither feasible nor desirable to seek to protect all power plants but it is of unquestionable importance to protect the first hydro-electric plant in the Balkans (at Kokalane, outside Sofia), now redundant, and to seek a new, sustainable function for the building and plant. Nor should we protect all bridges, but some have considerably greater significance than others: the Mehmed Pasa Sokolovic Bridge over the Drina at Visegrad (Bosnia and Herzegovina), immortalised in the harrowing novel by Nobel laureate Ivo Andric, and threatened now by the regularly changing water levels caused by two hydro-electric plants, has an historical weight which gives it far greater resonance than others of a comparable age or quality, a fact acknowledged through its inscription in 2007 as a World Heritage Site.

The identification of significance within the project, its scope derived in part through consultation with potential funding partners, had the wholly beneficial but less expected effect of stimulating the attention of the national authorities to provide more focused funding for the approximately 20 identified sites within each country, rather than spreading limited resources more thinly over all the sites within their jurisdiction. A further narrowing of focus onto a small number of “Flagship” projects, with a commensurate intensification of attention and activity, designed to act as an exemplification and catalyst for heritage-led regeneration, led ultimately to the introduction in 2008 of the Ljubljana Process, launched officially the following year (see below).

Project methodology

The project methodology of the IRPP/SAAH comprised four main stages: the heritage assessment; the prioritised intervention list; the preliminary technical assessment; and the feasibility study. Each of these is dealt with in order in the following paragraphs. The process moved from the general to the particular, from broad assessment of heritage identification and management strategies in each of the participating countries to the detailed specific consideration of the feasibility and costs of

restoring and rehabilitating individual buildings and sites. The latter proved to be the greatest challenge in that it often required the introduction of new management structures as well as the search for new funding (both public and private) to support sustainable new functions and activities. A large part of the detailed methodology developed for the project has been published in *Guidance on Heritage Assessment* (Council of Europe 2005b; Bold 2008: 49-63; Bold 2013: 75-86). Although the great importance of the conservation of the heritage was well understood by all participants right from the start, the full social and economic potential of rehabilitation took time to percolate. Common problems and needs emerged – for management training; for improved and integrated legislation, with associated guidance on implementation; for consciousness raising and education to engender public support; for well-managed partnerships; and for training in documentation, craft skills, conservation and restoration.

The heritage assessments (stage 1 of the project) were designed to enable the national authorities, aided by the international experts, to answer generic heritage-management questions on the main characteristics of the heritage in their territory, followed by consideration of a wide range of other key issues: the legislation in force; management organisation, relationships and responsibilities; staffing and expertise; national and international partners and activities; the (often fraught) relationship between heritage and spatial planning; funding; documentation; the capacity for prioritisation of activities; ethnicity and community, acknowledging the variety of cultural, religious and ethnic groups; training needs; education and outreach; and details of the site-recording programme. Questionnaires, followed by visits by international experts, enabled the production and publication of heritage-assessment reports. These have subsequently been updated three times and publicised on the project website. The assessments carried out after 2012 during the course of Ljubljana Process II attempted a fuller analysis and reflection, with consideration of sustainable development, tourism, environmental issues and public/private relationships (these assessments are more fully described in Chapter 3.3). Such evaluations should provide the opportunity for the self-criticism which is required in maintaining the health of institutions: organisations are accretive, adding new procedures in response to new imperatives but seldom taking the time to review how these additions might render established processes unwieldy or redundant.

Following the assessments, the compilation and subsequent updating of Prioritised Intervention Lists (PILs; stage 2 of the project) was the task of the national experts, endorsed by the authorities in each country. They produced a descriptive list of significant monuments of historic or cultural value that were at risk (from deliberate destruction, the development process or mere age or neglect) which they considered to be prime candidates for restoration and rehabilitation. This identification of priorities, followed closely by the consideration of using the built heritage as a focus for rehabilitation, was for most a new approach. It represented a significant cultural shift. The sites chosen were intended to cover a wide range of building types – churches, mosques, archaeological sites, houses, ensembles, urban and rural buildings, infrastructural and industrial monuments – and a broad range of potential interventions, including in a small number of cases the complete reconstruction of emblematic monuments deliberately destroyed in the conflicts of the 1990s. The reconstruction of destroyed monuments is a controversial subject in heritage circles since it challenges the very foundations of the notion of authenticity (see Chapter 4.1). It may be argued however that since the goal of this project was rehabilitation, the question of how to rebuild iconic monuments went beyond the usual parameters of conservation and adaptive reuse. Broader political and social intentions needed to be considered and potential outcomes assessed: for instance, would the faithful reconstruction of monuments that lay at the core of a community's sense of identity, returning the place to its familiar appearance, encourage the return of displaced persons, driven out by war? The results of this listing exercise were very successful, with the selection of over 180 monuments and

sites representative of the heritage of South-East Europe as a whole, chosen by national experts. This national commitment gave the compilation a weight and focus which an imposed, internationally compiled list would have lacked. The identification of importance by the national specialists was critical to the success of the project since it enabled the authorities to tell funding bodies what was important from the national point of view, rather than having the destination of funding dictated according to the agendas of others.

Figure 9: Mehmed Pasha Bridge



Immortalised by Ivo Andric in his novel *The Bridge over the Drina*, the outstanding 16th-century Mehmed Pasha Bridge at Visegrad (Bosnia and Herzegovina) is threatened by the effect on the water levels of nearby hydroelectric operations.

The PILs represented a development in the methodology of inventorying (and protection) of the built heritage. All of the countries already had inventories of historic monuments, and several of them had already adopted the Council of Europe's "core data index to historic buildings and monuments of the architectural heritage", together with its archaeological equivalent. The development of the core data index had been prompted by the requirement of the Granada Convention of 1985 for parties to exchange information on "the possibilities afforded by new technologies for identifying and recording the architectural heritage". Taking its cue from the convention, a round table convened in London in 1989 recommended the identification of a minimum ("core") set of data elements necessary for recording buildings of historic and architectural interest. Following a Europe-wide survey of existing practice and the establishment of a working group of experts, a colloquy held in Nantes in 1992 agreed the proposed core data index that was subsequently adopted by the Committee of Ministers (Council of Europe 1995 and 2001). The index was designed to enable the ordering and classification of information on historic buildings – name, location, type, date, associated persons, building materials and techniques, physical condition, level of protection – with embedded cross-referencing. It was essentially descriptive rather than prescriptive, a mechanism for ordering existing information. But it also encouraged the development of the rapid-survey techniques which are vital in times of threat to the historic environment, by-passing the technically skilled and labour-intensive survey and protection procedures common in central and eastern Europe, where the making of detailed survey drawings to create building "passports" seems to be predicated on the notion of an equivalence of the site and its documentation: if

one is lost, the other enables replacement. Such rapid surveys have been carried out in Kosovo by architectural students under the aegis of the Council of Europe and subsequently have been further developed in Heritage Surveys in Croatia.

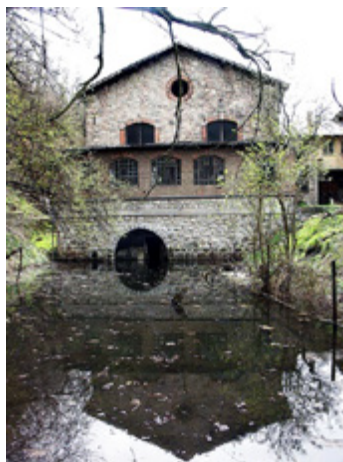
Both the PILs and the Preliminary Technical Assessments that followed (PTAs; stage 3 of the project), built on the core data index, adding fields for degree of risk to the monument, its ownership, occupation and management (which may themselves constitute risk), and crucially allowing for an assessment of significance. The assessment of significance formed a critical element in the “executive summary” for each PTA, capturing the essentials of the nature of the building and the proposal for its rehabilitation, and capable of being “quoted directly to government ministers and potential funding bodies as an encapsulation of the situation and proposal” (Council of Europe 2005b: 47). The PTAs, compiled by national specialists, were designed to provide the technical requirements and broad cost estimates for each phase of every proposed intervention, from initial conservation to full rehabilitation. The framework was drawn up with the requirements of the potential international funding agencies in mind, but was equally applicable to national bodies as they determined priorities: an assessment of the historic or artistic significance of the monument or site; the degree of risk or deterioration; and the viability of the proposed project, including its management and sustainability. Although they were stages in a process, rather than ends in themselves, the published PTAs enabled partial funding to be attracted for the majority of sites even before the full realisation of the fourth stage of the project, the preparation of feasibility studies and business plans.

Feasibility studies continued and expanded themes already identified with the expectations of potential funding partners once more at the forefront of the analysis – meeting and managing the expectations of funding bodies is as fundamental to successful project implementation as the determination of the requirements of the project itself. So the executive summary of the significance of the site, its evolution and its context, assumes ever greater importance, especially in a competitive environment, bearing in mind that those to whom bids for funding are made will not necessarily be experts in the subject and are unlikely to be great readers with time on their hands – they will want to know why they should be interested in this site rather than another and in this proposal rather than another, on page 1 rather than on page 25. They will then need to know the risk to which the monument is subject – is this rehabilitation urgent? – along with the viability of the proposal – will the target audience benefit and will my investment be repaid and be to the credit of my agency? So how is the fulfilment of the project to be achieved? What are the risks? Who is managing the process? Who are the partners? How will sustainability be guaranteed? A feasibility study is in essence a problem-solving analysis of what needs to be done in order to reach a desired outcome.

Throughout the IRPP/SAAH process, participants were encouraged to focus on the encouragingly achievable rather than attempting to reach for the stars at the first opportunity. So, in the case of large sites, it was recommended that within an overall vision, feasibility studies should begin with an important visible component, leaving less significant aspects for analysis at a later date. This is pragmatic advice but it does not come without a risk – that the construction of the “flagship”, with attendant publicity, will be achieved, while the rest of the fleet languishes half-built in dry dock. We have seen this problem manifested on numerous occasions, often when the requirements and ambitions of governments and international funding bodies have quite properly focused attention on a single monument but have neglected its wider environment. So, for example, outside the IRPP/SAAH project, international funding of \$11.5 million ensured the reconstruction of the iconic Mostar Bridge and its towers, a finite project with readily measurable outcomes. Although Cultural Heritage without Borders led the reconstruction of two bazaars of shops and cafes nearby, other handsome buildings, dating from around 1900, a short distance away, remain ruined shells:

for full sustainability of the central area of the city, further projects and funding will be necessary, together with a recognition of the planning need to consider the scale of new buildings which might have an adverse effect on the views and environs of the monument. In Sarajevo, within the IRPP/SAAH project, the superb Austro-Hungarian Town Hall, the point from which Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie, Duchess of Hohenberg, embarked on their final, fateful journey in 1914, has been reconstructed with little trace of its history visible in the fabric – a prominent plaque on the outside (inimical to notions of reconciliation) apportions blame for its gutting in the war in 1992. Nearby, across Ulica Brodic, an impressive but much-abused 13-bay Italianate palazzo, now in use as housing, awaits the sympathetic redevelopment that would further enhance this attractive area of the city.

Figure 10: Hydroelectric plant at Kokaliane



The hydroelectric plant at Kokaliane (Bulgaria) was the first electrical plant in the Balkans. It was built in 1900, not far from Sofia, by Italian experts who installed Belgian electrical equipment. The photograph shows the machinery hall. Administrative and staff accommodation was situated in an adjoining building. The plant functioned until 1972 and it is believed to have the potential to be re-used as a museum of industry.

Feasibility studies include outline costs but further analysis and extrapolation is then required for the associated, developed business plans in which description of the site and the proposal should lead to statements of anticipated outcomes and potential impacts (see Chapter 3.5). As noted above, such statements are required by investors and donors and, at an early stage in the project, the participants received advice on funding procedures from both the Council of Europe Development Bank and the World Monuments Fund. It was especially important in the early years of the introduction of the free market to provide advice on how rehabilitation projects might be utilised for the benefit of sites and communities. Indeed, a prime factor in the establishment of the IRPP/SAAH had been to give agency back to the countries rather than allowing free rein to donors and investors in the determination of priorities. Particularly in the aftermath of war or other disaster, the humanitarian impulse of the international community rapidly shades into an identification of investment or ideological opportunity at precisely the time of uncertainty and institutional instability, before civil society and its laws have been rebuilt, when countries are least able to play a part in directing international initiatives and managing funding for themselves (Barakat 2010: 269). As can readily be seen in both Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo, some international aid has distorted the choice and form of monuments to be restored, reconstructed or newly built: kullas (traditional tower houses) in Kosovo were initially reconstructed by international agencies which themselves

determined importance; Saudi funding for mosques has favoured the austerity of Wahhabi Islam over the decorated interiors of the Balkans. Also in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the internationally funded and conducted restoration of 100 traditional houses in Stolac ignored their special features in the rebuilding, so causing a lasting obstacle to the restoration of the destroyed cultural memory (Hadžimuhamedović 2015). In such circumstances it clearly was important that countries participating in the IRPP/SAAH should not only decide their own priorities but also should be equipped with the methodologies required to attract funding. So in both 2005 and 2006, participants presented their projects at a major international cultural trade fair in Venice: the *Salone dei Beni e delle Attive Culturali*.

Participants were encouraged to shift their focus away from the relative solidity and tangibility of monuments or sites towards more mutable elements: the description of responsibilities, partners and risks to the project, detailed costings, anticipated revenue, market potential and sustainability – the shorter- and longer-term benefits for the site and for the wider rehabilitation and revitalisation of the locality. The authority and robustness of the projects were to be underwritten through the creation of advisory boards, bringing political and institutional endorsement of the process, and project management boards comprising those responsible for the actual achievement of the project aims, including local stakeholders. It was with this approach in mind that in 2008 a funding conference in Verona was proposed – but in the event, not held – to enable project participants to pitch their “Project Promotion Document”, with its full description of the “Rehabilitation project”, to potential funding bodies. Participants were invited to select three to five projects for presentation, laying emphasis on a “Flagship Project”, chosen for its potential impact and its ability to act as an exemplar for further rehabilitation initiatives.

The Ljubljana Process

The European Commission and its procedural funding had been crucial to the evolution and success of the IRPP/SAAH project until 2008. It was at this time, with the financing available from the Instrument for Pre-Accession (part of the enlargement policy for countries preparing for membership) and through the Regional Operation Programme and the European Structural Funds for cultural heritage, sustainable development and infrastructure (for those who had already become members of the Union – Bulgaria and Romania, 2007) that the methodology was adapted towards the reinvention of the IRPP/SAAH as the “Ljubljana Process: Funding heritage rehabilitation in South-East Europe”. Launched during the conference organised during the Slovenian Presidency of the EU (“New Paradigms, New Models – Culture in the EU External Relations”) in 2008, the project was directed at revealing the value and potential benefits of heritage revitalisation to local populations facing economic uncertainty and social vulnerability, particularly through providing information and raising awareness about the economic value of heritage, as well as the role it can play in sustainable local development. The second phase of the Ljubljana Process (LP II, 2011-14) further encouraged rehabilitation projects and was directed at embedding the methodology within national institutions, policies and strategies.

To some degree through its provision of funds for works on sites as well as for project processes, this otherwise very welcome initiative delayed the progress of the participants towards their own fuller, independent engagement with the market, a problem later overcome during the period of Ljubljana Process II. Nevertheless, a new political and public impetus had been given to the programme, as well as the new name, at the Conference of Ministers of Culture who met in Ljubljana in November 2009. The new Ljubljana Process, continuing the principles of the IRPP/SAAH, was “premised on the idea that heritage objects are assets, part of the solution rather than an obstacle to economic development” (Rikalović and Mikić 2014: 11).

Figure 11: War damage in Mostar



War-damaged buildings in Mostar (Bosnia and Herzegovina): neither of the communities feels any incentive to bring these buildings back to life.
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After six years of activity, during which time many sites were already in receipt of investments, it was proposed by the participating countries that the increasing allocation of European Commission funding might have greater impact if it were to be directed at fewer sites and monuments. A decision was made to focus on 25 exemplary “Consolidated Projects” across the region. It was hoped that this would encourage the participation of potential stakeholders and attract further investment; also each project would serve as a model for future publicly and privately funded regeneration initiatives. The shift of attention from a larger to a smaller number of projects, risked appearing to privilege some sites at the expense of others, but overall it proved to be a significant success. The publication of these “Consolidated Projects”, first in a single booklet (Council of Europe 2008), then in nine national booklets (Council of Europe 2009b; also available online), served to underline the significance of the sites as well as draw attention to wider benefits that it was hoped would result from this substantial investment.

Political endorsement of the project has been crucial: ministers from the countries of the Caucasus, attending the Ljubljana Ministerial Conference in 2009, agreed the transfer of the methodology to the countries of the “Kyiv Initiative”: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine. And support for the Ljubljana Process itself was reaffirmed in 2010 at a ministerial meeting at Cetinje, the former capital of Montenegro, where the Ljubljana Process II, co-ordinated by the Task Force

on Culture and Society set up by the Regional Cooperation Council (supported by the Council of Europe and the European Union), was launched with the intention of giving more directive agency for the continuing development of the project to the participating countries: “The Ljubljana Process II actively supported governments and other stakeholders in rehabilitating cultural heritage sites, not just to preserve them, but also to make them an integral part of local communities’ economic and social environment” (Bartlett et al. 2015: 11). The achievement has been considerable, with more than 30 different projects implemented on 22 sites, supported by four million euros in grants from the European Union. The projects include investigations, project design, urgent interventions, restoration, conservation and site-management plans, all underpinned by training, workshops and education (Bartlett et al. 2015: 105). Through their close analysis of case studies in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia, Bartlett and his collaborators in *The wider benefits of investment in cultural heritage* (2015), prepared for the Council of Europe, have highlighted the difficulty in measuring the extent to which investment in cultural heritage has produced the anticipated dividends (see also Chapter 3.2). It is clear that the IRPP/SAAH and the Ljubljana Process represent a decade of imaginative innovation and outstanding achievement in cultural heritage management in South-East Europe, but it remains to be seen how far the methodologies will continue to be institutionalised and how far the outcomes remain sustainable.

Annex – The Ljubljana Process, the Faro Convention and the core principles of the Council of Europe

The launch of the RPSEE and the start of the IRPP/SAAH coincided with the formulation of a new standard-setting instrument in which the Council of Europe’s core principles were viewed in the context of the value of cultural heritage to society. The result was the opening for signature of the Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society – the Faro Convention (Council of Europe 2005a). This developed the concepts of the “common heritage” and “rights to the heritage” and highlighted the values and significance of cultural heritage in a climate of globalisation, especially with regard to relationships between cultural communities coexisting in the same area, as is the case in the countries which have taken part in the Ljubljana Process. Faro also emphasises the resource which heritage represents in terms of sustainable economic and social development.

The Ljubljana Process anticipated some of the key concepts of the Faro Convention. The convention has been signed by all but one of the participating countries (the exception is Romania). The ratification of the convention by five of the countries – Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Serbia – helped to ensure its entry into force in 2011 and encouraged other countries to sign and ratify it.

The notion of the common heritage is reiterated in Article 3 of the Faro Convention. It is based on principles gained from shared experiences of conflicts and their resolution which have led to the identification of an agreed set of values about how society should function in order to foster peace and stability. These are founded on the Council of Europe’s core principles of respect for human rights, democracy and the rule of law (Article 3b). These principles are described below.

i) Human Rights and the Rule of Law

One of the key and innovative messages of the Faro Convention is the idea of rights to cultural heritage, including the right for every person to engage with the cultural heritage of their choice, while respecting the rights and freedom of others. This is an aspect of the right to freely participate

in cultural life enshrined in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations 1948) and guaranteed by the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (United Nations 1966: preamble and Article 1a).

The survival, protection and celebration of the built heritage provide a tangible expression of the protection of human rights and the rule of law: individual liberty and the security of the person; respect for private and family life and home; freedom of thought and religion; freedom without discrimination; and the right to the peaceful enjoyment of possessions are basic human rights enshrined in the Council of Europe's Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (Council of Europe 1950) and its later protocols.

Cherished buildings, places and environments are fundamental to these notions of security, respect and peaceful enjoyment that are violated, not only in times of war when historic buildings and sites are deliberately targeted for cultural and religious reasons, but also when the built environment suffers through unrestrained and destructive development. The sense of place and familiarity, which roots the individual in an environment, is threatened by adverse or ill-considered change.

ii) Democratic Stability

The Faro Convention also refers to the right to benefit from cultural heritage and to contribute to its enrichment (Article 4a). This involves the wider participation of people in the process of identification, study, interpretation, protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural heritage, and in debate on the opportunities it presents and the means of access to it (Article 12). The convention requires that legal provisions should be provided to guarantee that right (Article 5c). This involves ensuring that different and sometimes possibly competing cultural heritage values are respected and taken into account in all dimensions of development with the participation of all (as indicated in the explanatory report to the convention). The process of encouraging democratic participation in matters concerning the cultural heritage, in order to influence policy making and render it more legitimate and sustainable, is part of a wider concept of democratic citizenship. This concerns the gradual development of a new model for community life and the many ways in which individuals are involved in it, as part of the process of achieving democratic stability.

iii) Cultural Identity

The Faro Convention identifies the notion of the common heritage as a resource and source of collective memory for people in Europe, providing opportunities for remembrance, understanding and respect for cultural identity (Article 3a). This last concept was developed in the European Manifesto for Multiple Cultural Affiliation (Council of Europe 2007: 55-56) as including:

all cultural references by which individuals, alone or with others, define themselves, shape their own beings, communicate and wish to be recognised in their dignity. Cultural identity may also be viewed as a form of social and collective identity reflecting the relatively stable identification of an individual or a group with a cultural structure defined by a body of ideas, beliefs, opinions, customs and traditions, and reflecting adherence to a set of standards based on certain ethical values.

The Council of Europe's aim to promote a European cultural identity, with a special emphasis on education, has been clearly signalled through its insistence upon promoting heritage, educating students of all ages and training specialists in heritage management and craft skills and the values which it enshrines.

iv) Solutions to Social Problems and Promoting Social Cohesion

The Faro Convention refers to the common cultural heritage as being a source of social cohesion and refers also to the experience gained through progress and past conflicts as a basis for fostering the development of a peaceful and stable society including the need for everyone to respect the cultural heritage of others as much as their own heritage (articles 3,4,8). So the rebuilding and rehabilitation of the heritage contributes to the Council of Europe's core aim of resolving social problems such as discrimination against minorities, xenophobia and intolerance, which should not be allowed to triumph in a civil society. The promotion of social cohesion and social rights has been a key objective of the Ljubljana Process.

v) Good Governance

Good governance is a key goal of the Council of Europe in the quest to create more stable and cohesive societies. The improvement of quality of life, democratic involvement of citizens in the sustainable management of their living environment and the development of measures to prevent conflict by improving relations between neighbouring countries requires capacity building through the development of new management tools, the revision of laws and policies and promotion of integrated processes and innovative partnerships between public authorities and other actors. The focus on making more effective, transparent and accountable democratic institutions and encouraging shared responsibility for the cultural heritage is advocated in articles 11-14 of the Faro Convention.

vi) Sustainable Development

The Faro Convention arose from a desire to provide a framework of reference for heritage policies, in the context of rights and responsibilities, including the opportunities that can be drawn from the use of heritage resources for society. The good governance principle is important in enabling a framework which ensures that cultural heritage, broadly defined, is included in the vision for sustainable development. The convention offers a wide definition of heritage, introducing the notion of the heritage community which values specific aspects of the heritage which members wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations (Article 2b).

The internationally understood principles of sustainable development – development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs – are fundamental to the Council of Europe's approach to the protection, revitalisation and rehabilitation of the built heritage in its broad political, social and economic context. This approach is founded upon the understanding that the integrity of the heritage must be respected as a resource to be constantly maintained and enhanced through sustainable use (Article 9); that an understanding of heritage values enriches economic, social, political and cultural development (Article 8); that public and private actors alike play key roles in the collaborative practices which enable the development of equitable and free societies, working together, in which all people have a shared responsibility as well as an equal right to participation and benefit (articles 11-14).

These core values of the Council of Europe have a mutual dependency: the weakening of one may adversely affect another. With respect to the relationship between these values and the built heritage, sustainable development represents the outcome which can be achieved only when the pillars – protection of human rights and the rule of law, democratic stability enabling the resolution of social problems, social cohesion and respect for cultural identity – are firmly in place and fully capable of being built upon through good governance in order to provide the fabric and context for the sustainable future of all citizens.

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Part Three

Making the process work

Chapter 3.1

Introducing the wider issues

John Bold

The assessment of the impact of heritage-led regeneration is not a matter of simple statistics. It is notoriously difficult to identify indicators when we are faced with values rather than costs – when we are considering the impact of regeneration on the well-being of communities rather than on the footfall at monuments and sites; even the quantification of the number of jobs created through new initiatives may be elusive and contested. We do not have a robust model for measuring the entirety of socio-economic impacts in heritage-led activity: our few measurable facts are more than outweighed by our unmeasurable perceptions and beliefs. In assessing the impacts of the IRPP/SAAH and the Ljubljana Process, eight overlapping categories which include the measurable and the perceived provide a basis for discussion: Political, Institutional, Social, Economic, Collaboration, Sustainable development, Site significance and Fundraising.

Impact assessment in recent years has become embedded in the evaluation of projects of all types, but the difficulty of applying sensible measures to cultural processes rather than to material products is insufficiently acknowledged. Mere numerical measures are only one small part of the assessment process when we consider the impact of major programmes of heritage-led regeneration and associated social rehabilitation. Attempts have been made to find financial equivalents for abstract values and to align associated costs such as an increase in the value of a house with the benefits conferred by an adjacent heritage site, but such strategies, while potentially valuable, are so far inchoate (English Heritage 2014).

Demonstrable success notwithstanding, the IRPP/SAAH and the Ljubljana Process have been open to criticism through their apparent failure to build mechanisms into the project for judging impact right from the start. But what mechanisms would have been viable in a transitional period is moot: laws and procedures were in a state of flux, economies were ever more driven by new market forces and models difficult to explain and imperfectly comprehended. Heritage management was under-resourced and staff were lacking in support and confidence, and the concepts of integrated conservation and heritage-led rehabilitation were little understood. In a climate in which sponsoring departments, investors and politicians wish to see measurable outcomes of initiatives in order to justify further activity, the assessment of cultural heritage and society is not quite as straightforward as quantifying the number of cars coming off a production line, or the number of olives requiring pressing to fill a 1.5 litre bottle of extra virgin. Even with such mundane examples as these however there would be difficulty in measuring how much quicker the tasks might be achieved by better-motivated, better-paid, healthier staff, and how much more a happy and contented workforce would be able to contribute to wider social well-being and prosperity. Process is far less easy to measure than product, and the two are frequently if not confused then at least elided. A character in Oscar Wilde's *Lady Windermere's Fan* famously defined the cynic as "a man who knows the price of everything and the value of nothing", to which came the less well-known rejoinder, a sentimentalist is "a man who sees an absurd value in everything, and doesn't know the market price of any single thing" (1892; Act 3). In assessing the heritage we have become accustomed to considering its values (aspects of worth or importance) – evidential, historical, aesthetic and communal (English Heritage 2008; see also Avrami et al. 2000 and Heritage Lottery Fund 2015). Such values are not susceptible to ready measurement, but we must also guard against sentimentality, which sees value everywhere. We can easily measure the number of visitors to a museum or visitor centre, and count the income from admissions and sales of products, but assessing and measuring why people wish to visit in the first place, and the spiritual and intellectual uplift which the visit confers, is less amenable to statistical analysis.

In her study of the radical redevelopment of London's Docklands in the 1980s as a new business centre to rival the City of London, Janet Foster found that there had been little attempt to define at the outset how success might be measured. There was for example no test for the "trickle-down" effect – the belief that money pumped in at the top would eventually have an impact on those at the bottom – since there is no mechanism for measurement and if it works at all it is over a very long period of time and so is beyond those political horizons which are geared to finite terms of office and immediate political advantage. Even such apparently straightforward matters as measuring the number of jobs created through investment is complex and contested in the absence of baseline figures; when the data are inconsistently gathered and interrogated; when no distinction is made for skilled and unskilled work, and training needs (Foster 1999: 318-21). Figures for crime and disorder (the reduction of which is held to be an indicator of social health and well-being) are even more notoriously incapable of year-on-year comparison when classification, criteria and inclusion are in states of perpetual, politically driven revolution. Regeneration is fragile and essentially uncertain, so not capable of precise evaluation. In such circumstances we might feel that at least the economics is clear and the financial return measurable, but here again precision is elusive since investment is not an exact science (although to suggest that the scientific process itself is exact would be misleading since the pursuit of accurate conclusions, along with most other human endeavours, is a question of making hypotheses, experimenting and then making the best bet on the available evidence): according to a London executive, "the market is not driven by experience or technology but by emotion" (Fainstein 2001: 66).

In these sceptical circumstances we should not be surprised by the findings of Graeme Evans in his review of the evidence for culture's contribution to regeneration which he carried out for

the UK Department for Culture, Media and Sport in 2003-04 (Evans 2005): “measuring the social, economic and environmental impacts attributed to the cultural element in area regeneration is problematic and the ‘evidence’ is seldom robust”. In the site-based regeneration considered by Evans, in which social and economic benefits are derived from physical redevelopment, outcomes, particularly in the absence of a baseline starting point, are not explicit. Performance indicators may measure inputs, throughputs and outputs, but not processes or outcomes. In view of the finding that there is no universally applicable set of indicators since the assessment of heritage and culture is highly context-specific, and noting also that divisions of responsibility between different departments or institutions with distinct notions of what might constitute success are often without the overarching leadership which would encourage consistency, it is clear that an evaluation model is still awaited. For Evans, such a model would require the capturing of baseline information and building evaluation questions into project assessment. He suggests that the criteria for success should be set by those who benefit and participate in the cultural activity. But even if this is achieved in future projects, much of the assessment is likely to remain in the realm of perceptions and feelings of well-being, rather than in the world of hard, irreducible facts. The heritage is a function of society, an expression of belonging and identity, a product of human aspiration. It is not mechanistic so we cannot always categorically attribute effects to causes, and moreover comparable causes do not always have comparable effects, even if re-enacted in the same place; some causes have several effects; some effects have many causes. There will be inequalities of certainty between measurable facts and unmeasurable beliefs, between products and processes. Belief in the crucial role of heritage in the rehabilitation of society has many manifestations which are both measurable and observable; evaluation of other outcomes, self-evidently, represents an act of faith.

In her presentation to the Ljubljana Ministerial Conference in 2009 which launched the Ljubljana Process, Amra Hadžimuhamedović reviewed the achievements of the IRPP/SAAH within the context of the objectives of the Regional Programme: the celebration of diversity and the encouragement of constructive dialogues; the promotion of mutual respect for identities; the encouragement of greater well-being and an improved quality of life. As a programme co-ordinator of great experience in heritage protection and management, she confirmed the impact of the project on all three. Firstly, that the project had established a modern method for prioritising the heritage according to the degree to which it is endangered; that dialogue had been assured through progressively created co-operation based on a powerful network of more than 260 people; that methods had been established for the exchange of information, knowledge and experience; and that the enhancement of emblematic sites had enabled the portrayal of heritage as a modern social value as well as a shared historical resource, encouraging the building of bridges between communities. Secondly, Dr Hadžimuhamedović pointed out that the promotion of mutual respect (perhaps less clearly demonstrable) could be seen most clearly in the potential for comparative presentation of heritage values, not least through almost 300 separate studies and reports produced on the history, value and state of monuments and the ways in which they could be integrated into the social and economic development of the region. Lastly, in considering quality of life, her presentation, perhaps optimistically, confirmed that the project had successfully overcome the notion that the built heritage is a barrier to progress by demonstrating its key role in spatial planning and sustainable development; that it had played a crucial role in raising awareness, encouraging a sense of individual and collective responsibility; and that the network of experts created by the project served as testimony to the region's increased capacity to manage its assets, disseminating and replicating the experience and knowledge gained through the project to ensure the establishment of high-quality standards for heritage management.

There is a predictable blending in the above summary of achievements of the verifiable and the perceived. The assessment below of the project-specific impacts of the IRPP/SAAH and Ljubljana Process, sub-divided into eight broad categories (often overlapping), is a comparable medley. It has been derived from several sources. For the revisions of the national heritage assessments, particularly for the second updating carried out in 2010, the project co-ordinators were asked especially to consider impacts within the eight categories. Further clarification was achieved through Sites Evaluation missions carried out in the summer of 2010 by members of the Raymond Lemaire International Centre for Conservation (Leiden), appointed by the Council of Europe. The publication of *Heritage for Development in South-East Europe* (Rikalović and Mikić 2014) has enabled later impacts of the Ljubljana Process to be taken into account. But throughout the programme, attributing precise impacts to specific actions has been problematic and the degree to which it is even possible across the whole field of cultural heritage may be questioned. The authors of the concluding chapter of *Heritage for Development* make a strong plea for better indicators, with monitoring embedded in the project-implementation process, to “enable policy makers, donors and investors not only to see the results of their financial support, but to enable financial accountability of heritage projects” (Rikalović and Mikić 2014: 194). Certainly it would be desirable to have a clearer idea of financial inputs and outputs, if only for reasons of financial prudence and propriety, but this is not going to tell the whole story of the value of investment in heritage assets. Costs, expenses and profits appear to be solidly unarguable indicators: they are theoretically easy to collect and are fundamental to good project management. The risk of adopting them as key indicators of project progress, however, lies in their very collectability and (often illusory) clarity which elevates them to the position of being the most important (and often sole) indicators of all, since they appear to be not only the most accessible but also the most robust, concerned as they are with prices rather than values. In inventing monitoring mechanisms for future projects this might be a case of being careful what you wish for.

Impacts

The following discussion of project-specific impacts is presented under eight headings, but it must be recognised that these are not discrete compartments; rather they are overlapping and contingent (see also Bold 2013).

Political

Notwithstanding the regular meetings of ministers and heads of state, and the collaboration between institutions manifest in this project, there is no clear overall strategy for cultural development in South-East Europe as a whole, but even though the region has a diverse heritage, its heritage-management structures and problems are comparable. The project has been notably successful in gaining wide political support across the region and in encouraging an enhanced recognition of the fundamental significance of the cultural heritage in each of the participating countries, changing perceptions of its potential as a catalysing force and bringing a heightened sense of national responsibility for its protection. It has given a spur to co-operation between ministries and an impetus to both cross-border and regional developments, together with the welcome engagement of civil society. This national political support has been fundamental to gaining the financial and procedural backing of the European Union and the European Parliament and in influencing the development of both European Commission and Council of Europe programmes. The project has served also as a model for a further European Commission/Council of Europe initiative in the countries of the South Caucasus/Black Sea that are participating in the “Kyiv Initiative Regional Programme”.

The short-termism of politics is usually open to criticism since programmes may be begun but left incomplete with the introduction of new personnel and changed priorities, but for those politicians with the necessary will to make a change and make their mark, limited time brings urgency to their actions. This is however not always positive: in some cases it has been alleged that there has been a skewing of choices of heritage-led projects to attract funding for purposes of political expediency and advantage while perhaps reinforcing entrenched ideological and nationalist positions. This makes the continuity provided by institutions even more vital for transparent, apolitical decision making, although institutional arrangements are not always stable: in Bulgaria the Ljubljana Process has provided a welcome opportunity for decentralising the system of cultural heritage protection and resourcing; but in Romania, attempts to decentralise have been hampered by frequent, disabling restructuring without commensurate resourcing or training.

Institutional

The project notably has enabled the introduction of new documentation and methodological tools within the countries, with improved legal frameworks and heritage-management practices. The adoption and widespread institutionalisation of the European conventions and the systematic IRPP/SAAH and Ljubljana Process methodology has enabled national authorities to develop structured approaches towards the identification of buildings and sites at risk and to make reasoned, costed proposals for their rehabilitation, so going on to secure funding. This has necessarily greatly increased the information available on individual sites and has had a direct impact on project management strategies for the long-term implementation of proposals as well as on the development of databases based on Council of Europe documentation standards: in both Montenegro and “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” the Council of Europe’s *Guidance on Inventory and Documentation of the Cultural Heritage* (Council of Europe 2001 and 2009) has been published in the national languages.

The under-resourcing of institutions, however, and the frequent weaknesses in regulatory procedures militate against the imposition of proper controls on development and the enforcement of laws. Mechanisms and resources are needed in the battle across the whole of South-East Europe against illegal building and over-development, and to better control the spread of the default, banal modern vernacular style enabled by the ubiquitous and indiscriminate use of concrete and steel framing covered by large expanses of glass framed in PVC, invariably an offence against contextual harmony and scale when placed, as it often is, in sensitive historical places.

The under-resourcing of institutions has resulted also in an over-reliance on small numbers of highly dedicated staff. While this has had the entirely beneficial effect of ensuring a continuity of representation during the project, it raises questions about the long-term sustainability and institutionalisation of the methodology if expertise is not shared and passed down within a larger group of specialists. It has been apparent during the course of the project that different countries have taken a leading role at different stages – the project has had the flexibility to allow participants, within broad parameters, to vary their speed of work and level of engagement according to the many other institutional demands upon their time. So long as there is Council of Europe and European Commission involvement in projects, positive national engagement may be expected since there are very clear benefits to be derived and most countries will arrive at the intended destination. But when that involvement ceases, and individuals within the institutions are once more subject to simply quotidian pressures, the sustainability of recently adopted practices, in the absence of a sufficiently large, trained cohort of expert staff, will be called into question.

Social

There has been a greatly increased involvement of local communities in questions of heritage-led regeneration as a result of their recognition of the benefits and responsibilities that relate to cultural heritage. Not only the owners of individual buildings but communities as a whole have a raised awareness of collective responsibilities towards the cultural heritage and the benefits brought by regeneration, with new uses for old buildings and new motivations for activities. This has been underlined through the “Plaque Project” – displayed on or near the site the plaques confirm the support of the Council of Europe and the European Commission for national rehabilitation initiatives, so encouraging further stakeholder involvement. There also have been particularly vigorous efforts to engage younger generations in the understanding and appreciation of cultural heritage, and it is notable that the project methodology is beginning to be incorporated in courses of higher education. The new ways of thinking about heritage and its presentation have influenced perceptions not only about its social and developmental roles but also have extended the definition and understanding of the constitution and meaning of the diverse European cultural heritage as a whole. This however remains a work in progress: much remains to be done to educate and engage young people who need to understand not only the role of heritage in society but also to understand that they have a stake in the future of that society, in contributing to it and benefiting from its development.

Economic

Although heritage is still not fully recognised as an economic force for the development process in all relevant sectors, there nevertheless has been a significantly strengthened realisation of its value as a socio-economic benefit, as an investment opportunity, bringing new businesses and jobs, and as a spur to tourism. The long-term viability of the conversion of historic buildings to new sustainable uses – the broadening appreciation of heritage as a significant development resource, reinforced by publication and publicity – is now better understood, together with the recognition that rehabilitation of buildings and sites offers both business and community benefit. The encouragement through the project of national and international public and private funding for sites from Ministries of Culture, the European Union and numerous national governments, institutions and private foundations has been profound. But raising awareness of the heritage as an economic resource is a continuing process, and the potential trickle-down consequences of investment will only work if the trickle is channelled: there are still insufficient financial incentives (such as tax breaks) to encourage individual owners of historic buildings to commit to their care. At the same time, there are limits to what heritage-led development can achieve, and these need to be understood from the inception of every project. Many buildings can sustain considerable changes to accommodate new uses, but each one will have its own point of no return, a change that robs it of the special character that made it special in the first place. Some sites are so special that no change is possible, and economic benefits will remain modest: it is a matter of managing the expectations of developers and funders, to achieve a balance between the needs of the monument and the needs of the community. Heritage development, especially to promote tourism, has an inevitable impact on local communities and these have snapping points too.

Collaboration

The project has encouraged greatly improved international, national, regional and local collaboration, with successful partnerships established at a number of levels. Collaboration on projects has enabled the greater involvement of stakeholders in the management of their local cultural heritage.

Collaboration between ministries responsible especially for economic development, spatial planning and cultural tourism has also been notable, but not uniformly realised: in some instances cross-sector engagement and co-operation remains a goal rather than an achievement. So long as planning and development remain in separate jurisdictions from heritage and culture, there will be the risk of the continuing historic compartmentalisation which sees planning as the future and heritage as the past. This situation is not helped by the persistent designation of responsible bodies as Institutes for Protection (which is too defensive and reactive, so appearing to be restrictive) rather than, for example, Institutes for the Management of Cultural Heritage (which sounds more proactive and enabling, appearing to offer opportunity). The attention drawn to individual sites and projects has encouraged a sharing of expertise between the countries themselves and with the Council of Europe, the European Commission and UNESCO. The inter-country and cross-border collaborations that have been fundamental to the success of the project have contributed significantly towards the building of better relationships in South-East Europe, helping in the process of reconciliation after war. The involvement in the project of international experts has enabled the building of relationships and networks throughout Europe as a whole. But the heritage institutions in South-East Europe remain under-resourced, with insufficient trained staff in both restoration techniques and heritage management, a deficit requiring long-term commitment and funding.

In times of straitened circumstances it would be desirable for the avoidance of duplication of activity and the encouragement of synergies if the necessarily top-down approaches of the Council of Europe and the European Commission (directing their activities through ministers and institutions) could be combined through collaborative projects with such bottom-up NGOs as Cultural Heritage without Borders (“we restore and build relations”), an organisation which has had notable success in both Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo in raising public awareness, training and educating young professionals in conservation skills, and in the physical restoration of buildings. Both the Council of Europe and the European Union should counter any perceptions that they are remote and bureaucratic by taking a more community-orientated, engaged and enabling stance in their regional offices.

Sustainable development

There has been a new impetus given to the idea of heritage as a key factor in sustainable development. Rehabilitation and sustainable development increasingly are seen as mutually dependent, with mutually beneficial outcomes, although the notion of heritage as an inconvenient barrier to necessary progress has not been eradicated. Since the Council of Europe has promoted the idea of integrated conservation for at least 40 years and the role of heritage in sustainable development for at least a generation, we might hope that such unimaginative attitudes, now waning, will in due course become anachronistic, although constant vigilance as well as incentives will be required to ensure that they do. But buildings and sites more frequently are being integrated into development programmes rather than being seen as stand-alone artefacts: there are the beginnings of new holistic views in which the preservation and rehabilitation of buildings, sites and landscapes are seen as part of the overall sustainable development of the environment as a whole, for the benefit of all, enabling the adoption of strategies to counter the potentially adverse consequences of necessary development.

Site significance

The attention given to individual buildings and sites has increased their visibility and encouraged the recognition of their potential social and economic value. Aided by publication and tourism this

will also enable the dissemination of a more sophisticated knowledge and understanding of the architectural and historical value of the heritage of South-East Europe as a whole, hitherto neglected for reasons of politics and geography from evaluations of art and architectural history which focus on the Italian Renaissance and its consequences for western and northern Europe. Popular publications and media exposure, together with the attention directed towards the project during European Heritage Days and at individual sites through the award and display of Council of Europe/European Commission Plaques, have drawn attention not only to the individual significance of the sites but also to the overall purpose and impacts of the project, and, by extension, to the fundamental importance of the cultural heritage to society as a whole. The shift from the monument-centric practices of the past, in which the preservation of the monument or site was seen as an end in itself, towards a view of the monument as a stimulus for a wider rehabilitation has engendered a change in attitudes and operations. Such a change however does not remove the need for continuing concentration on ensuring high-quality work in the restoration and adaptation of historic buildings. There is a tendency in certain cases, particularly when institutions are under-resourced, to leave quality control to those in charge of the investments rather than to historic buildings experts. Better monitoring of the processes is needed, with training in the choice and application of materials and techniques. This is particularly necessary when foreign governments and international agencies bring their own agendas and approaches to restoration and reconstruction: redirecting or otherwise controlling external funding is seldom possible in times of political and economic weakness when there is a reluctance to risk losing it altogether.

It is one of the conclusions to be drawn from the project that there is a lack of adequate European guidance on reconstruction principles and techniques. The continuing importance of the guidance offered by Council of Europe conventions and recommendations, and the clear relevance of the Faro Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society to this project must prompt consideration of the need for further guidelines and instruments on the care of buildings and sites in crisis and post-crisis situations, including reconstruction of buildings as they were before disaster or deliberate destruction, not least to enable (and encourage) the return of those displaced by war to reinstated familiar surroundings. The acceptability and form of such reconstruction, frowned upon in canonical heritage circles since the Venice Charter (1964) (but encouraged in this project as a spur to rehabilitation in both Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo), should surely be reconsidered after a half century of war and natural disaster (see also Chapter 4.1).

Fundraising

As a result of the project activities there has been greatly increased funding for the rehabilitation of buildings and sites with over 85 million euros allocated or promised by the end of 2010, before the full impact of substantial European Commission funding for Consolidated Projects was felt (4 million euros in grants during Ljubljana Process II: Bartlett et al. 2015: 105). Based on the figures available in 2010 for 186 of the Prioritised Intervention List sites, over 80% had undergone or were undergoing restoration by that time (see also Rikalović and Mikić 2014: 191: “more than 140 projects were co-financed or rehabilitated”). There has been a significant increase in the allocation of funding through European Union programmes, from international private foundations and individual donors, and from foreign governments. From the point of view of the long-term sustainability of proposals for these buildings and sites, it is most significant that the IRPP/SAAH and the Ljubljana Process project has not only prompted the commencement of rehabilitation of a large number of sites across the region, but at least initially enabled national authorities fully to acknowledge their responsibilities for them, allocating funding and prioritising their spending on the culturally most

significant. This recognition of national responsibility for historic buildings and sites, with the associated understanding of their crucial role in long-term sustainable social and economic development, has the potential over time to be one of the most profound of all the impacts of this project, notwithstanding the recent decline in state funding for heritage in almost all countries as budgets have been cut during the ongoing financial crisis. The adoption of the project methodology and the shifts in emphasis that it has encouraged should enable public and private funding to be accessed and appropriately directed when it is once more available (see also Chapter 3.5).

Conclusion

The IRPP/SAAH and the Ljubljana Process have been rooted in the core values of the Council of Europe and the European Union, set out in Chapter 2.1: the protection of human rights and dignity, the rule of law, democratic stability, freedom and equality, social cohesion and respect for cultural identity. The identification, protection and sustainable use of the built heritage have been shown through this project to be central to these wider concerns by providing a stimulus for social and economic activities and collaboration, and acting as a catalyst for material and social rehabilitation. The implanting and acceptance of these concepts however, which for many participants represented a major shift in thinking (from reactive to proactive), is a process which will require continuing support and reinforcement (moral, procedural and financial) if the changes intended are to be fully and sustainably assimilated in day-to-day working practices. Securing continuity in specialist heritage management within ministries and heritage institutes alike – continuity that weathers the often rapid change at the high political level – is also critical for passing on and embedding these concepts in the workings of organisations and in the minds of new entrants into the relevant professions.

Institutional capacity building has been a major and continuing aim of this project and of the Regional Programme as a whole (see Chapter 3.3). From the beginning, through the dedication and hard work of the national co-ordinators, all significant decisions and choices have been made by the countries themselves, supported by ministers and the relevant institutions at both national and local levels. This sense of national responsibility for a shared European heritage has been enabled and encouraged by the actions of the Council of Europe and the European Commission, but if the countries themselves had not embraced the concept, then the project would have failed. From the practical implementation of conventions and the institutionalisation of methodology to the acceptance of the national responsibility for financing built heritage protection and rehabilitation, the countries have responded to the challenges and new approaches with commitment and enthusiasm. But capacity building is a work in progress: heritage management remains under-resourced, understaffed and under-trained in the countries of South-East Europe, with too great a reliance on a relatively small number of dedicated professionals.

The project undoubtedly has encouraged the emerging recognition of the built heritage as a significant factor in the sustainable rehabilitation of communities but this too is a long-term process. The notion of the built heritage as a stimulus to socio-economic development, rather than a barrier to progress, must continue to be encouraged, particularly through the engagement of educators and the media, if it is to develop lasting roots. The Council of Europe and the European Commission are committed to the continuing support of the countries in placing the heritage at the forefront of development planning: a more proactive approach from their regional offices would be beneficial in disseminating this message. Taking a cue from Graeme Evans' suggestion that the criteria for judging the success of regeneration initiatives should rest with the beneficiaries and participants, and noting the need for monitoring mechanisms, future projects should seek to identify meaningful and constructive measures. This will require a consideration of values as well as costs in order to avoid

the imposition of the Western European tyranny of simplistic performance indicators, adopted for reasons of short-term expedience. Assessment of the impact of heritage-led regeneration demands the long view. In taking such a view, recent research carried out on behalf of English Heritage into the individual, community and economic impacts of heritage should be noted: these range from pleasure and fulfilment, through individual well-being and community cohesion, to job creation and tourism (English Heritage 2014).

The problems confronted through the life of the IRPP/SAAH and the Ljubljana Process are not new and they are not specific to this region. Rather, the project has illustrated the recurrent worldwide issues (notably articulated during European Architectural Heritage Year, 1975) which continue to confront heritage and environmental management: how to balance sustainable growth with the retention of historic sites and town centres; how to encourage tourism without compromising the qualities that attract tourists in the first place; how to enlist the support of the local population; how to ensure collaboration between public and private actors; how to finance restoration and rehabilitation, drawing on public and private funding; how to balance the maintenance of the integrity of the historic site with the competing demands for modernisation, better living conditions and new economic opportunities.

These big questions will continue to demand answers at national and local levels, from policy makers to individual members of society with a stake in the future of a historic building. They might also prompt the consideration of needs for further guidance on heritage-management procedures and the strategies and techniques required for reconstruction after crisis so that each country does not in future have to invent its own approach on a case-by-case basis. It has been the great contribution of the IRPP/SAAH and the Ljubljana Process that such questions are on the agenda and have prompted such positive discussions and outcomes in the countries of South-East Europe. Although each generation must reconsider its approach to heritage-related issues, it should do so on the basis of the received knowledge and experience derived from 40 years of conventions, recommendations and technical co-operation, and building not least on the lessons learned from projects such as this: documentation of project processes and results is vital if we are to learn from the past in order to inform the future, ensuring the long-term sustainability of European heritage and its host communities.

We might further consider whether that heritage and its associated institutions and specialists would receive a timely boost from a reconsideration and revision of those charters and conventions which have now set the agenda in architectural heritage management for over a generation: in 2015, the European Charter of the Architectural Heritage, and the associated Amsterdam Declaration are 40 years old, and the Granada Convention on the Protection of the Architectural Heritage is only 10 years younger. Even the Faro Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society has been in place for a decade. In view of the major political, economic, social and procedural changes to which Europeans have been subject over the past 30 to 40 years, and in view of the great experience gained through such projects as the IRPP/SAAH and the Ljubljana Process, is it now time to review and perhaps revise the major foundational documents of European heritage?

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Chapter 3.2

Partnership and funding

Will Bartlett

The perception in South-East Europe that the cultural and creative sector is potentially a significant development driver is at a very early stage and more expertise in business planning and fundraising is required. Partnerships and funding have been central to the aims of the Ljubljana Process. But there appears still to be little in the way of active inter-donor communication or co-ordination and, too frequently, there is little co-operation between civil society and NGOs on the one hand and public institutions on the other. This chapter examines the effectiveness of partnerships within the public and private spheres. With so many pressures on the public purse, such partnerships are critical: yet the potential for self-funding of heritage sites and reinvestment in their maintenance, preservation and improvement could become self-sustaining over time. A mixed economy approach holds the promise of becoming a valuable supplement to public grant aid, which is inevitably limited in scope.

Overview

Over several years, the Ljubljana Process has assisted governments and other stakeholders in rehabilitating important cultural heritage sites in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” and Kosovo. The aims have been to preserve the region’s rich cultural heritage and in so doing to generate wider benefit, including increased employment, increased visitor numbers, improvements in local infrastructure, enhanced quality of life, encouragement of refugee returns, and to act as a stimulus to community reconciliation.

The Ljubljana Process actively supported governments and other stakeholders in rehabilitating cultural heritage sites, not just to preserve them, but also to make them an integral part of local communities’ economic and social environment. In other words, rehabilitation projects should lead to the creation of significant economic and social benefits for those communities.

The overall objective of the Ljubljana Process has been to contribute to institutional capacity building in South-East Europe in the field of cultural heritage with the wider aim of consolidating democratic societies and revitalising communities. The actions have aimed to ensure that historic places are conserved to the highest standards, and that they contribute to local economic and social development. Investment in the built heritage is seen as a way to help heal the physical and social wounds of the period of conflict, increase ethnic harmony and institutional capacity, and safeguard human rights.

The Ljubljana Process focused on enhancing institutional capacity in the region and encouraged the adoption of an agreed methodology for investment in cultural heritage. The first element was the identification of sites that could be rehabilitated to bring about further benefits (the Prioritised Intervention Lists), along with an assessment of the administrative and management resources available and potential funding. In drawing up these lists the focus was mainly on technical issues around conservation, rather than on potential economic benefit. Each site on the PIL was then the subject of a preliminary technical assessment (PTA) that could be presented to potential donors, a feasibility study and a business plan, to provide a practical blueprint for management of the monument or site. The procedures for producing these documents had been developed under a previous Council of Europe and European Union programme known as IRPP/SAAH (as is explained in more detail in Chapter 2.1).

The overall aims of the Ljubljana Process have been as follows (RCC 2014: 11).

- ▶ Developing new perspectives and changing attitudes concerning the historic environment.
- ▶ Placing heritage as an economic and social asset for sustainable development rather than an impediment to progress, thus striving for its inclusion in sustainable development policies and plans.
- ▶ Integrating a cross-sector approach to operational heritage management through shared responsibilities and establishing new partnerships among central and local authorities, public and private stakeholders, and greater roles of community groups and NGOs.
- ▶ Stimulating the mobilisation of national and international funding mechanisms to further contribute to the sustainable use of heritage.
- ▶ Placing greater emphasis on training and the promotion of rehabilitation projects, visibility and raising awareness of the roles and values of heritage for society.
- ▶ Strengthening regional co-operation between beneficiaries through a common approach to cultural heritage management, regular dialogue, information exchange and co-ordination of activities.
- ▶ Establishing permanent regional co-operation mechanisms based on renewed national and international partnerships.
- ▶ Using the methodology evolved through the IRPP/SAAH process, contributing to the articulation of a “common language” and approach in heritage management.
- ▶ Compliance with the basic professional principles of good practice in conservation and in sustainable development of the historic environment.
- ▶ Considering the broader heritage implications expressed in The Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro Convention, Council of Europe, 2005) on the role and values of heritage in contributing to economic development and the quality of life.
- ▶ Conservation considered not as an objective in itself, but enhanced by a rehabilitation approach, placing heritage as an integral and active part of its social and economic environment.

Beyond the physical and institutional improvements, the above aims also make clear that there has also been a focus on the idea that investing in heritage assets would bring about wider economic and social benefit. The identification of these wider benefits has been the subject of a pilot study carried out by the Council of Europe and the London School of Economics and Political Science in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Serbia (Bartlett et al. 2015). As this chapter will demonstrate, the issue of partnerships and funding has been central to the aims of the Ljubljana Process and it is intended in the following pages to look at these in greater depth.

Figure 12: St Mary's Monastery, Apollonia



The 14th-century monastery of St Mary lies at the heart of the ancient city of Apollonia (Albania), pictured in Figure 3. Closed in 1991, the buildings have been restored and refurbished as a museum in order to help open up a region that combines rich archaeological treasures and “blue sea tourism”.

Partnership

Regional partnerships

The Regional Cooperation Council

The Regional Cooperation Council (RCC) was launched at a meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the South-East European Cooperation Process (SEECP) in 2008, as the successor of the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe (SEE). Regionally owned and led, the RCC promotes regional co-operation in South-East Europe. Its main objectives are to represent the region, assist the SEECP, monitor regional activities, exert leadership in regional co-operation and provide a regional perspective in donor assistance. The RCC functions as a focal point for regional co-operation in SEE. Its key role is to generate and co-ordinate regional developmental projects to the benefit of each participant. The RCC Secretariat is based in Sarajevo and has a Liaison Office in Brussels.

The work of the RCC focuses on the priority areas of economic and social development, energy and infrastructure, justice and home affair , security co-operation, building human capital and parliamentary co-operation. In 2013, a new Strategy and Work Programme was set up, which provides for much more focus and synergy in RCC work, with the SEE 2020 Strategy at its centre. The RCC has close working relationships with relevant stakeholders in these areas, such as governments, international organisations, international financial institutions, regional organisations, civil society and the private sector. The RCC has developed close relationships with many regional task forces and initiatives active in specific thematic areas of regional co-operation.

The annual budget of the RCC Secretariat is slightly under €3 million, 40% of which is contributed by SEE countries, 30% by the European Commission and the remaining 30% by other RCC participants. A grant agreement of €3.6 million supporting the activities of the RCC Secretariat was signed in December 2013 with the European Commission to support the RCC work related to the SEE 2020 Strategy. The RCC focuses its activities in four main areas of action: (i) setting up efficient mechanisms for co-ordination between governments, regional structures and the RCC and facilitating the establishment of intra-governmental co-ordination mechanisms on SEE 2020; (ii) establishing a monitoring system to track progress on SEE 2020; (iii) supporting the establishment and strengthening of dimension co-ordinators (i.e. regional initiatives such as the Task Force on Culture and Society); and (iv) providing direct interventions to implement SEE 2020 in areas where adequate structures or support programmes are missing.

The Task Force on Culture and Society

In 2011, the Regional Cooperation Council established a Task Force on Culture and Society (RCC TFCS). The RCC TFCS has co-ordinated the latest phase of the Ljubljana Process, with the support of the Council of Europe and the European Union. Its aim is to promote regional co-operation in the sphere of culture by creating a platform for dialogue among relevant stakeholders in South-East Europe. It is expected that strengthening partnership in the area of cultural heritage will contribute to mutual openness, the sharing of values and reconciliation. In 2011 the European Commission allocated a grant of €500 000 for the RCC TFCS preparatory action "Sustaining the Rehabilitation of Cultural Heritage in South-East Europe". An additional major source of funding has been the European Commission IPA (Instrument for Pre-Accession) programme.

Members of the RCC TFCS are high-level officials from the RCC member countries, a representative of the RCC Secretariat, a representative of the European Commission and a representative of the Council of Europe. The RCC TFCS Secretariat has been based in Cetinje, Montenegro since 2011.

The mandate of the Task Force includes in particular the following (RCC TFCS 2014).

- ▶ Responsibility for ensuring political support for the realisation of specific development projects, strengthening co-operation between beneficiaries and development of partnerships.
- ▶ Awareness raising for the importance of culture and its values for society.
- ▶ Agenda setting in these policy areas and promotional activities.
- ▶ Promoting a regular dialogue, information exchange and co-ordination of activities in South-East Europe and formulation of recommendations for the RCC and the SEECP.
- ▶ Co-ordination with other priority areas of the RCC.

The main objective of the RCC TFCS for 2011-2014 has been to co-ordinate activities at the regional level and monitor progress of the implementation of LP II, assist in overcoming difficulties and paving the way forward. The RCC TFCS has also guided the implementation of a €0.5 million EU

grant for “Sustaining the Rehabilitation of Cultural Heritage in the Western Balkans” and was also responsible for securing a €2.8 million EU grant for “Preserving and Restoring Cultural Heritage in the Western Balkans”. In addition, the RCC TFCS has been involved in the “SEE 2020 Strategy” as a Co-ordinator of the Cultural and Creative Sectors Dimension of the Smart Growth Pillar of the Strategy (RCC 2014).

As the SEE 2020 Strategy points out, the perception of cultural and creative sectors as a development driver in South-East Europe is at a very early stage throughout the region. The strategy declares that, taking into account their potential as a source of growth, cultural and creative sectors should become a part of national policies and receive institutional support. It calls for an increased sense of ownership within national or regional organisations and institutions and argues that, considering the complexity of cultural and creative sectors and the different levels of development within the countries of South-East Europe, a multi-layered strategy and holistic approach on a regional level are of crucial importance in order to fully exploit their existing potential. The strategy calls for a continuation in developing common approaches to rehabilitating regional heritage based on the Ljubljana Process II (RCC 2014: 21).

Meetings of national co-ordinators

The meetings of the LP II National Project Co-ordinators have ensured a regional dimension, contributed to strengthening regional capacities in cultural heritage and EU project management, and consolidated the principles of LP II. These meetings assess project progress in each country, identify achievements and difficulties, consolidate actions, and encourage the exchange of ideas and experience. By the end of 2014, eight co-ordination meetings had been held. The meetings have discussed the selection of grants made through the various EU grant programmes. Most meetings have been held in Cetinje in Montenegro, while a few have been held in Croatia and Serbia.

National Task Forces

National Task Forces (NTFs) have been established in each country to implement LP II projects. The organisational structure varies – from three teams with three members each in Albania, two in Bosnia and Herzegovina, one team for each PIL entry in “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” and Serbia, to single larger teams in Kosovo and Montenegro. Working meetings have been held with project co-ordinators, RCC TFCS Members and Project Board and National Task Force Members, to assess progress and exchange information on activities.

Bilateral consultations

In early 2014, the RCC Secretariat and European Commission representatives to the RCC TFCS held bilateral consultations with the ministers of culture from the Western Balkan participants of the Ljubljana Process to assess the LP II achievements and options for its continuation. The meeting noted positive impact and benefits of LP II and the willingness for active participation in regional co-operation. Ministers expressed readiness to continue the Ljubljana Process after November 2014 under the framework of the RCC TFCS, with more active involvement of the participants in implementing specific actions, in reducing bureaucracy and in increasing funding opportunities. The meeting also reiterated interest in development and implementation of regional objectives envisaged by the cultural and creative sectors dimension of the SEE 2020 Strategy, matching the national priorities for the continuation of Ljubljana Process.

Figure 13: Felix Romuliana classical site, Gamzigrad



The exceptional 4th-century imperial Roman site at Felix Romuliana, Gamzigrad (Serbia), was inscribed by UNESCO as a world heritage site in 2007. Visitor numbers have increased since then and access by road improved. The national museum at nearby Zaječar has made great strides in raising awareness of the site's importance among schoolchildren and local residents.

Partnerships among central and local authorities

The NTFs have been responsible for a set of co-ordination and partnership activities with representatives from local governments in each of the countries to promote and support the activities and projects of the LP II. There are many examples of such activities (RCC TFCS 2014). For example, on 5 June 2013, the Serbian Standing Conference of Municipalities and Towns discussed a presentation on "Preservation and promotion of cultural and historical heritage from the perspective of local communities", in Belgrade. Members of the Serbian NTF made the presentation. Also in June 2013, members of the NTF of Kosovo presented LP II at Local Forums for Cultural Heritage held in seven municipalities. On 8 July 2013, the Regional Sector Stakeholders Conference met in Jahorina, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, to present regional cultural tourism products that could contribute to the growth of local economies by leveraging their cultural heritage assets.

Partnerships between public and private stakeholders

The field of business planning and fundraising is one of the most important but most underdeveloped areas in the process of rehabilitation of cultural heritage in the region. Business Planning and Fundraising workshops, supported by the Council of Europe Expert Pool, focus on the implementation of rehabilitation processes in the region (RCC TFCS 2014). So far, seven workshops have been organised in Albania, Croatia, Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia and "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia"

related to business planning and fundraising strategies. The Council of Europe Expert Pool has drawn up templates for Business Planning, developed a Business Planning Data Sheet and produced a handbook on business planning processes and fundraising strategies. More expertise in this field is urgently needed. There seems to be substantial scope for improving awareness of the benefits of collaboration between government authorities, communities, NGOs and the private sector to improve the social and economic benefits of investment in cultural heritage sites (see also Chapter 3.5).

Partnerships with community groups and NGOs

Forging networks and building strong working relationships can increase the social and economic benefits of investments in cultural heritage sites (Bartlett et al. 2015). In 2006, representatives of NGOs concerned with cultural heritage from all the countries of the region met in Sarajevo to discuss the creation of a network for joint promotion, preservation and sustainable use of cultural heritage. As a result, 12 NGOs formed the “Southeast European Heritage Network – SEE” (Kostadinova 2013). The initiative to establish a network of NGOs working on cultural heritage was started by the Swedish organisation Cultural Heritage without Borders (CHwB), an NGO that works in the Western Balkans. This network of NGOs has also been supported by a grant from the Headley Trust based in the UK (£25 000 in 2011).

A pilot study on the wider benefits of investment in cultural heritage carried out by Bartlett et al. (2015) in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia in 2014 identified positive benefits of NGO involvement and partnership with local authorities. One such example is the experience of the town of Jajce in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Jajce is, potentially, one of the most interesting and attractive historic ensembles for tourists in Bosnia and Herzegovina due to the initiative of a number of NGOs who promote it as a tourist attraction. NGO initiatives in Jajce have attempted to involve the community through discussion forums, where members of the local community choose the sites that will be restored. From these, educational efforts have been made to increase awareness in the community on how they can earn money from cultural heritage sites if they care for them and cater to tourists. Camps have been organised by CHwB, where young people have been taught how to restore sites. In this manner all stakeholders in the local community have become connected, including students, artists, professors and traditional craftspeople, further engaging the community in the maintenance of heritage. Through this, a sense of ownership over the heritage by the local community has been developed. Some of these activities have resulted in steady partnerships between NGOs and the local authorities. However, there are also some significant barriers to developing this partnership with the local authorities. When local people tried to undertake voluntary projects to restore monuments, the Municipality of Jajce and the Bureau for Protection of Monuments in Sarajevo would not allow it.

In Sarajevo, local government efforts to involve the local community in interventions relating to City Hall have been mainly through fundraising activities, requesting donations from local people. In 2012, an effort was made to develop Sarajevo’s tourist potential by co-ordinating NGOs involved in tourism to present various aspects of Sarajevo as a brand, including City Hall. Stakeholder interviews revealed that questions about the future uses of City Hall had brought the community together to think about such issues.

The participation of NGOs and collaboration with local government authorities (both municipal and cantonal) is much weaker elsewhere. In Lukomir, a mountain village in the centre of Bosnia and Herzegovina, while a Citizens’ Association exists it carries out little community development activity and is mainly active in representing the local population in communications with investors (Bartlett

et al. 2015). At the same time, the communication between the local municipality of Konjic and the local population is poor to non-existent.

In Serbia, promotion of the cultural heritage sites at Lepenski Vir and Felix Romuliana led to a growth in local social networks. However, scope for the creation of formal networks, such as local heritage-orientated NGOs, remains limited. The two sites have had contrasting success in attracting volunteers: Lepenski Vir has had no problem in getting young persons to volunteer at events held at the site, but this has not been the case for *Felix Romuliana*.

International partnerships

International aid agencies have in some cases provided funds for the preservation of cultural heritage in South-East Europe. There is no systematic inventory of such assistance, but some aid agencies and international programmes can be identified as important contributors in this respect. According to the Center for Islamic Architecture of the Bosnian Islamic Community, by 2008 three quarters of destroyed or damaged mosques had been rehabilitated or restored with the help of the international community and assistance especially from Muslim states in the Gulf region (Kostadinova 2013). In 2012 the Turkish aid agency Turkish International Cooperation Agency (TIKA) provided €3.7 million for the restoration of Ottoman mosques and hamams in Kosovo.

The Swedish organisation CHwB has launched a four-year programme in Kosovo to establish local forums in seven municipalities, with the aim of developing local heritage plans. The project is financed by the Swedish aid agency SIDA over the period 2012-2015 with 20 million SEK (about €2 million). In the view of SIDA, the preservation of historically important monuments is not just a way to attract tourists, but also a powerful force for reconciliation and avoiding conflicts. The project therefore aims to increase the awareness of cultural heritage among Kosovo's residents and involve them in the process to preserve it. The goal of the programme is to assist in preserving cultural heritage in Kosovo, involve the community in urban planning and increase the understanding of the importance of cultural heritage for the economy, tourism, culture and local governance. The overall aim of the programme is to help strengthen local governments and civil society participation, and improve the co-operation between them, to revive the heritage and use it for local economic development. Local Cultural Heritage Forums have been established in seven municipalities around Kosovo. The criteria used to select municipalities to participate in the programme have been that they should be small with a relatively unknown cultural heritage and have a population comprising different nationalities. The forums typically have 20 members. For example, the forum in the municipality of Rahovec has seven representatives from the municipality, five from national ministries, one from CHwB, five from civil society organisations (including young people and women) and two representatives from the international organisations GIZ (German federal aid enterprise) and UN-HABITAT.

The aid agency of the USA (USAID) has been active in supporting investments in cultural heritage in the Balkans. A recent project has been awarded to the organisation International Relief and Development (IRD) to lead the restoration of three cultural heritage sites in the Prizren region in Kosovo: the Sheh Zade Old House in Prizren, the Church of St Stephen in Velika Hoca/Hoce Madhe and the Church of St Nicola in Bogoševci-Prizren. The sites were chosen through consultation with local stakeholders, and decisions were based on the sites' historical, cultural and artistic value, the interest of the local population and the ability of local entities to care for the buildings following their restoration. The restorations are intended to preserve examples of traditional architecture with significant cultural and historic importance. IRD will work directly with two local organisations, the Kosovar Stability Initiative and the Center for Peace and Tolerance (CPT), to increase awareness of the rich history and religious and architectural heritage represented by these sites.

Figure 14: Senjski Rudnik coal mine



The coal-mining complex at Senjski Rudnik is considered to be the birthplace of the industrial revolution in Serbia. In operation until recently, it is now the object of an ambitious project to rehabilitate all the mining, ancillary and social buildings (see Figure 30). But the vision needs to extend beyond the site boundaries to include well-preserved (but vulnerable) traditional buildings in the surrounding area, which is also of high scenic value with caves, waterfalls, gorges and thermal spas.

It is fairly clear from this brief review that a substantial number of international donors are providing assistance and programmes in support of the restoration and preservation of cultural heritage throughout the Balkans. As yet, there appears to be little in the way of active inter-donor communication or co-ordination on these efforts. A greater level of co-ordination would seem to be an important goal in order to improve synergies in the different efforts and to ensure the greatest impact on community cohesion, post-war reconciliation and economic development in the region in the future.

The challenge of funding

Funding for the preservation and rehabilitation of cultural heritage is often difficult to secure (the need to address training in fundraising techniques in the region is addressed in Chapter 3.5). Where cultural assets are publicly owned, they compete with other priorities of the public budget such as education, health, housing and social spending. Where such assets are in private ownership, they rely on raising private finance or on subsidies from the public sector. In some cases such finance is forthcoming; in others the economic returns are often too limited to justify purely private finance. At the same time it is generally recognised that investments in cultural heritage may have wider non-economic, social or cultural benefit. Such externalities appear in the “social” return to investments but not in the “private” return. In such circumstances, public involvement in the investments required for preservation and rehabilitation expenditures may be justified. However, in order to support such

investments social cost-benefit or other forms of social benefit assessment studies are needed to identify the extent of the benefits that might be achieved. Such “project preparation” studies are commonplace in the field of infrastructure investments, such as for roads, railways or airports, which face many of the same problems in that the social external benefits often exceed the achievable private returns from an investment. Many examples of such project preparation studies can be found in the work of the Western Balkans Investment Framework which gathers together the funds of some of the major international financial institutions such as the World Bank, the European Investment Bank (EIB) and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), as well as the Council of Europe Development Bank and others. However, in the field of cultural heritage relatively few such studies have been carried out. For the LP II, a pilot study has been carried out in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia that demonstrates the important potential of such studies (Bartlett et al. 2015).

While many sites on the Prioritised Intervention List (PIL) received investment, only a few have received direct funding through LP II. Support allocated by the national budgets demonstrates the continuing responsibility of the national authorities towards their chosen priorities from the PILs. Selected monuments have also benefited from two grant funds provided by the EU for “Preserving and Restoring Cultural Heritage in the Western Balkans” and for “Sustaining the Rehabilitation of Cultural Heritage in the Western Balkans”. These funds have been co-ordinated and implemented by the RCC TFCS. Other funders included UNESCO, national governments, foreign and development agencies and private firms. Significant funds have been made available through national sources within the framework of the Ljubljana Process (RCC TFCS 2014).

In the period 2011-2013, Ljubljana Process participants managed to secure funding from different sources in the total amount of €41 million (RCC TFCS 2014: 39). Almost €6 million was provided from national funding sources, mainly ministries of culture and municipalities; almost €18 million was provided from EU sources, mainly IPA, structural funds, special budget lines; and a further €17 million was raised from other non-EU funding sources, US Ambassador funds, Japanese donations, private donors and others.

In 2012, a grant of €2.8 million was made available by the European Commission for a further round of grant applications under the programme “Preserving and Restoring Cultural Heritage in the Western Balkans”, and a further €500 000 in grant funds was made available for the programme “Sustaining the Rehabilitation of Cultural Heritage in the Western Balkans”. Both grants involved public authorities, institutes, museums, civil society organisations, NGOs and professionals dealing with the rehabilitation of heritage in the Western Balkans. Altogether, the EU grants under LP II supported more than 30 different projects involving 22 cultural monuments or sites (RCC TFCS 2014). The projects vary from restoration, conservation, urgent interventions, preliminary investigations and project design to site-management plans. Training and workshops were held and education and learning materials produced.

The grant of preparatory actions (€2.8 million) was intended to rehabilitate cultural heritage sites affected by war-related actions, to contribute to the sustainable development of sites containing valuable cultural objects, to foster inter-cultural dialogue and reconciliation, to raise popular awareness of cultural diversity in the Western Balkans and to support economic development. The RCC TFCS participated in the initial selection of projects belonging to the LP II (one or two monuments being nominated by each participant). Of the 12 proposals submitted, five monuments were short-listed and submitted to the European Commission, which selected the three winners. These were the Franciscan Monastery of Bač in Serbia (€890 000), the Kastel Fortress in Banja Luka in Bosnia and Herzegovina (€1 130 000) and the Apollonia archaeological site in Albania (€780 000). The national authorities supplemented these grants with their own funds: in the case of the Franciscan

Monastery of Bač this amounted to a further €90 000; for the Kastel Fortress in Banja Luka, an additional €180 000; and for Apollonia in Fier in Albania, an additional €80 000.

As mentioned above, the EU also allocated €500 000 for the programme “Sustaining the Rehabilitation of Cultural Heritage in South-East Europe” to be managed by the RCC through the TFCS. The programme aimed to contribute to the successful implementation of LP II projects and the rehabilitation of monuments and sites by assisting participants with small incentives to bridge gaps at specific points of project development. Four main activities were included in the programme. Activity 1 enabled urgent intervention or consolidation works to avoid irreversible deterioration of monuments and sites. Activity 2 involved support for feasibility studies to identify the most viable options for the rehabilitation of monuments and sites. Activity 3 provided for preparation of project designs for tendering and for building permits to allow projects with secured funds to complete the tender design phase and enter the work phase. Activity 4 supported preparation of site-management plans, with relevant training to increase capacities and ensure the sites’ management after funds are secured.

Incentives were provided in the form of sub-grants (up to €10 000) under activities 1, 2 and 4. Under this programme, countries applied for small grants for projects related to monuments or sites listed in the country’s PIL or monitoring list. The total amount of sub-grants was €100 000, allocated to the 14 projects (these are listed in the Annex).

Activity 3 for preparation of project design for tendering and for building permits was funded through a competitive negotiation procedure managed by the TFCS Secretariat for six monuments and sites in four of the LP II countries. The total budget available for this activity was €176 500. The sites that were chosen to benefit from this procedure included two in Bosnia and Herzegovina (the summer residence of King Aleksander Karađorđević, Han Pijesak and the Hellenistic Town of Daorson in Osanici, Stolac); one in “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” (aqueduct in Skopje); two in Montenegro (the old Austro-Hungarian fortress Kosmac in Budva, and the former French embassy in Cetinje); and one in Serbia (the Gamzigrad archaeological site).

A competitive negotiated procedure was also carried out under Activity 4 in seven of the LP II participant countries with a total budget of €93 500. The monuments and sites included in this process were the archaeological site of Apollonia in Albania (a Greek city founded in 588 BC); the City Hall, Sarajevo, in Bosnia and Herzegovina; the archaeological site of the Roman town of Siscia (Sisak) in Croatia; the Hamam Mehmed Pasha, in Prizren, Kosovo; the fortress Besac, in Bar, Montenegro (built by the Ottomans in 1478); the archaeological site Caričin Grad in Serbia; and the archaeological site Heraclea Lyncestis in “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” (founded by Philip II in the 4th century BC).

Most of the effort to attract funding for cultural heritage sites in the region has focused on obtaining public funding in the form of grants, whether from the EU or from national authorities. Relatively little funding has been obtained through either the private sector or through self-funding through charges for tourism entry, or through sale of goods and services at the cultural heritage sites. Fees charged for entry to sites tend to be relatively low (from €0.30 to a just a few euros), even though at most sites visitors would be prepared to pay more (Bartlett et al. 2015). In many cases, there is a strong argument for increasing the fees charged to visitors in order to raise funds for investment, with appropriate discounts for families, children and people with disabilities. Accommodation for visitors is lacking at a number of sites, and this is often an important element in a visitor’s decision to make a longer stay in the locality. Few visitors wish to go shopping when visiting cultural heritage attractions. However, many want to eat in restaurants and visit other cultural heritage sites, suggesting that cross-promotion between sites may be a good way to attract further visitors and increase the number of overnight stays within municipalities. The case studies studied in Bartlett et al. (2015) show that while the initial benefits of such initiatives may be relatively small, especially when the

sites are isolated, the capacity to attract more visitors to the country as a whole will increase as more and more cultural sites are brought up to standard, and the potential for self-funding of the sites and reinvestment in their maintenance, preservation and improvement could become self-sustaining over time. Such an approach holds the promise of becoming a valuable supplement to public grant aid, which is inevitably limited in scope, especially in times of financial stringency.

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Annex

Small grants administered by the RCC under the EU "Sustaining the rehabilitation of cultural heritage in South-East Europe" programme (Activities 1, 2 and 4).

1. Albania – St Mary's Monastery in Apollonia, conservation of fresco paintings (€9 250).
2. Bosnia and Herzegovina – summer residence of King Aleksandar Karađorđević, structural consolidation (€8 000).
3. Bosnia and Herzegovina – summer residence of King Aleksandar Karađorđević, exploratory works on the structure (€5 000).
4. "The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" – archaeological site of Stobi, preliminary investigation of episcopal basilica (€5 000).
5. "The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" – St George's Church, management plan (€10 000).
6. "The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" – Zlatko's Tower, maintenance and structural consolidation (€8 000).
7. "The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" – aqueduct, archaeological research (€5 000).
8. Kosovo – Gumnishte/Artana fortress, Novo Brdo, urgent interventions (€7 260).
9. Kosovo – Gumnishte/Artana fortress, Novo Brdo, preliminary investigations (€5 490).
10. Montenegro – former French embassy building, electrical installations (€8 000).
11. Montenegro – former French embassy building, architectural research (€6 000).
12. Serbia – Kikinda mill, Suvaca, roof repair and drainage system (€8 000).
13. Serbia – Kikinda mill, Suvaca, preliminary research (€5 000).
14. Serbia – Senje coal mine, management plan (€10 000).

Chapter 3.3

Policies and strategies

Robert Pickard

Chapter 3.3 considers the process of capacity building by providing legal, policy and management assistance to the countries involved in the Regional Programme for South-East Europe and the Ljubljana Process, supporting the initiative of heritage rehabilitation through the IRPP/SAAH and the Ljubljana Process. This section explains the actions taken to improve the management of the architectural and archaeological heritage in the long term, in particular through the drafting of Heritage Assessment Reports to analyse developments in legal, institutional and administrative spheres necessary for ensuring opportunities for integrating heritage as a factor of development through its rehabilitation. The process of monitoring and resetting goals through action plans has provided the structure to enable the Ljubljana Process to be institutionalised and integrated over the longer term.

Introduction

When the Regional Programme for Cultural and Natural Heritage in South East Europe (RPSEE) was established in 2003 one of its components, apart from heritage rehabilitation, was an Institutional Capacity Building Plan (ICBP). The ICBP was directed at the improvement of the existing political structures and the creation (or reform) of an administrative framework responsible for the everyday management of heritage.

The main body in charge of implementing the ICBP has been the Council of Europe's Legislative Support Task Force, commonly known as the CAL (Cellule d'appui législative), which was established in 1997 and operates within the Council of Europe's Technical Co-operation and Consultancy Programme. The CAL is made up of a group of international experts and provides legal and policy assistance (on heritage and other connected spheres), including related problems of administrative organisation and, as appropriate, guidance on heritage funding mechanisms where this is linked to legal and administrative protection matters, as well as dissemination of good practice, through a series of guidance manuals (Council of Europe 2015).

The process of providing legal and policy assistance has included the organisation of seminars, workshops, technical exchanges, co-operation missions and other awareness-raising measures, as well as the training of specialists within RPSEE and other countries.

In order to respond to the common challenges faced by participating countries in the RPSEE, the CAL took action under the ICBP by providing assistance to countries that requested it in updating laws and policies and through a series of international seminars organised on particular issues including legal reform in the field of cultural heritage (Sofia, 2004) (Pickard 2008a), integrated management tools for cultural heritage (Bucharest, 2005) (Pickard 2008b) and the enhancement of the cultural and natural heritage as a factor for sustainable development (Belgrade, 2006) (Pickard 2008c). National reports produced by the countries and discussed at the seminars were based partially on information derived from the IRPP/SAAH – indeed this initial work of the CAL was partly aimed at supporting the implementation of the IRPP/SAAH.

The review of the state of heritage policies and the operational conclusions on legal reform coming out of the first seminar in Sofia highlighted many differences concerning legal and institutional systems for cultural heritage in the countries, all of which were at different stages of development. There was general consensus in favour of an improved methodology for the protection and management of cultural heritage and of the need to move away from the ideology of the past towards a more inclusive and integrated approach, which recognised the value of heritage in society. The concept of sustainable development and the contribution of a rehabilitated heritage in this sphere was a new field of consideration, although the wider benefits of heritage regeneration had been recognised in principle from the earliest stages of the programme (see chapters 1.1 and 3.1).

Moreover, one of the key issues that emerged from the field actions of the IRRP/SAAH and the Ljubljana Process was the inconsistency in the legislation and the regulatory regimes for cultural heritage, planning, development and environmental control, and the inadequate integration between the different systems. It also became evident that investment in cultural heritage had been given a low priority, and that enforcement and compliance checks had not always been effectively implemented, even though the legal procedures existed to enable such checks to be made (an issue to which we return in Chapter 4.3). Furthermore, it became apparent that the principles enshrined in the regulations and official guidelines were simply not fully understood by the official and local experts who operated them and that a programme of training would be necessary if the objective of sustainable development were to be achieved. Building capacity in this area, it was hoped, would lead to wider benefit, including the cross-fertilisation of ideas among staff in different ministries and agencies and better co-operation and co-ordination between them.

An examination of capacities for the management of the architectural and archaeological heritage was carried out as part of the Ljubljana Process through questionnaires in the period 2008 to 2010. The results of this work led to the conclusion that a more in-depth analysis was required in order to provide a precise picture of heritage policy in each country, to identify the actions that would be necessary to improve the situation and to make sure that the Ljubljana Process would be adequately institutionalised, meaning that it be integrated into the working practice and procedures of the relevant authorities.

Following the launch of the Ljubljana Process II: Rehabilitating our Common Heritage in 2011 with its new operational framework, managed by the Regional Cooperation Council and operated through the Task Force for Culture and Society, an Expert Pool was set up to provide support for this framework. The main role of this Expert Pool was to provide political back-up to ensure the institutionalisation of the Ljubljana Process, including training and mentoring, as well as monitoring and evaluation activities.

As part of its ongoing role of monitoring and evaluation, a needs assessment conducted by the Expert Pool in 2012 identified a number of priority actions that would be needed in order to realise the full potential of the programme and to win and maintain political support and gain

credibility among potential funders and investors. Among the actions highlighted was the necessity of drafting a Heritage Assessment Report for each country in order to analyse developments in legal, institutional and administrative spheres and identify shortcomings that would have to be tackled. Furthermore, it was intended that these reports should play a key role in identifying both national and regional needs and enhance awareness of the role of heritage assets in rehabilitation and sustainable development. Subsequent monitoring would allow the reports to be kept under review. As a management tool this would also allow the review of procedures to be extended beyond the lifetime of the Ljubljana Process. It was identified that the report and monitoring should be endorsed at governmental level to achieve maximum impact and reinforce the commitment to implement necessary reforms, as well as embedding the Ljubljana Process more centrally in government thinking.

Heritage Assessment Reports had been a component of the IRPP/SAAH from its inception (see Chapter 2.1), but they were now given significantly greater weight and focus. The new terms of reference for the Heritage Assessment Report, drafted by the CAL and overseen by the Expert Pool, were developed during 2012 and introduced to the Ljubljana Process national project co-ordinators. Each participating country was asked to establish a “Heritage Assessment Inter-ministerial Drafting Group” (as part of the Project Board of the National Task Forces), under the co-ordination of the project co-ordinator. It was recommended that a maximum of five, and a minimum of three, national experts representing different institutions or competencies should be tasked with drafting an initial version of the Report and overseeing the subsequent updating and monitoring steps.

A target date of March 2013 was set for the countries to identify their inter-ministerial drafting teams and to confirm their intention to draft a Heritage Assessment Report. Bearing in mind the short timescale to the end of the Ljubljana Process, three participants (Romania, Bulgaria and Kosovo) could not meet the deadline and were excluded from the initiative. But for the remaining six countries (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”, Montenegro and Serbia), a series of workshops were led by members of the CAL and Expert Pool to help them with the process.

Heritage Assessment Reports: overview and issues

The terms of reference for the Heritage Assessment Report required that 18 broad policy topics and related issues were considered, directed at improving the conditions for investing in heritage. The first nine topics were defined as being of particular relevance to the implementation of the Ljubljana Process; topics 10 to 13 raised issues concerning the rehabilitation and beneficial use of heritage assets; with the remaining topics being centred on issues for a more long-term perspective, related to the implementation and improvement of integrated national policies, which could be achieved in tandem with or following the institutionalisation of the Ljubljana Process.

The 18 topics discussed in the Heritage Assessment Reports are identified below, followed by a summary of key issues arising out these assessments.

1. General overview of the country’s administrative system

This was directed at identifying the administrative system adopted in each country with particular reference to environment and sustainable development, land-use planning, construction, development and infrastructure provision, tourism, human/cultural rights and cultural heritage protection and the extent to which different ministries collaborate.

In general, the different spheres of work highlighted above can be said to be organised predominantly within the jurisdiction of the competent ministry (and are not split between different authorities). In Croatia, co-operation between ministries and state bodies, units of local and regional self-government, legal persons¹ with public powers and other legal persons is organised through an Act of the State Administration System. In Albanian legislation, co-ordination mechanisms are established through inter-sectoral and inter-ministerial working groups and working bodies. The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina is complicated by the fact that there are two distinct entities, each with its own ministries dealing with particular issues, a factor further compounded by the existence of a state-level Commission to Preserve Historic Monuments, set up under the Dayton Agreement (Annex 8), which oversees certain key elements of heritage policy. The national Ministry of Civil Affairs has a role in co-ordinating the activities of entity-level bodies and defining the strategy for cultural issues at an international level.

In other cases the situation is less clear, and the general consensus has been that there is a need for improved co-operation and co-ordination, particularly at the local level (with municipal authorities). Although the idea of establishing a permanent body for co-ordinating joint arrangements is politically difficult, the action plans associated with the monitoring procedure for the Heritage Assessment Report for all six countries involved in the process flagged the need for:

- ▶ the establishment of a permanent inter-sectoral/inter-ministerial/inter-institutional mechanism including working groups for the co-ordination of activities regarding the rehabilitation of cultural heritage (with a wide range of ministries and official bodies represented);
- ▶ the implementation of joint projects, strategies and initiatives especially for cultural-historic complexes and archaeological sites, in order to raise awareness of the importance of rehabilitation and sustainable use of heritage assets and investment in them to develop their potential for society.

At the very least, the continuation of the inter-ministerial working groups set up to co-ordinate the heritage assessment would assist in continuing the improved co-ordination that has been commenced through the Ljubljana Process.

2. Strategies and policies for sustainable development including sustaining the cultural heritage

Most of the six countries have developed a national strategy that centres on sustainable development (the exception being Bosnia and Herzegovina), with some having developed strategies on cultural policy/development. Croatia adopted a Strategy for the Preservation, Protection and Sustainable Economic Exploitation of the Cultural Heritage of the Republic of Croatia 2011-2015 in 2011 and “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” has been developing a “National Strategy for Protection and Use of Cultural Heritage of the Republic of Macedonia” as part of a commitment derived from the enactment of the Law on Protection of Cultural Heritage (2004). Actions agreed as part of the heritage assessment monitoring goals have been directed at strengthening long-term policies for the protection and use of cultural heritage. To some extent such changes may require changes to existing legal regimes (see discussion below in section 8, regarding legal texts for cultural heritage).

¹ A legal personality must be capable of having legal rights and obligations within a particular legal system. A legal person can be a “natural person” (or physical person), i.e. any individual person, or a “juridical person”, which refers to groups of people such as corporations, partnerships, companies, sovereign states, intergovernmental organisations (e.g. the United Nations and the Council of Europe), etc. which are treated by law as if they are persons.

Figure 15: Dubrovnik



A plethora of protective laws and decrees – including the Law on the Rehabilitation of the Threatened Monument Complex of Dubrovnik (Official Gazette 21/86, 26/93, 33/89, 128/99) – were adequate for peacetime management of the historic centre of Dubrovnik (Croatia), but neither the Hague Convention nor the city's status as a UNESCO world heritage site were sufficient to save it from bombardment, the first of a long line of attacks on cultural heritage that characterised the Yugoslav Wars of the 1990s.

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The actions have been directed towards encouraging:

- ▶ the adoption, implementation and monitoring of strategies/programmes for sustainable development of cultural heritage including strategies on rehabilitation, funding and sustainable use of heritage assets and integration with tourism strategies;
- ▶ the establishment of working groups to develop strategies with representatives from the relevant ministries (responsible for sustainable development, tourism, finance, culture/cultural heritage, etc.);
- ▶ the involvement of regional and local government.

3. Development of sustainable tourism strategies

All the six countries have developed national strategies for tourism development, which cover periods from five to ten years and are then updated. “The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” and Serbia have also developed additional strategies for rural tourism. The inter-ministerial collaboration on the heritage assessment has helped to determine where additional emphasis should be placed on cultural heritage sites as key tourist attractions and the accompanying servicing needs, as well as assessing the investment potential and economic benefits of cultural heritage resources as tourist attractions.

The key actions identified for monitoring the heritage assessment include:

- ▶ the development of action plans and guidelines for sustainable exploitation of the cultural heritage for tourism purposes;
- ▶ the preparation of priority lists of those cultural heritage assets with cultural tourism development and investment potential;
- ▶ the development of tourism infrastructure, including improvement of signage for monuments and sites; opening of information and visitor centres connected with sites; assessment of needs for, and provision of, accommodation facilities for visitors; and identification of transport requirements to improve access to heritage sites;
- ▶ the “branding” of the country based on cultural heritage marketing and investment appeal;
- ▶ the creation of cultural routes or itineraries linked to rehabilitation projects;
- ▶ the redirection of revenue from ticketing for heritage site visits to aid maintenance/conservation work;
- ▶ the assessment of the impact of tourists on cultural heritage sites, including economic benefits and also any adverse effects;

4. Levels of administration for cultural heritage (including budget resources)

Organisational structures for the management of the cultural heritage were generally found to be complex and burdened by too many institutions, many of them inefficiently managed. This is a particular problem in Bosnia and Herzegovina due to the entity system of administration. Budgetary resources remain limited and tend to be managed centrally, reducing flexibility to deal with local needs. Although there have been moves towards decentralisation, including giving responsibilities to local authorities to deal with cultural heritage, progress has been slow, particularly because municipalities do not employ sufficient competent staff to offer advice on the use and rehabilitation of cultural properties. These are issues that cannot be resolved quickly, but there has been an understanding of the need to improve the management of sites and co-ordinate rehabilitation actions between different authorities.

Accordingly actions have been initiated to:

- ▶ review management structures concerning the administration of cultural heritage protection and establish independent management bodies and project teams for the management of sites;
- ▶ improve co-ordination of budget resources for cultural heritage between ministries and institutions, regional and local authorities, and religious authorities, for rehabilitating cultural heritage assets;
- ▶ establish joint mechanisms and programmes of funding, with procedures for prioritising sites for rehabilitation that are to be jointly funded;
- ▶ publicise, and disseminate widely, lists of sites and cultural monuments for rehabilitation and revitalisation investment projects to municipalities, private owners, potential investors and other stakeholders, and provide methodological guidelines associated with such action.

5. Staff resources and training requirements

All of the countries reported a shortage of staff and, in particular, a lack of heritage staff with specialised skills in business and financial management (preparation of feasibility studies, financial

assessments, fundraising, etc.); project management; use of geographic information systems (GIS) and non-invasive technology for archaeological assessment; traditional construction skills; and expertise in tourism development, the integration of heritage with spatial planning and promotional and awareness-raising skills. Furthermore, the heritage assessment identified a lack of heritage experts at the local government level (municipalities) with the majority of municipalities not having staff equipped to deal with cultural heritage issues, despite the fact that planning and development control are organised at this level. Moreover, there are few opportunities to gain the necessary specialist heritage skills. This also spills over into the third sector where there is also a shortage of people with the required expertise.

Actions for development of specialised skills have been initiated to:

- ▶ build capacity through the provision of management training in the use of preparatory documents for rehabilitation projects such as feasibility studies or funding applications;
- ▶ provide further training in crafts skills for new and existing practitioners;
- ▶ establish and introduce continuous programmes of formal and informal education for heritage professionals, and/or provide scholarships for attending university courses in countries outside the region in the use of new methodologies for project management and new technologies.

The issues of business planning and fundraising have been the subject of special workshops organised as part of the assistance provided through the Ljubljana Process (see Chapter 3.5). The engagement of local communities and the utilisation of heritage for local economic development are further examined in Chapter 3.4.

6. Rights of the private sector and the third sector (physical and legal persons)

Work on the protection of cultural heritage monuments and sites by specialist experts and entities is generally permissible with appropriate authorisation (i.e. licensed architects, archaeologists, other professionals, and construction companies that specialise in conservation, restoration and rehabilitation work) in order to carry out conservation, restoration and other protective measures, including rehabilitation measures, under the supervision of the relevant national authority. Licences are not available to individuals or enterprises for designing or carrying out works in the Republika Srpska (in Bosnia and Herzegovina) and are limited in Serbia, and restrictions have been placed on NGOs in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In general terms the heritage assessment has identified the need for some improvement to, and extension of, licensing procedures for works where it has not previously been possible, in order to provide some relief to the already overburdened heritage institutes.

7. Financial assistance and rehabilitation agencies

With the context of the global financial crisis in mind, financial provision for cultural heritage has been difficult for most of the South-East European countries, with predicted state budgets for cultural activities overall being the lowest for many years (a mere 0.6% of the total budget in Serbia in 2013). Albania alone has been able to increase its budget allocation in recent years. Across the region, needs have far exceeded available resources. In general terms priorities have been oriented towards emergency recovery, with long-term financial planning being very difficult.

Most of the six countries have relied on annual programmes allocated from the state budget to the ministry responsible for cultural heritage. This makes it difficult to plan ahead. The introduction of new three-year programmes in Croatia will assist in identifying priority projects for which other sources of funding may be investigated. The programme in Montenegro has aimed to be part-funded by a system of annuities derived from a levy on cultural property in commercial use (as in Croatia), but this has been impeded by the relevant tax law not being implemented. The annuity system in Croatia has become less effective due to the lack of understanding of the direct and indirect benefits of investing in heritage, with some urban protected zones having been reduced in size, resulting in a lower revenue base.

Ministries other than the ministry responsible for cultural heritage can provide funding, for instance in Serbia for infrastructure, to improve tourist opportunities, restoration of monuments and sites of a “memorial character” and for religious architecture. But there has been little co-ordination between the different providers. Funding support at local government level is not well developed, but there are examples of regional development funding in “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” and from municipalities in Montenegro and Serbia.

Funding assistance to private owners through subsidies and tax incentives, including sponsorship, has been limited (especially in Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina), although there are some examples: some VAT relief in “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”; state subsidies at 30-60% in Albania; fiscal reliefs and grant aid subsidies in Montenegro; and the monument annuity in Croatia. Consideration has been given to the idea of identifying the need for new funding mechanisms to support rehabilitation through the updating of national strategies, but this requires more political support than has yet been provided.

Interaction and partnership between public and private sectors is in its infancy in the six countries. In “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” and Albania, concession agreements have allowed for the possibility of public-private partnership, but progress has been limited due to the need to harmonise legislation on concessions and cultural heritage protection. There are a limited number of examples in other countries.

International funding has been provided to the six South-East European countries from various sources including international organisations, in addition to the EU and Council of Europe, such as the World Bank and UNESCO, and national governmental organisations, such as USAID and the Turkish International Cooperation Agency (TIKA) (see further sources in Chapter 3.2). The European Instrument for Pre-Accession Fund is now seen as an important source of funding, but there has been a lack of expertise to deal with the complex application procedures and also for the programming and implementation of projects financed from EU funds and other international sources.

With the shortage of funds, action plans have highlighted the need to initiate new methods of funding, as well as improve existing systems, and to develop the concept of fundraising (see Chapter 3.5) by:

- ▶ extending national budget programmes of funding beyond annual programmes in order to properly plan funding priorities over a more realistic period;
- ▶ creating lists of priority projects for funding, including flagship projects as exemplars – although the PILs have gone some way to providing this;
- ▶ improving reporting on how annual funds (state budget and foreign investments) for monuments and sites are used at national and local levels;

- ▶ developing mechanisms to use existing funds more efficiently and to generate new funds for heritage including through partnerships with private and third sectors and international agencies;
- ▶ researching funding mechanisms and funder requirements including identification of best practices for improving funding models (e.g. foundations benefiting from tax subsidies on donations) – a key element of the Ljubljana Process;
- ▶ revising laws concerning taxation, donations and sponsorship to provide or increase the level of tax relief for donors and sponsors supporting conservation, restoration and rehabilitation of cultural heritage, to provide an effective incentive for investment;
- ▶ improving existing and developing new systems for monument annuities derived from cultural property in commercial use as a means to supplement national budget sources of funding.

8. Legal texts for cultural heritage

The current state of cultural heritage legislation varies between the countries. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, numerous attempts to create a national law have not been fruitful and the entities are saddled with outdated laws governing the protection of heritage at different levels which are not mutually co-ordinated with each other; nor are they consistent with the recommendations of international conventions. In other countries the situation is better, with a number of updating provisions and amendments in recent years in Montenegro, Croatia and “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”. Work on drafting a new law for cultural heritage for Albania commenced in 2013.

However, the heritage assessment has identified the need for further work in most of the countries and actions have been commenced to:

- ▶ introduce the rehabilitation concept and emphasise the sustainable use of heritage resources in primary legislation and bylaws, and linking these to physical planning, development of tourism and economic development policies;
- ▶ ensure harmonisation with the Granada Convention provisions on financial incentives;
- ▶ embed the concept of integrated conservation through new management and conservation plans.

9. Relationship between cultural heritage legislation and legal texts on spatial and urban planning and construction and development control

The main emphasis concerning this topic was to ascertain how heritage assets are taken into account in urban planning and permit procedures for construction and development. These are highlighted in relation to three of the countries.

In Croatia, regardless of the regulations in force, it was observed that town planners have not sufficiently taken into consideration the proposed conservation protection measures, recommendations and guidelines and this has resulted in poor levels of cultural heritage protection in the adopted physical planning documents. Local authorities often yield to the demand for economic development yet physical plans have not fully integrated heritage interests as a result with a consequent failure to exploit the potential of the cultural heritage for tourism and economic development.

In Serbia, inter-sectoral co-operation is an integral part of the procedure of drafting and adopting planning documents, from the local to the national level. Experts are required to revise planning documents when still in draft to ensure that the plan meets all legal obligations. However, numerous planning solutions regarding the cultural heritage have not been implemented in the envisaged time frame and building permits are not always properly followed. There are now many examples of illegal construction that have had a detrimental impact on cultural heritage assets and their settings.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, some problems have occurred because the bodies responsible for plan preparation (usually municipal authorities) have had insufficient information about national designated monuments and ensembles or have failed to understand or implement the safeguards imposed by the State Commission to Preserve National Monuments, which sets out planning constraints as part of the registration documentation (although these constraints are frequently generic and unhelpful and are part of the problem – see Chapter 4.3). The protection of heritage has sometimes been seen as an obstacle in the planning of development projects. There has been a lack of adequate strategies for cultural heritage at all levels, particularly at the state level, especially regarding the use of heritage for economic and tourist potential and there have been instances when building permits have been issued under economic and political pressure to the detriment of the cultural heritage sites. There is a pressing need to improve the integration of heritage in the planning and development process, including recognising its potential for rehabilitation and sustainable use and development.

The monitoring procedure for the Heritage Assessment Report for all six countries involved in the process identified the following key actions for improving integration between heritage and the planning and building permit systems:

- ▶ harmonisation of the legal regulation between cultural heritage and planning spheres concerning integrated conservation by amendments to laws and bylaws;
- ▶ improving co-operation between the ministry responsible for cultural heritage and relevant institutions on the one hand, and the ministries, municipalities and other relevant stakeholders responsible for planning on building control on the other;
- ▶ providing training and guidance for spatial/urban planners on the role of heritage as a catalyst for development and rehabilitation action;
- ▶ development of mapping techniques for cultural heritage using GIS (linked with the central/cadastral/land registries);
- ▶ improvement of monitoring of the adoption of cultural heritage policies in spatial plans;
- ▶ co-ordinated issuance of building permits concerning or affecting protected heritage assets;
- ▶ improvement of procedures/methodology to make heritage impact assessments;
- ▶ improvement of procedures to ensure better co-operation between investors and decision makers (institutions of cultural heritage protection, local government and other relevant bodies).

10. Relationship between cultural heritage, natural heritage and environmental protection

The Heritage Assessment Reports revealed that the designation of cultural landscapes is now possible in Montenegro and legislative provisions have been under consideration in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Elsewhere there are some examples of joint management approaches for protected natural areas with cultural heritage assets, but this often depends on the status of the protected area. For example, some national parks in Montenegro, where there are sufficient resources, have

been able to employ their own cultural heritage experts, and in “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”, a programme for the management of cultural heritage has been established within the management plans for the protected natural areas. Another good example is the Butrint National Park Board in Albania, which shares decision making between the different competent authorities. However, for the most part, the process of joint action and joint management systems for natural areas with cultural heritage assets is not fully developed, especially for managing and rehabilitating cultural heritage in the context of tourism potential.

In this context, the action plans for the countries identified the need for progress and initiatives in relation to:

- ▶ improvement of the legal framework for managing cultural heritage assets within natural protected areas, including the designation of cultural landscapes;
- ▶ strengthening co-operation and communication between the competent authorities for natural heritage and environmental protection and cultural heritage;
- ▶ improvement and development of integrated management mechanisms in natural protected areas with cultural heritage resources through the formulation of guidelines, management plans and joint action plans;
- ▶ initiation and facilitation of joint renovation and rehabilitation projects for heritage sites in natural protected areas.

Figure 16: Hadži-Alija Mosque, Počitelj



The Hadži-Alija Mosque, Počitelj (Bosnia and Herzegovina), built in 1562-63, is a fine example of a single-room, domed mosque, which occupies a prominent position in the formerly Ottoman town. The mosque was blown up in 1993, the dome and the minaret demolished and the rest of the building badly damaged. Along with many other buildings in the town that suffered extensive war damage, it has now been reconstructed and is back in use.

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11. Relationship between cultural heritage and other laws

There was a general consensus among the six countries to take action to research, review and harmonise legal texts that may involve, or have a bearing on, the cultural heritage. Apart from issues relating to planning and development and environmental protection, the key areas of law in need of harmonisation were found to be tax incentives, monument annuities (as a means to raise funding) and concession agreements (for restoration, rehabilitation and sustainable use of heritage assets), as well as legislation in relation to infrastructure development, criminal codes and penalties, customs controls, tourism provision, property ownership and restitution, and on general administrative procedures.

12. Inventories, documentation systems and the planning process

The analysis of the status of inventory and documentary systems in the six countries revealed that some are still in paper form (Serbia), some partially digitised and partially based on European standards (Montenegro, Albania), and some fully digitised and operational in line with European core data standards (Croatia). Another problem is that some countries have several different inventory systems that are difficult to maintain and need to be consolidated into one national database (Bosnia and Herzegovina and “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”). Due to these difficulties the process of valorising or revalorising the cultural heritage has been impeded.

Furthermore, the main focus for documentation systems has been to serve as a simple protection tool that itemises a monument’s particular heritage qualities. There is little evidence of documentation systems being used as a management tool for identifying monuments and sites that are in poor condition and in need of investment or for identifying where occupation and use are not being fully optimised, although in three countries there has been some progress on this aspect. In Croatia, the minister may appoint a committee with the task of monitoring and planning protection and preservation work for endangered cultural property. In “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”, a Register of Endangered Heritage has already been established as a tool for prioritising conservation, restoration and rehabilitation and, similarly, in Albania, the official register of protected heritage also focuses on assessing the condition or vulnerability of heritage assets and identifying priority actions, as well as being an information resource for public access.

Accordingly, the monitoring process has resulted in action to:

- ▶ rationalise and simplify the number of cultural heritage inventory/registry systems;
- ▶ improve inventory systems through the development and facilitation of digital databases according to international core data standards (to improve management, identification/revalorisation/updating of heritage of national importance) and provide training of staff in the use of digital documentation;
- ▶ develop registers of endangered cultural heritage (monuments at risk) as a management tool with the objective of prioritising funding and increasing the information flow for stakeholders wishing to invest in heritage assets, through publicising endangered sites and priority sites for rehabilitation and investment action.

13. Forms of immovable heritage protection

It can be fairly stated that the categories of protected items and procedures to implement protection and control of works are, in general, organised adequately in the countries. However, the main

focus has been directed at identification, valorisation or revalorisation and technical protection, rather than rehabilitation and use of heritage resources. There has been recognition of the need to develop management plans for historic places and for further initiatives to raise local awareness and appreciation of historic places as well as the potential of heritage to rehabilitate neighbourhoods and revitalise communities.

The actions agreed with the countries have focused on:

- ▶ completion of revalorisation processes;
- ▶ further initiatives to encourage rehabilitation of heritage resources;
- ▶ improvement of co-operation between local/regional governments and competent bodies (conservation departments) and increasing the number of registered cultural heritage assets of local significance with an aim of integrating cultural heritage objects in the social and economic life of the regions.

14. Other protection/safeguarding mechanisms

The countries reiterated the need for further integration between spatial planning and heritage protection systems. The consequence of not having fully integrated systems has been the inadequate use of cultural heritage for tourism and economic development of the areas for which physical plans are adopted. Indeed there was a general consensus of the need to extend the use and adoption of management plans beyond UNESCO-designated World Heritage Sites to other complex archaeological sites, architectural ensembles, historic urban areas and old towns. There are a few instances of management-type plans being developed such as the “spatial plans for special purpose areas” adopted in Serbia for immovable cultural heritage of exceptional significance, for example, for the archaeological site Felix Romuliana – Gamzigrad – and the spatial cultural-historical area of Stari Ras with Sopoćani.

The actions agreed as part of the monitoring of the heritage assessment included:

- ▶ enabling provisions for development of new management plans for historic urban areas, old towns and archaeological sites;
- ▶ improving the basis for the integrated protection and management of the cultural heritage.

15. Education, awareness raising and consultation mechanisms

A lack of information and ignorance of the intrinsic as well as the wider values of the cultural and natural heritage has been recognised as one of the major problems for its effective protection and its use as an economic resource. Progress on this front is variable across the region.

A good example is the project “My Bosnia and Herzegovina – My Heritage”, led by the Commission to Preserve National Monuments in co-operation with the ministries responsible for education and culture, local authorities, primary school principals, teachers and students. Furthermore, the Strategy for the Preservation, Protection and Sustainable Economic Exploitation of the Cultural Heritage of the Republic of Croatia (2011-2015) foresees the introduction of co-ordinated educational programmes in primary school curricula aimed at raising awareness of the value of the heritage among the wider population.

One of the key messages was the need for long-term initiatives for education and awareness-raising about the value of heritage in sustainable development and its role in helping to define individual and community identities and deepening the sense of belonging and of place.

Accordingly, actions were directed at:

- ▶ the involvement of the media in further awareness-raising about rehabilitation and the development potential of the heritage, as well as the wider benefits that can be achieved from investing in heritage resources (e.g. creation of jobs, small businesses, improved skill, property used in a sustainable manner, economic benefit from tourism, etc.);
- ▶ the development of branding initiatives for promoting the cultural heritage: websites, signage for sites or historical centres, books, fair promotions, etc.;
- ▶ publication of informative brochures on opportunities and obligations for heritage owners/users;
- ▶ enhancing attention on cultural heritage within school curricula and in further and higher education.

16. Rights of religious authorities

There is, in principle, an acknowledgement that religious authorities are bound by legislation on cultural heritage in the same way as other members of the public. In practice most countries reported that communication between the religious communities and the official heritage institutions is not always clear or easy and interventions have frequently been carried out on protected religious monuments without proper authorisation. These actions have had detrimental effects on the intrinsic value of cultural property, leading in some cases to serious deterioration. This happens mostly in cases of work undertaken on movable goods (such as the hiring of unlicensed restorers, the removal of items and changes of furnishings, etc.), work done on immovable property which indirectly affects heritage qualities (modernisation of facilities – heating, lighting, telecommunications, etc.), or by the construction of annexes to protected properties and new facilities in their proximity without having a conservation permit. Mutual understanding and common interest in the conservation of cultural heritage can be encouraged by sensitive negotiation between conservation bodies and religious communities, such as has happened in Albania where relations between them are regulated through agreements concluded between religious representatives and the Council of Ministers, and ratified by the Parliament of the Republic of Albania.

In this respect actions were initiated to:

- ▶ develop co-operation between religious communities and the responsible authorities for cultural heritage, including through the provision of good-practice guidelines for religious authorities concerning maintenance and proposed changes to religious cultural heritage assets;
- ▶ develop awareness of local communities about the value of religious buildings as cultural heritage;
- ▶ strengthen legal procedures to ensure that religious communities properly safeguard the cultural heritage.

17. Rights of minorities, returnees and vulnerable groups

The heritage assessment revealed that the countries have set in place policies and strategies that recognise cultural heritage as an important factor in celebrating the diversity of minority communities. Actions have been taken to ensure that funding is targeted at the real priority: reconciliation – that is, on the needs of displaced minorities and those of the monuments themselves, rather than on the preferences of a majority community that may have been implicated in causing the damage

in the first place. While there are some instances where access to certain heritage properties is still not entirely secure, or certain properties have still not been restored or rehabilitated since they were damaged (or destroyed) in the recent conflicts, a more positive climate is developing to encourage all ethnic groups to be involved in funding and rehabilitation decisions. Nevertheless, when deemed necessary, further actions have followed from the heritage assessment and monitoring process to:

- ▶ develop good-practice guidance on new interventions on those properties that are important to minority communities, including identification of funding possibilities;
- ▶ improve co-ordination between minority groups and the authorities responsible for cultural heritage, including the identification of joint rehabilitation projects.

18. Enforcement, sanctions and penal measures

The final issue for analysis was centred on the efficiency of inspection services and the effectiveness of procedures and sanctions directed against unauthorised, illegal or other activity, which may impact on or otherwise damage heritage assets, with a view to improving enforcement. In times of economic crisis there will be a need for greater vigilance (Stokin and Ifko 2014). The incidence of theft may increase or the attraction of quick profits may encourage corners to be cut. But even at the best of times, there were few inspections and penalties were seldom imposed, even though legislation technically provided for this. Where they were imposed, they were often too lenient, lacking in substance and ineffective, or applied too late. Furthermore, inspections and penalties carried out through Ministry of Culture services were not as effective as those carried out by the relevant authorities for inspection in the case of spatial planning and construction. The CAL recommended in 2004 (Pickard 2008a) that solutions would have to be found for the ongoing problems of illegal or unauthorised activities that were causing such damage to the immovable heritage. Although the promotion of dialogue with developers and investors would assist in resolving this problem, it would not dispense with the need for penal measures (fines and imprisonment) set at a level high enough to act as a deterrent; other enforcement and coercive procedures would also need to be made available (for example, “stop” provisions in the case of damaging activity, repair and reinstatement orders, etc.). Effective enforcement, inspection and policing services would also need to be developed to prevent or halt damage to heritage sites or illegal activity such as theft of artefacts. These might require the establishment of new types of official services and the training of new enforcement officials backed up with appropriate powers such as rights to enter premises, preventative and remedial orders and other measures. The review observed that such activities could be carried out by municipal authorities (or other relevant authorities dealing with development activity) rather than heritage services, but that this would require a further level of integration and co-operation between different authorities.

Despite these findings, the Heritage Assessment Reports indicate that there has not been much improvement in the last decade. Outstanding issues include: the ignoring of enforcement measures imposed by inspectors; fines for unauthorised work being still too low to act as a deterrent; or the failure of fines being collected because of the statute of limitations; sanctions simply not being imposed due to the inefficiency of inspection services or the lack of co-ordination between relevant institutions; and, in some cases, an endemic problem of systematic heritage-related crime which has not been resolved.

A report of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on Europe’s endangered heritage in 2014 reiterated these findings. This highlighted the need for proactive actions to avoid heritage falling into danger, backed up with solid legal frameworks to regulate the statutorily recognised heritage, with appropriate systems managed by experts who would be respected

across government (PACE/Council of Europe 2014). Apart from the fact that this Parliamentary Assembly report referred to the radical cuts in public expenditure that have weakened regulatory systems in a number of European countries, it identified recurrent instances of failure to enforce the rules (despite the existence of expert staff and appropriate procedures). The reasons for this failure are a complicated mix of factors including cost, the lack of experience and legal know-how, and untoward political interference.

Having said this, it would be misleading to say that no progress has been made, but it is uneven across the region. Co-ordination between competent institutions regarding inspection and supervision (ministry–police–customs–court) generally functions well in Albania and Croatia. There are instances of problems in Croatia, such as in cases where an inspector's requirements are not followed, and works have to be carried out by the official conservation department and the cost reclaimed, or when fines are issued but fail to be collected due to procedures becoming so protracted that the statute of limitations is invoked. Inspection services in "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" are also reportedly effective, but the level of fines is too low and they do not always act as a deterrent to stop damaging activities.

In other countries the situation is much worse. Due to outdated legislation that expresses fine levels in old currency (Yugoslav dinars) some penalties cannot be applied in Bosnia and Herzegovina and other sanctions are rarely taken, partly due to the inefficiency of inspectors and a lack of co-ordination between institutions. Similarly, procedures for imposing fines and enforcement action are impeded by inadequate procedures and a shortage of inspection staff in Montenegro. In Serbia, penalties for sites devastated by construction are subject to minimal financial sanctions (less than €100). Heritage-related crime has developed systematically, and thefts of artefacts, and even illegal excavations to obtain them, have taken place on a regular basis. The need for strong legal sanctions has been identified, as well as the establishment of a Cultural Heritage Crime Unit.

The monitoring procedure for the Heritage Assessment Report for all six countries involved in the process identified the following key actions to improve integration between inspection, enforcement and sanction systems:

- ▶ improvement of the enforcement and sanction procedures and definition of new procedures and penalties through amending legislation proposals;
- ▶ enhancement of inspection services including increasing the number of inspectors for cultural heritage protection;
- ▶ improvement of co-ordination between customs authorities, ministries responsible for justice, internal affairs and the ministry and institutions responsible for cultural heritage, and with international bodies (INTERPOL, EUPOL). Involvement of the media in raising awareness about heritage as a non-renewable resource and in publicising illegal and unauthorised actions.

Summary

The initial actions to assess legal and policy issues in the early years of the RPSEE (through the Sofia seminar in 2004 and other initiatives to examine integrated management tools and sustainable actions by means of questionnaires and national reports) clarified the need to improve methodology for the protection and management of cultural heritage. This work was developed in tandem with the new approach to valuing cultural heritage as a factor for development, particularly through the rehabilitation of heritage "assets".

Although the enhanced Heritage Assessment initiative and the development of associated action plans came quite late in the Ljubljana Process (the first reports were drafted between November 2012 and March 2013), it built on the early capacity-building assistance and has identified where change to the systems for managing heritage needs to take place in terms of integrating key areas of policy and creating a climate in which heritage can act as a catalyst for development through rehabilitation action. Even though the global financial crisis has had a serious impact on the countries involved, creating economic problems and, consequently, some delay in bringing about the required changes, by opening up these issues after over a decade of legal and policy initiatives there is now a good foundation for facilitating inter-ministerial and inter-sectoral co-operation.

However, by the end of the Ljubljana Process in July 2014 none of the Heritage Assessment Reports had been officially adopted, and although progress on some of the identified actions had been verified by monitoring and by updating the reports, this had only taken place in Albania, Croatia, “the former Yugoslav Republic Macedonia” and Serbia. The continuation of inter-ministerial working groups will allow for the permanent updating of the Heritage Assessment Reports through the monitoring of action plans and the resetting of goals, and will enable the ideas introduced through the Ljubljana Process to be institutionalised and integrated over the longer term. But there remains uncertainty as to whether this work will continue. Much depends on local political consensus to maintain these activities in the future.

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Chapter 3.4

From saving to conservation

David Johnson

This chapter examines the work that has been completed on a small number of the monuments and sites that have been on the Prioritised Intervention List (PIL). In most cases the Ljubljana Process methodology – consisting of the preliminary technical assessment (PTA), Feasibility Study and Business Plan (BP) outlined above in Chapter 2.1 – has been used to develop and monitor the projects to the point where funding applications have been made. From this point local implementation units have generally developed the projects and the monitoring has been more sporadic. The main source of grant aid for the Ljubljana Process projects has been from the European Commission using the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) – prior to this the main sources were the countries themselves or other international agencies. The opportunity has now been taken to visit some of the sites and review the progress of work, where possible discussing the issues that have arisen with key members of the local teams. The views expressed are based on personal observation where the sites have been visited and on information provided by the local experts.

General observations

A number of common themes have emerged out of this assessment, which provides an important reflection on the work done to date. A key theme of the Ljubljana Process from its outset has been to explore how the concept of rehabilitation can be used as a catalyst for local development with particular regard to its impact on job creation, business regeneration and the local community. Naturally, a building project will have an immediate effect on employment through the engagement of professionals and tradespeople in carrying out the work. Several of the projects reviewed have seen more wide-ranging and longer-term benefits brought about by the improvement of trading conditions and the economic stimulus of increased activity. (The wider benefits of investment in these monuments are further discussed in Chapter 3.5.) The project was originally envisaged as monument-based, but we have seen in several cases how the wider landscape, setting and environment have often become essential considerations in the development of the project for the monument itself, requiring refinements in the methodology in order to embrace this wider perspective.

From the outset, the project has suffered from a lack of skills in management and technical expertise, as well as a lack of commitment of resources. This has manifested itself in various ways. Sometimes, the lack of timely intervention has led to the loss of important historic fabric; in other cases a lack of control has led to errors or methodologically questionable decisions over approaches to the rehabilitation works. This, however, has not always been the case: there are other examples where the quality of the management team has provided funders with the confidence needed to proceed with investment.

Another central aim of the process has been to explore how rehabilitating these monuments can be used as a means of reconciliation and capacity building. We have seen this most clearly where buildings have been lost or damaged and communal life disrupted through conflict. However, there are also examples outside the former war zones where communities have been drawn together by using the heritage rehabilitation projects to serve wider educational and social purposes.

Funding has naturally been central to the whole process and the success of a project is often directly related to the effectiveness of the management team in securing the right level of funding at the right time. One recurrent problem relates to the evident lack of experience in preparing accurate cost estimates for the projects. This has improved as new skills, such as business planning, have been introduced to the project but, nevertheless, there is room for more training (see also Chapter 3.5).

The complications of property ownership in the region generally have also been a constant threat to the development of projects, sometimes causing delays, which have resulted in serious damage to buildings, or loss of funding confidence.

Finally, the quality of the conservation work carried out remains a big problem. The loss of skills, both at a professional level and among craftsmen, meant that inadequate or uninformed supervision resulted in bad building. In some cases this has led to the engagement of professionals and contractors from outside the region, which in most cases removes the ownership of the project from the local community, which is completely the opposite of the intentions of the programme. This, too, remains a key issue to be addressed at all levels as heritage management develops in the future.

The projects

Bosnia and Herzegovina

Figures 17a and 17b: City Hall in Sarajevo



The enormous damage to the City Hall (1892-96), Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina), designed by Alexander Vittek, which had served since 1949 as the National and University Library, had no strategic advantage: this was an attack upon culture and identity. In addition to the building, two million books, periodicals and documents are said to have been destroyed (Figure 17a). Given its architectural and symbolic significance, reconstruction of the building to its original form was a priority. This took place in four phases between 1996 and 2014, with an interruption from 2004 to 2010 because of a lack of funds. The standing walls of the building were stabilised, new concrete floors and a new roof constructed, and the interior decoration reinstated (Figure 17b, © Mirzah Fočo). Almost all traces of the building's history have been erased – one darker patch on the tiled floor of the hall testifies to its earlier existence, and a plaque on the wall outside provides the date of the destruction and apportioning blame.

The **City Hall** in Sarajevo is one of Bosnia and Herzegovina's most significant cultural monuments. It was built between 1892 and 1896 to the designs of Alexander Vittek in a pseudo-Moorish style. After serving various municipal functions it became the National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1948. In August 1992 the City Hall was hit by heavy artillery fire and major damage was caused to the physical structure of the building. The outstanding library holdings were destroyed by fire.

The rehabilitation works have been carried out in four phases. The first phase started in 1996 and included the consolidation of the structure and building envelope. The second and third phases completed the repairs to the fabric of the building. The final phase began in 2012 and, at the time of writing (November 2015), was approaching completion and includes all of the interior fitting and finishing. The project has been large in both content and cost. In total, around 11.5 million euros have been secured from various European countries and individual cities including 7.5 million euros from the European Union Renewal, CARDS and IPA (2009 and 2010) programmes, channelled through the Ljubljana Process. Around 4% of the funding was obtained from local resources. The methodology adopted in fundraising for the City Hall has been wide-ranging and included direct marketing and social networking, printed brochures, events organised inside the building and beyond and ongoing dialogue with funding agencies.

The success that the project achieved in fundraising is partly attributable to the setting up of an experienced Project Management Group that was given full responsibility for financial management, accounting and auditing. Public procurement procedures were adopted through the mechanism of the Law on Public Procurements of Bosnia and Herzegovina, recommended guidance procedures for EU funds, open tendering procedures and an international limited procedure with prequalification for construction works.

The rehabilitation of the City Hall has been a key component and symbol of the city's recovery from the impact of the 1992 shelling and its rehabilitation has involved a wide section of the local community, experts and other groups in drawing up the proposals and implementing the project, facilitating a new understanding of the values and significance of the building and examining and agreeing options for its conservation and future use and management.

The scale of the City Hall project has also brought wide benefits to the local workforce and business sector during the 12 years of the project implementation. It is estimated that during this period more than 600 000 euros were invested directly into the workforce and around 4.3 million euros in the purchase of building materials and equipment – the majority of which, according to local sources, being procured in Bosnia and Herzegovina. (Data provided within the Business Plan for the City Hall in Sarajevo, 2014.) It has been estimated that the building, which reopened in May 2014, will generate around 180 000 euros per annum, or 80% of the cost of managing and maintaining the facility for administrative, cultural and educational activities.

The quality of work is generally of a high standard and has been largely carried out with local resources. However, the conservation philosophy underpinning the work has resulted in a highly restorative approach to the fabric. There is little evidence of the evolution of the building in terms of its historic layering, particularly relating to the damage sustained during the war in 1992. Small areas of the original decoration of the fabric have been left but the interior has generally been completely restored and the authenticity of what remains is not clear. The project has been a major undertaking and it therefore seems unfortunate that the few final elements of the interiors – the “off-the-shelf” light fittings and basic heating systems and the quality of some of the finishes – have been compromised as a result of lack of funds. In some of the circulation areas it appears that

original hard finishes have been replaced with paint, and the longevity of these surfaces will be questionable when the building comes back into full use. Overall, the scale and impact of the project is highly successful. Even so, the success of the project has had some negative impacts on the local environment. The resulting increase in traffic and congestion nearby, together with an increase in illegal and insensitive local development resulting from the economic growth of the area, has had a negative impact on the local historic environment. This draws attention to the importance of spatial planning in neighbourhood development to ensure that all aspects of the environment are considered, not least the impact of the project itself.

Figure 18: The Old Jewish Cemetery, Sarajevo



Sarajevo's Jewish cemetery is one of the largest in Europe and is of outstanding historical interest. Shelling during the siege of Sarajevo caused serious damage and, since the war, further problems have resulted from neglect and ill-advised interventions.

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The Old Jewish Cemetery in Sarajevo raises different sorts of conservation challenges: the repair of a large number of small items within a significant historic landscape. Dating from the 16th century, it is the second largest Jewish sepulchral complex in Europe after Prague. It was on the front line during the 1992-1995 war and this resulted in much damage to the landscape and tombstones. The main threat to the cemetery has been landslide and subsidence, which had resulted in damage to the majority of the tombstones.

The site was placed on the PIL in 2004 and the PTA, completed in 2005, established the proposed phases of the works and priorities. The first phase of work carried out to the cemetery has begun to address these issues and has also seen the repair of the main gate, which had partially collapsed. Work completed by 2015 included the consolidation of the ground and drainage system, and stabilisation and conservation works at the main entrance. The restoration of the 20th-century gate

itself involved rebedding the stonework but this is unfortunately debonding, possibly as a result of continued landslide. The work falls within the supervisory role of the Ministry of Culture, but responsibility for the general maintenance lies with the company appointed by the Jewish community and, unfortunately, presentation and maintenance of the site is poor and not attractive to visitors, and will affect the longevity of the repairs. This is doubly unfortunate, since the project has inspired a proposal to nominate the site for the tentative list for World Heritage status, linking Jewish graveyards across international borders.

Bulgaria

The three sites selected for study in Bulgaria are all significant tourist destinations. All of them adopted the Ljubljana Process methodology to prepare technical assessments, feasibility studies and business plans, and to secure funding, and they illustrate clearly how the adoption of the methodology has provided support to funding applications and achieved the outcomes required, which have been completed to a good standard. They appear to have had a significant impact, particularly on the local economy.

Figure 19: St George's Church, Arbanasi



Restoration of the 17th- and early 18th-century wall paintings at St George's Church, Arbanasi (Bulgaria), is part of a wider regeneration programme in an area of outstanding cultural and scenic interest. The work has been carried out in partnership by the public and private sectors. The town was settled in the 17th century by immigrants from Albania and gains much of its visual character from the houses that resemble the *kullas* of Albania.

St George's Church in Arbanasi in the Veliko Tarnovo District of northern Bulgaria, a village that is rich in historic monuments, no longer has a religious function, but is one of a series of richly decorated churches and monasteries which form part of a "cultural route" in this listed architectural and museum reserve. It received grant aid from the Operational Programme for Regional Development

(European structural funds 2009-2012) to conserve a group of important mural paintings – a valuable spin-off from a grant that was directed primarily towards the outstanding wider cultural and natural landscape. According to information supplied by the Regional Museum of History in the town of Veliko Tarnovo, a wider benefit of the grant has been a growth in visitor numbers to the district of around 45% in 2013.

Figure 20: Armira Roman Villa, Ivaylovgrad



One of the most extensive and lavish Roman palaces in Bulgaria, dating from the early 2nd century CE, the Armira Villa, Ivaylovgrad, now restored with the help of European funds, was nominated by the Ministry of Culture for UNESCO World Heritage site status in September 2015.

The 1st-century Roman **Armira Villa near the town of Ivaylovgrad in Haskovo Province** in southern Bulgaria contains outstanding mosaics and architectural details. Its rehabilitation secured similar funding to St George's, the greater part of grant aid coming from EU Pre-Accession Assistance (PHARE) and after 2007 (with the country's accession to the EU) with grants from the EC Regional Development Fund through the Operational Programme for Regional Development. Both projects reflect the priorities defined in regional and national development plans and strategies, which are to develop tourism in an area with a high concentration of significant heritage sites, to ensure preservation, stimulate employment and bring about improvements in the local economy. Since the work was completed in 2013, the site has seen an increase in visits from 3 300 to 7 800 in 2014 and in income generated from 5 000 euros to 11 700 euros in 2014 (information from the Municipality of Ivaylovgrad Tourist Information Centre). There has been a corresponding improvement in local employment and in hotel occupancy.

Figure 21: St Sophia's Basilica, Sofi



Recent rehabilitation projects at St Sophia's Basilica, Sofia (Bulgaria), have opened up the crypt and archaeological levels as a museum that attracted 30 000 visitors in 2013-14. This has been achieved without disrupting the religious function of the main church, which is one of the country's foremost places of worship.

The Basilica **Church of St Sophia** in Bulgaria's capital Sofia, together with its archaeological layers, is one of the oldest and most important historical sites in Bulgaria. Work included the protection and re-presentation of the archaeological remains and the provision of supporting infrastructure and new reception and visitor interpretation facilities. Although the preparation of the technical documentation generally worked well here, there were some problems of increasing and unbudgeted costs as the project developed. This is a common issue: cost estimates prepared early on in the process to set budgets before a full scope of work is established invariably lead to projected costs being exceeded. The lack of technical skills and resources illustrated here has been a recurrent issue throughout the project.

The programme for the St Sophia project was a complex one. Its objective was not just to restore and represent a highly significant archaeological monument in the church crypt, but also to introduce modern tourist facilities and attract a wider market, improve both the income for the benefit of the municipality and the prospects of the local craft market, which relies heavily on tourism. The local experts reported that the project has had a significant impact on the levels of temporary and permanent employment in the municipality and improved employment opportunities in the long term are projected for tourism-related local enterprises. From its opening in mid-2013 to the end of 2014 the new museum received 32 000 visitors, and generated an income of 80 000 euros (information from the Municipal Cultural Institute "Museum of the History of Sofia").

Croatia

The three sites selected for study in Croatia were all at one time residential buildings.

Figure 22: Jusuf Mašković Han, Vrana



Although the Jusuf Mašković *han*, Vrana (Croatia), was left unfinished at the death of Mašković in 1665, there was enough evidence to allow lost elements to be rebuilt with reasonable accuracy. New work is clearly distinguished from old. The site was opened to the public in August 2015.

© David Johnson

The **Jusuf Maskovic Han in Vrana** was one of the first sites to be included on the Prioritised Intervention List (PIL) in 2004. Construction of the *han* began in 1644 but following the untimely death of its patron, Jusuf Maskovic, was never completed. This site has presented particular challenges for rehabilitation and restoration, which is now largely complete. Full technical documents were prepared, based on Ljubljana Process principles, together with an application for funds to the European Pre-Accession Fund. The application was successful and a grant of 2.5 million euros was made.

The programming of the project, however, meant that only 12 months (15 May 2013 to 15 May 2014) were available for the site works to be carried out and this presented the first major challenge. Twenty-four months would have been a more appropriate timescale, but the EU funding process combined with the inflexibility of the completion date prevented this. Even so, in the event, the works were substantially complete after the 12-month site works period without any obvious compromise to quality or facility, although it is understood that the programme made for a fairly stressful time for the design and construction team. A key component in achieving this programme was the appointment at an early stage of a project team leader who has remained with the project throughout: this ensured continuity and programme monitoring at all stages.

The technical work was carried out over four main contracts. The first three comprised investigation, project design and restoration works. The fourth contract, the preparation of a business and marketing plan, involved the appointment of an agency whose role will be to take care of the *han*, organise events and festivals to provide cross funding and report directly to the Ministry of Culture and the municipality. It is proposed that the agency acts in the role of a steering committee and, as well as managing the *han*, will also represent and co-ordinate the interests of the wider community, as well as agricultural interests. The agency, like the building, is not yet in full operation, but it is envisaged that it will have three or four members consisting of representatives of the ministry, the municipality and a building manager. This appears to be a very workable model for the long-term management of the site and warrants long-term monitoring.

Architecturally, the rehabilitation of the *han* has been an interesting challenge. As the building was never completed there was less difficulty than there might otherwise have been over the design of lost elements, such as the chimneys, and there was enough fabric in place to complete missing parts of the building with a reasonable degree of authenticity. A number of new interventions have been constructed, a block of new toilets and a fully equipped kitchen to serve the spacious restaurant. These have been completed using simple, functional forms that are very appropriate to the context. The *han* also benefits from being in an accessible location, close to Lake Vrana and its nature reserve. It should prove to be a popular destination for visitors to the exhibition and restaurant, for the business uses and events that are anticipated and as an important element in the revitalisation of the wider environment.

Moise Palace is the largest residential building of the Renaissance period on the Island of Cres. The plan was styled on the Venetian model, with a central hall and four lateral chambers grouped around two courtyards. The rehabilitation of the palace is a major conservation project that will bring a considerable new functional space into the centre of the town. A total of 3.5 million euros have been identified from the IPA Fund to assist with its adaptation. The palace was identified as a priority project in 2004 and developed through the Ljubljana Process methodology. It was not until 2013, however, that the project actually received funding from the IPA Fund and, although the project is now nearing implementation, the building has remained empty and vulnerable, despite the best efforts of the Ministry of Culture to maintain and consolidate it over the course of the funding process. This dilemma could probably only have been addressed through earlier intervention or interim consolidation methods, and it is symptomatic of a building at risk which has come perilously close to partial or total collapse through inaction and delay. It is intended to use the palace as an education centre, specifically as a conference and lifelong education resource for the University of Rijeka Research Centre for Humanities and Social Sciences.

Figure 23: Moise Palace, Cres



This prosperous patrician's town house, known as the Moise Palace on the Island of Cres (Croatia), lies in the heart of the medieval town. It dates from the 15th century, but much of its original form was obscured by later alterations and years of decay. Documentary research and conservation work have confirmed that it was originally built around two courtyards and that the main range comprised two sumptuous apartments (one on the first floor, the other on the second) set behind a symmetrical façade: it may well have accommodated two aristocratic families, a practice common in renaissance Venice.

“The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”

Two projects – **the Church of St George in Staro Nagorichane and the Church of the Holy Mother of God Peribleptos in Ohrid** – share a common objective that includes not just the conservation of two highly significant historic religious buildings adorned with extensive and outstanding frescoes, but also a vision to use the projects to enhance the social and economic conditions of the local community.

Figure 24a: St George, Staro Nagorichane



The outstanding medieval church of St George, Staro Nagorichane (“the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”), was built during the first quarter of the 14th century by the Serbian king, Milutin. Its frescoes, by the leading artists of the day, Michael Astrapas and Eutychios, had fallen into a sad state of disrepair. The programme of restoration, carried out with the enthusiastic support of the local community, extends beyond the church itself to include the rehabilitation of the village centre. However, many traditional houses and farm buildings remain in poor condition and should be included in a conservation area scheme if the overall character of the place is not to be lost. © R. Pickard

Figure 24b: Houses in village – Staro Nagorichane



© Martin Cherry 2012

St George is situated in the central area of the village of Staro Nagorichane in the north-eastern part of the country. It was built at the beginning of the 14th century on the foundations of an 11th-century predecessor. The project encompasses the church and its grounds, together with an adjacent abandoned old school that is to become a small ethnological museum and an information point for visitors. In addition, it includes rehabilitation of the small village square and fountain as a gathering place for the local community and a future venue for cultural events promoting the heritage of the region. Financial support came from the IPA programme of the European Commission with a grant of 1.2 million euros, supported by a national contribution of 250 000 euros. The broader vision adopted here – that the benefits of conservation can spread more widely than the monument – is regarded by the local experts to be a direct result of the model and methodology offered by the Ljubljana Process. The project does appear to have served as a catalyst to stimulate other local investment, with proposals coming forward from a number of private owners to rehabilitate other buildings in the village and adapt them for use as accommodation and other facilities for visitors.

Despite this enlightened approach, this project was once again beset by the lack of suitably trained professional staff to implement what was a comparatively large-scale project coupled, as it was, with the need to adopt and follow rigorous EU procedures. The common plea at grass-roots level is not only for more training in project management and planning regulation, but also in the preparation of tender documentation and conservation techniques. Another key issue relates to a site observation that EU methodology tends to focus on ensuring that money is spent properly and on time, sometimes with the potential for a negative impact on the qualitative aspects of the projects. This reflects the experience at the Jusuf Maskovic Han in Vrana where a very short timescale was imposed on the process which could quite easily have resulted in a compromise to the design and detail of the project.

Figures 25a and 25b: Mother of God Church, Ohrid



This great 13th-century monastic Church of the Holy Mother of God – Peribleptos, Ohrid (“the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”) – is one of the highpoints of Byzantine art in Macedonia (Figure 25a). It occupies a prominent site in the centre of the old city, one of the oldest human settlements in Europe. The UNESCO World Heritage site was extended in 1980 to include the town and the natural heritage of Lake Ohrid. While much of significance and character survives in the old town (Figure 25b), there have also been a number of inappropriate new building developments that threaten its scale and integrity, despite the existence of strict planning restrictions, spatial plans and conservation guidelines.



Figure 26: Zlatko's Tower, Kratovo



Zlatko's Tower, Kratovo ("the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia"), is one of six surviving early-16th-century fortified houses in the town. Although their setting has been somewhat degraded by poorly proportioned modern development and the towers themselves damaged by inappropriate alterations, they make a considerable impact on the townscape and are themselves significant and rare examples of this medieval building type. They are all amenable to new uses.

The Church at Peribleptos, Ohrid, which had earlier suffered from poor-quality repairs to the roofs that have damaged the frescos, received funding from the US Embassy in Skopje and was subsequently nominated for support from the US Ambassador's Fund for Cultural Preservation, which provided 650 000 US\$ towards the project. It is considered that the adoption of the methodology of the Ljubljana Process played a crucial role in obtaining these grants. The project is still in progress, so it will not be until the end of 2015 that any measurable impact on the social and economic conditions will be seen. However – as the 2014-2020 management plan for the World Heritage Site makes clear – the focus on outstanding individual monuments such as this should not detract attention away from the negative impact of new construction in the old part of the city, which continues to jeopardise the character of the central urban core.

Zlatko's Tower in Kratovo, in the eastern part of “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”, is a 16th-century defensible tower house, one of six remaining in the town and currently owned by the municipality. As a robustly constructed former defensive dwelling, it has the potential for rehabilitation and sustainable reuse, an approach that is encouraged through the Ljubljana Process, as long as proposals do not compromise the historic or architectural integrity of the monument. Although not yet implemented, the proposal is to use the ground and upper floors of the tower as a tourist information centre, while the basement floor will be managed by an NGO to offer small-scale conference and educational facilities relating to the heritage of Kratovo, which was once a prominent medieval mining town.

There are many similar types of small yet important examples of built heritage in this part of Macedonia that are gradually disappearing through lack of maintenance, funding and use, and it is hoped that this project, due for completion during 2016, can be used as a tool to illustrate the potential of heritage investment. The Cultural Heritage Protection Office has recently started drafting a National Strategy for Protection and Use of Cultural Heritage (a legal obligation under the Law on Protection of Cultural Heritage); modelled on the PIL, a prioritised list for the rehabilitation of threatened sites such as these is to be drawn up.

Montenegro

Besac Fortress is situated above Skadar Lake, one of the five national parks in Montenegro. It was built in 1478 by the Turks, on a hill rising above the town of Virpazar. It was abandoned after the Second World War and was in a ruinous condition in 2008 when the Ministry of Culture of Montenegro included it in the PILs and drew up proposals for its rehabilitation on Ljubljana Process principles.

Although there are many similar sites in Montenegro, Besac's location within the national park, the enhanced access and facilities that this provides, and the easy communication to other historic sites and centres for wine and organic food production that already exist in the area, meant that the business case appeared to support the viability of the site as a tourist destination from an early stage in the project.

Figures 27a and 27b: Besac Fortress, Virpazar



The extensive and impressive ruins of Besac Fortress (Montenegro), built by the Ottomans in 1478, are situated above Virpazar on Lake Skadar (Figure 27a). The site is well situated to take advantage of the increasing number of visitors drawn to the lake and its attractive hinterland, less than half an hour's car journey from the international airport. Restoration and the provision of visitor facilities have involved some controversial interventions (Figure 27b, page 129).

Funding for the first phase of restoration works on the fortress was obtained through the creation of the "Restoration of the Besac Fortress at Virpazar" project, implemented by the Ministry of Culture of Montenegro in co-operation with the Delegation of the European Union to Montenegro. A donation was also provided by the World Bank towards the cost of the design of the project. This phase involved consolidation work on the fortress, rebuilding the former barracks as a visitor centre and repairing walls and the access road. This was completed in November 2013. The preparation of the management plan for the site has been successful, bringing together a number of interest groups, including the Public Enterprise for National Parks of Montenegro, the Cultural Centre of Bar and the Skadar Lake National Park. Together they have agreed to form the "Council for Besac Fortress Management", composed of all the stakeholders' representatives, to act as an advisory body responsible for management of the site. The second phase of works is planned through the project "HERA – Sustainable tourism management of Adriatic HERitage", which is being implemented as part of the framework of the IPA Adriatic cross-border programme. The remaining works should be finished by early 2016.



Like many other parts of the region, Montenegro has lost many of its traditional building skills, and contractors had to be brought in from Italy and Serbia to carry out the first phase of the project. While the standard of the work is generally considered good, there are questions about the appropriateness of some of the materials, specifically the roof tiles used on the new visitor centre, which seem incongruous on this site. Recent developments nearby are a problem, too: a new building constructed at the base of the fortress does not demonstrate the attention to detail that the site demands.

The former **French embassy, Cetinje** is situated in the historic core of the old royal capital of Montenegro. It was designed by the French architect Paul Gaudet and built between 1908 and 1910. At present, the building houses a collection of old and rare books and legacies of the National Library of Montenegro, and it is intended that it form the new home for the projected Museum of Books and Printing.

The project was one of the first PIL si es. A PTA and feasibility study were prepared which released funds to repair the external fabric of the building, the condition of which was considered a high risk to the valuable archive. This was followed by an architectural study of the building, which has resulted in the preparation of an exhibition guide and research work that is available online. The objective is to enhance public awareness through the building's architecture and historical collections. This has involved constructive dialogue between many parties: with experts from Montenegro, Serbia and France, the National Library of Montenegro, the Ministry of Culture, and the Petrović Njegoš Foundation, which runs a "French Corner" in a part of the building.

Figure 28: Former French Embassy, Cetinje



The Principality of Montenegro gained its independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1878 and became a kingdom in 1910: international recognition led to a number of embassies being established in the capital, Cetinje. Many survive and help give this small mountain city its cosmopolitan character. The French Embassy (1910) was designed by French architect, Paul Gaudet, in a secessionist style that was rare in the country at that time.

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Serbia

The **Dray Mill (Suvaca) in Kikinda** is located in the North Banat District of Serbia. It is the only remaining animal-powered flour mill in this region and is designated as a cultural monument of exceptional significance. A PTA was prepared for the building in 2012 under the Ljubljana Process, followed by a Feasibility Study and Business Plan. Detailed research has been carried out to ascertain the structural condition of the building, and market research and social impact studies carried out using small grants from various local stakeholder groups. This vision is innovative and has already achieved wide support from the local population and stakeholders, evidenced through the commitment of finance from a wide sector of the community. The project aims to create a place whereby the rehabilitation of

traditional architecture can also help preserve the memories of the traditional life of Vojvodina farmers, offer educational support and craft skills to local people, and serve as a market place for local products.

Figures 29a and 29b: Dray Mill, Kikinda



The *Suvača* ("grain-grinding") mill is the only surviving horse-powered grain mill in Serbia, and is a rare example even in a European context. Modest in scale and relying on now-obsolete technology, such examples of industrial archaeology are highly vulnerable. Figure 29a shows the exterior of the buildings, constructed of local materials, and 29b the main working area.

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The monument is managed by the National Museum of Kikinda, and it is intended that many of the activities developed under the present project will be continued on a more permanent basis by the museum itself. The building is already being used as a focus for both traditional and contemporary events in Kikinda, such as a creative food art fair under the “Creative Kikinda” banner, as well as through other programmes carried out by local NGOs interested in organising events and engaging the local community.

The log **Church of St Peter and Paul in Darosava** dates from the 1830s and was placed on the PIL in 2010 to underline the significance of a building type that was once widespread throughout Serbia, but where there are now only 30 remaining. It remains in religious use for religious festivals and a project has been launched to expand its use to help address the growing demand for tourist facilities in the Arendelovac region. Specifically, it is planned to use the church for summer school activities and as a place for displaying traditional craft products. A preliminary technical assessment was completed in 2013, a feasibility study in 2014 and there is now a design project for the building, financed by the Ministry of Culture. The ministry has also provided 67 000 euros towards the refurbishment project.

Figure 30: Interior of Senjski Rudnik coal mine



The Senjski Rudnik brown coal mine (Serbia) was established in 1853 and is the oldest preserved industrial heritage site in the country. Conservation and some rehabilitation, with advice from Finland and Wales, began while the mine was still operating (see Figure 14). The challenge has been to bring redundant spaces back into use without compromising their historic integrity and industrial aesthetic, as here where the advanced concrete detailing has been repaired and exposed along with the original staircase and mezzanine floor structure. The simple use of black paint on the modern steel elements clearly distinguishes old from new.

These short-case studies, drawn from across six of the partner countries, show a wide range of building types and sites – churches and cemeteries, castles, tower houses, palaces and *hans*, embassies, vernacular and industrial buildings – that have benefited from the Ljubljana Process methodology,

which has been recognised by a wide variety of funding agencies: its value as a management tool has been established. The majority of the projects are in some way connected with tourism, but several have seen spin-offs that have benefited the wider community. The success of the projects has often depended heavily on the enthusiasm of a few. This is not sustainable. Specifically there is a demonstrable lack of suitably trained professional staff to implement the projects in the context of what are often complex EU application procedures. There is an ongoing demand for more training in project and financial management, business planning and planning regulations, as well as in the preparation of tender documentation and in conservation techniques. Perhaps most important of all is the need to embed the Ljubljana Process principles into the day-to-day management of the built heritage and win the “ownership” of all those responsible for the cultural heritage.

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Chapter 3.5

Realising the potential of heritage regeneration

Will Bartlett, Nancy McGrath and John Baguley

Substantial research literature now exists that demonstrates that cultural heritage can have a significant and positive impact on local economic development and the quality of life of individuals and local communities although, as yet, only a small part of this relates specifically to South-East Europe. The contribution of cultural heritage to local economic development through job and wealth creation can provide an attractive environment for domestic and foreign investors. The first part of this chapter considers these issues with special reference to Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia and makes clear the pressing need in the region for much more effective commercial business planning in the long-term management of heritage sites. The second part looks more closely at the principles and mechanics of business planning and the centrality of these to effective fundraising that is sustainable and avoids long-term dependency on external funding.

Heritage and local economic development

Will Bartlett

There is substantial and growing specialist literature on the wider benefits that result from investment in cultural heritage. These benefits, it is frequently maintained, range from boosting economic development, often through tourism, creating jobs and bringing redundant buildings and public spaces back into use to the general enhancement of the quality of life through environmental improvements and increased security. These instrumental values can deepen peoples' sense of well-being, of belonging and attachment to place, thereby strengthening social cohesion (Holden and Baltà, 2012). The detailed evidence for benefits that result from the rehabilitation of specific monuments or heritage sites is quite difficult to come by, however. As the authors of one recent and substantial review of the literature (commissioned by the European Commission) pointed out: "Although considerable progress has been made in measuring the economic value of heritage in quantitative terms, both on macro- and micro-levels, there is still a long way to go" (Dümcke and Gnedovsky: 8; and see Chapter 3.1 in this volume). Sometimes, impact is not judged dispassionately: it lacks sound baseline information, and may reflect the agenda of those who commissioned the research. Often cultural heritage is subsumed within the omnibus term "cultural and creative industries" (which includes software publishing and video games), a sector that saw employment growth increase three times that of overall employment growth in the EU. But it can be difficult to extract specific heritage strands from this data and measure their impact (EC 2010: 163-216). Also, "cultural heritage" is itself a highly inclusive concept. It includes heritage institutions such as museums and galleries as well as archaeological sites, monuments and ensembles, both protected and unprotected. As defined in the Faro Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (2005, Article 2), cultural heritage comprises "a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time". Most discussion in the literature is about actions within the "heritage sector", broadly defined, which form part of a wider range of activities that provide growth and employment. Thus it becomes possible to claim that the "built heritage" in the UK generates between £11 and 14.47 billion GVA (Heritage Lottery Fund 2015: 26). This survey, one of the most recent available, bases most of its findings on work from the sector as a whole, although it contains various useful references to a small number of specific cases where wider benefits have been measured (see also English Heritage 2014).

Among Dümcke's and Gnedovsky's priority research recommendations to the EC is to develop "methodological guidelines and toolkits for the assessment, on a micro level, of the economic impact of heritage institutions and sites" (ibid: 143) – a task that assumed growing importance within the Ljubljana Process. A recent study of the wider benefits of investment in the cultural heritage for local communities (Bartlett et al. 2015) in two countries of South-East Europe has demonstrated how the Ljubljana Process and associated investments in cultural heritage have contributed to local economic development and engagement with local communities in the region. Overall, the experience of investment in the cultural heritage in the region has given rise to positive benefit, engaged local communities, generated new employment opportunities and promoted local economic development. However, not all investments in cultural heritage have achieved their full potential in this regard, and significant obstacles often hinder linkages to local communities and impacts on local economic development. The following paragraphs summarise the findings of the study, which was based on interviews with numerous informants at national and local level, and on a set of visitor and community surveys carried out in six local communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia.

Where they have taken place, research studies into the effects of cultural heritage on local economic and community development have generally been positive. However, many studies point out that more could often be done to boost the economic and social potential of heritage sites for local communities. Even where heritage sites have an established stream of visitors, the linkages to the local economy are often weak or non-existent (Hampton 2005). For example, tourism departments and local authorities could engage to a greater extent with local communities so that their voice is heard in relation to the nature of site improvements. Local small businesses provide an important carrier for the spill-over effects of cultural heritage tourism to the local community, and these should be closely involved in rehabilitation works, upgrading of sites and in the provision of tourism services; micro-loans should be made available to support such involvement. In addition, the skills of the local workforce often need to be enhanced to better engage with new opportunities arising from investments in cultural heritage. New skills in craft production, traditional construction techniques, marketing, foreign language proficiency and other areas may be provided by innovations in course design in local educational institutions. New skills can also be imparted through on-the-job training, involving local people in rehabilitation projects even where these are contracted out to construction companies from outside the locality. The important role of cultural heritage in attracting new investment to the local economy should also be borne in mind. Both domestic and foreign investors can play an important role in rehabilitating the cultural heritage (Murzyn-Kupisz 2013). The cultural heritage can play a particularly powerful role in attracting investors, especially foreign investors, when a region or locality can be distinguished from other places by the special quality of its local built heritage environment.

Bosnia and Herzegovina

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the three sites chosen for the study were Sarajevo's City Hall (Vijećnica), the town of Jajce and the village of Lukomir (a cultural landscape). The Vijećnica was built in 1894 and officially opened in 1896. It hosted the Sarajevo City Administration until 1949, when it was handed over to the National and University Library. It is situated on the bank of the Miljacka River, close to the town's historic urban core. It is Sarajevo's most representative building of the Austro-Hungarian period and an important example of pseudo-Moorish style. The town of Jajce stands on a narrow valley at the confluence of the rivers Pliva and Vrbas. The architectural value of its fortress and its place in the cultural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina as the last capital of the Bosnian kings in the 15th century make it a monument of considerable national importance. The village of

Lukomir (Gornji Lukomir) is located in a high mountain region, cut off by snowfall for six months of the year, and is consequently one of the most isolated settlements in the country. The most significant feature of the village of Lukomir is its vernacular architecture and farming landscape, reflecting a traditional way of life (Nikolić and Šarančić Logo 2011).

The reconstruction of Sarajevo's City Hall has had a strong impact on the local community. The consortium that carried out the development used both local workers and contractors from around the country, and local small businesses benefited from the influx of workers. An additional benefit is that future maintenance work will be carried out by local businesses. The reconstructed building was opened in 2014, and is expected to bring increased numbers of customers to local retailers, restaurants and hotels. However, the rehabilitation of the City Hall has not led to the creation of new social networks due to poor collaboration between the project consortium and the local community. No sustainable conservation partnerships have been developed and the local population feels disconnected from the conservation process. And, as noted in Chapter 3.4, uncontrolled building development in the vicinity has done little to enhance the setting of the monument.

Investments in cultural heritage at Jajce have created numerous jobs in the local community. However, very few small registered businesses have been set up to cater to the tourist industry. Lax regulation has allowed illegal business to flourish, and has undermined the incentives to set up new businesses, which are unable to compete with the illegal operators who avoid paying taxes and other local charges. Despite this, the creation of jobs through investment in heritage has brought the community closer together, and workers employed on the reconstruction projects have learned new skills. Social events have also contributed to social cohesion within the community, as have conservation summer schools organised by a local NGO.

Gornji Lukomir has benefited less than Sarajevo or Jajce from investment in cultural heritage, making an entrance fee impractical. The only employment generated is the private sale of refreshments and souvenirs, but little of the resulting profit is reinvested into the site. Being an isolated village, it is heavily reliant on excursions organised from Sarajevo. Consequently, its tourist potential remains under-utilised, and income from tourist concessions is not distributed within the community. Some investment has been made in the provision of basic amenities, and in a "House of Culture", which has yet to become a focus for any cultural events. An "End of Winter" festival traditionally held in February in the village has been cancelled in recent years and the village's capacity to continue holding cultural events seems in doubt. Lukomir's high educational potential similarly remains under-utilised. A major issue still remains the lack of a usable all-season road between Lukomir and Konjic, which reduces its use even by local traffic.

Serbia

The three heritage sites studied in Serbia were Lepenski Vir, Gamzigrad and the Fortress of Bač. Lepenski Vir, one of the most significant Mesolithic and Neolithic archaeological sites in Europe, is located on the right bank of the Danube in Djerdap gorge (the Iron Gates). The archaeological site of Gamzigrad – *Felix Romuliana* – is a Roman palace in eastern Serbia, near the town of Zaječar. Conservation and restoration activities at the site have led to the creation of an archaeological park. The Fortress of Bač is one of the oldest fortresses in Serbia, built in the 14th century by the Hungarian King Charles Robert I. It became an Ottoman possession after the Battle of Mohács in 1526. At the time of the Rákóczi Uprising (1703-11), the fort was burned, destroyed and abandoned.

Each of these three sites has made a contribution to the development of their local communities. Following the construction of an access road, parking spaces and a protective shelter at the cultural

heritage site at Lepenski Vir, tourist numbers have significantly increased, while the facilities for visitors that arrive by riverboat are also being improved. Many young local people have volunteered at cultural events held at the site, building social capital and local community engagement. A local restaurant that sources local food is patronised by an increasing number of customers. However, the continuing business activity of the restaurant is threatened by licensing difficulties, highlighting the institutional problems that hinder the full realisation of the value of cultural heritage sites to local communities in Serbia.

Investment in the Zaječar–Paraćin highway has similarly improved access to the cultural heritage site *Felix Romuliana* at Gamzigrad. Consequently, the site is making an increasing contribution to the local economy. Local people sell their homemade craft products and workers employed on rehabilitation works have learned new skills. The site also contributes to the local community by hosting cultural festivals and creating partnerships with other regional heritage sites.

The contribution of the cultural heritage site at Bač to the local community and to local economic development has perhaps been less than in the other two sites studied in Serbia. As it is a “diffused museum” it is more difficult to levy a co-ordinated user charge. Although souvenirs are produced and sold in Bač, the site has not realised its full potential to support local business growth. The positive impact of the heritage site on the local community is more visible. Local people visit the fortress frequently and the municipal government has made an effort to boost tourism by reconstructing an access road to it. The religious sites at Bač are important for local people, and they often hold cross-denominational social events. Local residents are becoming increasingly aware of the potential for eco-tourism, as many houses have been constructed in traditional style. The rehabilitation project in Bač has been instrumental in developing partnerships with academic institutions, and workers employed on rehabilitation works have learned new skills.

Overall, despite some positive experiences in the six case study sites, the research revealed that cultural heritage sites have not been fully utilised as assets for economic or community development. In Serbia, for example, although a tourist tax is collected by the central government, very little if any is transferred back into the development of the local sites, although some significant infrastructure investments have been made to improve road access. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the tourist tax is rarely collected at all. Consequently, local communities seldom feel the economic benefits of cultural heritage tourism, and many cultural heritage sites in the region lack appropriate infrastructure and access roads. Most sites also lack effective signage, interpretation materials or visitor facilities such as cafes and souvenir shops. This in turn reduces the wider public awareness of heritage sites, diminishes visits to them and hinders local communities from capturing the full potential of heritage sites for the local economy. Moreover, in both countries, many stakeholders view investments in cultural heritage as an unnecessary expense, rather than as an important contribution to increased capacity for local economic and community development. Furthermore, there is often little understanding of the potential economic benefits that adequate investment in cultural heritage could bring to local communities in the form of job creation and increased commerce. This lack of awareness of the commercial possibilities is often rather self-defeating, as cheap imported souvenirs are sold to visiting tourists instead of traditional wares created by local craftsmen, which could increase employment and income in the community.

This level of awareness of the potential benefits of cultural heritage within local communities is especially low for rural sites that are only weakly connected to their urban hubs. This local lack of awareness has also led to vandalism of some rehabilitated sites, undoing the positive effects of investment. The potential of cultural heritage in post-conflict reconciliation has been held up as a key benefit to local communities in regions affected by the wars of Yugoslav succession. However, these

benefits have rarely been achieved within local communities, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Some observers have argued that cultural heritage sites act as an encouragement to refugees to return to their communities, whereas others believe that cultural heritage is of less concern than the many social issues the returnees face. Revisionist approaches to monuments and the creation of “new” heritage sites related to the 1990s war are also detrimental to the reconciliation potential of the cultural heritage, a point touched on more fully in Chapter 4.3.

Monitoring and evaluation of investments in cultural heritage is also needed, but is rarely carried out. After the completion of restoration projects, funds are rarely allocated for the maintenance of sites or for monitoring their use. The long-term monitoring of sites and project implementation and evaluation are rarely included in contracts between government authorities and contractors hired to implement works. Furthermore, there is only a limited obligation on the government to carry out post-project monitoring and assessment. This lacuna generally diminishes the potential overall impact of the cultural heritage sites in the region on local economic and social development.

Business planning and fundraising

Nancy McGrath and John Baguley

Definition

A project business plan is the road map that shows potential funders, trustees, stakeholders and most of all the project teams, where they are starting from, where they aim to go and how and when they are going to get there. In its guidance document, *Project Business Plan Guidance* (Heritage Lottery Fund 2012), the UK Heritage Lottery Fund gives the definition of the Project Business Plan as being the plan that “sets out the financial and organisational aspects of [the] project”. It states that the plan must show how the full financial implications of undertaking the project have been assessed; how it is proposed to meet any new financial commitments arising from it; how the impact the project will have on the lead organisation and its finances has been assessed; and what changes will be made to the organisation to ensure that the outcomes of the project can be delivered and will be maintained for the long term. It further argues that the project business plan is not the same as the forward plan produced for the organisation as a whole – it must be specific to the project. The business plan provides a blueprint for future management, raises issues and finds solutions regarding the long-term sustainability of the project. It is the key document for funding applications in that it should highlight the benefits of the project in order to persuade funders to donate funds to pay for a monument’s or a site’s restoration and, secondly, to demonstrate that, once restored, it can become financially sustainable so that it does not fall into disrepair again over time and repeat the “boom–bust” cycle.

The point of fundraising is to avoid dependency and set up sustainable income streams. It is not just about the process of researching potential international funders and writing applications. Of equal if not greater importance, is developing the ability to think strategically about the fundraising possibilities, both in-country – from sources such as companies, foundations and wealthy individuals, fundraising for events, setting up “Friends of the Site”, etc. – as well as from overseas, which includes any diaspora, as well as grant-makers and institutions such as universities, which may become financial benefactors of the site, together with internet fundraising such as crowdfunding.

Effective fundraising is critical where – as in most of South-East Europe – the running costs of cultural heritage sites are largely or entirely met from the public purse. This has meant in the past that monuments might be open to the public free of charge with little or no incentive felt to raise income through commercial enterprises. However, as public budgets come under ever more pressure, it is becoming increasingly unlikely that state funds will ever be generous enough to finance all the activities that site managers might wish to undertake. Business planning is essential, not least to demonstrate that public money is being spent efficiently. More often than not, funding to complete a conservation or rehabilitation project will come from a variety of sources, some of which may be public funds. Once the site or monument is restored however, it becomes increasingly challenging to secure ongoing grant aid to cover annual expenditure such as staff costs or maintenance, and the site will be expected to raise revenues from commercial activities and fundraising in order to cover its costs. In any event, if the site is to reach its full potential in terms of the revival and long-term growth of the local economy, then it will need to do a lot more than simply the bare minimum of opening its doors and ensuring that basic maintenance is carried out. And, in order for this to happen, it will need to generate funds to enable job creation, apprenticeships, training programmes and so on.

Business planning, fundraising and the Ljubljana Process

Business planning, as an identified discipline or specialism, was introduced to the IRPP/SAAH methodology relatively late in the process in 2009. Heritage Assessment Reports (HARs) and the Prioritised Intervention Lists had both been established and Preliminary Technical Assessments (PTAs) had been carried out across 160 or so of the 186 PIL sites. At this stage, there was some recognition that business plans were needed – firstly to inform the detailed design and planning stages of the individual projects, and secondly to support the various project sponsors in securing capital funding for the implementation and delivery of the projects – but it was clear that what was meant by the term was very vague and that many of the building blocks required to develop a meaningful business plan simply did not exist. This should not have come as a surprise since, as a discipline, business planning is at a much earlier stage of development than pretty well all of the other technical disciplines. This situation resulted in there being a poorly developed or, indeed, no obvious appreciation of the need for business planning per se; a lack of evidence-based analysis; little or no prioritisation; and a clear lack of integration of business planning into the design and development process. Many so-called business plans contained no forecasts for revenue or expenditure beyond the amount of money needed to deliver the immediate project. Arguably, a business plan without any numbers is not a business plan. This was compounded by a serious lack of available data, especially at sites that had no historical data on visitor numbers, spend levels, etc. But even at sites where visitor numbers (and ticket receipts) were recorded, these seem seldom to have been analysed for business purposes. The main issue was not so much the lack of data as the lack of appreciation as to why those data might be important.

All too often the business plans produced for the PIL sites included a long wish list of aspirations rather than a well-reasoned argument as to why, for example, a cafe on the site was appropriate but self-catering accommodation was not. This unfocused approach reduced the likelihood that the rehabilitated PIL sites would fulfil their true potential to contribute to the revival and long-term growth of the local economy, since it is almost always the case that success will be achieved by doing a few things well rather than trying to do too many things and spreading resources too thinly.

There was also a serious lack of joined-up thinking within projects and co-ordination between stakeholders. Since the business planning process must be integrated into the project from the outset, there needs to be a shared understanding on the part of all those involved in the management of

a site and an appreciation of the monument's capacity for change. So, for example, let us take a site located in an area with the right conditions to support the provision of services and facilities for which visitors would be prepared to pay. If the monument itself does not have the right-sized interior space to house an admissions point and cafe, or these are too sensitive to admit of conversion, but it is the cafe that will generate the revenues needed to pay for ongoing maintenance of the site, then a new building on or near the site to accommodate these functions may be justified on budgetary grounds: the main issue to resolve then will be to ensure that its design complements rather than compromises the special architectural quality of the site. Greater integration would undoubtedly be achieved if there were greater levels of inter-ministerial co-ordination, especially since most project managers and project co-ordinators are based within the Ministry of Culture or the heritage institutions. It is essential that executives within the tourism, information, economics, finance and other ministries, who will have relevant experience, information and market data that could and should be applied to the project in hand, are closely involved from the beginning.

As with professional business planning, fundraising was integral to the IRPP/SAAH project designs at an early stage of the programme, but there was little attempt to develop any concept of professional fundraising as an ongoing discipline with which the various ministries would have to engage. Indeed, some early donors gave without requiring proper feedback or even a monitoring and evaluation process. More rigour at this stage on the part of funders would at least have prepared staff for handling the transition from seeking help from the obvious sources, such as the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance fund (IPA) into more competitive arenas. The effect of large grants made in the early stages of the programme (mainly from outside the region) was to raise expectations that more would follow to finish the work, requiring comparatively little effort on the part of the applicants, compared to the more demanding guidelines and application formalities required now by grant-making foundations and other institutions. The resultant lack of professionally staffed fundraising departments means that those involved are now faced with a process of starting from scratch in learning how to develop a fundraising strategy, and acquiring the professional standards required to successfully implement such plans to sustain the sites over the long term. Despite these handicaps, the sums raised during the course of the IRPP/SAAH and Ljubljana Process II (LP II) programmes have been considerable (upwards of €85 million) and have been drawn from a fairly wide range of (mainly public) funding sources (see Chapter 3.1; sources of funding are broken down in more detail in Chapter 3.2).

The skills deficit and training needs

Most of the principles that underpin business planning in the commercial world – detailed analysis, rigorous thinking, reasoned arguments and so on – are applicable with appropriate adaptation and refinement to the cultural heritage sector. Being transferable, these skills do not necessarily have to be bought in: training workshops set up during the Ljubljana programme concentrated on teaching core skills to the project co-ordinators, the idea being that these key personnel would then pass on this knowledge to project managers and others “on the ground” and directly involved in delivering the projects. Such an approach was undermined by the rapid turnover of professional, especially administrative staff, which, in the absence of systematic staff development programmes, resulted in a failure to build up a firm body of corporate knowledge – a situation common to the public sector more generally (see Chapter 3.3). A basic template for the business plan had been developed prior to the involvement of the Council of Europe financial experts and for the sake of simplicity it was decided that, while this template was not perfect, it was preferable to adopt the version that had been circulated quite widely by this point, rather than to confuse matters and start again with

a new one so soon after the first was issued. In order to provide something of permanent value, a series of Council of Europe missions took place in 2013 to work with national task force members and local project managers in the partnership countries that concentrated on developing fundraising strategies, integrating these with sustainable business plans, and researching and approaching sources of funds for cultural heritage. This was followed by a training session in Strasbourg, for the newly developed Regional Experts Pool, on business planning and fundraising in February 2014, designed “to develop and deliver training in the areas of Business Planning and Fundraising so that the principles might be embedded within the LPPI; as well as gaining a common understanding of the principles of fund-raising and how they apply in the heritage context within the beneficiary countries”. Alongside this training programme a Business Planning and Fundraising Handbook was developed and prepared for publication. This was made relevant by taking examples from the Ljubljana Process flagship projects in some of the countries attending the Strasbourg training session. Analysis of the sources of funds to date and research into possible new sources of funds also paved the way for training in fundraising research. Although, as already mentioned, business planning had been introduced much earlier into the LPPI programme, the 2013-14 initiative tried to ensure that written plans were produced to a professional level proportional to the needs of the site.

One of the main causes of resistance to the introduction of business planning and fundraising to the management of sensitive historic and archaeological sites was the threat they were perceived to pose to the integrity of the sites themselves. This was partly born out of the fear of the unknown: heritage specialists whose training had not included wider management skills saw business and conservation as being essentially opposed. While the principles of the sustainable management of heritage sites encourage the exploration of ways in which the sites might contribute to their own upkeep and maintenance in the long term, they must do so in a way that does not compromise the intrinsic qualities that make the site outstanding in cultural terms. Financial sustainability for historic places should not be interpreted as meaning the generation of huge profits or unfettered commercialism. So while there were fears on the part of professionals within the heritage sector to be addressed – about damage that might be caused by raising income – there were, equally, expectations on the part of investors to be managed – about unrealistic profits to be derived from the exploitation of a site. In some ways, the latter – dampening investors’ expectations – is the more challenging task.

The region has large numbers of able managers who, with the right skills, can master the techniques of business management. Fundraising and enticing inward development to the heritage sector requires a more complex mix of skills. It is vitally important that the required investment in fundraising staff, offices and start-up funds, as well as the provision of fundraising training, is made. There is, of course, much information that can be accessed online, but this is no substitute for experienced or properly trained fundraising staff. This is one of the major challenges now facing those concerned with cultural heritage in the region, because without this investment, of which there is currently little trace within the sector, there will not be sufficient professional fundraising experience to raise the large sums required to manage the majority of sites in the long term and for LPPI principles to take root and thrive. This process of providing professional fundraising guidance and direct assistance cannot be left to those concerned with each individual site, but must be embedded at national government level if it is to be successful.

Fundraising also involves a step change in project management. Governments in the region have often been faced with grant-makers who were keen to help sites of cultural heritage where they had totemic significance and this may have instilled a false expectation that this would continue indefinitely (for example, as with the initial work on the former French embassy in Cetinje). In

the main, potential grant-makers do not come to the applicant: they must first be found, then made aware of the problems, then shown how the needs of the various sites fit in with both their objectives and their guidelines. Once a grant has been made, that is not the end of the matter: the funders still need to be kept informed of progress, consulted on changes and briefed on the final completion, possibly with a series of site visits while work is under way. All this will entail a stepping up of the teams' work in monitoring and evaluation and in reporting back on progress, dealing with problems as they arise: no project goes entirely according to plan and funders may need to be asked for their permission for their funds to be used in a slightly different way than originally intended. This process will become key to ongoing support from these funders and the long-term sustainability of sites.

As economies in the region pick up, corporate sponsorship and other forms of benefit should increase. Many sites are able to host fundraising events to raise funds for the site or sometimes by renting out part of the site at a profit. For example, since 1992 the International Festival of Antique Drama Stobi has sought to preserve the tradition of the antique theatre of Stobi archaeological site in "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia". However, these funds are not necessarily ploughed back into the site; sometimes they are re-routed to meet other requirements and sometimes to offset government subsidy. So it is important that the use of these profits be made clear in the early negotiations over site use. There is, consequently, an urgent need for the rapid acquisition of professional fundraising staff. Such people will quickly repay any investment that is made in their development and in the fundraising process. There is also a clear need to budget for fundraising at the business planning stage but this is not currently evident in the plans emerging across the region. One key question needs to be asked at the outset: how should properly trained fundraising staff be distributed – either concentrated in the ministry, so that individual departments or institutes can draw on government expertise, or distributed across the institutes? Given that the required investment is provided, there is no reason to think these sites cannot become sustainable in the medium term, and if that knowledge becomes embedded in the region, then many more sites can be conserved and enjoyed in the long term.

Although fundraising expertise can be tapped from abroad, there is certainly plenty of experience of attracting inward investment within the region (less so within the heritage sector). Most countries have government-sponsored foreign investment agencies that specialise in this field (e.g. SIEPA in Serbia), although how far there is a "fundraising profession" in quite the same sense as exists in the UK and elsewhere in Europe – mostly in the charity sector – is another matter. In the Western Balkans there is a large NGO sector that is mainly oriented towards political goals, such as democracy promotion and fighting corruption, rather than charitable works. Most of the bodies linked to heritage rehabilitation and protection are state bodies or local governments. Nonetheless, there is demonstrably a pool of expertise in South-East Europe that could, and should, be harnessed for the benefit of the region's cultural heritage.

Finally, there is the thorny issue of dependency: are we encouraging a dependency on external help? The point of business planning, as mentioned earlier, is rather to avoid dependency and set up sustainable income streams. Of course, if the funds are not available within the country then funds from other countries must be sourced, but the underlying concept has always been that fundraising is at best a temporary expedient before the business plan is fully implemented and, if the plan does not prove adequate, then local fundraising is the next step. Funds from overseas are no easier to access in the long term than local funds, as grant-makers do not want any one recipient to be dependent on them indefinitely (often funding for a maximum of three years or less) and local funds are therefore more likely to be sustainable.

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Part Four

Threats and opportunities

Chapter 4.1

The concept of heritage

John Bold

Heritage and its associated terminology embody issues of great complexity that are not capable of simple definition and compartmentalisation. What heritage constitutes and what it means will always be questioned; the responsibility for its identification and designation will be arguable; its place in a globalised, multi-connected world will be contested. Of one thing however we can be clear, that heritage over the course of the past 20 years has come to be regarded no longer simply as an object or practice, but as an agent in socio-economic processes. It was in recognition of this shift that the Council of Europe and the European Commission embarked upon the IRPP/SAAH and the Ljubljana Process. The success of these projects however should not seduce us into thinking that all lessons have been learned and all procedures understood and applied. The development of the broader understanding of heritage and its impacts will require repetition and reinforcement through conventions and guidelines, and through practical applications with tangible outcomes, if it is to maintain its role as a fully sustainable concept, a fundamental pillar of a free, democratic society.

The definition, protection and management of the cultural heritage rests on a large body of authoritative conventions, charters, recommendations and declarations promulgated by the Council of Europe (as well as by ICOMOS) over 40 years, indeed longer if we include the European Cultural Convention (Paris, 1954) which enjoined contracting parties to “regard the objects of European cultural value ... as integral parts of the common cultural heritage of Europe” and encouraged them to “take appropriate measures to safeguard them” and “ensure reasonable access thereto”. This notwithstanding, the protection of heritage and its promotion as a fundamental human right, like the protection of freedom itself, require eternal vigilance. That the principles of integrated conservation (conservation should be one of the first considerations in all urban and regional planning) are frequently restated and recast is a reflection of how far we have still to go as we progress from the acceptance of basic principles towards their practical implementation. This might cause us to call into question the utopian universality of values proposed within UNESCO’s World Heritage Convention. The experience of the IRPP/SAAH and the Ljubljana Process presents a clear case in point in which it was necessary for long-established principles to be restated in a new and evolving situation, with new proposals for practical application. It is a function of the human condition that significant consciousness begins with our own birth and that anything before that point is historic, fragmentary, hearsay and potentially beyond understanding: failing to learn from history we repeat the errors of the past; indeed our perceptions of history are filtered and chosen through the selective preoccupations of the present day (Rajagopalan 2013: 322). Such preoccupations in certain circumstances might enable a merciful amnesia: “the morning of the bombing, because it was over, became history and therefore ceased to exist” (Konrad 1987: 64). Each generation appears to be condemned to fight its own enervating battles that an earlier generation might have believed to be already won. In heritage protection and rehabilitation we seem to be doomed to reinvent the wheel as we reinterpret and rewrite principles and practice which will serve the needs of our own age and place. Heritage protection, particularly in our age of instantaneity and media overload, to some people might appear to be concerned with a cloudy and imprecisely understood past far removed from the relevance and urgency of the present-day concerns which govern our lives.

Figure 31: City Hall, Sarajevo



Prominently located and overlooking the Miljacka River on the border of the commercial and business district of Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina), the City Hall of 1892-96 was shelled and set on fire in August 1992. Thus, the largest and most representative building of the Austro-Hungarian period in the capital, a handsome and important example of the pseudo-Moorish style, was gutted. The building was reopened in time to mark the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War, a conflict triggered in part by the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie, Duchess of Hohenberg, immediately after their visit to the building in June 1914. The plan is for it to serve once more as the National and University Library, as well as housing the city council and a museum (see also Figure 17 and Chapter 3.4).

The definition of “heritage” is elusive since it is so broad, arguable and contested – “what is or may be inherited; inherited circumstances or benefit” (*Oxford English Dictionary*). Its use is an attempt to give meaning to activities and artefacts to make sense of a process, to ascribe values and meanings to rituals, beliefs and above all to objects, particularly when they are at risk. It is when buildings are threatened by demolition or redevelopment; targeted as symbols of identity in war; subject to natural disaster or inevitable decay, that they come to be perceived as a heritage to be protected, embodying historical or aesthetic values or traditions: threat concentrates the mind and encourages the ascription of “heritage” through procedures which invite the use of the word as a verb (“to heritage”). This includes the categorisation and designation which creates an accepted canon (Harrison 2010: 14-15). In the series of publications, *European Heritage* (1974-5), produced to celebrate European Architectural Heritage Year (1975), threat was the generator, with considerations of “The changing city”, “The invading motor car”, “The problems of historic towns” and “The impact of tourism” (when, unlike today, “impact” was a pejorative term). In the final issue, “Policies and Problems”, which surveyed, *inter alia*, new uses for old buildings, conservation legislation and modern buildings in old settings, an essay on “the voice of the citizen” celebrated public engagement in a survey of a century of amenity and preservation societies, proposing this as a test bed for society at large in its fight against the alienation of the individual from the forces of control that are

central to industrialised society. Such public engagement was a key component of the Amsterdam Declaration, the culmination of European Architectural Heritage Year. This laid emphasis on areas of historic or cultural interest, as well as individual buildings of exceptional quality, referring to these as the joint possession of all the peoples of Europe who were said to have a joint responsibility to protect them. It further stated that architectural conservation should not be marginal but a major objective of town and country planning; that rehabilitation should respect the social composition of the residents, and all sections of society should share in the benefits of restoration; that local authorities should collaborate, and legislative and administrative measures made more effective; that adequate financial assistance should be made available and fiscal relief provided to private owners; that architectural heritage will survive only if it is appreciated by the public; that educational programmes should give increased attention to it and encouragement should be given to independent organisations which help awaken public interest; lastly, that every effort should be made to ensure that contemporary architecture is of high quality since it is the heritage of tomorrow (a highly provocative concept in an activity which is generally regarded as retrospective, and perhaps arrogant in its presumption of timeless values).

The main point here is that the built heritage is a function of society. It does not stand alone as a collection of isolated artefacts which serve only to sentimentalise the past and present, an inconvenient barrier to progress. It is fundamental to our rights and responsibilities as citizens. But the emphasis which national heritage legislation has laid on the expert identification and the professional administration of the built heritage, necessarily so since statute and practice require precision and prescription, has led to the notion that it is only when professional expertise and the law are engaged that heritage can be defined and celebrated: hence Laurajane Smith's critique of the Authorised Heritage Discourse, focused on artefacts removed from their context and endorsed by expert rather than subaltern opinion (Smith 2006). For many years however, the Council of Europe has bucked this particular trend in heritage assessment and management in arguing not only for the centrality of heritage to society but also vigorously promoting the notion of integrated conservation as a basic constituent of town and country planning, going beyond mere preservation towards revitalisation and rehabilitation, with new uses for buildings or ensembles serving social ends, for the benefit of society as a whole (Council of Europe 1976; see also Pickard 2002: 33-36). The Faro Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (2005) represented a further significant attempt to foreground society rather than artefacts (see Chapter 2.1, Annex). The IRPP/SAAH and the Ljubljana Process, taking numerous cues from the Amsterdam Declaration, have attempted to use the built heritage as a starting point for social and economic rehabilitation and well-being, rather than treating it as a self-evidently good thing to be protected for its own sake. The consequent shift in emphasis in South-East Europe, from heritage as object to heritage as agent, is a major legacy of the project and a key to future initiatives.

David Lowenthal famously distinguished heritage from history: "History explores and explains pasts grown ever more opaque over time; heritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes" (Lowenthal 1997: xi). This distinction is underlined by the belief in heritage as a catalyst for the achievement of socio-economic change, now an acknowledged truism in official heritage discourse: "It is now widely agreed that heritage – with its value for identity, and as a repository of historical, cultural and social memory, preserved through its authenticity, integrity and 'sense of place' – forms a crucial aspect of the development process. The challenge of integrating heritage and ensuring that it has a role in the context of sustainable development is to demonstrate that heritage plays a part in social cohesion, well-being, creativity and economic appeal, and is a factor in promoting understanding between communities" (ICOMOS 2011). The Paris Declaration was predicated on the notion that "the effects of globalisation on societies are manifested in the attrition of their values, identity and

cultural diversity”, hence the need to examine the relationship between heritage and development. It is easy to demonise globalisation in an age of political fragmentation when economies are severely disrupted and lives ruined by the casual, global excesses of currency traders and speculative bankers; when multinational companies drive down the costs of labour and force populations into states of slavery; when digital media promotes an illusory democracy of worldwide instant connectedness encouraging the mistaken belief that everything and every remark has equal value; when “manufactured ‘travels in hyper-reality’ that are crudely derived from heritage values” (Paris Declaration) substitute for the real, direct, authentic experience; when shopping malls and office blocks in Europe look the same and sell the same goods and services as those in North America and the Far East. But if heritage is defined by threat, then globalisation paradoxically has performed a service of great value. It is when buildings or landscapes are threatened by encroaching development that we recognise their importance and work to preserve them. It is when communities are threatened by dispersal or worse that their often dormant sense of identity as expressed through their heritage reasserts itself as a cohesive, resistant force. The potential for action and creation released by the globalisation of information is both profound and beneficial, from marshalling resistance to political oppression to the (generally) more benign circumstances of the making of art – as Robert Storr, Director of the Venice Biennale (2007) has noted, “the dire predictions of global homogenisation are just not true. There’s a lot of shared information, but people do wildly different things with it” (Thornton 2008: 229-30).

Furthermore, there are the more obviously positive effects of globalisation, albeit not without drawbacks: world travel increases the carbon footprint but it brings people together, annihilating distance, creating global communities (even, *pace* the Faro Convention, “heritage communities”) and enabling the sampling, appreciation and defending of cultures and places other than our own: “Travel, in the younger sort, is a part of education; in the elder, a part of experience” (Bacon 1906: 54). Mass tourism encourages the commodification of heritage and the theming of heritage sites but it nevertheless raises awareness and fosters engagement, notwithstanding the moral disapproval of independent travellers and elite opinion formers. Travels in hyper-reality have the same potential and the same risks. It is suggested that the hyper-real simulation which includes the merging of the real and the fictive distorts the reality which it purports to represent – but this is surely the basis of the greatest of European baroque art and no one would suggest that the viewer cannot distinguish the two or require the mediation of an expert view in order to do so. Simulation and replication threaten the notion of the authenticity of the object, that genuineness – the “quintessence of everything about it since its creation” which for Walter Benjamin was “beyond technological ... reproducibility” (Benjamin 2009: 232-3). But they have the potential not only to limit the pressure on authentic sites, but also to educate. This is not new. In 18th-century England, Lord Pembroke proposed the building of a scaled-down Stonehenge as an eye-catcher on top of a hill on his great estate at Wilton. As noted by the editor of Defoe’s *A Tour thro’ the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1748): “who, that sees that stupendous Piece of Antiquity in its Ruins, will not be desirous to behold it, as it was in its supposed flourishing State?” (Bold 1988: 89-90). Travels in hyper-reality have similar potential – they are far more nuanced than the Paris Declaration would allow. They do not confuse or conflate the authentic with the simulacrum but afford it equal value while recognising its distinctness. Copies may be regarded as perfect “once the fetishistic desire for the original is forgotten”, with reassurance established through Imitation (Eco 1987: 39 and 57). It is only when there is an elision of the authentic and the simulated experience, and a concealment of the purpose of the simulation, together with a concealment of the means by which it is achieved, that warning notices may be required. It is legitimate to criticise those historical reconstructions of market areas redeveloped for mass tourism in which the disparate traces of the past are solidified into a unified image, restoring an intactness that never was, to create those “illusory environments of simulation [which] provide the decor for our acts of consumption” (Boyer 1992: 200). But this would be to overlook the purpose of such marketing initiatives and it would be

remarkably arrogant, in keeping with the notion of the superior judgment of the elite, to suggest that consumers cannot tell the difference between the authentic and the simulated environment.

Globalisation as an emerging world system, embodying economic, technological and cultural revolutions, is both uneven and unequal in its impacts. But like simulation and replication, it is not new. It presents just the latest apparent threat to the idea of the local and recognisable which has been long besieged by the processes of mass migration, occasioned throughout history by war and famine, as well as by trade, and in the last two and a half centuries through the shift from agrarian to industrial societies. Now, in the fragile, post-colonial, post-industrial societies in which the managing and selling of processes, performance and display in an unpredictable economy has superseded the solidity and certainty of the manufacture of stuff, the importance of place and the consciousness of belonging to that place, however ordinary, are once more in need of affirmation. This goes beyond the traditional emphasis on the significant monumental heritage, identified by expert Western opinion, towards the broad definition introduced in the Burra Charter for Places of Cultural Significance (Australia ICOMOS, 1999): "cultural significance is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, association, meanings, records, related places and related objects", noting also that "places may have a range of values for different individuals or groups". Contextualisation and judgments of relative value are implicit. As Dolores Hayden had earlier observed in connection with the urban landscapes of Los Angeles: "restoring significant shared meanings for many neglected urban places first involves claiming the entire urban cultural landscape ... not just its architectural monuments ... A politically conscious approach to urban preservation ... must emphasise public processes and public memory. This will involve reconsidering strategies for the representation of women's history and ethnic history in public places, as well as for the preservation of places themselves" (Hayden 1995: 11).

Such considerations in the United Kingdom informed Stuart Hall's keynote speech to the conference "Whose Heritage? The Impact of Cultural Diversity on Britain's Living Heritage" (Hall 1999). Acknowledging heritage as a discursive practice, rather than a set of objects, Hall noted the selectivity of the collective social memory emerging from its construction: a selective "canonisation" conferring authority on tradition. For Hall, the resulting Authorised Heritage Discourse (as it would be termed later) reflected "the governing assumptions of its time and context". But these assumptions over time are "open to contestation, re-negotiation and revision". In the context of multicultural Britain, he called for a reimagining and revision of the idea of heritage in order to embrace the "other" in a more inclusive reading of nationhood in which everybody has a stake, an investment. Far from being backward looking, an escape from the concerns of the present day into contemplation of a settled past, the construction of heritage here serves to mediate between past and present, acknowledging that a Eurocentric view of tradition, heritage and authenticity is no longer tenable in a world of cultural complexity and contestation (see also Rajagopalan 2013: 315). Heritage is mutable and must be recognised as such if it is to continue to serve present purposes, negotiating and regulating change and enabling the continuing dynamic accommodation of populations, artefacts and practices.

The mutability of heritage is reflected in the idea of authenticity, the slippery notion with which it is forever yoked. Laurajane Smith has noted the suggestion that the contemporary concern for authenticity stems from a reaction to the devastation of the Second World War and the runaway urban development of the 1960s, coming into prominence in the ICOMOS Venice Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (1964) which focused on monuments "in the full richness of their authenticity" (Smith 2006: 27). But what does this mean? As Dorothy Bell has observed, authenticity "is not an easy concept" (Bell 1997: 28; see also Bold and Pickard 2013: 113 and 121-3). It is in fact as elusive in meaning as "heritage" itself, particularly since discourse on heritage and reconstruction has come to acknowledge it as being as much concerned with the intangible values and activities associated with buildings and sites which might have resonances

as great or greater than mere material fabric. The wide use of the term beyond the built heritage compounds the difficulties in its application. Along with “heritage” it has been enlisted as a term of art in marketing to encourage trust in quality and tradition: authentic Barbour cotton handkerchiefs; the rich heritage of George Karelias cigarettes. Susan Fainstein has acknowledged the complexity of the concept in writing on the commercialised rehabilitation of London’s Covent Garden wholesale market which “satisfied those historic preservationists whose aims were limited to the conservation of architecture, demonstrated that property developers could prosper equally from renovation and new construction, and continued to provoke disdain from community organisations representing low-income groups and preservationists devoted to authenticity” (Fainstein 2001: 50). For Fainstein, “the dismissal of contemporary redevelopment projects as inauthentic implies that authenticity once reigned” (Fainstein 2001: 208). But were the values associated with that imagined authenticity the values which prevail today, and in deeming such manifestations as Covent Garden inauthentic are we not making inappropriate *de haut en bas* moral judgments about contemporary mass culture and its associated behaviours as we tend to do in discussing the commodification of heritage and its theming? Are we back here to the Authorised Heritage Discourse? As Fainstein concludes, “the evaluation of authenticity depends heavily on the taste of the observer, and references to a previous golden age when urban life conformed more closely to the model of tolerant diversity are unconvincing” (Fainstein 2001: 210). This is a golden age which paradoxically also must be burdened with a painful history, real or imagined, since rehabilitation and associated gentrification (as property and land values rise) is often dependent on discovering or creating a bleak past with an exploited working class with which present lively optimism might be contrasted. How much authenticity do we wish to (re-) create? Sharon Zukin has written persuasively on “authentic urban places”, identifying in New York City the two faces of authenticity: “features that every generation views as ‘original’ because they have been there throughout their lifetimes, and features that each new generation creates on their own” (Zukin 2010: xi). In the face of the homogenising forces of redevelopment and the loss of distinctive identities, authenticity is a mechanism for the expression of our anxieties about how places change (Zukin 2010: xi and 220). It is also for Zukin “nearly always used as a lever of cultural power for a group to claim space and take it away from others without direct confrontation, with the help of the state and elected official and the persuasion of the media and consumer culture” (Zukin 2010: 246). This effectively underlines the case for a greater democratisation of the decision-making processes, empowering communities to assert their own values, identifying and maintaining their own authentic heritage, challenging the exclusivity inherent in the identification of the authorised canon.

The Paris Declaration has stated its intention “to put authenticity at the heart of the development of cultural tourism and the growth of interpretation and communication strategies”. Similarly to the Venice Charter this is a counsel of perfection which presupposes absolute values, which as outlined above are a highly questionable proposition. The presumption of an absolute authenticity in fact was undermined by Walter Benjamin’s notion of the “aura” of an object, lost in reproductive technology: “the genuineness [ie. authenticity] of a thing is the quintessence of everything about it since its creation that can be handed down, from its material duration to the historical witness that it bears” (Benjamin 2009: 233). But is it lost or just replaced? For Foster and Curtis, in their discussion of replicas, particularly plaster casts, the replica too has an aura of its own: “The historical and digital technologies used to create virtual replicas share the goal of faithful replication, to promote a sense of authenticity; they therefore share an interest in how aura is generated and its relationship to the thing being copied” (Foster and Curtis 2016). Received notions of authenticity and aura are challenged in a world in which the creation of digital virtual reality has seriously compromised our certainties about the solidity and permanence of the material object – an old philosophical trope, familiar from Dr Johnson’s vigorous stone-kicking refutation of Bishop Berkeley’s theory of the non-existence of matter, returns in a new guise (Boswell 1906: I, 292).

Figure 32: Aladza Mosque, Foca



The destruction of religious monuments during war represents an attack on identity designed to drive out and disperse the population. The reconstruction of such monuments is intended to encourage the return of the displaced and the re-establishment of their community, sending a clear message that justice and human rights should prevail over destruction. The Aladza (or “painted”) Mosque, Foca (Bosnia and Herzegovina), was considered to be one of the most important monuments of its date in South-East Europe. It was mined and destroyed down to its foundations in 1992, and its remains scattered. This single-spaced, domed mosque, with a slender minaret, was a symbol of the town and distinctive in its architectural form and painted geometrical and floral decoration. All salvageable material has been recovered, with the help of volunteers, and full reconstruction was begun in 2014, based on detailed records made in the 1970s. Funding of 2.5 million euros, provided by the Turkish Islamic community and the US Embassy in Sarajevo has enabled rebuilding of this iconic monument to begin, and (at the time of writing) it was scheduled to be completed within two years. It is hoped that this rebuilding, together with the already completed reconstruction of several other mosques, and the building of schools, a theatre and a sports centre, will encourage returnees to this once multi-ethnic town.

© Commission to Preserve National Monuments Bosnia and Herzegovina c. 1990

The application of Benjamin's perception to the conservation of monuments potentially would give equal value to all of its phases of development, and indeed contemporary conservation practice attempts to do just that by preserving evidence of historical evolution. This is why the reconstruction of the Town Hall, Sarajevo, removing all traces of its turbulent history, disturbs specialist opinion. Reconstruction is a particularly fraught battleground for devotees of an absolute authenticity, and it is abundantly clear that in a pluralistic society with relative and shifting values, we need rather more forgiving guidelines on a subject that continues to arouse strong opinions. This is particularly the case in the approach to reconstruction after war or natural disaster when decisions are needed on whether to build anew, signifying modernity and a new beginning, or whether to seek to restore original appearances. A compromise position between these two would be to reconstruct in a contemporary style which nevertheless in scale, materials and overall layout, reflects what was there before. Consideration of which of these approaches to follow is a particularly critical issue following war when the reinstatement of former appearances reinforces the sense of place and familiarity, which encourages the return of the displaced. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the IRPP/SAAH and the Ljubljana Process have encouraged the reconstruction of a small number of totally destroyed monuments to former appearances since this was deemed to be crucial to the rehabilitation which was the central concern of the project. But heritage doctrine from the Venice Charter onwards has argued against this apparent assault on the notion of authenticity. However, the broadening of that notion to extend beyond mere questions of fabric to embrace larger, intangible concerns should surely prompt reconsideration of principles and practice in a review of the issues surrounding reconstruction, including the technical desiderata, ensuring that if and when it is done, it is done to the highest possible standards (Bold and Pickard 2013). It is encouraging to note that the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe has recently adopted a report and recommendations on cultural heritage in crisis and post-crisis situations in which the reconstruction of damaged or destroyed cultural heritage is seen as part of a broader strategy for preserving cultural identity and diversity (Council of Europe 2015). Since this is an issue with potentially global ramifications, it would be appropriate for the Council of Europe to work together with national and international bodies towards a coherent policy for the protection and rehabilitation of the cultural heritage before, during and after crisis.

It must be acknowledged however that reconstruction after crisis, sometimes far from enabling reconciliation, may be construed as a further act of aggression, promoting an assertive political and ideological stance (Bold and Pickard 2013: 116). Some reconstructed kullas (traditional tower houses) in Kosovo are entirely new buildings on new sites, drawing on a rich architectural heritage for their inspiration. Here we have a physical demonstration of the important distinction drawn by David Lowenthal: "Heritage diverges from history not in being biased but in its view of bias. Historians aim to reduce bias; heritage sanctions and strengthens it" (Lowenthal 1998: 8). But history is written and memorials are erected after conflict by the victors, with the result that history may easily be distorted, perhaps unwittingly subject to bias, and those memorials may at best be partial. The rebuilding of a destroyed built heritage is especially susceptible to such distorted and selective views of the past and the ways in which it has been embodied in material culture. Selection of what to reconstruct involves political decisions about meanings and identities, and political actors tend to favour one truth rather than an inconvenient multiplicity of perceptions and beliefs. So the reconstruction of Warsaw after its destruction in the Second World War focused on the historic core of the city which most clearly represented a Polish national identity which had been undermined by a century of Russian, German and Austrian domination (Goldman 2005: 138-40). The carefully edited reconstruction not only asserted national identity but provided immense propaganda value for the post-war communist government: here was a triumph of Socialist Realism. This distortion, or perhaps prioritisation of history through the construction of monuments, may go even further

towards the invention of a tradition. As Eric Hobsbawm has observed with respect to the construction of the new German Empire in 1871, “buildings and monuments were the most visible form of establishing a new interpretation of German history”, fusing an older, invented, romantic tradition with the physical, symbolic and practical requirements of modern nationalism, in a “mass of masonry and statuary” (Hobsbawm 1983: 274-5). In Skopje today, the centre of the capital of “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” has suffered a conscious enrichment of its cultural heritage with the erasing or concealment of the post-earthquake (1963) modernism master plan by Kenzo Tange in favour of a dominant neo-classicism which was never there before, in order to present the city as a participant in a western European architectural tradition. This neo-classicisation also overshadows and diminishes the surviving Albanian (Muslim) heritage in the city, which continues to moulder through under-investment. So new myths of heritage ineluctably will follow with the acceptance over time of a new tradition.

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe has argued for multi-perspective history teaching to overcome the notion that there is only one story to be told after conflict, going so far as to recommend in 1999 a five-year moratorium on history teaching in Bosnia and Herzegovina “on how the recent conflict is taught”: “all history teaching concerning the Balkans raises issues. The most difficult areas concern the competing versions of the ‘truth’ and of the responsibility for historic events, with the obvious danger that history teaching will be used as a tool of nationalist propaganda”. One year later the Assembly regretted the lack of progress and urged a common approach from all the communities (Council of Europe 2009, explanatory memorandum, 18-19). As in Bosnia and Herzegovina, so in Cyprus following the events of 1974, which for many signalled the end of history and its teaching, so a generation has been left in the void to investigate for itself its own place in the painful aftermath of partition. Lowenthal notwithstanding, both history and heritage may alike be hijacked for politicised ends.

The cultural heritage continues to elude precise definition; the essentially mutable notion of authenticity continues to be contested. We must recognise that these concepts do not stand alone as bearers of absolute values with universally applicable meanings. As Mrinalini Rajagopalan has shown, “the future development of preservation discourse will require architectural historians and theorists to understand preservation as ineluctably imbricated within the forces of globalisation, neo-liberalism and cosmopolitanism rather than a process which stands in opposition to them” (Rajagopalan 2013: 322). This is a contingent world which calls for pragmatism rather than counsels of perfection; which does not condemn but enlists “travels in hyper-reality” as an educational and performative strategy; which accepts the commodification and theming of heritage as a tribute to its potency rather than a malign attack upon its integrity; which recognises that the real is distinguishable from the simulacrum, and that both have their place. It is no longer appropriate (if it ever was) for heritage specialists to seek to occupy a moral high ground. It should no longer be regarded as a purely specialist subject although specialists will still be required. In acknowledging the needs of a pluralist society we should work towards “understandings of preservation that go beyond the *apêrçus* of universal objectification and absolute definition” (Rajagopalan 2013: 322).

In an important recent communication, the European Commission has recognised cultural heritage as “an asset for all, a responsibility for all”. Although seeing it as still undervalued in its contribution to economic growth and social cohesion, the Commission recognises “heritage as a source of social innovation for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth”: the “valorisation and preservation of heritage [should be] part of broader long-term development plans”. So the principles and assumptions of the Faro Convention and the Ljubljana Process inform current debate on the economic and social potential of the heritage, the part which it plays in the promotion of cultural diversity, its capacity to serve as a catalyst for creativity and growth (European Commission 2014). This is a

moment for the pooling of experience and expectation within the European institutions, as well as with ICOMOS and UNESCO. The concept of heritage has progressed significantly over half a century, from valorised artefact to agent of change, from product to process, as definitions have broadened to embrace new realities in a multi-connected world. This broadening of definition and application, this evolution of the concept of heritage, in a multicultural, multi-connected Europe must continue to be emphasised in discussions on the future shape and well-being of particular communities and society as a whole. The Council of Europe has remained at the forefront of this evolution. It has required persistence of focus and adaptation to changing circumstances but the core principle of enlisting heritage as key to the protection of human rights remains as potent now as ever before, paradoxically strengthened by the various assaults to which peoples, practices and objects have been subject. It is incumbent upon us to maintain the place of heritage in all its manifestations as a fundamental pillar of a free, democratic society.

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Chapter 4.2

Priorities and public perceptions – The Ljubljana Process and European cultural heritage strategies for the 21st century

Martin Cherry

The Ljubljana Process has achieved a great deal and there is much to celebrate. But, as earlier chapters have indicated, there is still unfinished business, and new priorities have emerged in the light of current European imperatives and the Council of Europe's response to them. This chapter looks at two aspects of cultural heritage policy in the region that have been flagged by the Ljubljana Process but not so far discussed at length in this book. Both are critical when devising policies for protecting and promoting cultural heritage. The first concerns the designation systems that form the basic tools for heritage management. These are reviewed and found to be cumbersome and in need of overhauling. It is suggested that picking and choosing from innovative practice elsewhere could make them smarter so that they more directly meet the needs of modern society. Secondly, designation systems are top-down and privilege the "high art" canon (see Chapter 4.1) rather than the local heritage that reflects the culture of everyday life, which often means more to most people. Reaching out to meet local communities and harness local aspirations without compromising the most important national sites is the key to mobilising public support for conservation-led regeneration, without which little can be achieved.

Changes in attitude towards significance

This section explores some of the ways in which the values that are attached to culturally significant historical monuments have changed in the recent past – and continue to change – and considers the implications of these changes on the designation of monuments as sites of special interest, and on the management of the historic environment more widely. The issue of cultural heritage as contested territory forms the subject of the previous chapter. Here we look at the stresses and strains imposed on heritage institutions and policy making by two forces: changing specialist views about what is significant (on the one hand) and public and community expectations about the role of heritage in their day-to-day lives (on the other). Heritage professionals in the region are increasingly conscious that significant categories of monument are unevaluated and unprotected – industrial, vernacular and 20th-century buildings have been identified as priority areas in almost all the partnership countries – while at the same time they acknowledge that swathes of what might be called “conventional” heritage such as archaeological sites and historic townscape remain unlisted and vulnerable. Meanwhile, the Faro Convention is nudging the heritage sector in South-East Europe to re-focus and re-tool: as expressed in Chapter 2.1, Faro urges heritage policy makers to put society rather than artefacts at the top of their agenda, to place the historic built environment as “a starting point for social and economic rehabilitation and well-being, rather than treating it as a self-evidently good thing to be protected for its own sake”. These two forces – specialist views as to what makes heritage special and public expectations about what heritage can deliver – can create tensions, but there is potentially much common ground between them; both make demands on the public purse but can create incentives for private investment. All this presents challenges about valorisation and protection policies: more positively, it creates an opportunity to avoid some of the traps laid by the cumulative and sometimes inconsistent heritage protection legislation of the past 60 years and to focus heritage policies in such a way that they address the central issues facing society in the 21st century.

What is and what is not protected

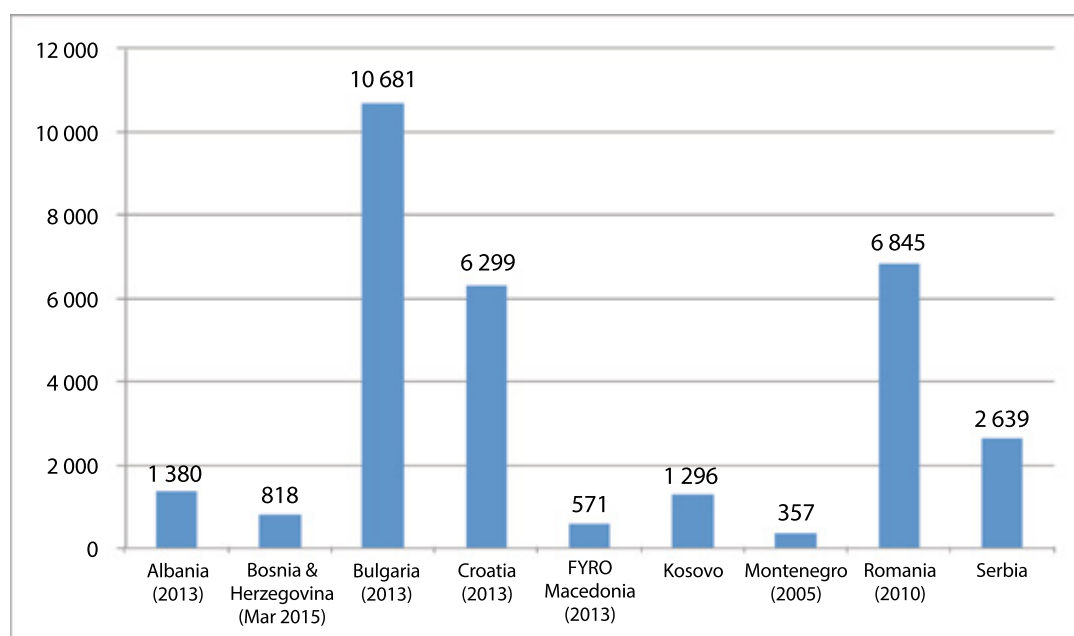
The levels of statutory protection, and the institutional infrastructure needed to support it, were relatively well advanced across much of the region prior to the disruptions of the 1980s and 1990s, and the collection and organisation of data reasonably well managed. In Yugoslavia, President Tito had taken a proactive approach to historic monuments from the late 1940s. A new heritage law was enacted in 1949 and strengthened in 1965: it encouraged restoration, and established the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Belgrade. The standards set here were comparable to those prevailing throughout much of Western Europe: strict laws existed and were often enforced, inventories were compiled, traditional crafts encouraged and conservation professionals trained. Things began to unwind only with the transfer of competencies to individual republics in the late 1980s (Stubbs and Makaš 2011: Chapter 24), a process that was exacerbated by the privatisation of crafts and conservation and staff and budget reductions.

Elsewhere the situation varied, although most countries enjoyed something of a cultural heritage renaissance in the 1960s – as was the case throughout much of northern and western Europe. National heritage institutes were set up (or revamped) in Albania (1965), Romania (1968) and Bulgaria (1969). Several countries had a tradition of care that went back many decades. In Albania, heritage protection was first embedded within an Education Act of 1922. In Romania, a national Historic Monuments Commission, responsible for compiling inventories, was founded in 1892 and strengthened over time. An interesting example of the relationship between data collection and heritage protection is a royal decree of 1915 stipulating that all churches built prior to 1834 were

to be protected until the inventory was completed and a final list could be drawn up on the basis of a definitive comparative assessment (Nemteanu 1992: 41).

The lack of institutional continuity during the 1990s led to confusion and some loss of direction. Even the most basic building blocks of an efficient heritage protection system – definitive statutory lists of protected entities – remain in a state of flux and are sometimes difficult to access. The combination of new cultural heritage legislation (either in place and bedding down, or still in draft) and institutional reorganisation has made it difficult in some cases to establish which monuments are legally protected, a situation complicated by the sometimes unclear relationship between the old (pre-1989) lists of protected sites and those being currently compiled by the new authorities. Table 1 attempts to summarise the current situation but it is bedevilled by conflicting figures (not least in official sources) and the inconsistent categorisation of monument types.

Table 1 – Total number of protected immovable heritage entities



Sources: Rikalović and Mikić (2014) supplemented from various official sources. The Kosovo figures were provided to the author by the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sport.

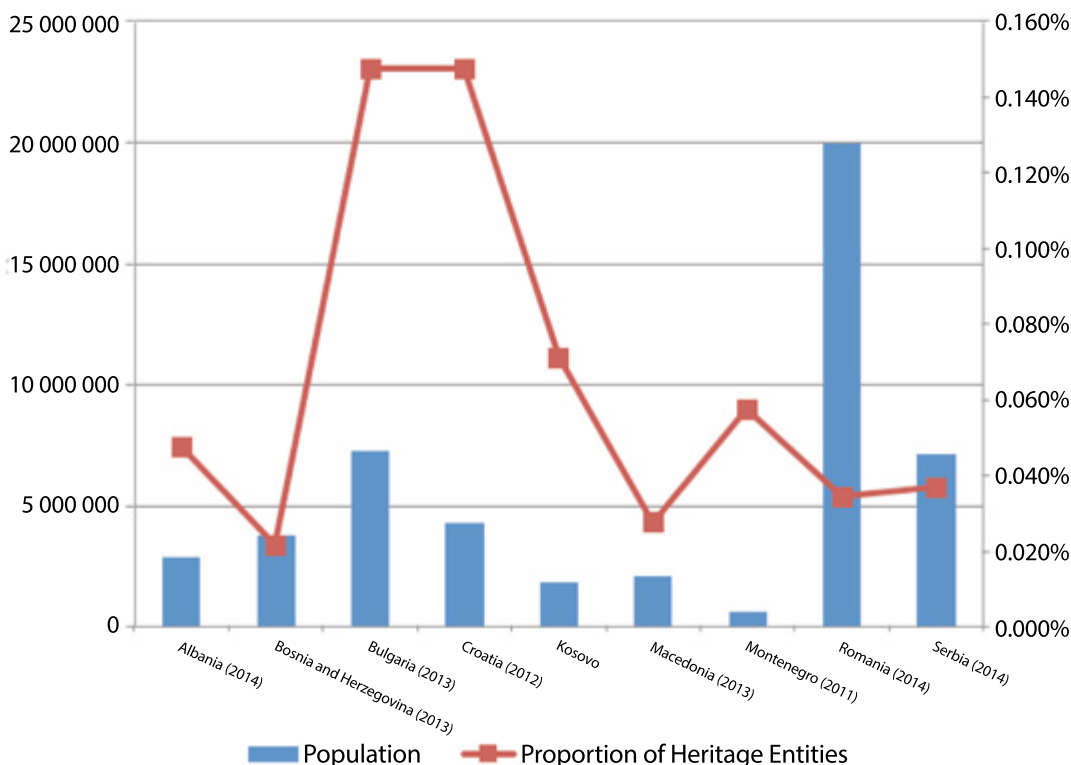
Notes: Entities may include many individual monuments; some designations are termed “ensembles”.

Revision of the lists of protected sites is under way in all the partnership countries, albeit slowly, often hampered by staff shortages or lack of adequate funding. There are additional pressures, for instance in Bulgaria, for the role of designation to be delegated or shared with local authorities; in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the national commission is required to consider candidates for protection on the basis of petitions submitted by local bodies or members of the public, making much needed systematic surveys of monuments at risk difficult to initiate.

The provisional nature of these figures makes it difficult to draw meaningful comparisons with other parts of Europe. Table 2 shows that the ratio between population and listed monuments varies substantially between countries within the region, but the variation is not significantly out of kilter with that prevailing in the rest of Europe: but some countries – Serbia and, in particular, Bosnia and

Herzegovina – have low ratios, comparable with Sweden. (In Sweden, however, the proportion is skewed by its relatively low population and large land mass; if the figures used were for monuments in Bosnia that are known to be of national importance but are not yet protected, the ratio would be identical to that of France.)

Table 2 – Ratio of protected heritage entities to population



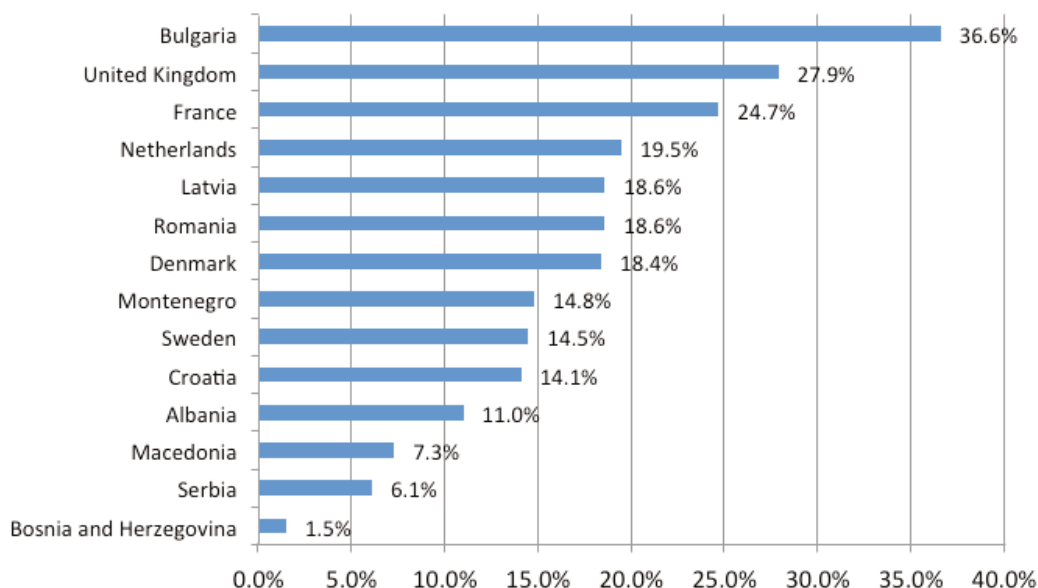
Sources: Official census results; ratios derived from figures given in Table 1

It is interesting, in passing, to note the levels of protection afforded to areas of natural or scientific significance, both in the region and beyond (Table 3).

The starting point for the monuments placed on the IRPP/SAAH and Ljubljana programme Prioritised Intervention Lists (PIL) is that they are statutorily protected at a national level. As indicated above, the statutory lists or registers that comprise the official record are in a state of flux. While the old pre-1989 designations remain operative, they are currently being revised in all the LPIL partnership countries. Consequently there are often two lists in operation; in Bosnia and Herzegovina there are three – the old list, the revised list and the list of monuments put forward as petitions which are protected *pro tem*. until endorsed or rejected by the national commission. Although the heritage legislation under which the designation systems operate has generally been updated, the revision process itself is slow and laborious. In “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”, according to a ministry spokesperson, there is a complex system of documenting cultural heritage and the review process is extremely slow. In Serbia, despite the fact that institutions are obliged to digitise

the record, in line with international conventions, “most registers are still in paper form, and there are no links with the registry GIS”. Likewise, in Albania, the inventory system does not adhere to the core data standards and, although it is relatively up to date, there is no regular updating schedule in place for the future (Council of Europe Heritage Assessment Reports 2013). Considering the financial and staffing constraints that are common across the board, much impressive progress is being made, particularly on the digital mapping front. But the question must be asked: in the light of the substantial backlogs in the revision of the designation record and also, given the scale of the archaeology and historic building heritage that is known to be important *and* unprotected, is there not a better way? (This is explored more fully in the following section.)

Table 3 – Protected areas as a percentage of total land area

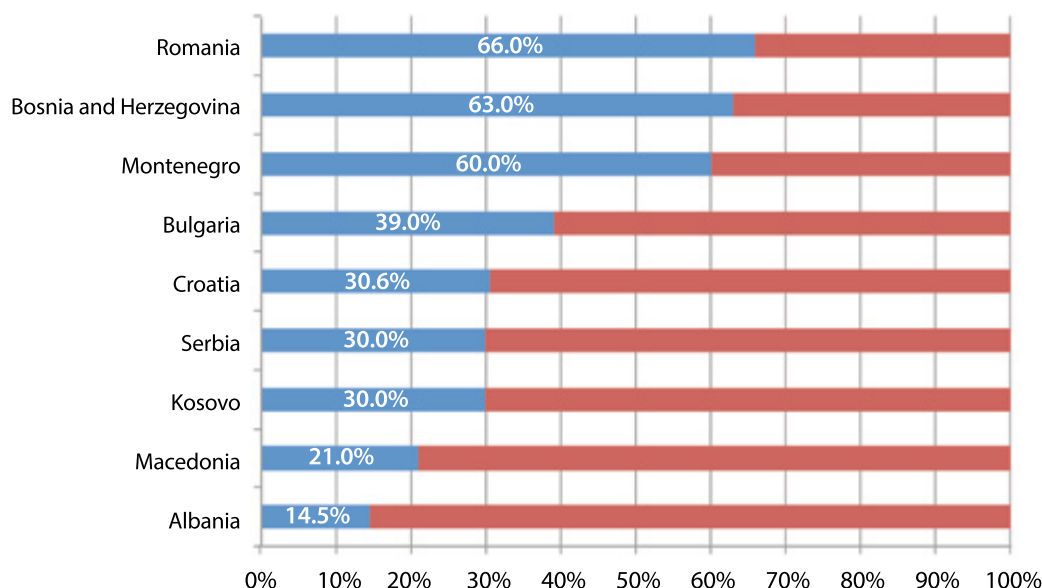


Source: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/ER.LND.PTLD.ZS>

For instance, in Bulgaria, only 36% of the sites known to meet the criteria for designation are actually designated. Here, archaeological sites appear to be favoured over architectural monuments (61.6% archaeological, 24% architectural) and, since around 88% of the latter are churches and monasteries, secular buildings are clearly seriously under-represented. Similarly, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in 2002, the 776 designated entities represented only 34% of those known to be eligible; strikingly there were only eight designated archaeological sites, yet the Regional Plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina of the same year identified a further 271, including 161 hill forts and 18 Roman sites, which technically met the selection criteria. While the gap between designated and eligible entities has narrowed considerably in the 13 years since, the number of designated sites still stands at only 818 (February, 2015). In “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”, only 42% of eligible monuments known to exist are formally protected (Rikalović and Mikić 2014, supplemented from official documents). The sobering thought is that those archaeological monuments that have been identified as important (designated or not yet designated) represent only a proportion – possibly a small proportion – of those that exist, undocumented, unexplored and totally unprotected and vulnerable.

Among designated monument types, places of worship are the single largest category almost everywhere, as Table 4 shows.

Table 4 – Religious entities as a proportion of designated sites



Percentages derived from figures in Rikalović and Mikić (2014) and various official sources.

Designated archaeological sites, as a proportion of the whole, range from between 8% in Montenegro and Serbia to 32% in Bulgaria, Croatia and Romania, but as most of these sites contain multiple items, the figure appears artificially low. Fortifications range from between 2% to 3% of the total in the former Yugoslavia (7% in Montenegro) to 12% in Albania, but because the category includes town walls and major fortresses that are massive in area and sheer bulk, they present a disproportionately large conservation challenge. With regard to other categories, there is considerable variation, which often reflects different classificatory conventions, and much of the detail is lost in omnibus groupings: 27% of Bosnia's monuments come under the heading "other" and 21% of Bulgaria's are clumped together under "monuments of history". Many individual items are subsumed within ensembles and settlements: the 6 299 protected immovable entities in Croatia include 1 118 archaeological areas, 10 urban ensembles, 367 historic settlements and 11 cultural landscapes. Croatia is advanced in the region regarding its espousal of area designations, but Bulgaria has ten "designated parks and cultural landscapes"; "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" has 18 "monumental ensembles"; Montenegro eight "urban settlements"; and Serbia 85 "architectural ensembles". Bosnia and Herzegovina's Regional Plan (2002) identified 60 Ottoman and 27 Austro-Hungarian "urban and rural heritage ensembles" and 814 "historic rural ensembles" (Rikalović and Mikić 2014; Council of Europe Heritage Assessment Reports 2013).

The classic selection criteria for measuring the significance of what might be called the "classic" monument types – the architecture of high culture and political domination and the archaeology of the ancient and middle ages – is often so skewed towards these monuments that it is difficult sometimes to adapt them to cover other categories that have been the subject of intensive reassessment over the last 20 years or so (Nistor 2005). Industrial archaeology faces an uphill struggle

everywhere in the face of an unreceptive public and the high costs of rehabilitation; but the economics of industrial investment in the communist period meant that 19th- and early 20th-century sites and plants were often retained and adapted rather than replaced, thereby creating a rich and internationally significant collection of monuments. The rich legacy of vernacular buildings suffers from the dual assault from rural depopulation – sometimes wholesale, as with the Saxon villages of Romania – and modern construction using prefabricated materials and insensitive scaling. Both (industrial archaeology and vernacular architecture) have found friends in the region and are the subject of special programmes of assessment and renovation.

Similarly with 20th-century architecture, especially from the latter half of the century, a period generally not held in high regard. The ATRIUM project aims to rehabilitate buildings and urban landscapes constructed under the totalitarian political regimes in Eastern Europe. The project recognises that this “common cultural heritage” provides an opportunity to focus on examples of architecture “which have a common theoretical and cultural background” and that are highly esteemed “amongst the circle of experts in architecture on a world level”. The object is to “give greater visibility to these examples of rationalist architecture” with a view to stimulating local development by promoting them on a “trans-national cultural route” through the region (see www.atrium-see.eu). (For an attempt to measure the potential economic value of tourism in this field, see Ograjenšek 2013.)

Perhaps more problematic are the striking memorials erected in the former Yugoslavia during the 1960s and 1970s to commemorate Second World War battles, partisan sites and concentration camps. Whereas these once attracted large numbers of visitors (they were part of the core curriculum for children and young pioneers) now they are abandoned, vandalised and decaying. Their symbolic meaning now less widely understood, they are nonetheless major works of art (Kempnaers 2010). Their parlous condition stands in stark contrast with the many hundreds of often highly controversial memorials put up since the mid-1990s: among those commemorated are Alexander the Great in Skopje, the Serb military fallen in Vukovar and the Chetnik leader, Pavle Djurisić, in Berane – banned by the Montenegrin authorities (see www.balkaninsight.com/en/file/show/memorialisationENV2.swf). When public resources are barely able to scratch the surface with regard to meeting the needs of already statutorily designated monuments and the process of attracting private investment remains in its infancy, a policy to address the needs of monument types that many consider to be at best of peripheral interest, at worst of no cultural value except to an articulate and opinionated elite, is unlikely to rise to the top of the list of heritage priorities. There is also a danger that, if public relations are ineptly handled, the designation of run-down industrial buildings, of unassuming traditional houses with no modern conveniences or – perhaps the area most likely to turn toxic – of modernist structures that the public has already learned to hate, it can bring the whole edifice of heritage protection into disrepute.

Protecting cultural heritage and mobilising support

In reviewing progress on IRPPS/SAAH and the Ljubljana Process, there is much that is positive to report – indeed to celebrate. The programmes have successfully identified the key problems facing the region’s cultural immovable heritage, prescribed many of the right remedies and provided some of the tools to support them. It was recognised early on that if anything substantial and long lasting were to be achieved, there needed to be political sign-up at a high level – this was secured at Ljubljana and Cetinje; that heritage legislation needed to be reformed and modernised – this has been largely accomplished in laws or guidelines that embody Ljubljana principles; and that the full force of this legislation had to be followed through with effective regulation and enforcement – an area where considerably less progress has been made. Also, while IRPP/SAAH and Ljubljana Process principles are becoming embedded within institutional and project practice, building capacity at

the craft and management levels is proving harder to achieve. So, too, is navigating the shift from a dependence on public funding to a mixed economy based on public and private sources. These last two challenges – capacity building and diversifying sources of funding for cultural heritage – although acute in the region, are nonetheless common to most European countries to a greater or lesser degree, especially during a period of economic turbulence and austerity. However, it is clear in South-East Europe that, while the wider benefits of investment in cultural heritage are becoming more generally appreciated, it is a painfully slow process, far too slow to counterbalance the accelerating rates of attrition, decay and loss. How can this trend be arrested? In taking stock of the IRPP/SAAH and Ljubljana programmes, two issues deserve fuller consideration: they may provide the keys to unlock the energy required to mobilise people – professionals and communities alike – in securing their own inheritance. One concerns the assessment and designation of protected cultural heritage sites, the other the currently low level of public engagement in planning for their future.

Streamlining the system and smart designation

Assessing the significance of heritage sites is fundamental to any conservation and regeneration policy. As earlier chapters make clear, IRPP/SAAH and the Ljubljana Process have been deeply concerned with the *processes* of assessing significance that result in buildings and sites being protected. While the principles of assessment have figured centrally in this study, the detailed *procedures* of statutory designation for the purposes of protection, the prerequisite for the inclusion of monuments on the PILs, have not been scrutinised. These have rightly been left to decision makers in the region who are best placed to decide what and what is not significant in their own countries. But it may be sensible to review the designation procedures since they could be exerting a brake on progress and failing to meet the needs of society in the 21st century. This section is concerned with ways in which these might be adapted or streamlined to help achieve the wider benefits of heritage rehabilitation. The previous section indicated that progress on updating the statutory lists of protected monuments – as well as easing access to them – is making fitful progress. There is a natural tendency when the scale of the problem appears insuperable to batten down the hatches and carry on as normal. Yet a more responsive and targeted set of programmes might yield better results faster than carrying on as before.

Leave planning to the planners. State-level and regional conservation institutes should always possess in-house legal and planning expertise to enable them to handle complex points of conservation and planning law, deal with inquiries and appeals, advise ministers and other policy makers and, when necessary, oppose unacceptable interventions in sensitive cases. These are powers or responsibilities that are best held in reserve until they are needed. Inventories often contain substantial sections containing prohibitions and constraints that are normally *pro forma* statements as to what is not allowed: as such, they are seen to be prescriptive rather than informative; they can exacerbate the impression that heritage management is essentially a negative or even a hostile regime opposed to all change – a point underlined by their designation as Institutes for Protection. Discussions and decisions about what can and cannot be done can only sensibly be made when a proposal for change is on the table. The inventory is not the place to determine in advance decisions about development situations that may not yet – or ever – exist.

Deep data or rapid survey? The documentation underpinning designation, where it exists or is accessible, is influenced more by the tradition of compiling detailed inventories, as if for museum artefacts, than the need to provide relevant information to meet current environmental planning needs. This is not helped by the fact that responsibility for heritage protection is normally, and not irrationally, situated in ministries of culture and brigaded with the arts and museums, sport and youth issues rather than with planning or even tourism. All the Ljubljana partners regret the slow pace of inventory revision.

The compilation of deep data (“passports”), while essential for detailed conservation and management of individual monuments, holds back the rapid assessment of what is special or significant across the countries as a whole. What planners need, especially at the stage of drawing up or upgrading regional and local plans at a relatively high level, is an indication of what is currently known to be historically or archaeologically significant – location, extent and a brief statement of the significance of the sites: detailed stone-by-stone or room-by-room analysis is not required until plans are afoot to alter or develop the site. When the need arises, the developer should pay for such a detailed record to be drawn up in accordance with good practice and guidelines produced by the relevant conservation institutes. If this is built into the developer’s budget, it will help build capacity: in much of Western Europe, the bulk of the work of specialist (private) archaeological units is made up of work of this sort. Experience shows that such assessments usually comprise a small proportion of total development costs.

Thematic or geographical designation surveys? Local and regional spatial plans throughout the region take account of heritage assets if the information is available in a usable form. As indicated earlier in the previous chapter, the standard and availability of heritage documentation is often inadequate – a mix of incomplete records, inconsistent lists, a lack of digitised records requiring an undue reliance on paper files that are not always easily accessible, with little in the way of digital mapping for easy cross-reference. There are a number of ways in which heritage institutes, ideally in collaboration with local authorities and using expertise in the private sector wherever possible, can provide material to feed into the regional planning process in a timely and helpful fashion. The initial building block will be the mapping of designated monuments – easily transferable if spatial heritage records (site areas and buffer zones) are digitised. Broader-brush surveys should map heritage assets that are known to exist, supported with the minimum of information needed to identify them – a short statement of significance is all that is required at this stage. These high-level surveys can sweep across wide geographical areas or focus on monument types that are known to give a region its special character such as traditional farmsteads: this is the thematic approach. With historic towns, drawing up maps based on a rapid assessment of historic entities allows heritage information to be easily added to other information layers (vacant sites, site ownership, current use, etc.) – as has been successfully piloted in the Kyiv Initiative. Mapping known heritage entities as part of a process of charting historical change through map regression is a fundamental part of the technique of landscape characterisation that has been developed to assist people understand time depth in the landscape, which is both fast and, being substantially desk-based, economical: it is also a key methodological component of the European Landscape Convention to which all the Ljubljana partners have signed up (Macinnes 2010; Turner 2006). These approaches help integrate heritage into the wider world of planning; their adoption may require a change in mindset in that they aim to achieve maximum coverage rapidly and economically, but at a relatively high level, deepening the record later when necessary. It is the opposite of what currently prevails, which creates small pockets of deep research and documentation, but leaves the greater part of the historic environment little understood and vulnerable.

It is important to appreciate that rapid survey and map-based characterisation are not now simply untried and untested imports from outside the region but are embedded in many of the current programmes. The ground was laid early. Rapid surveys were critical to the effectiveness of the Council of Europe’s monument assessments in Kosovo prior to IRPP/SAAH being set up. As mentioned in Chapter 2.1, the concept of core data sets adopted in the PILs, with their embedded cross-referencing was designed to encourage the development of rapid-survey techniques. The quick access afforded by the thematic and historic map layers that form part of the Preliminary Technical Files of the Kyiv Programme are now one of the foundation stones of the Community-led Urban Strategies in Historic Towns programme (COMUS) and the Project on Cultural Heritage in Abkhazia where a “comprehensive approach requires a tailored tool ... to cover a large number of sites in the minimum time and without requiring large resources” (Council of Europe 2014b).

Figures 33a and 33b: Busy streetscapes/bazaar in Korca and Bitola



A buoyant local economy and busy street life can work harmoniously in a sensitively managed historic setting, as in the bazaar of Korca (Albania, Figure 33a) and the bustling main street of downtown Bitola ("the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia", Figure 33b, page 173).

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Heritage at risk surveys. There is considerable demand from conservation managers in the region to develop methodologies that help identify monuments under threat and, over time, detect trends that will highlight the reasons why they are at risk and suggest solutions (Brand 1992; English Heritage 1998). According to a report by Heritage Without Borders, one assessment puts heritage at risk figures at around 72% in Albania, 25% in Croatia, 32% in Kosovo and 33% in Romania, although this was based on a small sample (reported at the conference "Heritage at Risk in South East Europe", Pécs, Hungary, 2010; information supplied by Dr John Bold). The IRPP/SAAH and Ljubljana Process technical assessments already provide a mass of data that in effect form an embryo "buildings at risk register" for the region. Such a survey need not be intimidating in scale: municipalities or ministries can carry them out for properties in their ownership; it can form an additional layer to rapid historic towns surveys mentioned above; and they need not be unduly technical in the first instance, acting simply as pointers to where the biggest threats are, to help with prioritisation – fuller assessments follow later. Such surveys help focus attention and resources: a national survey of the most highly graded monuments and buildings at risk in England, most of them in private ownership, resulted in 59% of the original entries being removed from the "Buildings at Risk Register" over a period of 15 years (English Heritage 1998-2014).



Public and community engagement. The following section looks more critically at the levels of public engagement in protecting the historic environment in the region. But it is worth saying here that the sorts of programmes outlined above provide a fertile ground for involving communities – whether local communities or special interest groups. At one obvious level, working on the assumption that the state cannot (and should not) do everything, professionals in the commercial sector, voluntary groups and individuals can play a key role in the rapid-survey and evaluation work, the essential antidote to the inventory approach to heritage management. Engaging civil society more and more in the valorisation of the built heritage is a recurring theme in the annual ICOMOS heritage at risk reports. At a more intangible level, the methodology of landscape (and townscape) characterisation, by applying GIS to participatory spatial planning, has a huge potential to help individuals and local communities give expression to their attachment to a place (McCall and Dunn 2012). Mapping buildings and the spaces in between over time, and taking account of the multiple values that are attached to these, provide a graphic tool to help people relate their personal stories to the physical world around them.

Making cultural heritage relevant

The importance of cultural heritage: what do people really think?

Much has been said in this book about the need to demonstrate that investment in cultural heritage can stimulate economic development, enrich the quality of life and facilitate dialogue and reconciliation. But substantial and solid evidence from the region on all counts is difficult to come by and, without it, the public at large will remain sceptical or indifferent. Even in Croatia, where heritage benefits (in tourism and job creation) seem most apparent, researchers and experts agree that the “existing literature (which is scarce and insufficient) does not provide clear and measurable indicators of economic profitability, [or demonstrate] social and cultural benefits of investments in heritage”. At a Cultural Heritage for Europe round table held in October 2014 Krakow, Nataša Urošević commented that “only basic indicators are mentioned, such as [the] number of visitors, annual income from tickets, and revenues from heritage rent; however, they are mostly out of date. The majority of existing studies consist mainly of theoretical considerations regarding [the] important political, economic, cultural, social, and educational role of cultural heritage, but there are no specific data, indicators or evidence measuring the impact” (Urošević, 2015: 111-12). Sergiu Nistor (at the same event) emphasised the connected point that while it is asserted that the rehabilitation of historic centres or listed buildings contributes to social inclusion and poverty reduction, “unfortunately, this is not proved by national statistics or relevant case studies” (Nistor 2015: 111). It is very significant that there are hardly any published indicators to help measure the value added of “culture and creative industry” in the region. (www.rcc.int/seeds/results/1/see2020-progress-tracker). The point is that, currently, almost all the convincing evidence is based on examples drawn from abroad (Horizon 2020 Group); there needs to be a determined effort on the part of leaders within the conservation professions to recognise the importance of stimulating research in this area: significantly, the organisation of European heritage heads whose main purpose is to share experience and promote the economic and social benefit of cultural heritage contains not a single representative from the region (www.ehhf.eu). And, for the wider public in South-East Europe, it is evidence from closer to home that counts.

Given this situation, there is little of substance to translate into a language that can readily be understood by the general public. The fact that it is not possible to document either the rate of attrition of cultural heritage sites (based on monuments at risk surveys, which are thin on the ground) or the full impact of the success stories, makes it almost impossible to create either a national sense of urgency or a sense of pride and optimism. Yet there are signs that, if the data were collected, analysed and made

accessible, public opinion might respond positively. Polls (2015) reveal that even though 66% were dissatisfied with how things were going in the economy and 46% anticipated next year would be worse or (34%) no better – that is, even during bad times – people were open-minded about the potential of cultural heritage: 80% of people in the region recognise the importance of cultural heritage for tourism, a figure that implies that the public could be persuaded of the wider value of cultural heritage in other spheres if the evidence were forthcoming (Balkan Barometer 2015: fig. 7 and 10, pp. 28, 32; all polling figures in this section are taken from this source). Providing more information about the role of cultural heritage in the economic and social life of the region – collecting and analysing data and disseminating the results beyond the specialist audiences to whom it is normally directed – might serve to trigger a valuable debate. Opinion polls are a double-edged sword in that they may produce unwelcome results, by simply confirming fears (in this case, of indifference) or worse. But polls can be disarmingly positive and worth the risk. In commissioning a poll of attitudes towards modern architecture as part of its post-war listing programme, English Heritage was apprehensive there might be a negative response that would confirm the worse prejudices of the popular press. In the event it was found that around 70% of people favoured protection of the most important buildings of this era, a figure that rose to over 90% among 16- to 22-year-olds (English Heritage 2000: 25). The fact that, in South-East Europe, 94% consider the protection of the environment to be important suggests there is a body of opinion that could readily be mobilised to widen support for the *historic* environment.

The lack of solid information and analysis applies in other areas where, admittedly, quantitative results are intrinsically more difficult to obtain, such as the contribution of cultural heritage to ethnic dialogue. Nistor observes that “it is frequently stated that culture and cultural heritage [make] an important contribution to the cultural dialogue between ethnic, religious or minority groups, and that Romania can serve as a model for such an approach” but the impact of public spending in this area and for this purpose “has never been measured” (Nistor 2015).

Reliable evidence to measure the depth of public attachment to nationally important monuments in the region (that is, monuments legally protected at state level) is surprisingly difficult to find. Most of the literature about loss of cultural heritage in the region focuses, not surprisingly, on those periods when it came under the most intense pressure. But the exigencies of war and its aftermath, or of megalomaniac exercises in social engineering, are probably not the best times in which to assess long-term trends in opinion, which is what matters when devising long-term management policies in times of peace and relative economic stability. There may also be a danger of reading back into a crisis (war, political upheaval and acute economic distress) the concerns of a post-crisis consensus, one that asserts access to cultural heritage as a universal human right. The key concerns of policy makers helping to bring about reconciliation may not coincide with the views of local communities about where priorities should lie over the longer term – a point to which we will return. A recent study that painstakingly documents the levels of destruction of cultural heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the war of the early 1990s, during which the monuments of the “Other” were systematically targeted, provides very thin evidence upon which to conclude that the state of cultural heritage was an issue in the forefront of most people’s minds or even a critical factor in determining whether or not displaced people returned to their homes, although the reconstruction of monuments that were iconic to minority ethnic or religious groups was to become a central issue later (Walasek et al. 2015). In modern wars there has been a growing tendency to target the cultural heritage of the “Other” in an attempt to demoralise the enemy, but there is little evidence that this works: “Genocide and deportation can certainly reduce a cultural identity to a distorted remnant. But the destruction of cultural objects during or in the aftermath of war does not appear to have this effect [i.e., demoralisation]” (Ascherson 2007: 24). At times of enormous stress, it is the family and the home that constitute the most meaningful heritage, a bond that is graphically conveyed

by images of refugees holding on to the door key to their (destroyed or confiscated) house (Barakat 2007; Pückler 2007). Top-down external intervention, however well intentioned, cannot in itself be relied upon to motivate local communities: Sultan Barakat's observation on post-war rehabilitation applies equally to peacetime: "Too often, local people are portrayed simply as victims and passive recipients of international assistance or as a liability to be neutralised rather than an asset to be utilised. In reality, their creativity, pragmatism and resilience are of critical importance in the process of rebuilding after conflict" (Barakat 2007: 33).

Understanding how people think *now*, their fears and expectations, is the only sure ground upon which to develop a public policy that has any chance of taking root. Even though, as we have seen, the tangible benefits of investing in the historic environment are difficult to demonstrate, 9% of those polled in 2015 considered that "rehabilitating common cultural heritage" was the best way of contributing to reconciliation – a small but not insignificant proportion. More people – 15% – were of the view that "a shared understanding of history" was the best channel, with 32% identifying increased trade and commerce within the region as the key (Balkan Barometer 2015: Fig. 76, p. 94). These viewpoints extracted from recent polling chime well with the lessons learned from the Ljubljana Process and the key pillars of Council of Europe policy in the field. Once there is public recognition that investment in heritage helps boost the economy (and for this to happen, as has been said, we need the evidence), three key propositions for winning hearts and minds gain traction – heritage sites open the mind to the culture of others and provide an opportunity for *reconciliation*; understanding each other's history through *education* provides the basic ingredient for lasting inter-ethnic toleration; and heritage investment provides *development opportunities*.

Figure 34: "Red Building"



Historically important industrial buildings, such as the brewery warehouse at Pančevo (a suburb of Belgrade, Serbia) are too often seen to be obstacles to development rather than part of the solution, but many of them are robust and enclose large interrupted spaces: they are well suited to conversion and re-use.
© David Johnson

Cultural heritage and local communities

Heritage is a complex and slippery concept. The term is used so often as useful shorthand – not least in this book from time to time; it appears pervasively throughout official policy, guidance and legislation, so much so that it can assume the mantle of a technical term that is somehow neutral and precise, rather like “pedestrian precinct”. In reality its use sends out mixed messages. This complexity is the subject of Chapter 4.1: as stated there, “What heritage constitutes and what it means will always be questioned; the responsibility for its identification and designation will be arguable; its place in a globalised, multi-connected world will be contested”. It is not the purpose of this section to cover the same ground, rather to tease out some of the policy implications of using the term as if it commanded universal recognition and acceptance.

Increasingly in academic circles, the term is used in a way that comes close to being all-encompassing. The Cottbus Declaration on Heritage Studies passed by the participants of an international symposium on “Constructing Heritage in the Light of Sustainable Development” in 2012 proclaimed that “The study of heritage should identify *holistically* the diverse tangible and intangible aspects of heritage and their interrelationships” (Cottbus 2012, my emphasis). This is useful as a discipline to ensure that all things and their inter-connectedness are considered, but it is challenging to apply this approach to planning. Some official programmes can document the totality of a cultural resource (so we know what is there) without freighting it with relative or absolute significance. Landscape characterisation, for instance, in treating the landscape as a palimpsest, sets out to document what survives without attributing value: that is left to politicians, planners and environment managers on behalf of society at large – the existence of features such as ancient woodland, for instance, is objectively documented, leaving decisions as what value to attribute to it and whether or not to preserve it, say in the face of a highway scheme, to be made another day (Fairclough 2003). Although such programmes are invaluable, decisions based on relative value do have to be made: the challenge is whose values?

While academic debates absorb specialists and, potentially, have major implications for the management of the historic environment, they tend to leave the bulk of the public cold or bemused. More to the point is the way in which the conventional readings of what constitutes “significant” heritage that underpin current designation programmes (systems which, to a large extent, programmes such as landscape characterisation were set up to challenge) are played out in practice. These tend to privilege older rather than younger buildings, great set pieces rather than the cherished local scene, monuments illustrative of the official interpretation of the national historical narrative, of dominant elites and winners. It is now a commonplace to urge those responsible for the protection of cultural heritage to extend the range of policy to include the modest, neighbourly environments that touch the majority of people every day: historic places, undoubtedly, but outside the art historical canon. This approach lies at the heart of the Faro Convention.

The Faro Convention is unambiguous about the centrality of community engagement and quite exacting as to how it should be encouraged. As summarised in the Council of Europe action plan for 2013-15, implementation requires, *inter alia*, the assertion of a group defined by a specific heritage; the emergence of a consensus within the community about the concept of “heritagisation”; the existence of a demarcated territory to which a collective imagination is associated; the capacity, through the group, to produce territorial narratives and stimulate life narratives; the presence of personalities who can convey the message; and the support of political players (Council of Europe 2014a). It is not difficult to understand why many heritage professionals and policy makers find it difficult to stomach the shift away from the authority of the specialist that the Faro Convention implies. What can be seen as a threat to the “cultural establishment” – and, by extension to the government – is, it has been suggested, one reason why Romania has not signed the convention.

Looked at positively, however, the trend set by Faro is “not about a substitution or declassification [of conventional heritage status] but about a multiplication and diversification of values” (Nistor 2005: 1; see also Schofield 2014). It need not signal that the pendulum has swung so far in the opposite direction that it is *only* local places that matter. Navigating this new world requires subtle skills that embrace diversity rather than defend exclusivity.

Encouraging the flowering of NGOs in the region is one generally accepted route towards mobilising local communities in defence of their cultural heritage. After a long period when civil society and local action were repressed, local organisations and NGOs are taking root: if not yet flourishing across the region, or universally encouraged by officialdom they are a human resource that heritage managers and policy makers should nurture. Some leading commentators consider the omens to be good. According to Franz-Lothar Altmann of Bucharest State University, civil society can help “address issues and problems that official politics are not willing or are unable to handle, such as reconciliation and confidence building, strengthening regional co-operation on all levels, fighting corruption and organised crime, strengthening local responsibilities in the field of economic development and environmental protection, among other issues. Furthermore, civil society can act co-operatively with official politics when discussing and setting priorities.” Yet, “much evidence suggests that official politics in the Western Balkans still underestimates the role of civil society and even views it in a negative light” (Altmann 2015). This breeds jaundiced public opinion. Despite the encouraging growth of regionally based heritage NGOs, as for instance those who come together under the banner of the South East European Heritage Network (SEE Heritage), there remains some scepticism about the drivers behind them. Even some of those who are involved in these grass-roots organisations are concerned that their best practices “are in a real danger of disappearing ‘under the radar’ of administration and government” and that “current ‘contract-driven’ projects, relying on ‘value for money’ and ‘target setting’, often deter the volunteers they want to attract” (www.heritageorganisations.eu report on 2009 conference at Michelin, Belgium, on civil societies active in the field of heritage). SEE Heritage itself has a small number of impeccable donors (SIDA, the Open Society Institute and the Headley Foundation) but individual NGOs, which necessarily seek funding and support from a wide range of public and private funders, may be seen as dancing to another’s tune. This perception that even NGOs may not be trustworthy is part of a wider scepticism on the part of a public where 70% do not have confidence in the courts and the judiciary, 74% consider that the law is not enforced effectively, 72% believe that their government does not act wholly within the law and 74% do not feel that their government effectively fights corruption [Balkan Barometer 2015: Figs. 63, 64 (p. 82), 66 (p. 84), 68 (p. 85)]. In other words, attitudes towards NGOs can be suffused in the public mind by entrenched negative views about government probity. It is still a challenging world for NGOs to work in.

The way ahead

The countries of the Western Balkans have undergone a major transformation over the last 20 years. Despite some worrying and violent incidents (as for instance in “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”) and political paralysis (as for instance in Bosnia and Herzegovina) the region has emerged from the shadow of war. Since 2000, according to the IMF, many of the countries “are unrecognizable compared with where they stood at the turn of the century.” It is worth quoting more extensively from this source since it describes the context in which the Ljubljana Process has been operating. These countries:

Opened up to global trade and became increasingly export-oriented, expanded the role of the private sector, dismantled regulations that stifled business development, and began to build institutions needed

to support a market system. Banking systems were built up – literally from scratch in some cases – with the aid of foreign capital and know-how. The result of these efforts has been robust economic growth, a significant rise in incomes and living standards, and enhanced macroeconomic stability. However, the process of structural transformation began to stall in the mid-2000s, in the face of vested interests and as reform fatigue set in, and remains incomplete ... Clear evidence of the weakness in the region's economic model can be found in the extremely high unemployment rates, which remained above 20 per cent in many countries even at the height of the pre-crisis boom ... [and this is largely the result of an] incomplete reform process that is holding back convergence to income levels of richer European Union economies. (IMF 2015: 9)

We have documented in this book many of the structural and procedural reforms that have taken place over the same period within the cultural heritage sector – reforms in legislation; the adoption of Ljubljana Process principles in official guidance and the working practices of heritage institutions; closer co-operation between heritage agencies and ministries such as tourism, planning and development, and with municipalities – but less with NGOs and civil society. It is clear, too, that the process is incomplete in some key areas, such as adherence to planning constraints. The sector remains starved of funding; capacity building in management expertise and craft skills remains patchy; there is little continuous professional development and opportunities for promotion and mobility remain limited. Seeking and securing the mixed packages of private and public funding that are essential to the future development of cultural heritage sites remains in its infancy and, although growing, the body of information about the wider benefits that can be derived from investment in cultural heritage remains inadequate and difficult of access.

The impact of international support, advice and guidance over the last 20 years has been enormous. After a period of “aid fatigue”, this is likely to grow again if the “Berlin Process” initiatives to kick-start the move towards greater integration of the region with – and ultimately joining – the EU prove successful. Do the lessons of the Ljubljana Process provide pointers as to the direction we should take in a climate that is so different from that of the 1990s, and indeed of the economic crisis years following 2008? The Council of Europe’s political priorities concerning human rights, democracy and the rule of law remain the same, serving as they do to promote a fairer and more cohesive society embodying the concept of “living together”. Central to this is support for a human rights approach to cultural heritage and access to it (building on the Lisbon Treaty and the Faro Convention). This presents opportunities and risks. While neither the Human Rights Convention nor the European Court of Human Rights explicitly recognise the right to culture or the right to take part in cultural life, there is much relevant case law to ensure that “the notion of cultural rights in a broad sense can be protected under core civil rights” (Council of Europe/European Court of Human Rights 2011: 3, 19-20). The Faro Convention, as we have seen, takes this further in its “innovative messages ... including the right for every person to engage with the cultural heritage of their choice, while respecting the rights and freedom of others” (Chapter 2.1, Annex 1). This, of course, takes on a particular urgency and poignancy when monuments are deliberately destroyed or damaged by wartime action. But the principle must remain at the heart of cultural heritage policy during peacetime, too: however, international bodies may be best advised to adopt a different approach to meet these objectives – or rather to diversify their approaches. The complications of reconciling universal human rights with the celebration of diversity can present challenges to major institutions, especially when they are accustomed to operate in periods of crisis. “Universalism and cultural relativism [can create tensions in the] apparent disjuncture between human rights, as universal and all-encompassing, and cultural diversity and heritages, which are by definition culturally temporally specific” (Logan 2007). So, how do we square the circle?

Figure 35: New sculptures, Skopje



The centre of Skopje ("the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia") has recently been transformed by epic-scale public monuments and new classical revival buildings, part of the "re-writing" of the city's history – from the point of view of the majority: the Albanian quarters remain run down with little sign of public investment. © Martin Cherry 2012

This chapter has suggested two approaches in addition to the initiatives already under way, which form the substance of this book. Public opinion in the region seems receptive to the ideas enshrined in the Ljubljana Process and to the objectives of bodies such as the Council of Europe – receptiveness that needs to be nurtured and developed. There is an awakening sense of the importance of cultural heritage and of a shared understanding of histories within the region. A substantial majority are concerned about the future of the environment and this, in a region that is being rapidly urbanised, embraces rural areas. (For opinions of rural development and agriculture, see Balkan Barometer 2015: Table 53, p. 72.) The role of increasing trade and commerce, including tourism, is seen as important in terms both of economic development and reconciliation. But the public needs and deserves more information, accessibly presented. The debate about the future of the historic environment has barely started and politicians and policy makers should not flinch from getting it going. Additional resources should also be focused on formal education: there are educational programmes under way to raise awareness about the cultural heritage in schools in some of the countries in the region (e.g. in Bosnia and Herzegovina) and conservation modules are being introduced in some architecture courses at university level, but more needs to be done in the education sector where investment remains weak (Balkan Barometer 2015: 14). As well as focusing on high-level political persuasion and institutional capacity building, more emphasis and support should be directed towards supporting civil society and NGOs – and international agencies should be prepared to stay in there for the long run. Winning support for investment in cultural heritage is often achieved by working with communities in the places they know, building out from the familiar to appreciate the wider picture. News about small and incremental achievements at the local level – jobs created, businesses expanding, buildings being brought back into use, public spaces reclaimed – when featured and widely known, can go viral. Finally, and in support of all this, designation and management procedures (as argued at the beginning of this chapter) should be overhauled and become smarter, retuned to meet the hopes and needs of local people as well as of historic places. These issues lie at the heart of the Faro Convention, and placing resources and trust at grass-roots level will help international bodies make a real contribution to enhancing the current state of historic places and of everyone's quality of life.

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About the authors

John Baguley is the CEO of the International Fundraising Consultancy which he founded in 1999, and which has offices in ten countries over four continents. He founded the free “First Friday” fundraising meetings, now held in London, Milan, Geneva, Amsterdam and Ottawa. John’s clients have included the World Health Organization, UNICEF and Cancer Research. He has lectured from Moscow to South Africa and from the United States to Indonesia. Author of several books, his PhD “The Globalisation of Non-Governmental Organisations” is published by VDM. John is a Fellow of the Institute of Fundraising.

Will Bartlett is a Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the European Institute, London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). His research focuses on socio-economic development in the Western Balkans. He is the author of *Europe’s Troubled Region: Economic Development, Institutional Reform and Social Welfare in the Western Balkans* (Routledge, 2008) and numerous articles in refereed journals such as the *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, *Southeast Europe and Black Sea Studies*, *European Planning Studies* and the *Journal of Development Economics*. He is co-editor of the *Croatian Economic Survey* and past President of the European Association for Comparative Economic Studies (EACES). He currently acts as co-ordinator of the *LSEE Research Network on Social Cohesion in South Eastern Europe*.

John Bold was project leader for the IRPP/SAAH (2003-10) and has worked as a consultant expert for the Council of Europe since 1989. He was Head of Architecture at the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England and is now Reader in Architecture at the University of Westminster. He has published several books and articles on English architecture and on heritage management and data standards.

Martin Cherry taught history at the universities of Exeter, St Andrews and Leicester before moving into the field of historic buildings conservation policy. He was Head of Listing and Research Director at English Heritage until 2005. He has worked as a consultant expert for the Council of Europe for over 10 years and is currently one of the international members of the Commission to Preserve National Monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He has published in the fields of medieval studies, Victorian architecture, traditional buildings and conservation policy. He is currently President of the Vernacular Architecture Group (2014-17).

David Johnson is a practising architect with a special interest in the reuse of existing buildings and sites for new uses. He has worked on major rehabilitation and conservation projects as well as on the design of new buildings for the arts and education. He is an architect accredited in the conservation of historic buildings, has lectured in the United Kingdom and abroad, and is an external examiner at the University of Portsmouth.

Nancy McGrath is a classically trained marketer. After graduating in International Business and German she worked for Procter & Gamble and later became Head of Marketing for Madame Tussaud's in London. In 1999 she became Director of Marketing for City Centre Attractions where she was involved in the launch and development of the British Airways London Eye. Since co-founding Britton McGrath Associates in 2001, she has managed many projects in the heritage sector for clients including English Heritage. She has been a member of the Expert Panel for IRPP/SAAH and the Ljubljana II process since 2009 with responsibility for Business Planning.

Rob Pickard is Emeritus Professor in Built Environment and Heritage Conservation at Northumbria University (UK), and an international consultant on cultural heritage issues working for the Council of Europe, the European Commission and the Euromed Heritage programme, among other organisations. He is a member of two UK professional bodies: the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors and the Institute of Historic Building Conservation. He is author/editor of several books including: *Policy and Law in Heritage Conservation*, *Management of Historic Centres*, *European Cultural Heritage: A Review of Policy and Practice*, as well as Council of Europe reference texts on *Funding the Architectural Heritage* and *Guidance on the development of legislation and administration systems in the field of cultural heritage*.

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The essays in this book review recent developments in cultural heritage policy and practice in South-East Europe. Since 2003, the Council of Europe–European Commission joint initiative known as the “Ljubljana Process: rehabilitating our common heritage” has set out to unlock the potential of the region’s rich immovable cultural heritage, working with national authorities to accelerate the development of democratic, peaceful and open societies, stimulate local economies and improve the quality of life of local communities.

In 2003, the region was overcoming the effects of the traumatic transition to a market economy. Since then, it has been hit hard by the economic crisis of 2008, and more recently by an unprecedented migration crisis. Despite the challenges facing the region in the field of cultural heritage, the present situation can be seen as an opportunity to use the lessons learned from the Ljubljana Process to avoid the traps laid by the cumulative and sometimes inconsistent heritage-protection legislation of the past 60 years, overcoming the legacy of the top-down approach that privileges the “high art” canon rather than the local heritage that reflects the culture of everyday life and which often means more to most people. The authors suggest that selecting from innovative practice elsewhere could make heritage management smarter so that it more directly meets the needs of modern society and individual citizens.

This volume reflects the views of international experts involved in the joint initiative and complements earlier studies on the impact of the Ljubljana Process by experts from within the region (*Heritage for development in South-East Europe*, edited by Gojko Rikolović and Hristina Mikić, 2014) and from the London School of Economics and Political Science (*The wider benefits of investment in cultural heritage. Case studies in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia*, edited by Will Bartlett, 2015).



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