Mapping the Dynamics of European Culture: Pressure and Opportunities from the European Enlargement

ANTONIO RUSSO, Erasmus University Rotterdam[*]

MYRIAM JANSEN-VERBEKE, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

JAN VAN DER BORG, Ca' Foscari University of Venice

Abstract

This paper develops an analytic framework for the ESPON 1.3.3 project "The Role and Spatial Effects of Cultural Heritage and Identity", started in December 2004 by a network of 12 European Universities under the leadership of Ca' Foscari University of Venice.

The conceptual framework of this project lies on the assumption that the cultural heritage of Europe is not just an ensemble of tangible assets to be conserved, but rather an element of dynamism of the territory, *affecting trajectories of regional development*. Thus the identification and valorisation of the cultural heritage is to be considered an integral component of regional planning, with the potential to increase cohesion within an enlarged European Union. The establishment of an "European identity", gaining from difference and variety, is also part of this vision (Graham et. Al, 2000: 26). In this light, the ESPON 1.3.3 project sets out to highlight the spatial expressions and effects of heritage assets and identify the (existing or potential) elements of territorial coherence at the regional and local scale, mapping the geographical aspects that are actually strengthening regional identities and networks.

This paper introduces a list of regional indicators of the European cultural heritage and identity, reflecting elements such as heritage presence, concentration and diversity, accessibility, spatial patterns at the local and cross-regional level, local embeddedness of intangible heritage assets, pressures on- and potential for the development of heritage and the governance structure of the heritage management institutions. Heritage parameters allow the "ordering" of the territory and thus the identification of regional typologies from the elaboration of different ordering criteria. Indicators regard the multiple dimensions regarding the supply, the demand and the spatial organisation of cultural heritage, based on the whole NUTS III regional delimitation.

The issue of the territorial cohesion of cultural heritage assets is also addressed, considering the following multiple "dimensions" of the interconnection between different "objects" or carriers of meaning: hardware (the infrastructural system), software (images and actual uses), orgware (organizational networks) and shareware (partnerships that support the process of development). These elements are compiled in a framework or model used to analyse the territorial expressions of cultural heritage and identity. The preliminary results from Spanish regions are illustrated and commented.

Keywords: Cultural heritage, spatial analysis, planning, European integration

JEL codes. R12, R53, Z1

---

[*] Corresponding author. Post address: Escola de Turisme (EUTDH), Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona Campus de la UAB - 08193 Bellaterra (Cerdanyola del Vallès) Barcelona, SPAIN. E-mail russo@few.eur.nl.

1 BACKGROUND OF ESPON 1.3.3

The ESPON programme is a major input for the implementation of the European Spatial Development Perspective, a policy framework endorsed in 1999 by the Informal Council of EU Ministers responsible for spatial planning, according to which «three fundamental goals of European policy are to be achieved equally in all the regions of the EU: *i*) economic and social cohesion; *ii*) conservation and management of natural resources and the cultural heritage; *iii*) more balanced competitiveness of the European territory.» (ESDP 1999).

The ESPON project 1.3.3 ("The Role and Spatial Effects of Cultural Heritage and Identity") is carried out by a network of 12 European research partners[1] in an equal number of European counties, under the general coordination of the Leading Partner Ca' Foscari University of Venice, Italy. Its goal is to understand and illustrate the spatial and functional diversity of the cultural heritage and identity (henceforth: CHI) in European regions and neighbouring countries, the "EU27+2" territory. It also aims at the production of new knowledge on the spatial impacts and dynamics of CHI, through the development of a toolkit to evaluate the threats and opportunities arising from the main social and economic trends shaping the European territory at different scales. Cultural heritage is seen as a capital asset with *ethical* and *economic* value, in a social framework, and a stimulus to change, implying that new, wider notions of "heritage" will be taken into the picture compared to previous research efforts focused on static aspects.

When it comes to analysing territorial expressions of CHI, ESPON 1.3.3 focuses on *regions* rather than *countries*, considering the NUTS III level as the main analytic unit, and developing further research at finer scales (the "urban" level) to illustrate local manifestations of CHI and examples of cultural policy with strong relevance. However, at the present date, information on the cultural heritage is not collected systematically in European regions or even within countries, and is not conceived as a major input for regional or national spatial analysis[2]. Furthermore, in spite of important works in the field (Greffe 2005), research on the role and effects of cultural heritage on social and economic development is still at infant stages.

Hence, the effort of this paper is to define a methodology of CHI data collection (what to measure, how) and of analysis (how to use this information in order to illustrate spatial and functional diversity). Spatial indicators are grounded in a thorough conceptualisation of the role of CHI; and the first results are used to analyse the quality of the data and fine-tune the process of harmonisation of the CHI information between European regions in order to progress towards the compilation of a "European map" of the spatial effects of cultural heritage and identity.

2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Access points

There is today widespread acknowledgement of the ethical value of the heritage, which can be seen to shape a number of human practices (from travel to pilgrimage, from ethnicity to environmental protectionism) and to elicit a number of policy responses at various levels. However, both at European government level and at the local (especially city) level, there is today recognition that culture has also *strong economic implications* for the development of a territory. Furthermore, the other way round is also believed to hold: as a rule, the economic situation explains the political will and the financial resources to develop and sustain cultural activities.

Much research on the economics and geography of culture has been opportunity-driven (Graham & al. 2000). Tourism, and cultural tourism in particular, has unsurprisingly been the main focus (Smith, 2003, see chapter 4). Cultural tourism is possibly the most immediate strategy to make the heritage "rentable". On the other hand, the threats determined by excessive tourist pressure on the cultural assets have been (and to a large extent still are) an "emergency" for many European regions all through the 1980s and 1990s, causing fundamental revisions in common thinking and strategic attitudes towards tourism development. Established destinations like Venice, Toledo, Rhodos, Sintra, Salzburg, Bruges, the Loire Valley, or world heritage sites in the "new Europe" like Český Krumlov, Pécs, Cracow, Tallinn, Paphos are regularly flooded with visitors *without any clear long-term benefit exceeding the costs that tourism brings to the host community.* Furthermore, in many places the very integrity and symbolic significance of *such* heritage assets is under threat.

The rationale for cultural landscape protection comes from the Council of Europe's European Landscape Convention and UNESCO's 'Man and Biosphere' program. The SPESP project (Study programme for European Spatial Planning), a main input for ESDP, integrated such background with a new the economic-aware focus. In the SPESP final document (p.18), it is argued that cultural landscapes and built heritage need to be protected and their utilisation enhanced not only because they are valuable markers of human history, but also for general development to be sustainable, connecting with much tourism-related research carried out in that period (Butler 1980; Martin and Uysal 1990; Canestrelli and Costa 1991; Van der Borg 1993, 1996; Van der Borg and Gotti 1995; Lindberg et al. 1997; Russo 2000, 2002, 2004; Russo et al. 2001).

There is today however the acknowledgement that tourism policy is not sufficient to grant heritage a more decisive role in economic development. The framework for integration of culture in development strategy is as wide as it is implied by the restructuring of economic and social currents that brought "ideas", "values" and "networks" to be the pillars of the "new economy".

2.2   European enlargement and integration issues

The ESPON 1.3.3 study fits in a specific context: the interlocked dynamics of globalisation and the renewed interest for the local. The European enlargement is an illustration of these forces at work, and the main pretext for this study: new member states generate new economic, social and physical *pressures* on the European cultural assets, but at the same time an incentive to the traditional concepts of culture and identity. (the trend toward more regionalisation in EU puts the role of CH in question …)

In May 2004, ten new countries have joined the European Union, and another two are going to join in 2007. The new countries represent not only an addendum of 74 million new citizens and a territory of some 738,000 kmq, but also numerous languages, dialects and ethnic groups, and a remarkable total of 49 sites in UNESCO's World Heritage List (plus 16 in Bulgaria and Romania and 11 in neighbouring Norway and Switzerland), which add up to the 240 existing in the EU-15 territory. Indeed, the extension of the "cultural boundaries" of Europe is likely to have a strong impact on the context of the conservation and valorisation strategies for the cultural heritage. In EU-27, there presumably will be:

- More *cultural complexity* at the local, regional and pan-continental level: Europe, and each of its territories, will be richer in cultural resources: more attractive, more interesting, more "contestable" (but also more transparency and democracy in the approach of the rediscovery of forgotten heritage: cf. Harrison and Hitchcock, 2005).

- More opportunities for *cultural identification* for European communities: the enlargement toward neighbouring countries re-brings in the European community traces of the heritage of its citizens, who have the opportunity of re-discovering their past traditions and languages.

- Additional know-how on CH management and *cultural planning*: the enlarged "scale" of the cultural resources of Europe, in terms of landscapes and intangible heritage, means that more possibilities are given to integrate development strategies based on the recognition and valorisation of culture *across territories and boundaries*.

- Additional *impulses to human mobility*, both driven by cultural consumption (tourism), and a result of a wider availability of cultural intangible elements (a "safer" migration, higher levels of quality of life in selected locations, the attractiveness of cultural production clusters, etc.).

Face to these trends, the threat is tangible that economically-backwards regions will be tempted to "fill the gap" that divides them from the richer regions by abusing the cultural resources, for instance investing in a "bite and run" model of tourism development that affects the integrity and value of non-renewable assets for the sake of large (but easily leaking away) short-term income. Other threats come from the relative lack of knowledge in new member states about the market conditions to develop cultural sites and destinations, the lack of experience in managing the process of developing cultural resources in an economic responsible and sustainable way, faced with the urge to make money fast.

With unemployment levels in the new and next member countries almost doubling that of EU-15, these countries are only partially to blame if they cannot – alone – control the development of a tourism industry which is driven by global players and decision making, hence less constrainable by regional policy frameworks. Additional dangers come from the diluted "stakeholdership" for heritage and culture which result from migration and added ethnic complexity; from the possibility of conflict in the "recognition" of heritage ('Whose heritage?', Graham et al. 2000); and from the new physical pressures that a larger, more complex Europe poses to irreproducible assets in terms of infrastructure development and pollution levels.

It may be argued that the identification of a "European culture" and its inner diversity gives the opportunity to give more "soul" to the concept of Europe into a cohesive political entity. Europe is indeed represented by a complex of institutions, ideas and expectations, habits and feelings, moods, memories and prospects that glue Europeans together. The European civic society and "Europeanism" can therefore be strengthened by sharing ideas and values. The idea of European cultural space cannot be defined in opposition to national cultures, as it is represented by the variety of numerous national and regional cultures; nor in opposition to a particular religion (for example to Islam and its place in the contemporary European continent). An institutionally stronger Europe, instead, could be the context to deal with issues of regulation for the conservation and promotion of heritage. Furthermore, it could be the cradle of the "networks of knowledge" which reinforce the capacity of each member region to address and manage emerging issues.

One of the principal questions in this study is indeed the following: "How can innovative spatial planning and policies best contribute to the territorial cohesion among European regions?". The following hypotheses are tested in our project:

1) The promotion of territorial identity is a tool to make cultural development activities possible and rentable.

2) Local communities are using culture to identify their territories. The significance of this approach is expressing a growing tendency in the contemporary European continent.

3) Built heritage is a carrier of local and regional cultural heritage.

4) The physical linkages between the carriers of cultural elements could be seen as a layer of the infrastructural system of Europe.

5) The images of cultural heritage elements could be seen as the *software* of the cultural heritage.

2.3   Conceptualisation of cultural heritage and identity

Heritage includes by definition cultural and natural heritage (Jafari, 2003: 275-277). In this project a common approach to cultural heritage and identity is sought for, thus excluding natural heritage, but including cultural landscapes that result from the cumulative superimposition of human habitats. Although it is difficult to come to a consensus on the definition of cultural heritage, this is the focus of this study.

There are at least two ways of approaching the cultural heritage of Europe, which can be described as extremes in a continuum (Fig. 1) which goes from a conceptualisation as (*a*) a static set of features of the territory, including spatial patterns and structures, to (*b*) cultural identity both as the spatial expression of the social and economic dynamics of communities. In this view on patterns (static) and processes (dynamics) we can place official definitions of cultural heritage that are given in international treaties and endorsed by organisations.

More oriented to the first is the Venice Charter, a milestone for the modern conservation movement, which was adopted by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) in 1956 when it was set up, and then published in 1966. The Venice Charter stresses the importance of setting, respect for the original fabric, precise documentation of any intervention, the significance of contributions from all periods to the building's character, and the maintenance of historic buildings

for a socially useful purpose. The Charter outlines the basic doctrine of what is now accepted to be an appropriate approach to dealing with historic buildings.[3]
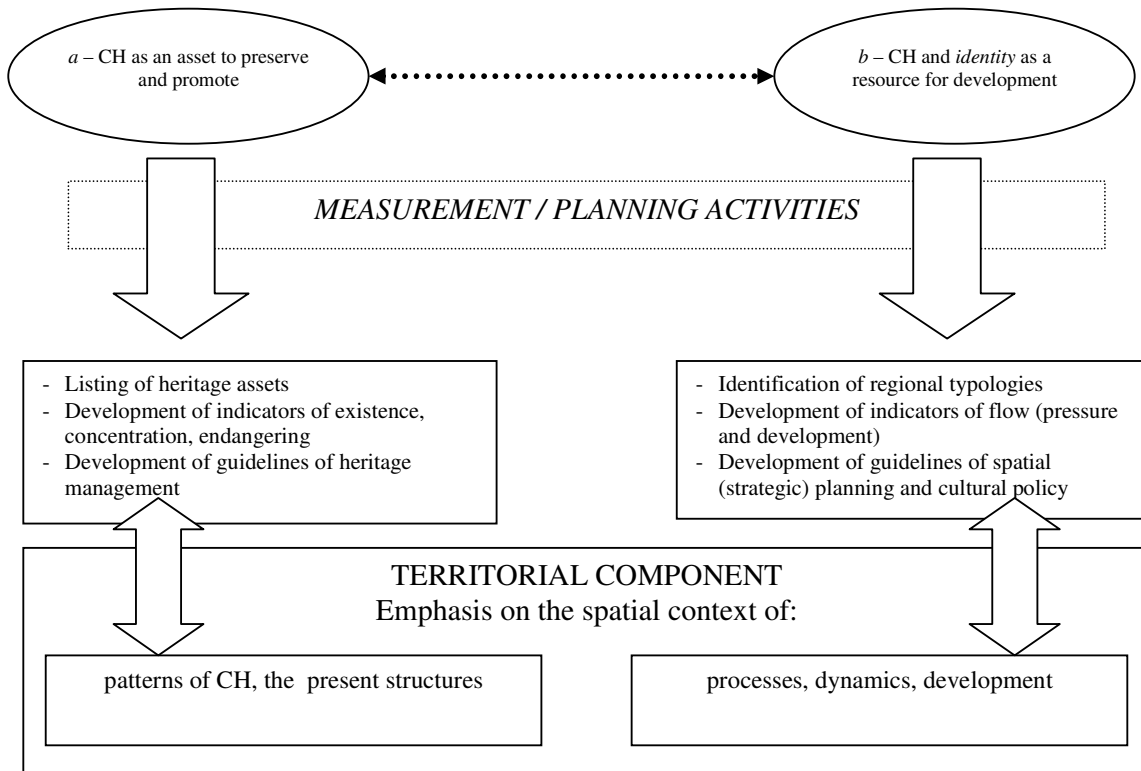

Figure 1   Conceptualisation of cultural heritage and *operationalisation* for the management of development processes

A fundamental question remains whether heritage is property ("objects"), or a social, intellectual, and spiritual inheritance. Human actions, our ideas, customs and knowledge, are arguably the most important aspects of heritage (Harrison, 2005: 1-10). Cultural resource managers seek to understand and conserve these aspects through work on landscapes, places, structures, artefacts, and archives, and through work with individuals and the community (Davison 2000; Aplin 2002). Moving from the field of collection to that of policy and planning, the declaration following UNESCO's World Conference on Cultural Policies (Mexico, 1982) states that "… culture consists of all distinctive, spiritual and material, intellectual and emotional features which characterise a society or social group", thus getting closer to the second conceptualisation of heritage as *resource*.

Another significant subdivision is that between *tangible* heritage, including cultural assets and cultural and natural landscapes, and *intangible* heritage, which focuses on immaterial expressions of

7

the culture, traditions and *skills* of a community[4]. Whatever the type of heritage, the conceptualisation of cultural heritage as an asset, and conversely of cultural landscapes as a superimposition of various cultural and historical features identifying a territory, leads to the recognition of spatial (geo-referenced) features, impacts, and development potentials that can be mapped.

2.4   The dynamics and diversity of the cultural heritage

The driving assumption of the ESPON 1.3.3 project and of this article is that CHI has the potential of positive outcomes for the economy and the society; referring to the kind of spatial planning models and strategies that enable a "sustainable exploitation" of the heritage resources.

A key issue is to gather information that help substantiate the notion of spatial *dynamics* of cultural heritage. This means that the historical process of formation of the heritage and/or the current development trends are considered, trying to understand the dynamism that will shape future patterns and uses of cultural heritage. There are conceptual and practical difficulties with this approach: a research into the past risks to have to deal with identity issues (what was Europe then, and what is it now), current trends have to deal with speculations about the direction of the interrelations between culture and development, and forecasts for the future clash against the lack of "models" of cultural development. Heritage is the meaning we *now* give to objects, artefacts, resources of the past; and this meaning varies according to changing values etc.

The following statements are standpoints of this approach:

a) CHI is a renewable resource, although to a limited extent, because it does not just "exist" out there, but is continuously being (re-)produced and (re-)elaborated;

b) CHI is a phenomenon of social organization: it is based on − and its value is determined by − cultural/social practices. As such, CHI is intimately linked to the civil society and participation in civic activities.

c) There are *subjects* that are active agents in producing CHI, and *objects* that are the outcomes of the activities of the agents. The two interact in the manner described by Giddens (2002).

Thus, *cultural identity* comes to the fore: the focus is not heritage assets as such, but on societies as "users" and "stewards" of the heritage. In this context, we are dealing with the most powerful discourses about European heritage. The cultural diversity in the 27 nation-states, but even more on

the regional level, is so high that a clearly defined focus is essential for a study that has the ambition to go beyond an inventory and description of diversities.

A consequence of this way of looking at cultural assets is that the activity of preserving and promoting cultural heritage and identity is seen to have spatial implications, because it invests the models of organisation of the society and its "use" of the environmental assets. Monitoring and planning for these activities requires not only the listing of objects produced by past actions, but extends to the full comprehension of the production and reproduction of cultural value in the contemporary society. The objective of spatial planning changes from the activity of regulation of the space use in order not to interfere with the process of preservation of the heritage assist, to a *proactive* activity of promotion of the developments in a territory (economic growth, social development and integration) through the valuation and furthering of its cultural features and historical landmarks.

2.5   From "concepts" of CHI to operationalisations

Heritage can be conceived alternatively as a documentation of the past, a symbolic representation of the culture of a community (past and present), or aesthetic value embodied in physical and intangible expressions of a culture. Moreover, there is a functional side of any definition that invests the valuation process. Heritage can either be valued for maintaining its original function, or be appreciated when it is able to flexibly adapt to new functions, and in this case, it should be evaluated whether "revitalisation processes" which provided the heritage with new uses *have any sense in the light of the original function* (which might be contested or even dissonant …) Following Auclair (in Gravari-Barbas & Violier, 2003:95-ff.), cultural heritage is analysed in this study as an element of dynamism of the territory ('La culture qui réveille les territoires …. '):

- a tool to promote territorial identity or to reconstruct territorial coherence ('Le refondation territoriale ….un processus de production culturelle et de création du lieu'. L. Despin in Gravari-Barbas & Violier 2003: 165-174).

- an element of distinction of the territory used by local communities. [5]

The activities of mapping the dynamics of the heritage is more complex than presenting the geo-references of the existing heritage assets (and the observation of "endangering elements"), because they involve:

a) not just the consideration of spatial patterns of tangible CH (points, lines and small surfaces) but also the structure of different tangible and intangible features over a territory, in terms of concentration (clusters and itineraries), and superimposition (diversity and homogeneity).

b) not just a recognition of heritage assets (patterns and structures) in the regions where they are located, but also the identification of areas of impact which may again transverse regional boundaries (functional entities);

c) not just a recognition of features regarding the asset itself but the combined evaluation of these and socio-economic as well as organisational variables.

The identification and mapping of cultural heritage features is a *first step* in this more wide-spanning approach. In fact this is already a problematic issue as the relevant data are hardly available in a harmonised format over the European territory of EU27+2. Furthermore, the complexity of combining geo-referenced data on heritage assets (with punctual spatial connotations) with non-geo data (such as intangible cultural features, socio-economic trends) can be very high. As a consequence a step-by-step approach should be followed, starting from the spatial analysis of tangible, physical elements of the cultural space and then integrating it with *fuzzier* elements of cultural activity and identity.

The endpoint would be the compilation of a list of *regional indicators of the European CHI* encompassing issues such as heritage presence concentration and diversity, spatial patterns at the local and cross-regional level, local *embeddedness* of intangible heritage assets, pressures on ⸺ and potential for ⸺ development of heritage, and the *orgware* of the heritage.

3   INDICATORS OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

3.1   Categories of cultural heritage and identity

We propose to subdivide cultural heritage and identity into four categories which differ for their spatial aspects and the type of spatial effects that they generate.

A)   TANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

The *tangible heritage landscapes* include "immovable" assets like monuments, buildings, sites and townscapes; these cannot be relocated or reproduced outside of their actual location without changing their symbolic, aesthetic and economic value. They can also be enjoyed only in the actual place where they have been originally erected (though interpretation centres and virtual access may

in part "delocalise" the heritage experience). Almost all these heritage assets have an "address", or can be linked to geographical coordinates. They may or may not retain their original function; be publicly owned or accessible. They may generate *flows*, mostly physical flows of visitors and users, and possibly also financial flows from their economic exploitation.

The *tangible movable heritage* generally consists of artefacts that are the product of human skill, and have symbolic and/or aesthetic value. Among these, art objects that are in *collections* (stored in private houses, galleries, museums, warehouses, libraries, etc.) and other culture-based goods which may not have artistic value but a cultural significance that exceed their face value (places of memory, parks and gardens and sights). Tangible movable heritage assets have no geographical coordinates as they can be transferred to different places than the one in which they were physically created; yet most of them acquire a "physical" location when they are stored or collected (though not permanent: museums and galleries can be moved and their collections transferred). They have spatial impacts because they generate flows and because they can be moved and displayed in strategic locations. The following categories of tangible cultural heritage are considered in ESPON 1.3.3:

A 1   **Cultural Heritage Sites**

A 1 1   Monuments and Sites

A 1 2   Religious Buildings

A 1 3   Architectural Ensembles

A 1 4   Archaeological Sites

A 1 5   Historic Townscapes

A 1 6   Industrial Heritage

A 2   **Man-made sites with specific significance (historical identity)**

A 2 1   Parks and Gardens

A 2 2   Places of memory

A 2 3   Sights

A 3   **Movable heritage**

A 3 1   Art objects and collections (in galleries, museums, private houses, etc.)

B)   *INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE*

Intangible heritage assets do not have a "physical" address. They are immaterial cultural expressions of a community (or of different communities sharing the same territory), of its economic and social history. They thus provide a "symbolic" backbone for the very recognition of

the physical cultural markers of the heritage: without the personal, subjective capacities to understand, learn, further culture — which are highly dependent on the intangible networks of knowledge and transmission of values — we would not recognise monuments and objects of art as such. Intangible heritage is culture in motion, is the knowledge base that allows cultural heritage to be "manufactured" or new cultural productions to be performed, it is the manifestation of a community's use of the cultural assets of the territory.

The territory is replete with symbolic heritage elements, which may be as diverse as the multiple manifestations of a lifestyle. However, there are good reasons to be selective when it comes to including these type of CHI elements in the study. In fact, their immaterial nature means that they are the most complex to evaluate as far as spatial aspects and effects are concerned. Little research has been done on the spatial aspects or dimensions of intangible CH, nor on the spatial impact of processes related with CHI.

Languages, religions, traditions, celebrations affect the way in which most resources that we recognise as "our culture" are valuated. Cultural events impinge (to varying degrees) on the cultural identity of the territory where they are organised, and reflect a local interest in the furthering and dissemination of cultural symbolic elements; and are strongly rooted into the local economic networks, like tourism, travel, infrastructure development. They are an exemplary illustration of how culture can be used as a lever for economic development and regional dynamism. It remains to see how events can be "mapped" and "valued", or attributed a spatial effect. The mapping of events and the identification of spatial impacts is a new field of research (Jansen-Verbeke 2004).

The selection criterion for these assets should be the spatial expressions and effects, which need to be visible, traceable, and measurable. Religions, ethnic and language compositions are "qualities" of a given territory; they can only be evaluated in their spatial effects when they are connected with other *analytic categories*. Intangible heritage and cultural events are "attractors" and hence they may generate physical and economic flows. In this category the following groups are included:

B   **Intangible heritage**

B   1   religions, and more specifically the share of followers of any given religion or cult in a region[6]

B   2   ethnic groups and minorities which are present in a territory

B   3   the languages (and dialects) spoken

B   4   the existence of (registered) intangible heritage assets (celebrations, traditions, expressions of popular culture and identity), as defined by the UNESCO convention on intangible heritage

B   5   cultural manifestations and events

C)   CULTURAL HERITAGE ENTITIES

This category focuses on the interaction of different cultural elements and on their spatial pattern. It can be conceived as the result of the superimposition of different heritage assets on a territory and/or the composition of different (more or less homogeneous) heritage markers.

Art cities, "cultural districts" and other types of cultural landscapes can be included in this category, like cultural routes which may extend well over regional boundaries to determine an element of integration and cohesion between regions of Europe. There is no physical address but rather an induced "delimitation" of a territory coming from the recognition of a "common cultural element" over the physical space.

In this category the production of culture-based goods is also included. Specialised handicrafts (artistic glass, jewellery, textile production and fashion) and the so-called "*produits du terroir*" (food and wine, herbs, thermal treatments, etc.) may not be inherited from the past but so are the skills and social networks which enable their production. They are thus part of the material cultural heritage of a territory (Moreno et al., 2004): the expression of localised know-how and savoir vivre that define identity. Culture-based goods have spatially delimited production locations (cultural production districts, as defined by Santagata 2004) and remain symbolically attached to this location (e.g. Delft's blue porcelain, DOC wines), though they are commercialised and circulated worldwide[7].

Cultural production districts or clusters have a strong local embedding as peculiar forms of organisation of the economy and the society of an area, and an economic impact deriving from their nature of export assets. The spatial analysis of these clusters (which may extend over regional borders and/or be markedly concentrated into urban areas) is important both for the full comprehension of the territorial patterns of cultural heritage dynamism and for the development of spatial planning guidelines. These could and should support the cultural economy as a key strategic sector for European regions. A possible discriminator for cultural production clusters which have recognition and are likely to produce spatial effects is to take into consideration only those material cultural products which are regulated by a collective property right or trademark. In this category the following groups are included:

C   Cultural heritage entities or cultural landscapes

C 1   Sites containing several or all above mentioned categories: art cities, regions, cultural complexes

C 2   Cultural Routes

C 3   Clusters of culture-based products

D) *CULTURAL ACTIVITIES (PLACES FOR CULTURAL EXPRESSION, ORGANISATION AND TRANSMISSION)*

The last category includes places, institutions, organisations which are not considered as cultural heritage per se but reflect the ambition of a community to further, share and promote their cultural heritage, thus (re)defining their identity. They need to be considered in this study because they capture the "dynamics" of the heritage and allow analysing heritage not as an isolated field but as an element of the territory, affecting and being affected by the main socio-economic currents of Europe, among which are new forms of mobility, citizenship, education, governance. Places for cultural expression are those in which cultural resources which cannot be physically traceable acquire a spatial setting (performing arts companies and productions as opposed to music, ballet and opera houses), and where contemporary cultural expressions "accumulate" in repertoires and are disseminated to the public, producing new or strengthening old identities. The inclusion of educational assets highlights that culture need to be taught, researched and systemised in order to become part of a social system; and the inclusion of cultural organisations underlines that culture gets "embedded", or "appropriated" by the society in varying forms. In this light, the so-called *creative industries*, can be taken into consideration, on the argument that they are:

(i) (increasingly important) job generators, and hence examples of interrelations between culture and economic development;

(ii) elements of "continuity" in the production of new culture and symbolic meaning;

(iii) "concentrations" of cultural dynamics in specific locations, and therefore producing spatial effects.

Recent cultural studies also highlight that the new cultural production sectors or "creative industries" tend to be at the same time highly "centric" in regional systems (Heilbrun 1992; Dziembowska-Kowalska and Funck 2000) — and therefore at the core of economic regeneration efforts — and strongly embedded into trans-national networks, and thus of paramount importance not only as job generators but also as "bridges" (Castells 1996) towards the new organisation of the world economy that we know as "global".

In short, this category of indicators refers to the stage of generation of the heritage as a social construct and to the capacity to transmit it and defend it. It has marked spatial effects because "places" generate flows (for instance, audiences to performances or students flowing in a place and enhancing its social capital) and networks within and over territories. In this category we include:

D   **Cultural activities: places for cultural expression, organisation and transmission**

D 1   Theatres, operas, musical venues, cinemas

D 2   Higher education institutions, libraries

D 3   National and regional archives

D 4   Cultural organisations (associations)

D 5   Creative industries (jobs)

3.2   The analytic framework of CHI indicators

The territorial dimension in policy development is a key issue in the context of an enlarging European Union, where nation-states are giving up some of their political importance and cultural coherence to supranational institutions and lower government levels. At the same time, regional entities are (re)building their cultural identity and are (re)discovering, or even (re)valorising their history and their "typical habitats". According to the French scientist Paul Vidal de la Blache (1845-1918), "history and habitat" are the basis of cultural heritage and eventually of a revival of regionalism in Europe (De Pater & al, 2002 p 80). The territorial cohesion of cultural resources is thus a multidimensional issue which involves:

-      The *presence* of built heritage as a carrier of heritage. As a rule, the location pattern of built heritage and artefacts and the endogenous cultural industry is determined by history and habitat characteristics.

-      The physical linkages between these carriers of cultural elements can be seen as the *hardware* (the infrastructural system).

-      The images and actual uses and users of CH elements, the positioning and commodification of cultural elements can be seen as the *software* of the CH system, changeable and more flexible than hardware, sensitive to temporal changes in tastes and values.

-      The *orgware* (organizational networks) refers to the ways local communities, regional authorities or national organisations are preserving and managing CH.

-      Gradually, it has become clear that the territorial development of CH and CI is very much dependent on the partnerships that support the process of development. The concept of *shareware* has recently been introduced to refer to this new contextual variable: Sharing culture for the future (Fig. 2).

Figure 2   Model for Analysing Territorial Expressions of Cultural Resources
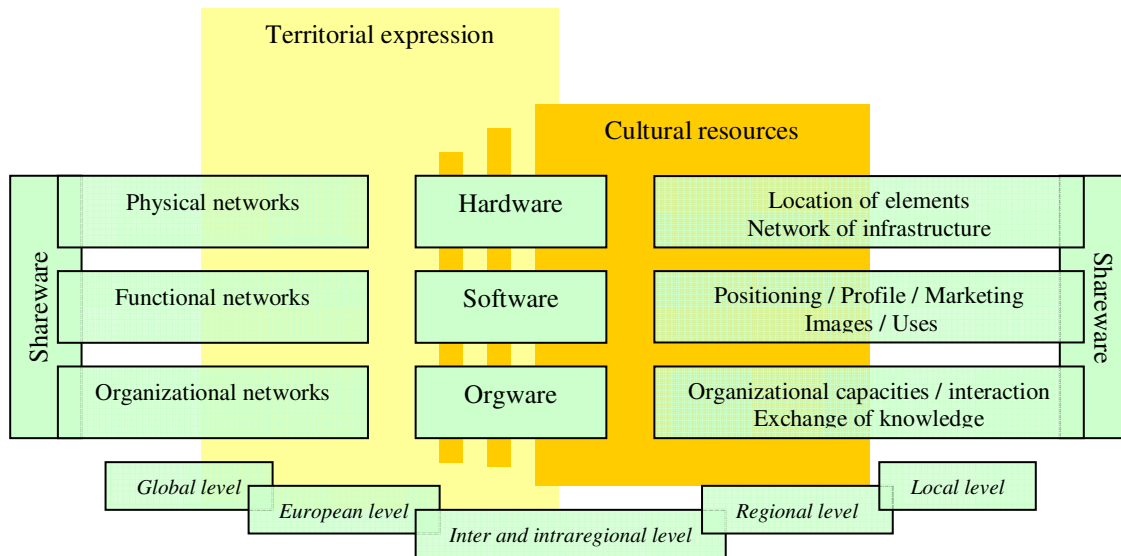
Source: Kramer, M., Jansen-Verbeke, M., 2004, EU- European Committee of the Regions

Local and regional authorities and industries, the inter- and intra regional networks and alliances at the level of the infrastructure form the *hardware* of CH. The positioning of the CI of territories in the EU context– images and regional marketing is the *software* of the system and a most crucial and manageable aspect. The organizational capacity in terms of policies, human resources and knowledge, of public and private alliances, of stakeholders' interaction forms the *orgware*.

The cohesion and dynamics of cultural heritage elements strongly depends on the *shareware* or the capacity to develop territorial identities. This can be studied at different scale levels. The option of this study is to focus on the regional and local level (for pragmatic reasons, such as data availability).

In the framework of this study, these analytic layers will all be taken into account. In a first stage, data and metadata highlighting the availability and formats of such data) will be collected in 27 European countries regarding the existence and concentration of the cultural heritage (green arrow on the left side of Fig. 3). The measurement and mapping of a number of indicators at the NUTS III level in EU27+2 will illustrate the European diversity as far as the location and significance of cultural heritage is concerned. This will constitute the backbone for the identification of regional typologies. Then, the concept of "regional cohesion" of cultural heritage can be explored, by taking into consideration indicators that illustrate the "hard", "soft", "organisational" and "partnership"

relationships generated by heritage resources. This can only be an exploratory study and has no pretence to cover the whole European territory or any category of cultural heritage. For a selected number of countries, and for selected heritage categories, an in-depth analysis (blue arrow in Fig. 3) and a number of case studies (in red in Fig. 3) will be carried out.

Figure 3   Structure of analysis in ESPON 1.3.3
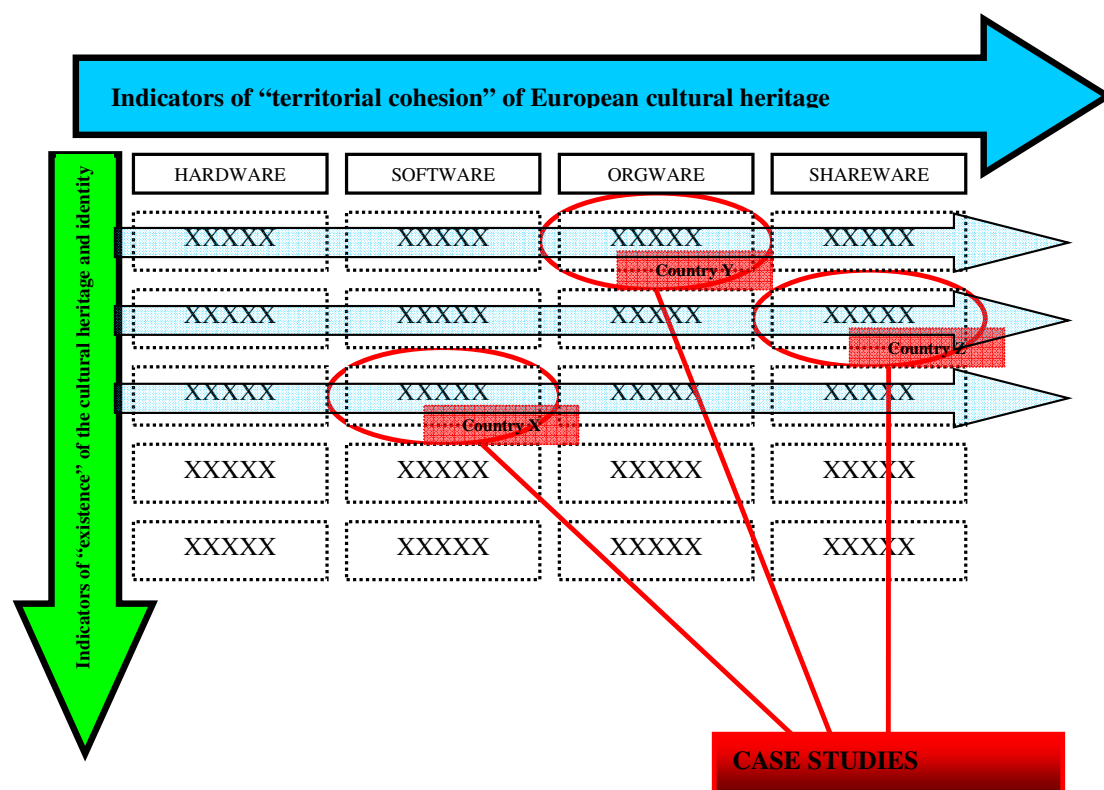
4   FIRST RESULTS OF THE ESPON 1.3.3 PROJECT

4.1   State of the ESPON project 1.3.3 and selection of indicators

In countries where data are available and have been collected with a sufficient degree of reliability (only a small part of EU27+2 at the present stage of the project), it has been possible to produce a first few maps which illustrate the diversity of European regions.

The assets mapped are at this stage of three types, encapsulating three different "moments" of cultural heritage effects:

- tangible, immovable *heritage resources*. Monuments and buildings of artistic and/or historical significance, historical sites and places of memory, architectural conjuncts, archaeological areas,

and so forth, define the "cultural infrastructure of the territory" encapsulate best the cultural identity of a territory and its differentiation; they are the subject of cultural policy aimed at their preservation and promotion.

- tangible, movable collections of objects, compiled in *museums and galleries*. These assets are the object of cultural policy: institutions explicitly aimed at colleting, forwarding, and studying the various traces of the cultural identity of a territory, or a country, or a given historical period. Their existence and relation with the territory (location, access policy) is "political" as it already presumes a "will" to defend a given cultural current and "use" culture as a regional asset.

- *libraries and archives* are a significant aspect of cultural policy, disconnected from the "object" but aiming at diffused cultural education and sensibilisation of the population regarding the local culture.

Other dimensions of culture and heritage, especially of the "intangible" type, will be taken care of at later stages of this study: cultural practices, activities and events; jobs and enterprises in the cultural industries; production clusters of culture-based goods and services; etc.

On the basis of such data, maps could be compiled according to three basic indicators:

1. *Presence of cultural assets.* The sheer number of heritage assets in a region allows an overview of the distribution and localisation of cultural assets in Europe. This information provides no immediate policy indication, but may illustrate of the "cultural complexity" of a given territory and of specific cultural environments delimited by administrative boundaries. In the cases of museums and libraries, this indicator may be an illustration of differential policy approaches to cultural provisions between regions.

2. *Density of cultural assets.* The number of assets per square kilometre indicates the concentration of heritage assets and resources in the space, and could be considered a proxy of the attractiveness of the region, therefore of the economic potential for development from tourism but also from other forms of valorisation of local culture: education, heritage industry, creative industry, which need a "spatial critical mass" to attract the investments and infrastructure that is needed for development.

3. *Use pressure on cultural assets.* The number of users (residents and tourists) indicate what is the "demand basin" for heritage resources and other cultural facilities and therefore what is the ease of access to culture (or the level of conflict in the access, as in the cases of excessive

tourist pressure). Thus, high values of this indicator could be given a negative interpretation (the demand basin for individual assets of limited capacity is high and may create congestion) but also a positive one (the "economic potential" is high); hence, balance should be sought for and the level of use from visitors should also be considered. In the case of libraries this twofold interpretation presents again: few users per library means that people have better access (but then we don't have the data on the dimension of the libraries), or may indicate an "inefficiency" in the provision of library services. The same holds with regard to museums: few potential users per museum means that the quality of visits is high but also that museums could achieve better economic results. "Efficiency" data should therefore be taken into consideration to complement this information.

Those indicators are calculated in absolute numbers or in index form, assigning the value = 100 to the national average (country total) and analysing regional variations. At this stage, the maps built according to these three indicators are not integrated at the European level, which will only be possible when relevant "harmonisation" issues will be addressed and a standard analytic approach will be decided.

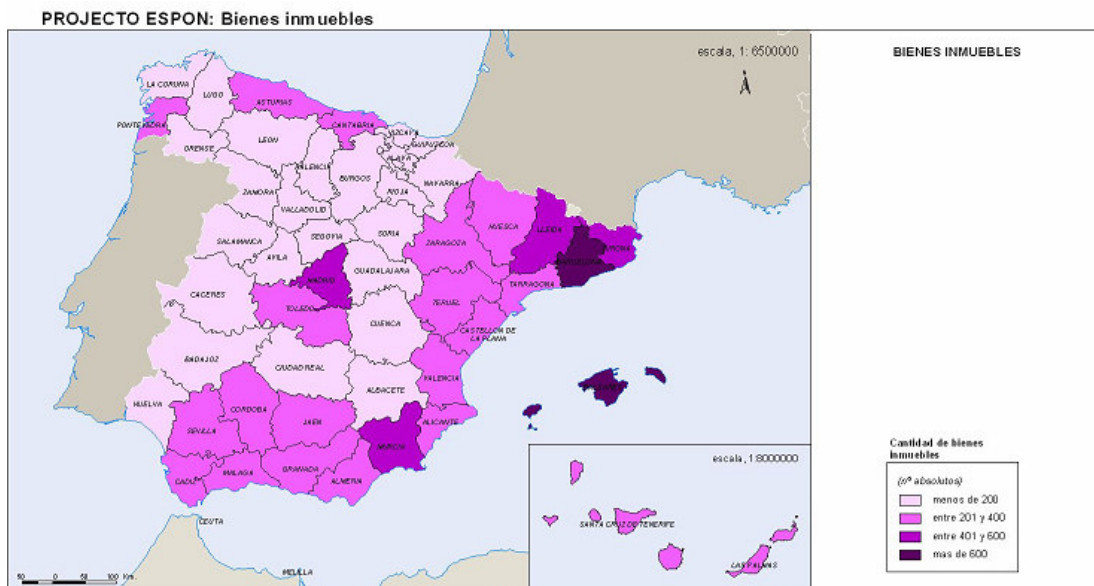## 4.2 Pilot mapping of Spain[8]

Figure 4   Spain, immovable heritage assets in NUTS III regions in absolute numbers. *Source*: Ministerio de Cultura de España. Data elaborated by A.P. Russo, J. Duch, F. Romagosa

The first map in Figure 4 reveals that heritage assets are numerous in the provinces of Catalonia, Madrid and Murcia (a possible outlier). A bird's eye view of all Spain reveals that there's relative abundance of heritage assets in coastal areas and around Madrid, while sparsely populated provinces without an important history are relatively less endowed. Art and culture are naturally tied to civilisation and human settlements. Andalusia (especially the provinces of Seville, Granada, Malaga) stand out as a culturally cohesive territory as do Catalonia.

Figure 5 shows that the Province of Barcelona, Madrid, the coastal Andalusian provinces of Malaga and Cadiz, as well as the Basque and some Galician provinces have the highest concentrations of heritage resources. Provinces which include other large conurbations like Sevilla, Valencia, Sandander and Valladolid follow suit. This reflects to some extent the "urban" nature of the heritage and the importance of maritime locations, where natural and cultural assets intertwine and where the fertile encounter of ancient civilisations has left the most visible traces. The pressure map in Figure 6 reveals that regions where a potential for abuse of cultural assets are both among sparely populated areas or in densely populated areas, so this information is inconclusive.
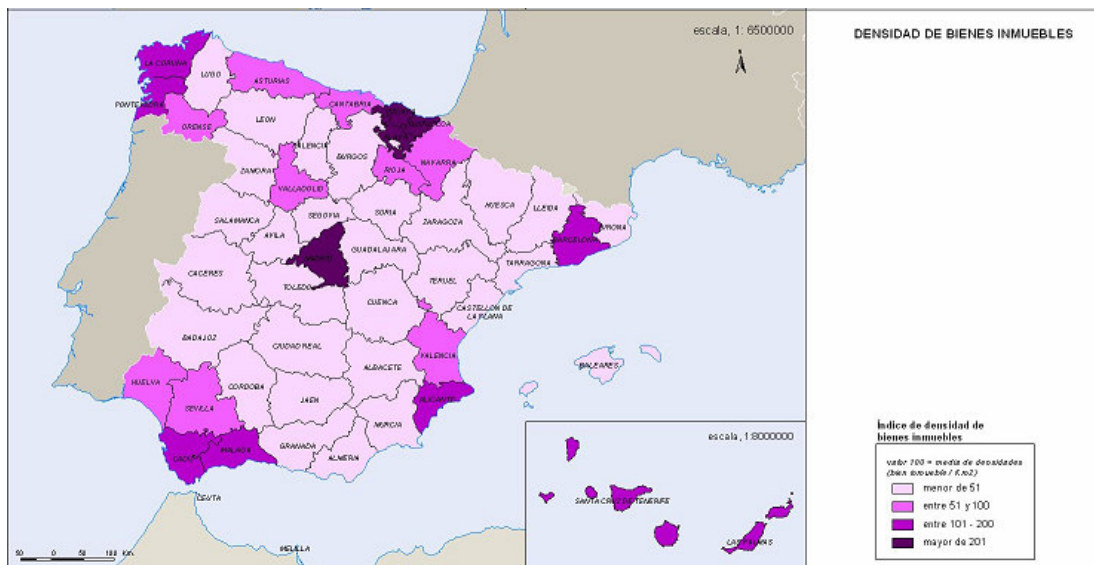

Figure 5   Spain, density of heritage assets in NUTS III regions (assets / kmq). Index (Spain = 100). Source: Ministerio de Cultura de España. Data elaborated by A.P. Russo, J. Duch, F. Romagosa
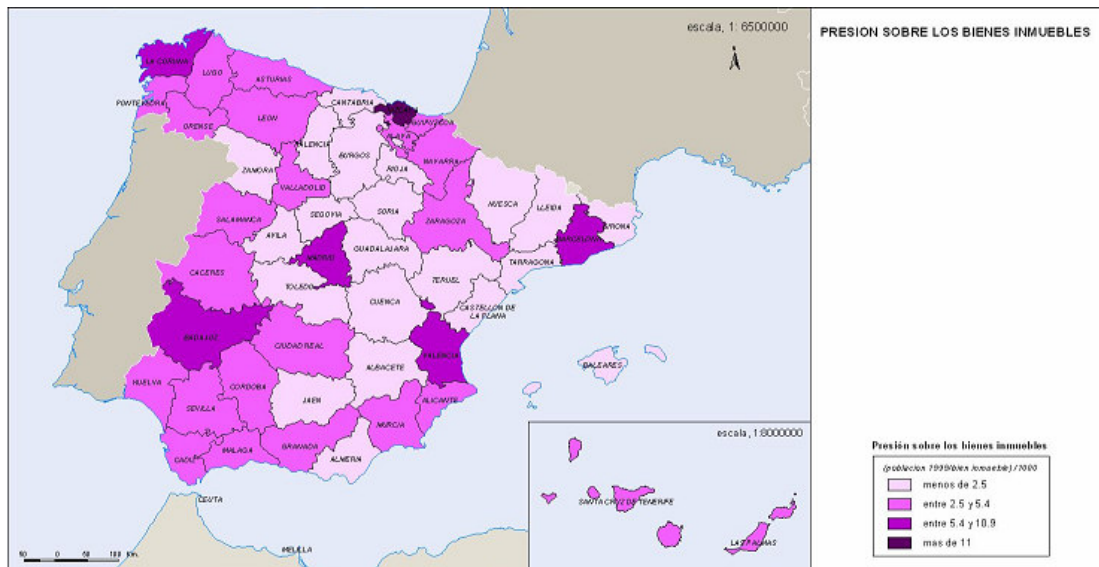
Figure 6   Spain, use pressure on heritage assets from local residents in NUTS III regions (residents / assets). Index (Spain = 100). Source: Ministerio de Cultura de España. Data elaborated by A.P. Russo, J. Duch, F. Romagosa

Museums (Fig. 7) are numerous in the three largest Spanish conurbations, as well as in most Andalusian provinces and Balearic islands. The regions that contain large metropolitan conurbations (Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia) are the ones that concentrate the highest number of museums (Fig. 8), confirming the intuition that movable collections are more likely to be located in "urban" areas; the contrary holds for sparsely populated provinces.

Northern Spanish provinces in the Basque countries, Rioja and Cantabria as well as the Province of La Coruña (where Santiago de Compostela is located) are also well endowed to this respect. Potential museum users (Fig. 9) are higher in coastal regions and especially in Catalonia, Basque countries and Galicia, as well as Madrid and Rioja.
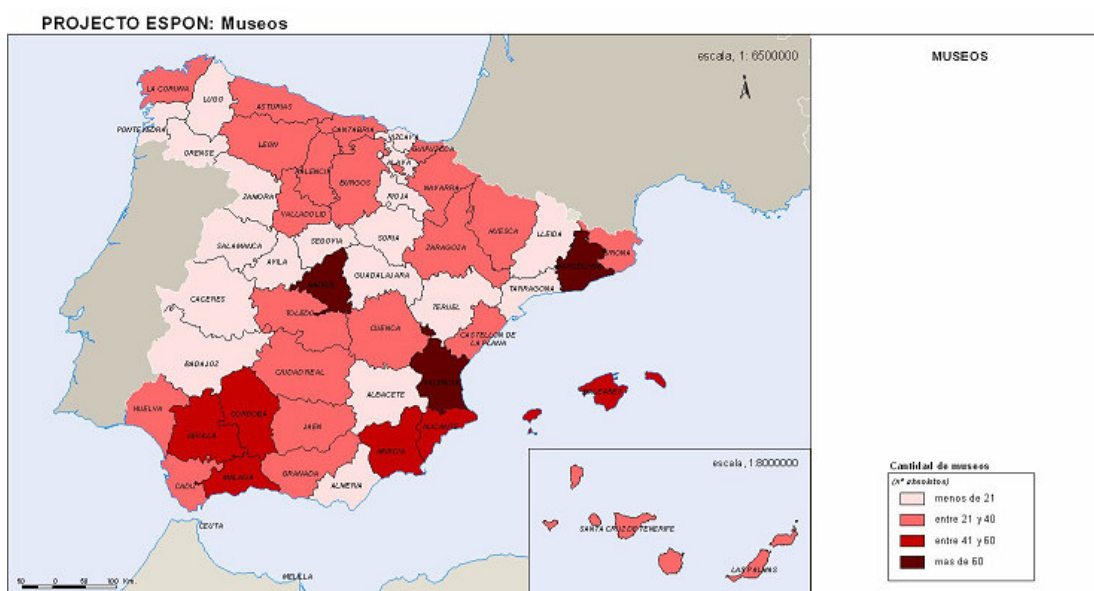
Figure 7   Spain, museums and galleries in NUTS III regions in absolute numbers. Source: Ministerio de Cultura de España. Data elaborated by A.P. Russo, J. Duch, F. Romagosa
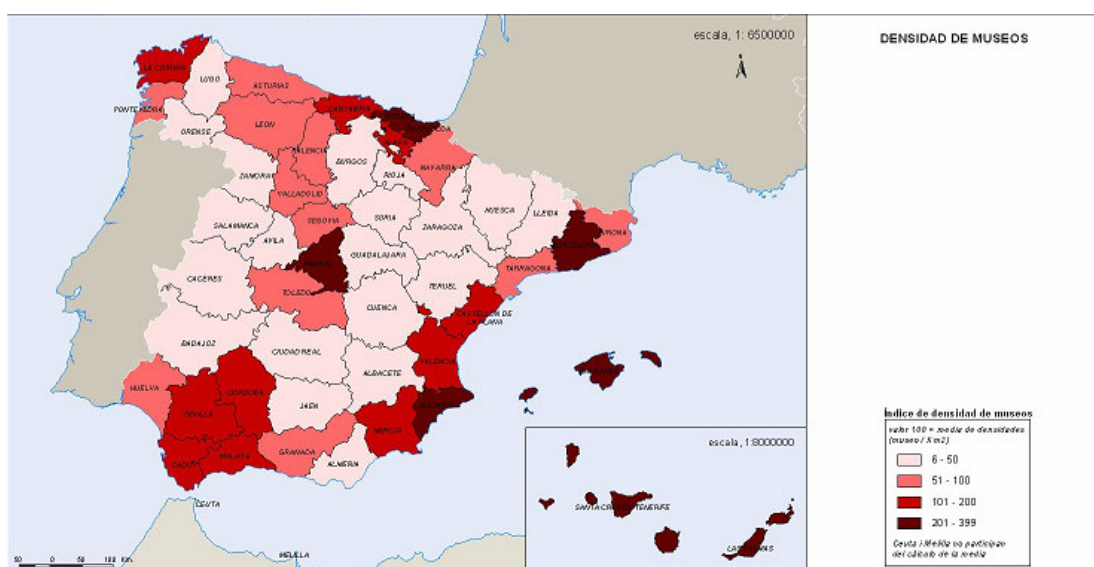

Figure 8   Spain, density of museums in NUTS III regions (assets / kmq). Index (Spain = 100). Source: Ministerio de Cultura de España. Data elaborated by A.P. Russo, J. Duch, F. Romagosa
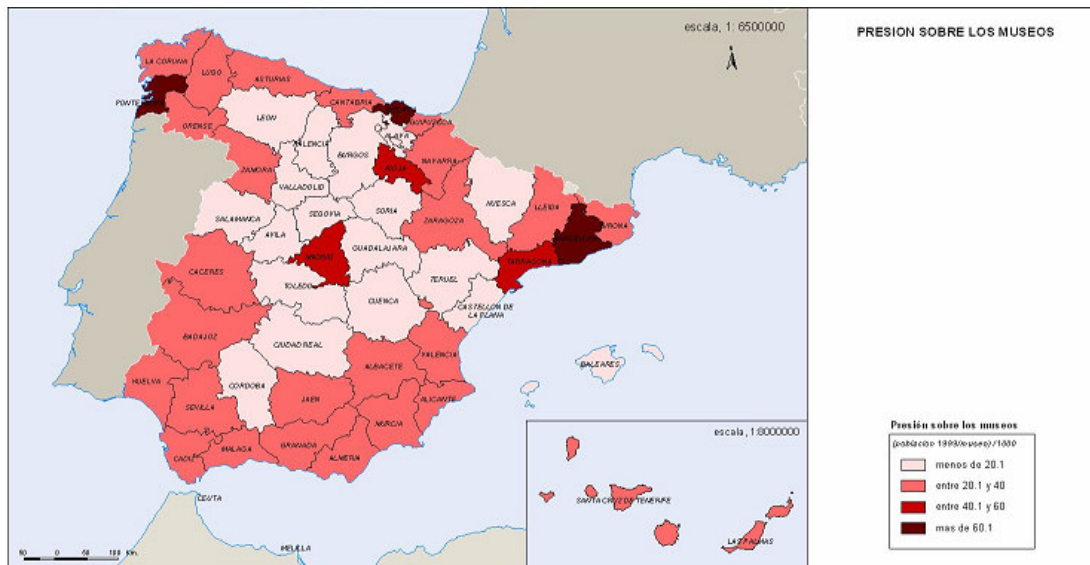
Figure 9   Spain, use pressure on museums from local residents in NUTS III regions (residents / assets). Index (Spain = 100). Source: Ministerio de Cultura de España. Data elaborated by A.P. Russo, J. Duch, F. Romagosa

Public libraries (Fig. 10) are relatively uniformly distributed across the Spanish provinces, with a higher presence (Fig. 11) in more sparsely populated regions, but there are notable differences that could correspond to variations in budgets allocated to culture and education by different autonomous communities. Densely populated Madrid, Barcelona, Sevilla, Cadiz and Murcia are the provinces in which each library serves more residents (Fig. 12).
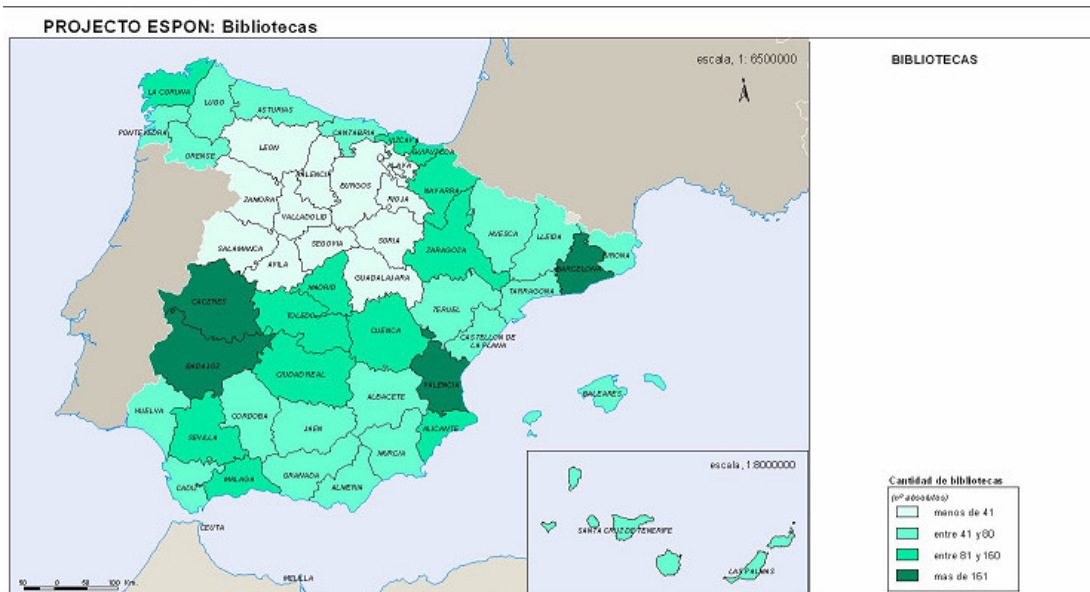

Figure 10   Spain, public libraries and archives in NUTS III regions in absolute numbers. Source: Ministerio de Cultura de España. Data elaborated by A.P. Russo, J. Duch, F. Romagosa

Figure 11   Spain, density of libraries in NUTS III regions (assets / kmq). Index (Spain = 100). Source: Ministerio de Cultura de España. Data elaborated by A.P. Russo, J. Duch, F. Romagosa
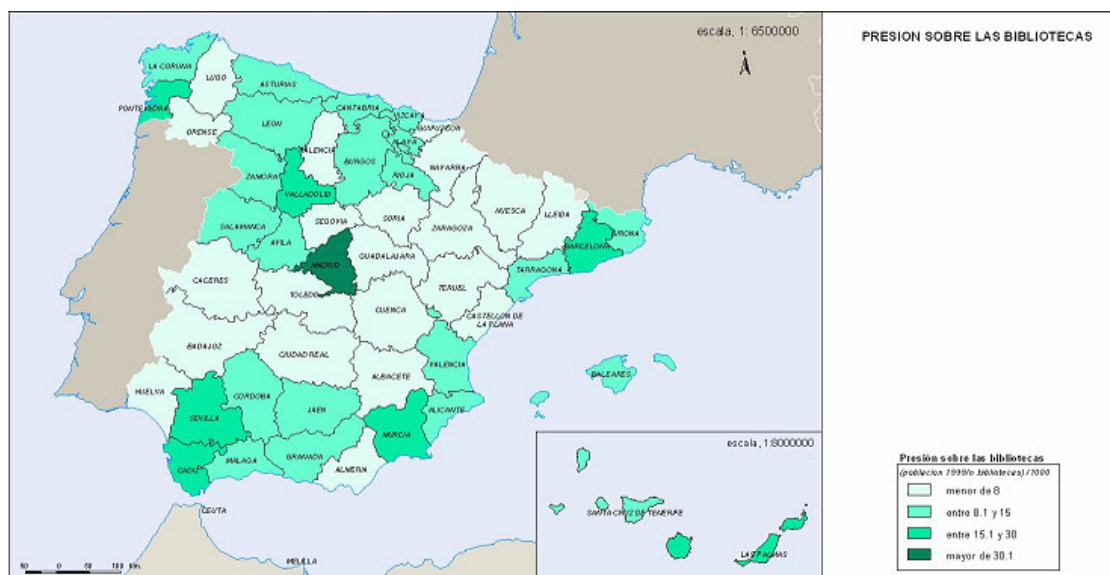

Figure 12   Spain, use pressure on libraries from local residents in NUTS III regions (residents / assets). Index (Spain = 100). Source: Ministerio de Cultura de España. Data elaborated by A.P. Russo, J. Duch, F. Romagosa

4.3   Conclusive remarks

The joint reading of the first set of maps elaborated by the Spanish and the Greek team[9] can be used to propose some hypotheses on the role and effects of CHI, to be tested in the next stages of the analysis.

- There's a tendency for heritage resources if the immovable type and museums to cluster in coastal areas and heavily urbanised areas of Spain and Greece;

- Libraries and other cultural activities are an expression of the pursuit of spatial balance and access to culture among regions within a country; and are more evenly distributed in the territory counterbalancing the dispersion of population, depending on the national policies;

- Access to cultural resources is potentially more problematic in heavily urbanised areas where use pressures are higher (and there's large competition from visitors).

This discloses a number of highlights regarding territorial potentials, which will drive future research activities:

- Cultural heritage and assets represent an important factor of "quality of life" for the territory, hence resulting in a boost of the development potential of a region. More and better cultural opportunities mean more recreation, higher land values, more enterprise, more "aware" citizenships, and ultimately a more "sustainable" development where economic growth objectives are "tempered" by a greater balance in the public realm and equity in the distribution of resources

- The concentration of cultural assets is also a strong element of attractiveness of the territory, which is likely to work as a magnet for visitor flows. These turn out to be an important development asset for the territory – producing tourism-related jobs, income and branding but also a potential source of disturbance for the physical integrity of the cultural assets (through a congested use of the resources). Moreover excessive tourism pressure threatens to preclude access to the heritage and cultural assets by the local people, representing an element of disruption of stakeholdership of the heritage and ultimately further endangering the preservation of the assets. Finally, heavy economic pressure from tourism is likely to alter the social mix of the territory through "crowding out" effects, coming to alter the "cultural identity" of a given place.

- Positive and negative effects from tourism should be managed and be kept in balance in order for the "development cycle" of culture to be sustained. The issue is particularly critical in areas

where cultural resources are concentrated: coastal areas and urban areas concentrate the largest number of visitors (and hence the potential for excessive pressure is higher, also considering that only a minor share of the visitors does in fact "pay" for resources that are normally consumed as a part of a freely available "experience").

- Spatial planning has to take into account the cultural infrastructure of the territory (in its tangible and intangible expressions) both as a "vehicle" of development strategies – for instance cultural projects in sparsely populated regions can provide attractiveness for visitors and hence the potential for the development of a resource-based industry and a "constraint" which should not be affected by development strategies that are insensitive to local idiosyncrasies and "localised knowledge".

- The territorial expressions of tangible cultural resources will highlight the possibilities and the tensions that inevitably arise with the management of local or regional CH in the political context of an enlarged EU where competing values, expectations and objectives can often collide, but also offer new opportunities for knowledge transfer, strategic alliances, networking and sharing.

NOTES

[1] Project partners are: Ca' Foscari University of Venice; Ernst-Moritz-Arndt Universität Greifswald; Erasmus University Rotterdam; KU Leuven; Univesitat Autònoma de Barcelona; Nottingham Business School; University of Thessaly, Volos; Universidade Coimbra; University of Copenhagen; IGSO, Polish Academy of Sciences; Universty of Joensuu; University of Pardubice.

[2] Punctual cultural data are missing in most European data banks which are used for spatial planning and economic development, like Eurostat and Eurogeographics.

[3] The UNESCO World Heritage List considers cultural heritage as « … containing all the signs that document the activities and achievements of human beings over time» (Feilden and Jokilheto 1998:11); though it recognises cultural heritage as a broad concept relevant to the development of contemporary society, it focuses on heritage as a "product of history" and an "asset". UNESCO (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation) defines heritage as « ... the product and witness of the different traditions and of the spiritual achievements of the past and . . . thus an essential element in the personality of peoples» (Davison 1991).

[4] The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage defines the intangible cultural heritage as the practices, representations, expressions, as well as the knowledge and skills, that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage. It is sometimes called living cultural heritage, and is manifested *inter alia* in the following domains: (*i*) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; (*ii*) performing arts; (*iii*) social practices, rituals and festive events; (*iv*) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; (*v*) traditional craftsmanship. (www.unesco.org).

[5] Examples are given by Graham et al. (2000), who speak of "contested heritage" reflecting the idea that culture may mean different things for different groups (hence the attempts to "appropriate" of the heritage

and the need for careful and history-aware planning practices) and by Moreno et al. (2004) who focus on regional products (produits du terroir) as "material cultural heritage".

[6] The authors are aware that worship practices go beyond traditions and cultural practices. For instance, each nation or region has different traditions for Christmas, but they are all part of the same religion. Treating them as one category would not reflect an underlying diversity.

[7] O. Etcheverra in Gravari-Barbas and Violer, op. cit., illustrates very well how the process of regional identity building can be linked with (or supported by) 'produits du terroir'.

[8] All data are referred to NUTS III units (the Spanish provinces). The Autonomous Communities of Melilla and Ceuta, that are isolated city protectorates surrounded by Moroccan territory, have been excluded from the analysis because they represent outliers. *Unmovable heritage* data come from the national data base of protected unmovable heritage assets collected by the Ministry of Culture. These data are online in "query form" in the website http://www.mcu.es/bases/spa/inmu/INMU.html. Five categories of assets are included: monuments and sites; parks and gardens; architectural conjuncts; sites of historical significance and "places of memory"; archaeological sites. *Museums* and *collections* data come from the national data base of Spanish museums and collections of the Ministry of Culture. The data are downloadable from the website http://www.mcu.es/museos/. *Libraries* data used come from the national data base of public libraries of the Ministry of Culture. The data are published in the website.

[9] Not included in this article.

REFERENCES

Aplin G. (2002), Heritage identification, conservation, and management. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Borg J. van der (1993) The Social Carrying Capacity of Venice. Rotterdam: EURICUR report (1993-8).

Borg, J. van der, and G. Gotti (1995) Tourism and Cities of Art. UNESCO/ROSTE Technical Report n. 20, Venice;

Butler R.W. (1980) "The Concept of a Tourist area Cycle of Evolution: Implications for Management of Resources". Canadian Geographer 24(1): 5-12.

Canestrelli E. and P. Costa (1991) "Tourist Carrying Capacity: a Fuzzy Approach". Annals of Tourism Research 18 (2): 295-311.

Castells M. (1996) The information age: Economy, society and culture. Volume I: The rise of the network society. Oxford: Blackwell.

Davison G. (1991) The Meanings of Heritage. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Davison G. (2000) The use and abuse of Australian history. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

De Pater B. et al. (2002) Denken over regio's. Geografische perspectieven. Bussum: Coutinho.

Dziembowska-Kowalska J. and Funck R.H. (2000) "Cultural Activities as a Location Factor in European Competition Between Regions: concepts and Some Evidence". Annals of Regional Science 34: 1-12.

ESDP (1999), Final Conclusions issued by the German Presidency at the close of the Informal Council of EU Ministers responsible for Spatial Planning held in Potsdam on 10-11 May 1999. On-line document.

Feilden B.M. and Jokilehto J. (1998) Management Guidelines for World Cultural heritage Sites. Rome: ICCROM.

Giddens A. (2002) Modernity, post-modernity and the post-traditional. In Gauntlett, D. (ed.), Media, Gender and Identity: An Introduction. London and New York: Routledge.

Graham B., Ashworth G.J. and Tunbridge J.E. (2000) A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy. London: Arnold.

Gravari-Barvas M.V. (2003) Lieux de Culture. Culture des lieux. Espaces et Territoires Presses Universitaires de Rennes.

Greffe X. (2005) Culture and local development. OECD

Harrison D., and Hitchcock M. (eds) (2005) *The Politics of World Heritage: Current themes in Tourism*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications

Heilbrun J. (1992) "Art and Culture as Central Place Functions". Urban Studies 29 (2): 205-215.

Jafari J. (ed.) (2003) *Encyclopaedia of Tourism*. London: Routledge

Jansen-Verbeke M. (2004) Mutagenecity of cultural events in urban tourist destinations, in: Butler, R., Aramberri, J. (eds.) Tourism Development: Issues for a Vulnerable Industry, Channel View Publications pp257-275.

Jansen–Verbeke, M., (2004) Urban policies for cultural tourism, Critical issues in destination management, International Symposium Local Frameworks and Global Realities, Tourism, Politics and Democracy Eastbourne. University of Brighton

Jansen-Verbeke, M., Lievois, E. (2004) Urban Tourismscapes: Research based destination management, in Smith,K.A. and Scott.C (eds) *Proceedings of the New Zealand Tourism and Hospitality Research Conference 2004*– Wellington, pp. 170-179

Lindberg, K., S. McCool, and G. Stankey (1997), "Rethinking Carrying Capacity", Annals of Tourism Research 24 (2): 461-465.

Martin B.S. and Uysal M. (1990) "An Examination of the Relationship Between Carrying Capacity and the Tourism Lifecycle: Management and Policy Implications". Journal of Environmental Management 31: 327-333.

Moreno Y.J., Santagata W., and Tabassum A. (2004) "Material cultural heritage, cultural diversity, and sustainable development". Paper presented at the 13th annual conference of ACEI, Chicago, USA, 3-5 June 2004.

Russo A.P. (2004) "Crowding, Carrying Capacity and the TALC Model". In The Tourist Area Life Cycle: Conceptual And Theoretical Issues, ed. by R. Butler. Channel View Publications, Clevedon, in press.

Russo, A.P. (2002) "A Stakeholders Approach to Tourism Policy in Bruges". In Tourism Studies in Bruges, eds Jansen-Verbeke, M, & De keyser, R. . WES, Bruges.

Russo A.P. (ed.) (2000), Tourism Management in Heritage Cities. Proceedings of the 2nd International Seminar, Nazareth, Israel, 3-5 February 2000. UNESCO Venice Office Technical Reports Series, n. 30.

Russo, A.P., Boniface P., and Shoval N. (2001) "Tourism Management in Heritage Cities". Annals of Tourism Research 28(3): 824-826

Santagata W. (2004) Cultural Districts. In V. Ginsbourg and D. Throsby (Eds.) Handbook on the Economics of Art and Culture. Amsterdam: ElsevierScience, forthcoming.

Smith M.K. (ed.) (2003), Issues in Cultural Tourism. London, Routledge.