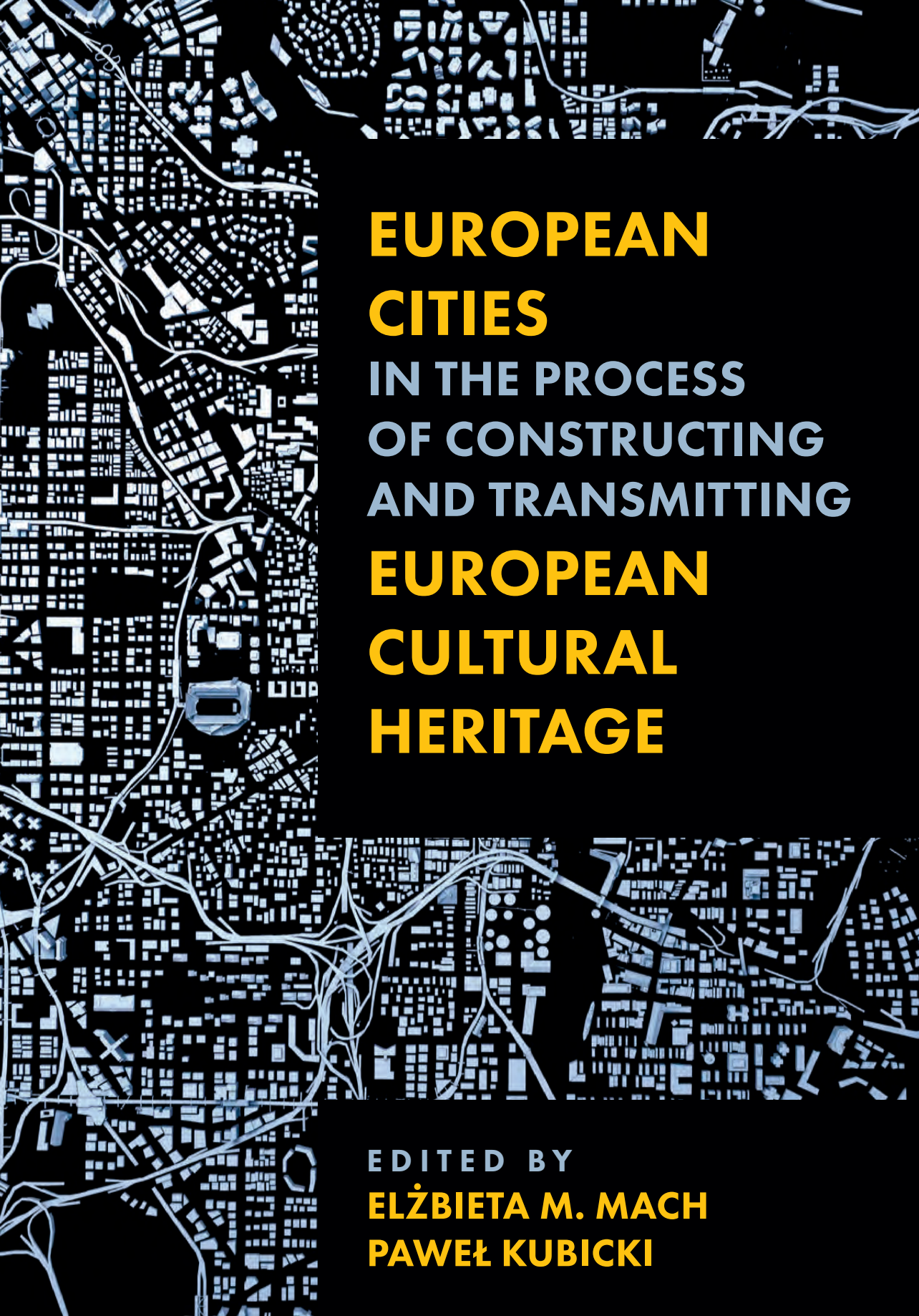


EUROPEAN CITIES IN THE PROCESS OF CONSTRUCTING AND TRANSMITTING EUROPEAN CULTURAL HERITAGE

EDITED BY
ELŻBIETA M. MACH
PAWEŁ KUBICKI

European Cities
in the Process of Constructing and Transmitting
European Cultural Heritage

European Cities

IN THE PROCESS OF CONSTRUCTING AND TRANSMITTING EUROPEAN CULTURAL HERITAGE

Edited by
Elżbieta M. Mach
Paweł Kubicki

Kraków 2022

Elżbieta M. Mach
Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8361-6633
elzbieta.mach@uj.edu.pl

Paweł Kubicki
Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9493-8283
pawel.kubicki@uj.edu.pl

Review: dr hab. Marcin Rebes
Language editor: Keith Horechka, Aeddan Shaw
English translation: Aeddan Shaw
Cover design: Marta Jaszczuk

ISBN 978-83-8138-669-2 (print)
ISBN 978-83-8138-670-8 (PDF)
https://doi.org/10.12797/9788381386708

Publikacja współfinansowana w ramach programu Unii Europejskiej Erasmus+
This publication is co-funded by the Erasmus+ programme of the European Union

The European Commission's support for the production of this publication does not constitute an endorsement of the contents, which reflect the views only of the authors, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.

KSIĘGARNIA AKADEMICKA PUBLISHING
ul. św. Anny 6, 31-008 Kraków
tel.: 12 421-13-87; 12 431-27-43
e-mail: publishing@akademicka.pl
Internet bookstore: https://akademicka.com.pl

Table of contents

Introduction

PAWEŁ KUBICKI
Jagiellonian University in Kraków

ELŻBIETA M. MACH
Jagiellonian University in Kraków

With regard to European civilization, the city is often referred to as being one of its foundation stones, and many researchers have emphasized the inextricable ties between cities and Europe. In this context, Leonardo Benevolo claimed that European cities were born along with Europe, and to a certain extent brought it about.[1] In turn, the Polish historian Stanisław Grzybowski claimed that, "European civilization is a civilization of cities. The true borders of Europe are where the influence of urban culture reaches."[2] One characteristic trait of European cities is multiculturalism, as even Aristotle noted that "a city is composed of different kinds of men; similar people cannot bring a city into existence."[3] This was a particularly pertinent fact in the case of European cities whose founding, from the outset, accepted diversity. According to Maria Bogucka and Henryk Samsonowicz, the original meaning of the term locare, "to locate" meant to place, to fix in place. Thus, the Latin phrase locare civitatem in Cracovia meant

1 Leonardo Benevolo, 1995, *Miasto w dziejach Europy*, Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza Volumen.

2 Stanisław Grzybowski, 2000, *Trzynaście miast czyli Antynomie kultury europejskiej*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, p. 5.

3 Richard Sennett, 1996, *Ciało i kamień: Człowiek i miasto w cywilizacji Zachodu*, Gdańsk: Marabut, p. 46.

to root people in a given location that were ex diversis climatibus – from other places.[4]

These specific features of the European city, created as part of a longue durée process, make it a unique, a "living" primer for learning about European heritage, its wealth and multiculturalism. This was also the main goal of the research project "European Cities in the Process of Constructing and Transmitting of European Cultural Heritage", which led to the creation of this volume. Researchers from four partner universities: the Jagiellonian University (Poland, project coordinator), Università degli Studi dell'Aquila (Italy), Matej Bel University Banská Bystrica (Slovakia) and Universidad de Deusto Bilbao (Spain), set out to analyse the city understood as a tool for finding a cultural community among the national heritage of the partner countries and the cultural heritage of Europe. This is especially important in a period which is witnessing increased migration, leading to both cultural diffusion and hybridization. The book is primarily aimed at academic teachers and BA and MA students who are interested in the processes of European integration, European heritage, and urban studies. The perspective adopted by the authors focuses on the processes which have shaped and transferred the cultural heritage of Europe, defining its multicultural and transnational character, which are the basis for shaping the social and cultural unity of Europeans, European identity and active citizenship.

The book consists of two parts: one theoretical and the other practical. The first part comprises articles aimed at introducing readers to the pertinent theoretical and methodological aspects surrounding the issues discussed. The second part is more of a textbook in scope and presentation, with the articles focusing on tasks and supplementary texts for independent work on various issues related to European heritage and urban issues.

The first part opens with an article by Paweł Kubicki, *Introduction to Urban Anthropology and Sociology*, in which the author analyses certain key concepts in the field of urban anthropology and sociology, ranging from the Chicago School (social ecology), through the humanistic turn and the semiotics of cities, the neo-Marxist approach, to contemporary concepts relating to global cities. As a result, some of the crucial phenomena and processes characteristic of European cities are analysed. The first is the analysis of the causes and effects of the urban crisis, leading to such situations as gentrification, social inequalities,

[4] Maria Bogucka, Henryk Samsonowicz, 1986, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, p. 49.

and shrinking cities. A separate aspect analysed in this context are the issues of the idea of the right to cities and of urban movements. The next thread analysed refers to the processes of urban revival, where the author pays particular attention to the issues of heritage and the memory of cities, the growing independence of cities, as well as the development of concepts such as the creative class and creative cities.

The next article, by Elżbieta Mach, Researching the *City as an Educational Space*, is devoted to methodological problems. In the first part the author explains the very essence of the city and introduces the reader to the complex issues of various ways of defining this phenomenon. In the next part, she introduces the reader to the research methods required to allow the reader to discover the values of the city's cultural heritage. It also helps in finding elements in common with European cultural heritage in individual family resources, aiming to anchor locality in Europeanness and to root the family traditions of newcomers in the local cultural heritage of cities.

This is followed by *The Cultural Landscape and the Transformation of Cultural Heritage* by Viera Krešáková and Jana Pecníková, which analyses the processes related to the shaping and formation of the cultural and heritage landscape. The authors first focus on explaining the essential concepts tackled in their analysis, focusing primarily on the phenomenon of industrial heritage. In the second part, readers are provided with a specific case study of transformed industrial heritage, the Čierny Balog Forest Railway in Slovakia.

Joanna Sondel-Cedarmas supplies the fourth chapter, *Multicultural Krakow: The Role of International Heritage in Creating the Narrative of the City*, in which she analyses the phenomenon of multiculturalism in cities by means of the example of Krakow, the former capital of Poland. The contribution primarily focuses on the analysis of how multicultural heritage is being used to create the contemporary image of the city. The author also analyses the current strategies of local authorities in the context of multicultural management and the creation of the image of an open and tolerant city.

The next article, is *The Alteration and Degradation of the Urban Form and Social Relations: The Reconstruction of L'Aquila*, by Paola Rizzi and Federico D'Ascanio, who tackle the important problem of the reconstruction of a city and its heritage following a natural disaster. The case study in question is the Italian city of L'Aquila, which was damaged by a powerful earthquake in 2009. The authors highlight the complex problems of city reconstruction, which not only requires the physical reconstruction of the material fabric of the city but first

and foremost its heritage and identity, emphasizing that a natural disaster can also be an opportunity for a city to open up and to rethink and redesign itself.

The first part of the book ends with a contribution from Grzegorz Pożarlik, *Lieux de Mémoire and Post-communist Nostalgia in the Central European Symbolic Landscape of Urban Spaces*. Applying Pierre Nora's concept of lieux de mémoire, the author analyses the issue of post-communist nostalgia in the symbolic landscape of urban spaces in Central Europe. The first part of the article is devoted to outlining the classic concept of lieux de memoire. In the second part, however, the author explains the phenomenon of post-communist nostalgia in the symbolic landscape of Central European cities, referring to specific examples such as Nowa Huta and Košice.

The second part of the volume begins with a chapter by Łucja Piekarska entitled *The Role of the Museum in the Creation of the Identity of the City*, in which she presents a set of practical tasks that allow one to take a creative look at the role of museums and heritage in the process of creating the identity of a city. The author pays special attention to the fact that heritage not only consists of places, objects, buildings and monuments, but also, and perhaps most importantly, of private stories and personal objects that achieve the status of "heritage objects".

In the next article, *Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development*, Geana de Miranda Leschko and Nerea Aranbarri Kortabarria raise the issue of the relationship between development and cultural heritage. In the first part, the authors define the term sustainable development and provide a practical set of exercises for group work to analyse this phenomenon. After a short theoretical introduction, readers are then supplied with a set of practical exercises for group work in the context of analysing the relationship between development and cultural heritage. The last set of practical tasks takes the Basque city of Bilbao as a case study.

The third article in this section, by Anartz Madariaga Hernani and Roberto San Salvador del Valle, is Innovation and Cultural Heritage. The goal of this chapter is to provide readers with the requisite practical knowledge to answer the following question: How can cultural heritage be compatible with new technologies so as to convey the values of different cultures to other communities or generations? Again, after a short theoretical introduction, readers are given a set of practical exercises to help refine the relationship between innovation and cultural heritage, with a particular focus on the case study of the city of Bilbao.

The article which closes the practical part is entitled *Leisure, Tourism & Events: Generation of Comprehensive Experiences in Cities* by June Calvo-

-Soraluce and María Jesús Monteagudo Sánchez. The authors analyse the complex relations between tourism and the leisure industry and the issue of sustainable development, as well as the processes of gentrification. The authors place special emphasis on the issue of cultural tourism. As with the previous articles, this one also contains a set of practical exercises and tips for independent work.

Thanks to its dual structure, this volume both provides the opportunity for scientific reflection and encourages the reader to individually explore "their" city, seeking out its multiculturalism and sense of European community; it aims to help build a new aspect for the reader's identity, one anchoring the history and cultural heritage of one's own family in the broadly understood local, national, and European heritage. For students, this publication can also serve as a handbook for enriching their knowledge and awareness in the field of urban, cultural, and anthropological studies.

References

Benevolo Leonardo, 1995, *Miasto w dziejach Europy*, Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza Volumen.

Bogucka Maria, Samsonowicz Henryk, 1986, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.

Grzybowski Stanisław, 2000, *Trzynaście miast czyli Antymonie kultury europejskiej*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków: Zakład Narodowi im. Ossolińskich.

Sennett Richard, 1996, *Ciało i kamień: Człowiek i miasto w cywilizacji Zachodu*, Gdańsk: Marabut.

PART I

https://doi.org/10.12797/9788381386708.01

Introduction to Urban Anthropology and Sociology

PAWEŁ KUBICKI
Jagiellonian University in Kraków

ABSTRACT

The article sheds light on the key concepts of urban anthropology and sociology. The author analyses various schools and theories of urban anthropology and sociology, starting with the Chicago School/Ecological School and ending with contemporary concepts of creative and global cities. The article addresses issues such as: semiotic aspects of a city, memory and heritage of a city, as well as the concept of the mental map. The author analyses also the problem of urban crisis and its consequences such as: suburbanization and shrinking cities, segregation, inequality, and gentrification. The article also discusses the idea of the right to the city and urban social movements as well as the process of urban renewal.

Keywords: sociology of city, urban anthropology**,** urban crisis, urban renewal, creative city, global city

1. Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to a presentation of the key concepts of urban anthropology and sociology. The city and urbanity are a keystone of Western civilization, thus the urban question has played an important role in academic debate since Ancient Greece. However, systematic study and research on the

city and urbanity only started at the very beginning of the 20th century when the new scientific disciplines of sociology and anthropology were developed. Initially both disciplines concentrated on the study of two different types of society. Sociology studied modern, industrial and urbanized societies, defined as *Gesellschaft* (society) according to the well-known theory of Ferdinand Tönnies,[1] whereas anthropology concentrated on traditional and local societies – *Gemeinschaft* (community). Nowadays, this traditional division has almost completely faded away, as both urban anthropology and sociology are increasingly focusing on the study of globalized, multicultural and hybridized society during the age of global urbanization.

2. The origins: Chicago School/Ecological School

The theoretical and methodological framework for urban anthropology and sociology was created by the Chicago School, also known as the Ecological School, which developed in Chicago at the beginning of the 20th century. As the date of origin of this school, 1915 is often indicated, when Robert Ezra Park published the article "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the City Environment".[2] A modified version of this article was published as a chapter in the book "The City" (1925), edited by Park and Ernest Burgess,[3] in which Park created one of the first sociological definitions of a city. For him

> The city is a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions, and of organized attitudes and sentiments that inhere in this tradition. The city is not, in other words, merely a physical mechanism and an artificial construction. It is involved in the vital processes of the people who compose it, it is a product of nature and particularly of human nature.

At the early stage, the theoretical framework of the Chicago School was influenced by Darwin's evolutionary biology. Accordingly, the city was perceived

1 Ferdinand Tönnies, 1887, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, Darmstadt.

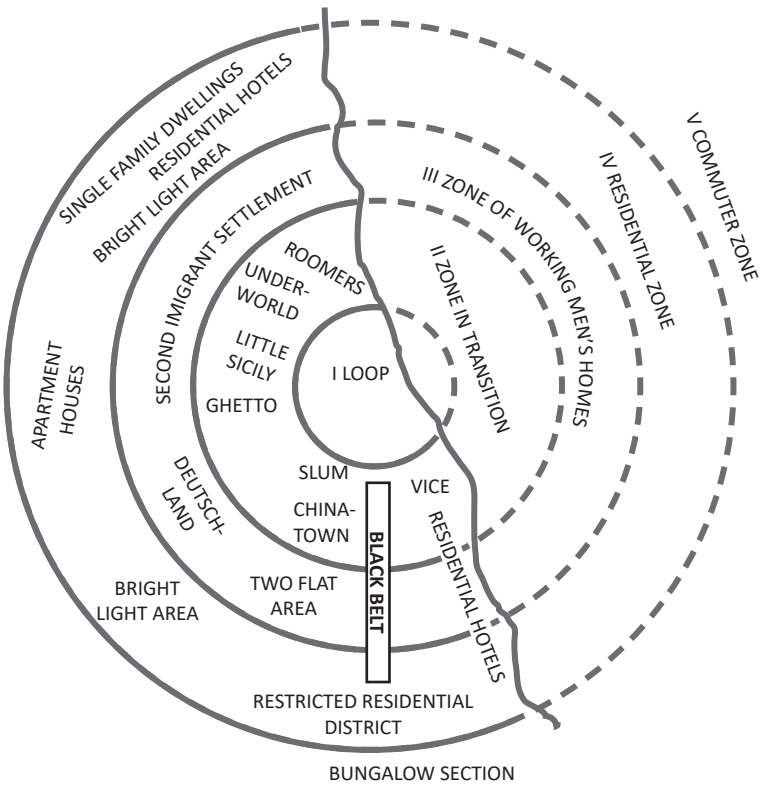
2 Robert Ezra Park, 1915, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the City Environment", *American Journal of Sociology* 20:5, pp. 577–612.

3 Robert Ezra Park, 1925, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment", in: Robert Ezra Park, Ernest Watson Burgess, Roderick Duncan McKenzie, *The City*, Chicago–London: University of Chicago Press, pp. 1–46.

as a web of life in which individuals adapt to each other, much like organisms. The process of adaptation was described as a continuous struggle for existence, in this case a struggle for city space, as determined by a five-step-process: (1) Centralization: a natural tendency to concentrate people and institutions; (2) Concentration: a natural process of bringing together people and institutions with similar characteristics in the same area of the city; (3) Segregation: selection of people and institutions in the city space; (4) Invasion: penetration of a specific type of people from one area of the city to another; (5) Succession: the definitive conquest of an area of the city by a new group of inhabitants.[4]

The processes of a city's development and the ways different social groups cooperate in the city space were described by Ernest Burgess.

Figure 1. Ernest Burgess's concentric zone model. Source: Robert Ezra Park, Ernest Watson Burgess, 1925, *The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment*.



[4] Ulf Hannerz, 1980, *Exploring the City: Inquiries Toward an Urban Anthropology*, New York–Guildford, Surrey: Columbia University Press.

Zone I (Central Business District) – This is the centre (innermost zone) where the central business district is located, and it has the highest land value. Zone II (Transition Zone) – Mixed residential and commercial. A large number of old buildings in transition. Zone III (Inner City/Working Class) (blue collar zone) – consisting of houses built to accommodate factory workers but with better conditions than the transition zone. Zone IV (Suburbs/White Collar Homes) – This zone had larger houses and new developments occupied by the middle class. Zone V is the zone of the commuter.

This model has become one of the most influential theories in urban studies, with the contemporary researcher Neil Brenner pointing out, that

> Burgess's model was criticized and reformulated. Some scholars redrew the contours of the diagram to capture more accurately the internal spatial patterning of city life; others questioned the theory of human ecology on which it was grounded. Nonetheless, even amid these variegated research initiatives, Burgess's vision of urban space epitomized the metageographical unconscious – a hidden yet nearly all-pervasive framework of assumptions regarding spatial organization – that underpinned much of twentieth century urban studies.[5]

2.1. The human turn

The late stage of the Chicago School was characterized by the "human turn", where researchers increasingly stressed the role of the "human factor" in the process of creating and perceiving city space. The term "human factor" was introduced by the Polish sociologist Florian Znaniecki in his seminal study on city space. Znaniecki was also one of the first sociologists, together with William I. Thomas, to apply the method of personal documents to sociological research, in his ground-breaking five-volume book "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America" (1918-1920).[6] Another interesting example of the human approach in the research of a city was Erving Goffman's influential book *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959). For Goffman, city space fulfils a role similar to that of a theatre scene: just as actors play out their roles on a theatre stage, so too do

[5] Neil Brenner, 2019, *New Urban Spaces*: *Urban Theory and the Scale Question*, New York: Oxford University Press.

[6] William Isaac Thomas, Florian Znaniecki, 1918-1920, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, vol. 1–5, Boston: Richard G. Badger, The Gorham Press.

individuals when they perform their social identities in the public space. Such processes are able to happen thanks to the significant changes of urban fabric of the modern city, which was symbolized by the figure of the *flâneur,* an iconic example of a modern urban way of life.[7]

A city, especially a large city, creates a specific way of life. Louis Wirth, in the article "Urbanism as a way of life" (1938),[8] believed there is something specific about living in the city that changes the ways that people interact and behave. For him, the crucial factors creating the unique urban way of life are density, the heterogeneity of the population, specialization of function, anonymity, impersonality, and standardization of behaviour. All of these features create a specific pattern of culture – the urban way of life.

3. Semiotic aspects of a city

Anthropologists pay particular attention to the semiotic aspects of a city: mythology and symbolism, collective memory, values and ideas, which provide the framework of reference for the process of creating collective identities. In this aspect, the city is also described as a generator of culture, with Yuri Lotman pointing out that:

> The city is a complex semiotic mechanism, a culture-generator, but it carries out this function only because it is a melting-pot of texts and codes, belonging to all kinds of languages and levels. The essential semiotic polyglotism of every city is what makes it so productive in terms of semiotic encounters. The city, being the place where different national, social and stylistic codes and texts confront each other, is the place of hybridization, recordings, semiotic translations, all of which makes it into a powerful generator of new information. The city is a mechanism, forever recreating its past, which then can be synchronically juxtaposed with the present. In this sense the city, like culture, is a mechanism that withstands time.[9]

[7] Walter Benjamin, 2002, *The Arcades Project* (edited by Rolf Tiedemann), Cambridge–London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

[8] Louis Wirth, 1938, "Urbanism as a Way of Life", *The American Journal of Sociology* 44:1 (Jul.), pp. 1–24.

[9] Bogusław Żyłko, "Wstęp tłumacza: Miasto jako przedmiot badań semiotyki kultury", in: Władimir Toporow, *Miasto i mit*, Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo słowo/obraz terytoria, p. 24.

These features are obviously important for European cities, which are deeply rooted in history and whose symbolic spaces have been created over a *longue durée* process by different ethnic and religious groups.[10]

3.1. Mental map

The concept of the mental map (cognitive map) was described by Kevin Lynch in *The Image of the City* (1960).[11] Lynch compared three American cities in his study: Boston, Jersey City, and Los Angeles, and analysed how people orient themselves in these cities. Lynch argues that people in urban situations orient themselves by means of mental maps. For him, there are five basic elements that people use to construct their image of the city (mental/cognitive maps): (1) Paths: routes along which people move through a city, such as streets and sidewalks. (2) Edges: boundaries which could be real boundaries, such as walls and railways, or symbolic boundaries, such as class or ethnic gated communities, and those areas belonging to different gangs or football hooligans and marked by graffiti on the walls. (3) Districts: areas with a specific identity. (4) Nodes: central squares, central stations. (5) Landmarks: points of reference, symbolic buildings, monuments, etc. All five of these elements create a mental map of the city for its users.

4. The Marxist approach and urban crisis

From the late 1960s, urban sociology and anthropology came to be dominated by the (neo)Marxist approach represented by such scholars as Manuel Castells (*La question urbaine* 1972,[12] *The City and the Grassroots. A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements* 1983[13]), Henri Lefebvre (*La révolution*

[10] Paweł Kubicki, 2019, "The City and Narrating Otherness: Polish Cities and the Process of Europeanization", in: Krzysztof Kowalski, Łucja Piekarska-Duraj, Barbara Törnquist-Plewa (eds.), *Narrating Otherness in Poland and Sweden: European Heritage as a Discourse of Inclusion and Exclusion*, New York–Oxford–Warszawa–Wien: Peter Lang, pp. 29–46.

[11] Kevin Lynch, 1960, *The Image of the City*, Cambridge: MIT Press.

[12] Manuel Castells, 1972, *La question urbaine*, Paris: François Maspero.

[13] Manuel Castells, 1983, *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements*, Berkeley–Los Angeles: University of California Press.

urbaine 1970,[14] *La production de l'espace* 1974)[15] and David Harvey (*The Limits to Capital* 1982,[16] *The Urbanization of Capital* 1985).[17] The Marxist shift in urban theory and research has been a response to globalization, urban crisis and the decline of the welfare state. These processes led to various dysfunctions of urban reality, such as deindustrialization, a fall in the quality of life, suburbanization, rising inequality and segregation, and gentrification. European cities since the Industrial Revolution grew mostly thanks to industry. Industrial plants provided jobs, attracted new inhabitants to settle down in a city, and stimulated the creation of social capital and social identity. Therefore, closing such plants not only resulted in unemployment but also in social disorganization, leading to serious social problems. At the same time the deindustrialization process was taking place, European cities struggled with a fiscal crisis as a consequence of the decline of the welfare state. These processes led to a reduction in public services and as a consequence a decrease of quality of life in cities. Cites become less attractive and safe because of many social problems such as crime, drug addiction, alcoholism, segregation, and ghettoization. All these problems led to the decline of city centres and stimulated the processes of suburbanization and deurbanization.

4.1. Suburbanization

Suburbanization is not a new phenomenon, with historical examples of suburbanization discernible in Antiquity. However, for a long time it was a privilege that was the sole preserve of a narrow elite, with suburbanization only becoming an experience of the masses relatively recently, in the middle of the 20th century. This transpired as a result of three factors: (1) mass production of cars, allowing for individual commuting to a given city centre from the suburbs; (2) widespread access to home loans and mortgages, allowing not only the best-earning elite to buy their own homes, but also every member of the middle class; and (3) cheap prefabricated construction techniques allowed for the mass production of cheap houses. Suburbanization started in the USA, but it also

[14] Henri Lefebvre, 1970, *La révolution urbaine*, Paris: Gallimard.

[15] Henri Lefebvre, 1974, *La production de l'espace*, Paris: Anthropos.

[16] David Harvey, 1982, *The Limits to Capital*, Oxford: Blackwell.

[17] David Harvey 1985, *The Urbanization of Capital: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

reached Europe relatively quickly, as a consequence of the spread of American patterns of culture, especially the slogan of the "American Dream", symbolized by a little suburban house with a garden and a family car. However, suburbanization, often termed urban sprawl, contributes to many dysfunctional processes in cities. First and foremost is the fact that it is mainly the middle class which moves out to the suburbs – representing the best taxpayers and consumers of services. This situation stimulated fiscal crises and the further decline of services. Second, people living in suburbs are dependent on cars in their everyday life, and this in turn results in urban sprawl, traffic jams and air pollution. Third, suburbanization also causes serious problems for local democracy, undermining social capital and civic involvement, as described by Robert Putman his the seminal book *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (2000).[18]

4.2. Shrinking cities

Suburbanization is dysfunctional for cities for many reasons, but people from the suburbs still use a city – they work and shop there, they consume city services, etc. The real urban crisis led to the phenomenon of shrinking cities – the depopulation of cities and their metropolitan area, as a consequence of deindustrialization, falling quality of life and decreased security. Perhaps the best-known example of the phenomenon, and often quoted as exemplary of the shrinking city, is Detroit. This city has shrunk almost threefold, from nearly 2 million residents in 1950 to fewer than 700 000 today. The problem of Detroit has been thoroughly analysed, among others in such books as: *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* by Thomas J. Sugrue[19] and the high-profile book of reportage *Detroit: An American Autopsy* by Charlie LeDuff.[20]

The problem of shrinking cities is especially important in post-socialist countries in Central and Eastern Europe. Many cities in the region were previously dominated by an industrial monoculture. One of the consequences of the transition of 1989 was the intensive process of the deindustrialization of cities.

[18] Robert Putman, 2000, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, New York: Simon & Schuster.

[19] Thomas J. Sugrue, 1996, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

[20] Charlie LeDuff, 2013, *Detroit: An American Autopsy*, New York: Penguin Books.

Therefore, cities in Central and Eastern Europe faced serious economic and social problems which resulted in intensive depopulation. Two examples from Poland provide fine illustrations of this problem. The city of Łódź, known as the "Polish Manchester", was the second biggest city in Poland for decades. However, after the transition in 1989, Łódź lost its former position and began to be called the "Polish Detroit". In fact, after the transformation Łódź lost nearly 200,000 residents, or 20% of the total population of the city. Another example is Katowice, the capital of Silesia region – the most urbanized and industrialized region in Poland. In this case, the city lost nearly 30% of its inhabitants after the transition.

4.3. Segregation, inequality, and gentrification

These various urban crises also manifested themselves in growing social and economic inequality, segregation and ghettoization, which correlated with the decline of the welfare state. Gated communities, understood as residential areas surrounded by fences, walls, and other barriers, restricting access through the use of security devices such as security guards and CCTV cameras, became a symbol of social and economic segregation in a city. Such processes resulted from the ongoing privatization of public services under the new neoliberal urban policies. As Mark Purcell has pointed out, considerable attention has been paid in urban studies to the anti-democratic effects which neo-liberalization has had on urban governance. That body of research outlines how neo-liberalization narrows the options open to decision-makers, whether elected or not. [21]

Neoliberal urban policies also lead to the gentrification of cities. Originally this process was described by Ruth Glass in the early 1960s in the book *London: Aspects of Change*.[22] In the most general sense, gentrification can be described as a process of neighbourhood change that includes economic and socio-cultural changes in the process: Property values increase, rents go up, and poorer neighbourhood residents are displaced as a consequence. One of the best-known theories of gentrification was posited by Neil Smith, who described gentrification on the example of American cities as a new urban "frontiers."[23]

[21] Mark Purcell, 2011, "Neoliberalization and Democracy", in: Susan Fainstain, Scott Campbell (eds.), *Readings in Urban Theory*, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 42–54.

[22] Ruth Glass et al., 1964, *London: Aspects of Change*, London: MacGibbon & Kee.

[23] Neil Smith, 1996, *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*, London–New York: Routledge.

For Smith, the urban frontier is first and foremost a frontier in the economic sense. The social, political, and cultural transformations in the city centre are often dramatic, and they are certainly important as regards our immediate experience of everyday life, but they are associated with the development of an economic frontier. Additionally, the urban frontier is only one of several frontiers, given that the internal differentiation of geographical space occurs on different scales. In the context of the present global economic crisis, it is clear that international capital and local capital alike confront a global "frontier" that incorporates the so-called urban frontiers.[24] Smith also pointed out the crucial role in the process of gentrification played by the "rent gap" between the current rent a landlord charges for their units, and the potential rent that could be charged if the units were redeveloped. He writes "Gentrification occurs when the gap is wide enough that developers can purchase shells cheaply, can pay the builders' costs and profit for rehabilitation, can pay interest on mortgage and construction loans, and can then sell the end product for a sale price that leaves a satisfactory return to the developer."[25]

In recent years, as a result of the impact of neoliberal urban policies, gentrification has become an increasingly serious problem affecting not only neglected neighbourhood and poor residents, but also entire cities. Contemporary researchers thus often refer to a new urban crisis. Richard Florida, the author who coined the concept of the creative class at the very beginning of the 21st century, criticizes neoliberal urban policies and their effects on the functioning of cities in his most recent book *The New Urban Crisis: How Our Cities Are Increasing Inequality, Deepening Segregation, and Failing the Middle Class – and What We Can Do About It* (2017).[26]

[24] Neil Smith, 2011, "Gentrification, the Frontier, and the Restructuring of Urban Space", in: Susan Fainstain, Scott Campbell (eds.), *Readings in Urban Theory*, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 229–249.

[25] Neil Smith, 1979, "Toward a Theory of Gentrification a Back to the City Movement by Capital, not People", *Journal of the American Planning Association* 45:4, pp. 538–548.

[26] Richard Florida, 2017, *The New Urban Crisis: How Our Cities are Increasing Inequality, Deepening Segregation, and Failing the Middle Class – and What We Can Do About It*, New York: Basic Books.

5. The right to the city and urban social movements

5.1. The right to the city

The idea of the right to the city was developed by the French sociologist Henri Lefebvre in the book *Le droit à la ville* (1968).[27] According to Lefebvre, the right to the city means no part of the urban society is excluded from the qualities and benefits of urban life, enfranchising all citizens to participate in the creation and production of urban space. For him, control over the production of urban space means control over urban social and spatial relations. Lefebvre's manifesto, written in highly metaphorical language, has become an attractive narrative mobilizing urban social movements around the world.

5.2. The urban social movements

The term "urban social movement" was introduced into the sociological lexicon relatively recently. Manuel Castells was the first sociologist to use this term, in his book *La question urbaine* (1972), and he developed it in another of his works, *The City and the Grassroots* (1983).[28] For him, urban social movements mobilized themselves around three major themes: (1) demands focused on collective consumption; (2) defence of cultural identity associated with and organized around a specific territory; and (3) political mobilization in relationship to the state, particularly emphasizing the role of local government.

In the contemporary sociological literature on dedicated urban social movements, one can find many definitions of this phenomenon, stressing various structural aspects, features and goals. This transpires for at least three main reasons. First, as Anna Domaradzka pointed out: "Urban mobilization takes many forms, including traditional civil society organization (grassroots neighbourhood organization, housing association, local interest groups), as well as protest initiatives (against profit-oriented urban polices or commercialization of public resources) or political movements for environmental and social justice."[29] Second, it is a consequence of everchanging social, cultural, economic

[27] Henri Lefebvre, 1968, *Le droit à la ville*, Paris: Anthropos.

[28] Manuel Castells, 1983, *The City and the Grassroots* (op. cit.).

[29] Anna Domaradzka, 2018, "Urban Social Movements and the Right to the City: An Introduction to the Special Issue on Urban Mobilization", *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations 29*, August 20, p. 607.

and political conditions, so, as described by Margit Mayer, in every decade since the 1970s the specificity, structure and goals of urban social movements have changed.[30] Third, and probably the most important in this context, is the fact that the theory of the urban movements developed in relative isolation from social movement theorizing generally.[31]

Contemporary urban social movements can be described according to two main factors which determine their character and goals. First, their activity and frame of reference are determined by the so-called "spatial turn",[32] determining the intellectual discourse of contemporary urban questions. The term "spatial turn" refers to a research trend which stresses the active role of space in the process of constructing social reality. Therefore, many different social activities, social movements and protest initiatives are increasingly taking on an urban character, and they are described in this way. Second, they mobilized themselves as a response to neoliberal urban polices under the slogan: *Cities for people, not for profits.* In this context, researchers often write about "Rebel Cities"[33] and "Urban Uprisings."[34]

The idea of the right to the city, as well as the criticism of neoliberal urban policies, are particularly relevant in the post-socialist cities of central and eastern Europe. The growth of urban social movements in this region has been prompted by problems such as conflicts related to restitution and privatization of property, urban planning issues, insufficient production of social housing, rising rent, gentrification, privatization and commercialization of public space, the rise of gated communities, and many other urban problems.[35]

30 Margit Mayer, 2011, "The 'Right to the City' in Urban Social Movements", in: Neil Brenner, Peter Marcuse, Margit Mayer (eds.), *Cities for People, not for Profits: Critical Urban Theory and the "Right to the City"*, London: Routledge, pp. 63–85.

31 Chris Pickvance, 2003, "From Urban Social Movements to Urban Movements: a Review and Introduction to a Symposium on Urban Movements", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27, pp. 102–109.

32 Michel Foucault, 1986, "Of Other Spaces", *Diacritics* 16,1, pp. 22–27; Edward Soja, 1996, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-imagined Places*, Oxford: Blackwell.

33 David Harvey, 2012, *Rebel Cities: From The Right To The City To The Urban Revolution*, London–New York: Verso.

34 Margit Mayer, Catharina Thörn, Håkan Thörn (eds.), 2016, *Urban Uprisings: Challenging Neoliberal Urbanism in Europe*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

35 Kerstin Jacobsson, 2015, "Introduction: The Development of Urban Movements in Central and Eastern Europe", in: Kerstin Jacobsson (ed.), *Urban Grassroots Movements in Central and Eastern Europe*, London–New York: Routledge.

6. Urban renewal: memory and heritage of a city

The term "urban renewal" refers to a set of processes that started at the end of the 20th century as a response to the urban crisis. Urban renewal concerned many dimensions of the urban reality, including demographic, economic, and socio-cultural as well as political. In terms of the demographic aspect, urban renewal is a reversal of the process of shrinking cities. It means that cities stop losing their inhabitants and start attracting new ones. It is correlated with the transformation of the socioeconomic reality of cities in the new post-Fordist economy, one based on creative industries and symbolic economy. This is described by Sharon Zukin:

> with the disappearance of local manufacturing industries and periodic crises in the government and finance, culture becomes more and more the business of cities – the basis of their tourist attractions and their unique, competitive age. The growth of culture consumption (of art, food, fashion, music, tourism) and the industries that cater to it fuels the city's symbolic economy, its visible ability to produce both symbols and space.[36]

A significant sector of the new economy is tourism, an area in which major changes have also taken place. Once only accessible to narrow, privileged elites, tourism today is a mass phenomenon which has become an important factor stimulating the contemporary economy, especially the urban economy, in view of the unique nature of contemporary tourism. For contemporary tourists searching for original experiences, entertainment and education, cities offer many more attractions than traditional resorts. However, city tourism has also shown its dark side in recent years in over-tourism and touristification, where the historical identity and heritage of cities has been replaced by thematic parks for tourists. Often residents are pushed out from their districts by tourists, as flats in such districts are increasingly being made over into short-term rental tourist apartments.

[36] Sharon Zukin, 2006, *The Cultures of Cities*, Cambridge: Blackwell, pp. 1–2.

6.1. The creative city and the creative class

In this new socioeconomic reality, the idea of the creative city and the creative class play an important role. The idea of the "creative city" was mostly developed by Charles Landry at the beginning of the 1990s.[37] The creative city, one based on knowledge and information, stimulated the development of creative industries such as the IT sector, start-ups, mass-media production and publishing, music, video games, and crafts and design. The key role played by the creative class in this new creative economy was first described at the beginning of the new century by Richard Florida in the book *The Rise of the Creative Class*,[38] in which he argues that "regional economic growth is powered by creative people, who prefer places that are diverse, tolerant and open to new ideas. Diversity increases the odds that a place will attract different types of creative people with different skill sets and ideas."[39] In other words, a city must implement a multicultural approach in practice, one which respects and promotes difference and creativity, regardless of the character of ethnic and social minorities. These cities possess low barriers for the entry of human capital because they encourage open-minded and creative people to settle down. The idea of creative cities and the creative class have had a major impact on the urban policies in the 21st century, but it should be stressed that such polices have been criticized for stimulating gentrification, which leads to social and economic inequalities in cities.

6.2. Political subjectivity and the global city

Cities have always played an important role as centres of economy, politics, and culture. Edward Glaeser wrote that cities "have been the engine of innovation since Plato and Socrates bickered in an Athenian marketplace. The streets of Florence gave us the Renaissance, and the streets of Birmingham gave us the Industrial Revolution."[40] Peter Hall also described the so-called "world city" as centres of political power, both national and international, centres of nation-

37 Charles Landry, 2000, *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators*, London: Earthscan Publications.

38 Richard Florida, 2002, *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*, New York: Perseus Book Group.

39 Ibid., p. 249.

40 Edward Glaeser, 2012, *Triumph of the City: How Urban Space make Us Human*, London: Pan Books, p. 1.

al and international trade, centres of banking, insurance and related financial services; locations of advanced professional activity of all kinds, in medicine, in law, in higher learning, and the application of scientific knowledge to technology; centres of information gathering and diffusion, through publishing and the mass media; places marked by conspicuous consumption, both of luxury goods for the minority and mass-produced goods for the multitudes; and centres of arts, culture and entertainment, and of the ancillary activities that cater to them.[41]

However, the position of the city in power relations has changed throughout the ages. The domination of the nation-state during the Age of Modernity restricted the subjectivity of the city. Nationalism, stimulating the development of nation states, enforced cultural homogenization and centralization and also limited the subjectivity of a city. At the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, one could observe a significant shift in the subjectivity of cities in the global context.

On the one hand, globalization and the post-industrial economy have strengthened the position of the city. Saskia Sassen in her seminal book *The Global City*[42] pointed out that changes in the functioning of cities have had a massive impact upon both international economic activity and urban form: cities command control over vast resources, while the finance and specialized service industries have reconstructed the urban social and economic order. As a result, a new type of city has emerged, the global city. Major cities have not only become strategic sites for global capital, but also for the transnationalization of labour and the formation of translocal communities and identities. On the other hand, a new post-Westphalian order has been developing. During the Age of Modernity, the main frames of reference were political, cultural and economic, and these were created by the nation-state. Yet in the late 20th century, and for many reasons, the nation-state has lost its power in this regard and cities have become key actors determining the new international order. This process was described, among others, by Benjamin Barber in his book *If Mayors Ruled the World. Dysfunctional Nations, Rising Cities*[43] (2013). For Barber, cities are unburdened of the issues of borders and sovereignty which hobble the capacity of nation-states to work with one another. Thanks to this, cities are the primary incubator of the cultural, social, and political innovations which shape our

41 Peter Geoffrey Hall, 1966, *World Cities*, New York: McGraw.

42 Saskia Sassen, 2001, *The Global City*, Princeton–Oxford: Princeton University Press.

43 Benjamin Barber, 2013, *If Mayors Ruled the World: Dysfunctional Nations, Rising Cities*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

planet. Therefore, thanks to their growing political and economic power, cities are able to release themselves from the domination of the nation-state and create a new political position in a post-Westphalian order. In this regard, cities are home to new types of political operations and for a whole range of new cultural and subjective operations. Such global cities are open to innovation and cultural diversity, and they often have greater interlinkages between them than they do with their respective regions or states.

However, this does not mean that a global city archipelago has emerged. As Brenner pointed out, even if the inherited national-space economies are being destabilized and reshaped, the economic geography of post-Fordist capitalism cannot be reduced to a world city archipelago, its urban nodes, interurban networks, and an undifferentiated "outside" of peripheralized zones that putatively lack the strategic centrality and networked connectivity of global cities.[44] Global cities are still deeply integrated with their nation-state structures because of their dialectic relation, as described by Brenner: "Cities are at once basing points for capital accumulation (*nodes* in global flows) and organizational-administrative levels of statehood (*coordinates* of state territorial power).[45]

6.3. Memory and heritage of a city

From the perspective of the late 20th century, we can observe an intensive process of the restoration of local memory and heritage in European cities. This process has been corelated with the process of urban renewal and the role of the new economy described above. Culture and heritage stimulate the development of "creative industries", which is so important to the post-Fordist economy of cities. The restoration of the memory and heritage of cities has also contributed to strengthening local identities and social capital. This is especially important in the case of post-industrial cities, which had to search for new development potential after the painful process of deindustrialization.

One of the most important factors stimulating the restoration memory and heritage of cities in Europe is the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) program. The program was established by the European Commission in the mid-1980s and was originally called European City of Culture. The symbolic meaning in this context lay in the fact that the first city to receive this status was Athens,

[44] Neil Brenner, 2019, *New Urban Spaces* (op. cit.), p. 127.
[45] Ibid., p. 128.

the city-state which was the cradle of Western civilization. For over thirty years, many European cities celebrated the status of the European Capital/City of Culture, and for many of them this program proved an important factor stimulating the urban renewal process, with some of the best examples being Glasgow (1990), Lille (2004) and Liverpool (2008).

An interesting example of how the ECoC program stimulates the processes of urban renewal comes from Poland. The competition for the ECoC 2016 (2007-2011) stimulated important processes for urban transformation regarding their identity, urban cultural policies, social activism, and cultural and artistic aspirations. This allowed for the creation of new urban narratives, contributing to the changes in cities' internal and external images. The competition allowed for the discovery of a city's own resources, and for the altering of negative stereotypes of fallen post-industrial cities.[46] It was important for the ongoing process of Europeanization. In the region of central and eastern Europe (CEE), cites also fulfil, thanks to their features, the role of a metaphorical "bridge" connecting the European periphery with the core of Western civilization. Therefore, the process of regaining the memory and heritage of the city could, under certain conditions, also be described as a process of Europeanization.

References

Barber Benjamin, 2013, *If Mayors Ruled the World: Dysfunctional Nations, Rising Cities*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Benjamin Walter, 2002, *The Arcades Project* (edited by Rolf Tiedemann), Cambridge–London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Brenner Neil, 2019, *New Urban Spaces: Urban Theory and the Scale Question*, New York: Oxford University Press, https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190627188.001.0001.

Castells Manuel, 1972, *La question urbaine*, Paris: François Maspero.

Castells Manuel, 1977, *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach*, London: Edward Arnold.

Castells Manuel, 1983, *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements*, Berkeley–Los Angeles: University of California Press.

[46] Paweł Kubicki, Bożena Gierat-Bieroń, Joanna Orzechowska-Wacławska, 2020, *The European Capital of Culture 2016 Effect: How the ECOC Competition Changed Polish Cities*, Berlin: Peter Lang.

Domaradzka Anna, 2018, "Urban Social Movements and the Right to the City: An Introduction to the Special Issue on Urban Mobilization", *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 29, August 20, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-018-0030-y.

Florida Richard, 2002, *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*, New York: Perseus Book Group.

Florida Richard, 2017, *The New Urban Crisis: How Our Cities are Increasing Inequality, Deepening Segregation, and Failing the Middle Class – and What We Can Do About It*, New York: Basic Books.

Foucault Michel, 1986, "Of Other Spaces", *Diacritics* 16:1, https://doi.org/10.2307/464648.

Glaeser Edward, 2012, *Triumph of the City: How Urban Spaces Make Us Human*, London: Pan Books.

Glass Ruth et al., 1964, *London: Aspects of Change*, London: MacGibbon & Kee.

Hall Peter Geoffrey, 1966, *World Cities*, New York: McGraw.

Hannerz Ulf, 1980, *Exploring the City: Inquiries Toward an Urban Anthropology*, New York–Guildford, Surrey: Columbia University Press, https://doi.org/10.7312/hann91086.

Harvey David, 1982, *The Limits to Capital*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Harvey David, 1985, *The Urbanization of Capital: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Harvey David, 2012, *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*, London–New York: Verso.

Jacobsson Kerstin, 2015, "Introduction: The Development of Urban Movements in Central and Eastern Europe", in: Kerstin Jacobsson (ed.), *Urban Grassroots Movements in Central and Eastern Europe*, London–New York: Routledge, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315548845.

Kubicki Paweł, Gierat-Bieroń Bożena, Orzechowska-Wacławska Joanna, 2020, *The European Capital of Culture 2016 Effect: How the ECOC Competition Changed Polish Cities*, Berlin: Peter Lang, https://doi.org/10.3726/b17052.

Kubicki Paweł, 2019, "The City and Narrating Otherness: Polish Cities and the Process of Europeanization", in: Krzysztof Kowalski, Łucja Piekarska-Duraj, Barbara Törnquist-Plewa (eds.), *Narrating Otherness in Poland and Sweden: European Heritage as a Discourse of Inclusion and Exclusion*, New York–Oxford–Warszawa–Wien: Peter Lang.

Landry Charles, 2000, *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators*, London: Earthscan Publications.

LeDuff Charlie, 2013, *Detroit: An American Autopsy*, New York: Penguin Books.

Lefebvre Henri, 1968, *Le droit à la ville*, Paris: Anthropos.

Lefebvre Henri, 1970, *La révolution urbaine*, Paris: Gallimard.

Lefebvre Henri, 1974, *La production de l'espace*, Paris: Anthropos.

Lynch Kevin, 1960, *The Image of the City*, Cambridge: MIT Press.

Mayer Margit, 2011, "The Right to the City in Urban Social Movements", in: *Cities for People, not for Profits: Critical Urban Theory and the "Right to the City"* (edited by Neil Brenner, Peter Marcuse, Margit Mayer), London: Routledge.

Mayer Margit, Catharina Thörn, Håkan Thörn (eds.), 2016, *Urban Uprisings: Challenging Neoliberal Urbanism in Europe*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-50509-5.

Park Robert Ezra, 1915, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the City Environment", *American Journal of Sociology* 20:5, https://doi.org/10.1086/212433.

Park Robert Ezra, 1925, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment", in: Robert Ezra Park, Ernest Watson Burgess, Roderick Duncan McKenzie, *The City*, Chicago–London: University of Chicago Press.

Pickvance Chris, 2003, "From Urban Social Movements to Urban Movements: A Review and Introduction to a Symposium on Urban Movements", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27, https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.00434.

Purcell Mark, 2011, "Neoliberalization and Democracy", in: Susan Fainstain, Scott Campbell (eds.), *Readings in Urban Theory*, Chicester: Wiley-Blackwell Oxford 2011.

Putman Robert, 2000, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, New York: Simon & Schuster.

Sassen Saskia, 2001, *The Global City*, Princeton–Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Smith Neil, 1979, "Toward a Theory of Gentrification A Back to the City Movement by Capital, not People", *Journal of the American Planning Association* 45:4, https://doi.org/10.1080/01944367908977002.

Smith Neil, 1996, *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*, London–New York: Routledge.

Smith Neil, 2011, "Gentrification, the Frontier, and the Restructuring of Urban Space", in: Susan Fainstein, Scott Campbell (eds.), *Readings in Urban Theory*, Chicester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Soja Edward, 1996, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-imagined Places*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Sugrue Thomas J., 1996, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

William Thomas Isaac, Znaniecki Florian, 1918-1920, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, vol. 1–5, Boston: Richard G. Badger, The Gorham Press.

Wirth Louis, 1938, "Urbanism as a Way of Life", *The American Journal of Sociology* 44:1 (Jul.), https://doi.org/10.1086/217913.

Tönnies Ferdinand, 1887, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, Darmstadt.

Zukin Sharon, 2006, *The Cultures of Cities*, Cambridge: Blackwell.

Żyłko Bogusław, „Wstęp tłumacza: Miasto jako przedmiot badań semiotyki kultury", in: Władimir Toporow, *Miasto i mit*, Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo słowo/obraz terytoria.

https://doi.org/10.12797/9788381386708.02

Researching the City as an Educational Space

ELŻBIETA M. MACH
Jagiellonian University in Kraków

ABSTRACT

The city should not only be understood as a geographical area or urban space, but primarily as a place in which multicultural communities live, and one which represents a reservoir of cultural heritage. The inhabitants of cities are not only the heirs of the results of historical events (including difficult and shameful ones), the achievements and memories of past generations, but the process of interactive participation means they also are the creators of elements of cultural heritage that will be preserved and passed on to future generations. In the process of creating, protecting and transmitting the cultural heritage of cities (as a component of a broadly understood European culture), education plays a significant role. It should constitute a source of cultural competences, fostering an awareness of the cultural diversity of both local communities and European societies (seen from a historical and contemporary perspective), promoting skills of coding and decoding cultural messages, and building sensitivity, openness and attitudes of tolerance towards diversity. As the bearers of such competences, both city dwellers and tourists have the chance to discover the cultural richness of a place, to choose which elements of cultural achievements they deem valuable and worthy of transmission to future generations. This chapter introduces the reader to research methods that help to uncover the values of the cultural heritage of the city, and it reveals the elements which individual family resources have in common with European cultural heritage, and which will be able to anchor locality in Europeanness and root the family traditions of newcomers in the local cultural heritage of the city.

Keywords: education, citizenship, identity, European heritage, research, multicultural

The main focus of this chapter is on the city as an educational space and the process of the creation and transmission of European cultural heritage through the city.[1] For this process to take place, the city should offer cultural experiences to both those residing in it temporarily and those who choose it as their place of residence. In addition, however, residents and tourists alike should be sensitized to cultural values, have the requisite skills to obtain information, and be prepared to read cultural codes. Without this correlation, the cultural heritage of the place will remain merely a slogan in a guidebook or a pretty picture on a commemorative postcard.

When considering the available methods for obtaining information about cultural heritage, exploring the city's resources, its spatial structure and urban layout, in which the cultural and social matter that is part of the broadly understood heritage is created and functions, it is first necessary to clarify the fundamental concepts that will determine the scope of the research, using selected research methods employed in the social sciences to obtain information about the city and its cultural heritage. The list of key terms that require both a definition and a broader description in the context of research activities include: **the city** – the main subject of research, understood as a physical, social and cultural space; a broad understanding of **cultural heritage**; and the **social research methods** that will be used to obtain the requisite information.

The first concept that requires further clarification is **the city**, the area of research and exploration of cultural wealth. In the literature it is defined in various ways, from very broad approaches, vaguely defining it as an abstract place of the manifestation of specific social phenomena, to analyses focused on its selected elements, the spatial and geographical markers which mark the border between what a city is and what it is not.[2]

The New Athens Charter defines the city as an entity derived from the notions of *polis* and *civitas,* and thus as a human settlement with a certain de-

[1] This chapter was developed as part of the Erasmus+ program no.: 2018-1-PL01-KA203-050963, addressed to undergraduate and graduate students as well as academic lecturers. The project concerned the shaping and transfer of the cultural heritage of Europe, its multicultural image, international character, which are the basis for shaping the sense of the social and cultural unity of Europeans and strengthening European identity and active citizenship; the presence of European cultural heritage in selected partner cities; https://heritage.europeistyka.uj.edu.pl/, accessed August 20, 2021.

[2] Marian Malikowski, 1992, *Socjologiczne badanie miasta: Problemy pojęciowe, teoretyczne i metodologiczne*, Rzeszów: WSP w Rzeszowie, pp. 7–16.

gree of cohesion, not only representing a compact area but also complex settlement systems, urban regions and networked cities.[3] It emphasized that the city should not only be perceived in terms of its buildings, the functionality of its institutions, the physical demarcation of its boundaries by means of city walls or natural barriers, but also, and perhaps most importantly, on the basis of its human and cultural component, the specific lifestyle of its inhabitants, the type of work they do, their forms of social organization, their specific symbolic codes, and the ways or ability of reading them.[4] Tadeusz Paleczny highlighted the socio-cultural component of the city and defined it as a "cultural blender", that is, a phenomenon and place, both real and mystical, real and virtual, with internal and familiar areas.[5] In their historical existence, European cities have featured constantly changing industrial, social, political, economic and cultural structures. Sociologists and anthropologists alike have stressed the need to strengthen city cohesion in each of the above-mentioned aspects, especially in the field of the representation and participation of residents, strengthening social ties and positive interpersonal contacts. Urban research and analysing the city from the research perspective (preserving, creating and transferring) its cultural heritage are of particular importance in an era characterized by widespread mobility, migration and the multicultural mixing of people. [6]

Exploring the city in order to learn its culture-forming role requires competence, sensitivity and a clearly directed perception of reality, learning about research methods that foster an awareness of how selected European cities take care of the preservation of cultural heritage, how they create it, and how and what they pass on to their contemporary inhabitants and future generations. Paweł Kubicki, referring to Richard Sennett in his considerations on the city and urbanity, emphasized that the concept of the city is far from unambiguous, and it is quite difficult to define. There are perhaps as many ways to imagine and define a city as there are cities.[7] Undoubtedly, however, there should be some

[3] *Nowa Karta Ateńska 2003: Wizja miast XXI wieku*, 2003 (edited by Towarzystwo Urbanistów Polskich), Warszawa: Europejska Rada Urbanistów, p. 24.

[4] Bohdan Jałowiecki, Marek Stanisław Szczepański, 2002, *Miasto i przestrzeń w perspektywie socjologicznej*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, pp. 19–40.

[5] Tadeusz Paleczny, 2010, "Miasto – «Mikser kulturowy»", in: Magdalena Banaszkiewicz, Franciszek Czech, Piotr Winskowski (eds.), *Miasto: Między przestrzenią a koncepcją przestrzeni*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo UJ, p. 19.

[6] *Nowa Karta Ateńska 2003: Wizja miast XXI wieku* (op. cit.), pp. 6–9.

[7] Paweł Kubicki, 2016, *Wynajdywanie miejskości: Polska kwestia miejska z perspektywy długiego trwania*, Kraków: Nomos, pp. 21–22.

consensus that cities have been both a determinant and a bastion of European civilization, a civilization-creating mechanism.[8]

However, for the purposes of these considerations, the best definition of the city in this respect seems to be the eclectic approach adopted by Marian Malikowski. Emphasizing the active participation of the city in the interaction between its human and urban material, he defines the city as: "settlements inhabited by non-agricultural people who, by producing material goods, services and values, and reproducing their ability to work and social life, particularly intensively influence their spatial environment and are subject to its influence."[9] In this approach, an interactive view of the city, especially in its social aspect, is extremely important.

Tadeusz Paleczny highlighted the social structure of the city, which allows the selection and regulation of interpersonal contacts. In contrast to non-urban areas, as the mechanisms of social control weaken, feelings of subjectivity, individualization and anonymity of the city's inhabitants increases. The threat of alienation and social marginalization increases, hence the need to develop a sense of community, understanding and acceptance of various personal stories and cultural influences, in short, to build a multicultural social and urban space. In cities where representatives of different cultures, religions, social statuses, wealth and prestige settle, specific cultural enclaves, specific zones of contacts and influences, hybrid spaces, are created. The dynamics of the processes of integration, assimilation and globalization, understood as the universalization of cultural identity, also develop.[10] The phenomenon of the increased acceptance of otherness implied by the city and its structure, as well as the clash between the "familiarity" of the identity of individual city residents and the "otherness" of the identity of their neighbors in the same cities, has been highlighted by Paweł Kubicki, who references Ulf Hanner, Fernand Braudel and other researchers who adhere to such a view of the construction of the identity of a contemporary city and its inhabitants.[11]

Medieval cities, enclosed within defensive walls and moats, with a specific and clearly indicated social and organizational structure, created on the basis of decrees granting them city rights, were much easier to delineate. Currently,

[8] Ibid., pp. 17–24. Paweł Kubicki refers to the theory and definition of Paweł Rybicki, Stanisław Grzybowski, Leonardo Benevolo.

[9] Marian Malikowski, 1992, *Socjologiczne badanie miasta* (op. cit.), p. 16.

[10] Tadeusz Paleczny, 2010, "Miasto – «mikser kulturowy»" (op. cit.), p. 20.

[11] Paweł Kubicki, 2016, *Wynajdywanie miejskości* (op. cit.), pp. 30–48.

their urban layout, territorial scope, number, structure, and internal divisions make it difficult to draw up a homogeneous definition of a city. Today, the size of cities is no longer the main criterion for their division, as attention is instead paid to their functionality and relationship with the environment. Researchers emphasize changes in the organizational and geographical structure of cities, indicating the transition from a clearly defined city, surrounded by walls and moats, through postmodern cities with a clearly defined functional and cultural border, to contemporary cities, territorially dispersed and still growing, where the cultural barrier between the city and countryside is less and less discernible.[12] In the geographical space of the city, depending on its type, there are monocentric and polycentric cities as well as cities without clearly defined leading zones: cities with distinct, densely populated central business districts, as well as numerous sub-centres and adjoining internal and external residential areas containing commercial and service corridors. Researchers pay attention to specific intercity zones that do not "yet" belong to the city, and "no longer" belong to rural areas.[13] Urban planners have predicted that polycentric cities will grow into networks with similar specializations, where functional and organizational cooperation will distinguish them from other metropolises, or where they will complement each other, or they will be linked to each other by a flexible model for the exchange of goods and services, or they will develop on the basis of shared economic or cultural interests.[14]

Such an urban layout of the city will have an impact on how its cultural component is both built and presented, shaping the social space and saturating it with traces of a more or less distant past, which, being a testimony of history and changes, will constitute an element of cultural heritage. It should be clear that here we do not only mean architectural heritage or monuments, but also traces of industrial heritage (e.g. production sites, factories), cultural sites (cinemas, theatres, museums), culinary and ethnic culture (e.g. ethnic restaur-

[12] As part of the project, the research covered cities with clearly defined borders: L'Aquila in Italy, Banská Bystrica in Slovakia, Basque Bilbao and Poland's Krakow. Each of them has a center that brings together cultural and social life, being the focus of political and business activities. Around each of these centers, smaller centers arose, filled with the symbolism of the place, evidence of recent or more distant history. Each of these cities is active and is constantly building its potential.

[13] *Redefining "Urban": A New Way to Measure Metropolitan Areas*, 2012, OECD Publishing, see also: https://read.oecd-ilibrary.org/urban-rural-and-regional-development/redefining-urban_9789264174108-en#page17, pp. 16–18, accessed May 29, 2019.

[14] *Nowa Karta Ateńska 2003: Wizja miast XXI wieku* (op. cit.), p. 11.

ants or entire districts inhabited by specific communities who shape their surroundings according to native urban or aesthetic patterns),[15] and even natural elements, if they have been given a cultural meaning.[16]

Urban researchers often focus on the phenomenon of urbanization, which is a global and multi-faceted socio-economic process related to scientific and technological progress, increased mobility, changes in social relations and ties (including the family model), and changes in desirable lifestyles. Daniela Szymańska and Michał Korolko emphasize that the process of urbanization is a civilization accelerator, one which accelerates and diversifies social and economic activity, generates creativity, and increases production efficiency.[17] Living in cities brings increased independence, individuality, freedom of choice, and intensity and pace of life. However, another aspect of urban life is increased anonymity, often resulting in the sense of "loneliness in a crowd" and alienation. However, it is easier to maintain privacy, find acceptance of various "otherness", redefine norms, or tame stereotypes (or build new ones, based on one's own new experiences and experiences).[18]

Regarding the city as an area for the creation, preservation and transfer of cultural heritage, attention should be paid to the manoeuvrability of relations: both the phenomenon of submitting to the influence of the city and the active involvement of the subject (community/individual) in the creation and construction of the living environment, as well as building the cultural potential of the place of residence. This aspect of interactive cultural influences will be important in building and defining the concept of cultural heritage discussed below, a patchwork enriched by incoming city dwellers who have brought in elements of their native cultures and cultivated them.

From the European perspective, the city can not only be defined as an area of research, but also as a tool for building and discovering common elements of

[15] For example, Chinese districts present in almost every global city – e.g. in London, http://www.podrozyszczypta.pl/londyn-chinatown-chinska-dzielnica-w-londynie/, accessed August 20, 2021.

[16] For example, the Joan Miró Park in Barcelona, where the artist's sculptures have been integrated into the trees of the park, giving the place not only a recreational, but also a cultural, almost museum-like character, https://www.barcelona.de/en/barcelona-parc-joan-miro.html, accessed August 20, 2021.

[17] Daniela Szymańska, Michał Korolko, 2015, *Inteligentne miasta: Idea, koncepcje i wdrożenia*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, pp. 20–27.

[18] Joanna Julia Kozioł, 2010, "Ludzie w mieście – miasto w ludziach", in: Magdalena Banaszkiewicz, Franciszek Czech, Piotr Winskowski (eds.), *Miasto: Między przestrzenią a koncepcją przestrzeni* (op. cit.), pp. 25–37.

the cultural heritage of European countries and for shaping the multidimensional identities of Europeans, which is an important research element in a period of increased migration and mobility and of cultural diffusion and transformation. Attention is drawn to the growing phenomenon of multicultural migration to cities, and thus an increase in a sense of insecurity on the part of inhabitants, loss of security and a growing feeling of hostility towards "strangers", fuelled by a lack of common understanding and prejudices towards separate cultures. In this context, one of the challenges of the future is building a new city identity based on the emerging cultural influences, disseminating the multicultural image of cities, emphasizing their openness and sympathy and creating a platform for joint meetings (not only in terms of spatial places, but also in terms of the culture-creating function of cities).[19] With the growth of the processes of globalization, the weakening of the importance of nation-states and the strengthening of the transnationality of relations have all led to the emergence of the so-called metropolitan class, implying the shaping of a new formula for the identity of cities and their inhabitants.[20]

This way of looking at the city is not without significance in the context of searching for, constructing, preserving, and transmitting its cultural heritage. Building cultural bridges will not only serve to aid the cultural adaptation of newcomers, but most of all it will allow residents to understand certain events and new cultural phenomena, helping them to look more tolerantly at people whom they did not expect to meet in "their area". Multicultural traces of the past or present, if brought to light, could help to tame the space, and showing common cultural elements would allow people to empathically see that "strangers" do not have to be so "other".

Such sensitivity requires both the activity of the urban community and a city's openness aimed at recognizing its diversity.[21] Richard Florida highlighted these values when formulating his concept of the creative class, which includes scientists, engineers, people from the artistic world, and decision-makers responsible for the economy, social development and cultural life, and his concept of a creative centre constituting the core of the socio-economic and cultural activity of cities.

[19] *Nowa Karta Ateńska 2003: Wizja miast XXI wieku* (op. cit.), pp. 15–17.

[20] Paweł Kubicki, 2016, *Wynajdywanie miejskości* (op. cit.), pp. 69–96.

[21] Richard Florida, 2010, *Narodziny klasy kreatywnej oraz jej wpływ na przeobrażenia w charakterze pracy, wypoczynku, społeczeństwa i życia codziennego*, Warszawa: Narodowe Centrum Kultury.

The symbiosis between the city and its inhabitants is essential in the process of shaping and transmitting cultural heritage. Cultural transmission cannot take place in the case of people for whom cultural heritage means nothing, who can neither perceive nor interpret it, nor in the case of a city that is not able to protect, display and preserve its cultural heritage. In order for the process of shaping, preserving and transferring cultural heritage to take place, an appropriate educational system is necessary, one supporting the development of openness, creativity, innovation and cultural awareness. When thinking about education, we most frequently refer to school as a place of deliberate influence through a pro-social and culturally oriented didactic and educational process, shaping empathy, tolerance, acceptance of diversity and an awareness of the value of culture, broadly understood.

Therefore, in the context of cultural education, how should we understand the educational role of the city? We can say that we can find it in every alley, in every stone, in every townhouse facade, in the sound of the bell from the town hall tower, not forgetting the obvious function of museums, monuments and commemorative plaques. Cities, both historical ones with a rich pasts and traditions and completely modern ones, created in the recent past, have their genesis, legend, creation story, a longer or shorter history, traces of multi- or mono-cultures, and both prestigious districts or places and those which are forbidden or dangerous. Each of these elements of the urban mosaic carries a cultural message, information which requires specific participatory competences from the resident or the user. Each of these elements, properly exposed, can become an educational element in the field of history, social behaviour, civic activity, understanding mono- and multiculturalism, searching for similarities and connections with the roots of local family cultures, and reinterpreting common artifacts.

The search for cultural heritage is connected with the research process: searching, discovering, and interpreting. Following the above definitions, we can study the city in terms of inanimate matter and then explore the secrets of architecture and urban planning, analyse the forms and types of urban transport, the location of office buildings and service and commercial centres, and the urban planning of green spaces. In the aspect of social life, we analyse the employment structure, elements of social policy, including so-called ghettoization: the spatial division of the city that builds, maintains or strengthens social divisions and inequalities, which in practice means distinguishing districts in the city area dedicated to particular groups of division, e.g. areas inhabited by

the rich, housing estates that are home to the poor, districts in which representatives of religious or ethnic minorities dwell, the functioning of individual social groups; as well as in the cultural aspect, we analyse the presence of broadly understood European, national, regional and local cultural heritage.

A significant aspect of the exploration of space in the context of disseminating elements of cultural heritage is examining the accessibility of public spaces that can be easily reached by residents when well designed (including people of all ages and of varying physical abilities, and foreigners), encouraging people to participate in the public space, creating a place to stay together, to establish bonds, and to get to know the place, its present and history.[22] The physical and psychological accessibility of urban spaces is essential in constructing or decoding a city's cultural heritage.[23] The social substance of cities, the potential to make interpersonal contacts, exchanging ideas, discussions, creating and participating in artistic events, creating stories, legends and urban anecdotes, all of this revives the encyclopaedic slogan of the "city" and its "cultural heritage", giving them a human face.

Another key concept in these considerations, one which will answer the question of "**what we are looking for and what we will research**" is the broadly understood concept of **cultural heritage.** It includes stories of people and places; cultural goods, both material (movable and immovable monuments) and immaterial (passed on through tradition and oral communication); spiritual heritage and a catalogue of recognized values; and achievements of science and art left by previous generations.[24]

EU publications distinguish the following elements which comprise cultural heritage: tangible heritage – which includes monuments, items of everyday use, artefacts, works of art, books, machines, and archaeological sites; intangible heritage – encompassing practices, customs, abilities, orally communicated and practiced traditions, cultural spaces, language, social practices and traditional crafts; elements of natural heritage which have been given a cultural

[22] Małgorzata Łuszczek, Urszula Ptasińska (eds.), *Jak przetworzyć Miejsce: Podręcznik kreowania przestrzeni publicznych*, Kraków: Fundacja Partnerstwo dla Środowiska, https://partycypacjaobywatelska.pl/strefa-wiedzy/biblioteka/publikacje/jak-przetworzyc-miejsce-podrecznik-kreowania-udanych-przestrzeni-publicznych/, accessed September 10, 2021.

[23] Jan Gehl, 2009, *Życie między budynkami: Użytkowanie przestrzeni publicznych*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo RAM, p. 113.

[24] *Dziedzictwo kulturowe*, 2019, Polski Komitet ds. Dziedzictwa UNESCO, http://www.unesco.pl/kultura/dziedzictwo-kulturowe/, accessed May 29, 2019.

context; and digital heritage – resources that have been created or preserved in digital form.[25]

Some emphasize that heritage, in addition to the determinants described above, includes environmental effects resulting throughout history from interactions between people and the environment. As Krzysztof Kowalski stresses, interpretation is an inherent element of heritage, understood as a collection of artefacts inscribed in contemporary contexts, constantly discovering the past, analysing it and creating its depictions anew.[26] Therefore, the decision on the selection of the requisite elements of heritage and traces of history, their reinterpretation, and the content and form of transmitting this interpretation should be made by each generation and every interpreter.

This close relationship between people and the cultural environment that they create and in which they function, which they consider valuable and want to preserve, is always defined in an individualized way, even if some of its elements constitute universal values and are of pan-European or global significance (often inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List).[27] Although the achievements of mankind concern the entirety of past events, changes, and products of human activity, the promoted and available part of it, known as cultural heritage, only includes selected and chosen elements that a particular generation, at a given historical moment, deem worthy of preservation and passing on to future generations.

Hence, the question arises as to what cultural or historical elements a given generation is ready to recognize as heritage, which elements of the achievements of past generations will be considered valuable, worth preserving and passing on to future generations, and how and what cultural goods are produced in the contemporary/present generation. Which of these properties will be part of the cultural heritage of past generations for future generations? An important feature of cultural heritage is its interactive and permanent creation process, both in the macro-context (through the actions of large social groups or as a result of historical events) and on the micro-scale (through the actions of individuals or small social groups). Thus, each generation, and each individual

[25] *Europejski Rok Dziedzictwa Kulturowego 2018*, Europa. EU, https://europa.eu/cultural-heritage/about_pl, accessed May 29, 2019.

[26] Krzysztof Kowalski, *O istocie dziedzictwa europejskiego: Rozważania*, 2013, Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury.

[27] *Ochrona dziedzictwa kulturowego*, Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, https://www.nid.pl/pl/Informacje_ogolne/Ochrona_dziedzictwa_kulturowego/, accessed May 20, 2019.

person, is at the same time the discoverer, recipient, and heir of the cultural achievements of previous generations, as well as a participant in the process in which cultural heritage is being created and preserved and will become the legacy of the generations to come.

Heritage is most frequently associated with the cultural successes and enlightened achievements of ancestors. However, it also contains certain past events which were unwanted, disgraceful or difficult and hard to accept (e.g. the Holocaust, persecution, and the effects of wars, including religious ones). In Poland, such difficult elements of cultural heritage are the fate of its Jewish community and the legacy of Jedwabne,[28] or the Polishness of its western territories.[29]

The Jewish component of Europe's cultural heritage, along with the commemoration of the Holocaust, are often still represented by isolated activities, although many cities, such as Krakow, have restored to life and rebuilt old Jewish districts, and now boast restaurants serving traditional and kosher dishes; their renovated synagogues are not only open to visitors, but are also active places of worship. For many years, the inhabitants of Krakow who lived in the vicinity of the Jewish district of Kazimierz in the post-war years displaced the awareness of the neighbourhood of Jewish heritage from their culture, neglecting the abandoned tenement houses and looting their ruins. School education ignored this part of the city's urban and cultural makeup. In recent years, however, the area has been reincarnated, buildings have been renovated and rebuilt, monuments have been restored, and life has returned to previously "forbidden" places.[30] The activities of foundations, associations,[31] museums,[32] and institutions devoted to the preservation of the memory of Jewish culture[33] (including the commemoration of the Holocaust), have meant that cultural festivals

[28] Jan Tomasz Gross, Irena Grudzińska-Gross, 2011, *Złote żniwa: Rzecz o tym, co się działo na obrzeżach zagłady Żydów*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo ZNAK.

[29] Emilia Kledzik, Maciej Michalski, Małgorzata Praczyk (eds.), 2018, *"Ziemie Odzyskane": W poszukiwaniu nowych narracji*, Poznań: Instytut Historii UAM.

[30] Monika A. Murzyn, 2006, *Kazimierz: Środkowoeuropejskie doświadczenie rewitalizacji*, Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury.

[31] For example, The Jewish Community Centre of Kraków delivers workshops for children and young people and popularizes its activities through social media, Facebook, https://www.facebook.com/jcckrakow, accessed August 30, 2021.

[32] For example, the Museum of Krakow provides workshops for all age groups devoted to the cultural heritage of the city, https://muzeumkrakowa.pl/, accessed August 30, 2021.

[33] See for example the POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, https://www.polin.pl/pl, accessed September 3, 2021.

and exhibitions[34] have increasingly become part of the everyday life of cities, constituting an element of their cultural identity and educational and cultural offer; nevertheless, an awareness of the multicultural mosaic which created the cultural heritage of these local places still remains on the margins of knowledge and cultural perception. School education plays a significant role in shaping the cultural competences of city dwellers, their identity, readiness for social participation, and the ability to understand cultural codes. Formal schooling is not only the foundation of education, but it can also support the activities of out-of-school educational institutions, which each year present an ever-wider range of educational programs.[35]

Unfortunately, the analysis of ministerial guidelines,[36] school programs, and textbooks shows that significant neglect can be observed in the field of social impact and multicultural education.[37] In the Polish educational system, "multiculturalism" is a term often avoided, in relation to both the cultural mosaic of Polish minorities living in Poland today and those who were present in previous centuries. The cultural heritage of Jews (including the subject of the Holocaust) appears in school curricula sporadically and occasionally, and only in trace amounts. Jolanta Ambrosewicz-Jacobs has written extensively about these processes, showing areas of social oblivion, the lack of readiness of teachers and students to take up sensitive topics, and the importance of educational

[34] One such venture would be the interactive, open air city exhibition organized in Lublin, Krakow, Warsaw, Łódź, Rzeszów, Oslo and Zagreb in 2021 entitled *Pełno ich nigdzie: Przywracanie pamięci o polskich Żydach w przestrzeni miejskiej* [*They Fill No Space: Reviving the Memory of Polish Jews in Public Spaces*], https://polin.pl/pl/wystawa-pelno-ich-nigdzie, accessed September 3, 2021.

[35] For example, the Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre Center in Lublin, conducts ongoing educational work outside of schools, https://teatrnn.pl/edukacja, accessed September 3, 2021.

[36] *Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 26 lipca 2018 r. zmieniające rozporządzenie w sprawie podstawy programowej wychowania przedszkolnego oraz podstawy programowej kształcenia ogólnego dla szkoły podstawowej, w tym dla uczniów z niepełnosprawnością intelektualną w stopniu umiarkowanym lub znacznym, kształcenia ogólnego dla branżowej szkoły I stopnia, kształcenia ogólnego dla szkoły specjalnej przysposabiającej do pracy oraz kształcenia ogólnego dla szkoły policealnej*, 2018, Dz.U. poz. 1679, August 31.

[37] Elżbieta M. Mach, "Kształtowanie europejskiej tożsamości polskich uczniów klas I-III szkoły podstawowej, z wykorzystaniem elementów edukacji regionalnej wielokulturowej oraz wizerunek innych państw i narodów przedstawianych w podręcznikach szkolnych", in: Ewelina Chodźko, Magdalena Śliwa (eds.), *Perspektywy i wyzwania współczesnej edukacji*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Tygiel, pp. 38–56, http://bc.wydawnictwo-tygiel.pl/publikacja/05F5619D-056A-D13D-F486-301C7F721ED2, accessed August 20, 2021.

activities and social needs in this matter.[38] This area of issues analysed in the context of creating, preserving and transmitting cultural heritage is important due to the ubiquitous traces of Jewish culture in cities, sometimes overlooked, forgotten or deliberately driven out of social memory, and at other times restored to cultural existence by creating memorial sites, revitalizing Jewish districts,[39] and restoring cemeteries.[40]

An important feature of cultural heritage is its enormous diversity and multi-faceted nature, which can be considered, studied and analysed at the global, European, national, regional or local levels. Attention should also be paid to the post-industrial heritage, often socially difficult, sometimes architecturally impressive, with its a significant impact on the contemporary development and functioning of the city.[41] Cities are also places of remembrance of politically difficult times and carry with them unwanted testimony of the past, such as the heritage of communism. Some traces of bygone times, with their explanations, descriptions and anecdotes, are closed in museums;[42] sometimes they are monumental symbols of power (such as the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw), and sometimes they disfigure Polish cities with concrete housing

38 Jolanta Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, 2020, *Islands of Memory: The Landscape of the (Non) Memory of the Holocaust in Polish Education from 1989 to 2015*, Kraków: Jagiellonian University Press.

39 Marta Kubiszyn, Joanna Zętar, 2019, "Miasto po zagładzie: Dzielnica żydowska w Lublinie i jej upamiętnienia", *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały* 15.

40 Alicja Mroczkowska, 2016, "Ochrona cmentarza żydowskiego w Sobieniach-Jeziory w kontekście działań instytucjonalnych i praktyk społecznych", *Rocznik Antropologii Historii* 6:9, pp. 123–146, https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwiM4t-v5vryAhWM-KQKHb_uAkAQFnoECAoQAQ&url=http%3A%2F%2Frah.pth.net.pl%2Fuploads%2F2016_Dziedzictwo%2FMroczkowska.pdf&usg=AOvVaw1p_enmacA0NnU6InECVHFa, accessed September 10, 2021.

41 Eleonora Gonda-Soroczyńska, "Infrastruktura, układ urbanistyczny osiedla Nikiszowiec cudem architektury i pomnikiem historii", *Infrastruktura i Ekologia Terenów Wiejskich* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Nauk, Oddział w Krakowie, Komisja Technicznej Infrastruktury Wsi) 3/IV, pp. 46–52, https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwi5sObf0fnyAhUZAxAIHWPlCE0QFnoECAIQAQ&url=http%3A%2F%2Fyadda.icm.edu.pl%2Fyadda%2Felement%2Fbwmeta1.element.agro-9af80792-1667-48df-bff7-707ff09a0973%2Fc%2FGonda-Soroczynskainf.pdf&usg=AOvVaw2sb4gsNNVT7jp7_TXEpdLL, accessed September 2, 2021.

42 Bartosz Klimas, 2019, "PRL – niewygodne dziedzictwo", *Rzeczpospolita* e-wydanie, March 19, https://regiony.rp.pl/z-regionow/art17639711-prl-niewygodne-dziedzictwo, accessed September 10, 2021.

estates;[43] some took the form of newly created towns or districts (e.g. Nowa Huta near Krakow), and some remnants of an unwanted heritage have become so etched into the human mentality that they have an impact on contemporary decisions.[44] Cities, like lenses, focus and enlarge elements of cultural heritage, both the glorious and the disgraceful.

Moreover, within the already mentioned intangible cultural heritage, attention should be paid to certain non-obvious components, often hidden in the meanders of human histories. This category includes legends, songs, customs, rituals, rituals, social practices, as well as traditions usually referred to as *genius loci* or the uniqueness, atmosphere and cultural environment of the place, in this case the atmosphere of the city. Often this elusive part of the cultural heritage of a place is a background or complement to elements of material heritage, thanks to which cultural puzzles can form a coherent, multicultural image. This awareness of the multidimensionality of research on the city allows us to draw a broad perspective of phenomena where the relationship between the past and the future can be seen from the perspective of the present day.

Returning to the main aspect of the chapter, the educational role of the city, one could ask whether or how the city provides its inhabitants or newcomers with information about its cultural wealth, or how it allows them to find common elements between the existing heritage and the heritage brought by newcomers (both residents and temporary tourists), whether it is open to diversity, if its urban layout facilitates access to sites and traces of multicultural heritage, and whether they are properly promoted. These questions are related to the ability to search, perceive, select, and interpret elements of heritage. Therefore, discerning the cultural values of a place must be preceded by education, acquiring the ability to find and research them.

When conducting research and describing its results, the researcher (both the academic and the resident exploring the city) makes a particular selection and thus determines which elements of cultural heritage are to be considered

[43] Andrzej Basista, 2001, *Betonowe dziedzictwo: Architektura w Polsce czasów komunizmu*, Warszawa: PWN.

[44] Olha Hordiichuk, 2020, "Kształtowanie się i transformacja mentalności Polaków po 1989 roku: Analiza z perspektywy filozofii społecznej", *Konteksty Społeczne* 8:1 (15), pp. 24–47, https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwjMofyR6PryAhXnsaQKHVgBDFoQFnoECAIQAQ&url=http%3A%2F%2Fcejsh.icm.edu.pl%2Fcejsh%2Felement%2Fbwmeta1.element.ojs-doi-10_17951_ks_2020_8_1_24-47%2Fc%2F11686-8172.pdf&usg=AOvVaw0QGYUpylb8tvYomldgY8XJ, accessed September 10, 2021.

important, which will be remembered, described and passed on to future generations; by making a selection, it interferes with the structure of cultural heritage. Sociologists, anthropologists and other researchers of culture have a wide catalogue of **methods, forms, and research means** that inform the researcher on "**how to study**" cultural phenomena and cultural heritage, and how to analyse the results of these studies.[45]

The perception of the city and its cultural offer is a special competence, one important for both a professional researcher or academic, as well as for the "ordinary" person – be they long-term resident or newcomer. The perception of coherence, commonality and identity with the place of being allows one to internalize the cultural wealth of the city and the legacy of its past generations, to find one's own place in a changing world, to create one's own components of cultural heritage, and to select, preserve and transmit particular elements for future generations.

The **catalogue of indirect research methods** includes those that do not require the researcher's personal presence in the examined place or situation. Information can be obtained through desk research, interpreting existing sources or the results of direct research. In order to become acquainted with the existing cultural heritage, it is enough to go to a library, archive or museum, watch a film, or view an album or photo exhibition to find information describing and characterizing the subject of research. Indirect methods also include content analysis, the analysis of existing statistical data, and comparative historical analysis.[46] Here the researcher uses the results of available studies, indicators, lists of cultural goods, photo collections, illustrations, ethnographic descriptions, and the existing interpretation of the source material or its selected elements, all of which then undergoes fresh analysis and reinterpretation. Some researchers and research methodology specialists include in this category research which, although conducted directly with respondents, takes place without the researcher's presence by means of modern technologies (by mobile phone and the Internet). These include surveys conducted in person, through the post, in the press, or by telephone (questions asked orally during a telephone conversation and in the form of a questionnaire displayed on the screen of a mobile phone/tablet.

[45] Irena Bukowska-Floreńska, 2010, "Przestrzeń kulturowa i społeczna miasta jako problem badawczy", *Studia Etnologiczne i Antropologiczne* 10, pp. 19–38.

[46] Earl Babbie, 2006, *Badania społeczne w praktyce* (edited by Agnieszka Kłoskowska-Dudzińska), Warszawa: PWN.

Direct research allows the researcher to get to know the source of information personally, to independently experience and record the observed phenomena. The method of direct knowledge of the studied phenomenon or people are field studies, including participant observation where the researcher gets to know, experiences and analyses the observed phenomena or objects by participating in the daily life of the observed community personally.

Ewa Nowicka emphasizes the importance of field research and observations as methods of obtaining direct data considered in the long-term research perspective.[47] Thanks to this method, the researcher is subject to the phenomenon of cultural assimilation, which allows them to study the observed culture "from within". This method can be useful for not only studying "exotic" cultures, but also for exploring the cultural heritage of one's own community.

While researching the city, the researcher, using the method of observation, walks along the streets of the city, visits places of interest in person, and carries out a "spatial audit", observing the everyday life of people and the functioning of the city. The researcher can also use a research walk conducted according to a previously thought-out scenario, with the definition of goals, during which not only are places mapped, but also the needs of the specific social groups or people examined.[48]

By talking to residents, the researcher may enrich or modify his/her observations and adjust the set of questions to the given situation or the examined person, which may result in obtaining more detailed information. One qualitative research method is the individual in-depth interview, which allows for a broad and precise contextual examination of human needs and cultural phenomena and their effects.[49] Therefore, the catalogue of direct methods may include interviews (both individual and group interviews, also called group focus interviews) conducted with the researcher's personal participation; a monographic study including a detailed analysis of a selected object/phenomenon/social group; analysing individual examples (case study), including recording

[47] Ewa Nowicka, 2007, *Świat człowieka – świat kultury*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, pp. 103–146.

[48] Laboratorium Partycypacji Obywatelskiej realizowane przez Pracownię Badań i Innowacji Społecznych przy wsparciu Fundacji im. Stefana Batorego, *Strefa wiedzy – techniki*, https://partycypacjaobywatelska.pl/strefa-wiedzy/techniki/spacery-badawcze/, accessed September 25, 2021.

[49] Małgorzata Nicpoń, Radosław Marzęcki, 2010, "Pogłębiony wywiad indywidualny w badaniach politologicznych", in: Dominika Mikucka-Wójtowicz (ed.), *Przeszłość, teraźniejszość, przyszłość: Problemy badawcze młodych politologów*, Kraków: Libron, pp. 245–252.

stories and memories of residents "telling stories"; and diagnostic surveys that allow understanding and describing phenomena and processes taking place in communities.[50] Individual and collective memories, autobiographies illustrated with relics of the past, and heirlooms from families or local groups of residents constitute an inexhaustible source of cultural heritage artefacts for cultural anthropologists.[51]

In the social research of sociologists, social/cultural anthropologists, and urban planners, in addition to the photographic documentation prepared by the researcher, the analysis of drawings is also used, mental maps that allow information to be obtained about how residents see a particular space, what elements of the city/space are important for them in terms of how their place of residence builds their awareness and shapes their local identity.[52] Including non-professionals in professional spatial, architectural or landscape planning is a method that allows one to learn about the preferences and opinions of users of places.[53] In social research, in relation to the issue of the shaping and transmission of cultural heritage, this method, along with recording the statements and stories of residents, can be very useful in understanding the scope and content of the memory of the past, as well as understanding cultural heritage and its interpretation in everyday life by ordinary people and residents. It can be used to understand how the city, understood as urban and socio-cultural space, cares about how cultural heritage is shaped and transferred to its inhabitants.

The definitions and key terms above show a correlation between the city as a socio-cultural and urban space and the process of permanent education and shaping the broadly understood notion of identity. They indicate the subject and scope of analysis and cultural research and suggest methods by means of which they may be conducted. In the context of the main topic of this chapter on the role of cities in the process of creating and transferring European cultural heritage, the researcher will search for the elements of cultural heritage listed above, naturally questioning which of these elements constitute impor-

50 Earl Babbie, 2006, *Badania społeczne w praktyce* (op. cit.).

51 Ewa Nowicka, 2007, *Świat człowieka – świat kultury* (op. cit.), pp. 114–117.

52 Tomasz Nawrocki, 2015, "Wykorzystanie map mentalnych w badaniach przestrzeni publicznych: Przykład Gliwic, in: *Badania interdyscyplinarne w architekturze*, vol. 1, Gliwice, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/296974325_Wykorzystanie_map_mentalnych_w_badaniach_przestrzeni_publicznych_Przyklad_Gliwic, accessed September 1, 2021.

53 Krystyna Pawłowska, 2010, *Zanim wybuchnie konflikt: Idea i metody partycypacji społecznej w ochronie krajobrazu i kształtowaniu przestrzeni*, Kraków: Fundacja Partnerstwa dla Środowiska.

tant factors, and which are remembered and which are omitted based on which identity is constructed at the local, regional, national and European levels. They will also consider the preservation of cultural and historical memory, both in the individual and collective dimension, represented by individuals or local communities. These will be discussions on whether the city responds to the needs of new social groups that have come to it in successive migratory waves and whether the elements of their heritage brought by these communities find their place as one of the elements of both the local and European puzzle. The list of questions raised here is probably not complete, because European cultural heritage is a multifaceted and infinite concept, and the city is a stage where the process of the creation and transmission of European cultural heritage takes place every day.

References

Ambrosewicz-Jacobs Jolanta, 2020, *Islands of Memory: The Landscape of the (Non) Memory of the Holocaust in Polish Education from 1989 to 2015*, Kraków: Jagiellonian University Press.

Babbie Earl, 2006, *Badania społeczne w praktyce* (edited by Agnieszka Kłoskowska-Dudzińska), Warszawa: PWN.

Basista Andrzej, 2001, *Betonowe dziedzictwo: Architektura w Polsce czasów komunizmu*, Warszawa: PWN.

Bukowska-Floreńska Irena, 2010, "Przestrzeń kulturowa i społeczna miasta jako problem badawczy", *Studia Etnologiczne i Antropologiczne* 10.

Dziedzictwo kulturowe, 2019, Polski Komitet ds. Dziedzictwa UNESCO, http://www.unesco.pl/kultura/dziedzictwo-kulturowe/.

Dzielnica chińska w Londynie, 2021, August 20, http://www.podrozyszczypta.pl/londyn-chinatown-chinska-dzielnica-w-londynie/.

Europejski Rok Dziedzictwa Kulturowego 2018, Europa. EU, https://europa.eu/cultural-heritage/about_pl.

Florida Richard, 2010, *Narodziny klasy kreatywnej oraz jej wpływ na przeobrażenia w charakterze pracy, wypoczynku, społeczeństwa i życia codziennego*, Warszawa: Narodowe Centrum Kultury.

Gehl Jan, 2009, *Życie między budynkami: Użytkowanie przestrzeni publicznych*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo RAM.

Gonda-Soroczyńska Eleonora, "Infrastruktura, układ urbanistyczny osiedla Nikiszowiec cudem architektury i pomnikiem historii", *Infrastruktura i Ekologia Terenów Wiejskich* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Nauk, Oddział w Krakowie, Komisja

Technicznej Infrastruktury Wsi) 3/IV, https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=-j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwi5sObf0fnyAhUZAxAIHWPlCE0QFnoECAIQAQ&url=http%3A%2F%2Fyadda.icm.edu.pl%2Fyadda%2Felement%2Fbwmeta1.element.agro-9af80792-1667-48df-bff7-707ff09a0973%2Fc%2FGonda-Soroczynskainf.pdf&usg=AOvVaw2sb4gsNNVT7jp7_TXEpdLL.

Gross Jan Tomasz, Grudzińska-Gross Irena, 2011, *Złote żniwa: Rzecz o tym, co się działo na obrzeżach zagłady Żydów*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo ZNAK.

Hordiichuk Olha, 2020, "Kształtowanie się i transformacja mentalności Polaków po 1989 roku: Analiza z perspektywy filozofii społecznej", *Konteksty Społeczne* 8:1 (15), https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwjMofyR6PryAhXnsaQKHVgBDFoQFnoECAIQAQ&url=http%3A%2F%2Fcejsh.icm.edu.pl%2Fcejsh%2Felement%2Fbwmeta1.element.ojs-doi-10_17951_ks_2020_8_1_24-47%2Fc%2F11686-8172.pdf&usg=AOvVaw0QGYUpylb8tvYomldgY8XJ.

Jałowiecki Bohdan, Szczepański Marek Stanisław, 2002, *Miasto i przestrzeń w perspektywie socjologicznej*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar.

The Jewish Community Centre of Kraków. Facebook, https://www.facebook.com/jcckrakow.

Kaczmarczyk Stanisław, *Klasyfikacja metod zbierania danych ze źródeł pierwotnych w badaniach marketingowych*, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, http://cejsh.icm.edu.pl/cejsh/element/bwmeta1.element.desklight-05d37123-6d17-495e-bf78-2d0143c4dfaa.

Kledzik Emilia, Michalski Maciej, Praczyk Małgorzata (eds.), 2018, *"Ziemie Odzyskane": W poszukiwaniu nowych narracji*, Poznań: Instytut Historii UAM.

Klimas Bartosz, 2019, "PRL – niewygodne dziedzictwo", *Rzeczpospolita* e-wydanie, March 19, https://regiony.rp.pl/z-regionow/art17639711-prl-niewygodne-dziedzictwo.

Kowalski Krzysztof, *O istocie dziedzictwa europejskiego: Rozważania*, 2013, Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury.

Kozioł Joanna Julia, 2010, "Ludzie w mieście – miasto w ludziach", in: Magdalena Banaszkiewicz, Franciszek Czech, Piotr Winskowski (eds.), *Miasto: Między przestrzenią a koncepcją przestrzeni*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo UJ.

Kubicki Paweł, 2016, *Wynajdywanie miejskości: Polska kwestia miejska z perspektywy długiego trwania*, Kraków: Nomos.

Kubiszyn Marta, Zętar Joanna, 2019, "Miasto po Zagładzie: Dzielnica żydowska w Lublinie i jej upamiętnienia", *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały* 15, https://doi.org/10.32927/ZZSiM.71.

Laboratorium Partycypacji Obywatelskiej realizowane przez Pracownię Badań i Innowacji Społecznych przy wsparciu Fundacji im. Stefana Batorego, *Strefa wiedzy – techniki*, https://partycypacjaobywatelska.pl/strefa-wiedzy/techniki/spacery-badawcze/.

Łuszczek Małgorzata, Ptasińska Urszula (eds.), 2021, *Jak przetworzyć Miejsce: Podręcznik kreowania udanych przestrzeni publicznych*, Kraków: Fundacja Partnerstwo dla Środowiska, https://partycypacjaobywatelska.pl/strefa-wiedzy/biblioteka/publikacje/jak-przetworzyc-miejsce-podrecznik-kreowania-udanych-przestrzeni-publicznych/.

Mach Elżbieta M., 2019, "Kształtowanie europejskiej tożsamości polskich uczniów klas I-III szkoły podstawowej, z wykorzystaniem elementów edukacji regionalnej wielokulturowej oraz wizerunek innych państw i narodów przedstawianych w podręcznikach szkolnych", in: Ewelina Chodźko, Magdalena Śliwa (eds.), *Perspektywy i wyzwania współczesnej edukacji*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Tygiel, http://bc.wydawnictwo-tygiel.pl/publikacja/05F5619D-056A-D13D-F486-301C7F721ED2.

Malikowski Marian, 1992, *Socjologiczne badanie miasta: Problemy pojęciowe, teoretyczne i metodologiczne*, Rzeszów: WSP w Rzeszowie.

Mroczkowska Alicja, 2016, "Ochrona cmentarza żydowskiego w Sobieniach-Jeziory w kontekście działań instytucjonalnych i praktyk społecznych", *Rocznik Antropologii Historii* 6:9, https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwiM4t-v5vryAhWM-KQKHb_uAkAQFnoECAoQAQ&url=http%3A%2F%2Frah.pth.net.pl%2Fuploads%2F2016_Dziedzictwo%2FMroczkowska.pdf&usg=AOvVaw1p_enmacA0NnU6InECVHFa.

Murzyn Monika A., 2006, *Kazimierz: Środkowoeuropejskie doświadczenie rewitalizacji*, Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury.

Muzeum Historii Żydów Polskich POLIN, https://www.polin.pl/pl.

Muzeum Krakowa, https://muzeumkrakowa.pl/.

Nawrocki Tomasz, 2015, "Wykorzystanie map mentalnych w badaniach przestrzeni publicznych: Przykład Gliwic", in: *Badania interdyscyplinarne w architekturze*, vol. 1, Gliwice, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/296974325_Wykorzystanie_map_mentalnych_w_badaniach_przestrzeni_publicznych_Przyklad_Gliwic.

Nicpoń Małgorzata, Marzęcki Radosław, 2010, "Pogłębiony wywiad indywidualny w badaniach politologicznych", in: Dominika Mikucka-Wójtowicz (ed.), *Przeszłość, teraźniejszość, przyszłość: Problemy badawcze młodych politologów*, Kraków: Libron.

Nowa Karta Ateńska 2003: Wizja miast XXI wieku, 2003 (edited by Towarzystwo Urbanistów Polskich), Warszawa: Europejska Rada Urbanistów.

Nowicka Ewa, 2007, *Świat człowieka – świat kultury*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Ochrona dziedzictwa kulturowego, Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, https://www.nid.pl/pl/Informacje_ogolne/Ochrona_dziedzictwa_kulturowego/.

Ośrodek Brama Grodzka – Teatr NN, w Lublinie, https://teatrnn.pl/edukacja.

Paleczny Tadeusz, 2010, "Miasto – «Mikser kulturowy»", in: Magdalena Banaszkiewicz, Franciszek Czech, Piotr Winskowski (eds.), *Miasto: Między przestrzenią a koncepcją przestrzeni*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo UJ.

Park Joan Miró w Barcelonie, https://www.barcelona.de/en/barcelona-parc-joan-miro.html.

Pawłowska Krystyna, 2010, *Zanim wybuchnie konflikt: Idea i metody partycypacji społecznej w ochronie krajobrazu i kształtowaniu przestrzeni*, Kraków: Fundacja Partnerstwa dla Środowiska.

Pełno ich nigdzie: Przywracanie pamięci o polskich Żydach w przestrzeni miejskiej, miejska wystawa plenerowa, Lublin, Kraków, Warszawa, Łódź, Rzeszów oraz Oslo i Zagrzebie, https://polin.pl/pl/wystawa-pelno-ich-nigdzie.

Projekt Programu Erasmus+ no: 2018-1-PL01-KA203-050963, August 20, 2021, https://heritage.europeistyka.uj.edu.pl/.

Redefining "Urban": A New Way to Measure Metropolitan Areas, 2012, OECD Publishing, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264174108-en.

Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 26 lipca 2018 r. zmieniające rozporządzenie w sprawie podstawy programowej wychowania przedszkolnego oraz podstawy programowej kształcenia ogólnego dla szkoły podstawowej, w tym dla uczniów z niepełnosprawnością intelektualną w stopniu umiarkowanym lub znacznym, kształcenia ogólnego dla branżowej szkoły I stopnia, kształcenia ogólnego dla szkoły specjalnej przysposabiającej do pracy oraz kształcenia ogólnego dla szkoły policealnej, 2018, Dz.U. poz. 1679, August 31.

Szymańska Daniela, Korolko Michał, 2015, *Inteligentne miasta: Idea, koncepcje i wdrożenia*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK.

Urban, Rural, Regional Development, May 29, 2019, https://read.oecd-ilibrary.org/urban-rural-and-regional-development/redefining-urban_9789264174108-en#page17.

https://doi.org/10.12797/9788381386708.03

The Cultural Landscape and the Transformation of Cultural Heritage

VIERA KREŠÁKOVÁ
Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica

JANA PECNÍKOVÁ
Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica

ABSTRACT

The aim of this chapter is to depict the cultural landscape and heritage in the context of transformation. The chapter explains how the cultural landscape is defined and how it relates to cultural heritage, how cultural heritage is conserved and transformed, and finally what industrial heritage is. The aim of the chapter is to provide the theoretical part and to present a specific case of transformed industrial heritage in Slovakia (as a case study).

Keywords: cultural landscape, cultural heritage, transformation, industrial heritage, memory

Cultural landscape

Characteristics of cultural landscape

The cultural landscape is a concept based on elements and components of the cultural system. In addition to its tangible (material) expression, there is an intangible component in the cultural landscape: how people thought, what they felt, what they acted on and what their sense of belonging was (identity), or what cultural and historical events fundamentally influenced its formation. The study of the cultural landscape deals with interpretations of meanings, the relationship between people and place. The interdisciplinary research connects several disciplines, including architecture, anthropology, and cultural studies.

"Landscape is a common good, a community heritage, the 'part of the whole territory perceived by people'. Landscape is a pure word, a noble concept that everyone loves, but it is defined in perception and for this, it is something virtual, possibly indefinite."[1] The concept of landscape, especially in its cultural implication, is a flexible concept that presupposes a holistic and synthesizing approach to research. We do not perceive the landscape solely as a set of material and social practices and their symbolic representation, but as a cultural and social product which arose because of the various activities of mankind. It is much more than just what we can see. However, visual expression helps us to understand the function, or the socially created scenery. The concept of scenery is broader and does not only include only monuments, places, or squares, but it is an expression of cultural values, social behaviour, and individual actions in the locality in a certain period of time.

The cultural landscape is a materialized system that includes verbal, visual and physical aspects of human existence, creating the requisite space for the multidimensional and dynamic development of the world. The cultural landscape also captures what the society wants or does not want to keep in the cultural memory, but it is part of that memory.

Typology of cultural landscape

A cultural landscape can be presented as:

a) **Real landscape** – country of fact, space, place, city, territory, etc.

[1] Fabio Bianconi, Marco Filippucci, 2019, *Landscape Lab*, Cham: Springer, p. 9.

b) **Fantastic landscape** – a landscape, to which a certain symbolic or spiritual meaning is ascribed, a cultural legacy of myths, legends, symbols.
c) **Ideal landscape** – a landscape meets certain characteristics of the "ideal" at a given time, an attempt to transform the environment according to a given ideal, as manifested in for example, architecture, where a certain style dominates or is considered dominant.

According to Mariusz Czepczyński[2] (2012) three factors are important in a cultural landscape: form, use and significance. Cultural landscape is not just a biological term. Anthropologically, it is perceived as follows:
a) cultural landscape is the scenery in which life takes place.
b) cultural landscape is subjective: everyone can perceive it differently.
c) cultural landscape is anchored in space and time.
d) cultural landscape is dynamic: it is in a constant process of transformation.

Therefore, when studying the cultural landscape, we use more interpretive methods, to a greater extent than strictly empirical or morphological ones. The landscape can be read as a social document or as an anthropological interpretation of a cultural text with many meanings.

Dimensions of the cultural landscape

A cultural landscape arises in the process of cultivating the natural landscape; it consists of several dimensions:
a) **Time dimension** – to understand today's cultural landscape, we need to know what processes it has gone through thus far. The cultural landscape consists of several cultural layers.
b) **Spatial dimension** – to determine the location and area: how and where the landscape is located.
c) **Economic dimension** – to know how it has developed economically in the past; economic development could be still present.
d) **Technical dimension** – to be determined by technical remains and technical components.
e) **Socio-cultural dimension** – cultural wealth of the territory, development of the territory in connection with culture, cultural events, and the

[2] Mariusz Czepczyński, 2012, *Cultural Landscapes of Post-Socialist Cities*, London: Routledge, p. 125.

emergence of a specific culture; connection of a place to a famous person; linguistic landscape.[3]

Cultural landscapes relate to a certain image or scenery. We can perceive the landscape image as the overall character of the landscape, but also as a symbol (personifying certain values and ideas). Therefore, a cultural landscape may or may not be a real space that retains these attributes. In addition to visual perception, we can also perceive it sensually (spiritually), based on connections and meanings. The character of the landscape carries within it the legacy of the ancestors who shaped it, the cultural and historical characteristics that make it distinctive, different, and unique.

To sum it up by means of a definition:

> Cultural landscapes are the places where human culture is on display, where 'our human landscape is our unwitting biography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears in tangible visible form.' Cultural landscapes consist therefore of tangible physical pattern and elements, but also importantly, reflect intangible values and associations. Cultural landscapes are window onto our past, our present and our future and our evolving relationship with the natural environment.[4]

Transformation of the cultural landscape in time and space

Cultural landscapes have always existed between the past and the future. They present both the positive and negative sides of history, and they reflect visions or various interventions of authority, as well as the hopes and expectations of society. The cultural landscape embodies and shapes them, according to the given conditions and possibilities of development.

A cultural landscape is, in a way, a metaphor appearing in a certain period in history. It reflects contemporary social affiliation, strength, identity. Moreover, power used to be a crucial element in transforming the cultural landscape, whether it was interventions in terms of industrial development or simply a demonstration of power. To this day, there are many monuments present in

[3] Ruslan Saduov, Aliya Saduova (eds.), 2021, *Linguistic and Cultural Landscape: At the Crossroad of Research Paradigms*, Ufa: RITs BashGu, p. 9.

[4] Ken Taylor, Nora Mitchell, Archer St. Clair (eds.), 2017, *Conserving Cultural Landscapes: Challenges and New Directions*, London: Routledge, p. 3.

countries which are intended to commemorate historical events, personalities, transformations of society. We also observe a kind of "cultural amnesia" when we can no longer say why there was construction or intervention in our area, but it has become a part of our everyday life. Cultural landscapes evolve in time and space.

Many transformations of cultural landscapes[5] happen as a manifestation of power. Who had/has power could/can intervene much more easily than those who did/do not. Therefore, the transformation of a country is often associated with power. In history, even buildings, squares, and cultural areas have become part of political projects. Power, in the broadest sense, was/is visually represented in space as something spectacular, stable, and seemingly indestructible. The power of an authority is materialized, and the legacy of cultural codes was/is clear to society. This is the case throughout human history, when power has led people to create fundamental and magnificent buildings that did not exist before. We can say that fundamental changes in the cultural landscape have always taken place as such "powerful interventions".

Memory and cultural landscape

The perception of cultural landscapes is largely dependent on access to memory. This concept is called *lieux de mémoire* and reflects many cultural interpretations of the "memory landscape", in which memory is a characteristic aspect of a particular cultural group. An intervention in a cultural landscape relates to a reflection of historical identity, but at the same time it can be an obstacle when the cultural codes of the past do not have the same meaning. The cultural landscape is a place of remembrance because people naturally express a collective and coherent identity associated with the locality.

The memory of place is often based on stories associated with feelings of belonging, roots or heroism (remembering important deeds and personalities). However, it does not have to be only in a passive form; these manifestations can take the active form of various activities or events that keep the memories alive in the community. The cultural landscape thus helps to maintain the content. However, it is also important whether there are enough of those who "still" remember it. And the question is not only *what* we remember, but also *who* remembers it and how cultural amnesia is manifested in society.

[5] Ibid., p. 144.

When connecting memory and place, we also want to draw attention to the concept of postmemory, the coiner of the term being M. Hirsch.[6] Postmemory deals with trauma in the family, with the postgeneration becoming the bearer of memories, references, and expressions, captured in for example, art or literature, but also in architecture, in the cultural landscape. Experienced trauma manifests itself on a personal, collective, and cultural level and it is transmitted through life stories and memories, which reconstruct lived events based on narration. Postmemory is primarily associated with the Holocaust and the period after World War II. According to this concept, even the place as such can carry trauma and talk about it without words.

However, the memory footprint of cultural landscapes is most affected by the culture of everyday life, which shows what we remember and what we maintain in the form of traditions. It consists of cultural patterns and rituals that are repeated and determine the typical features of a given culture. The cultural tradition is preserved in a broader collective memory, as it is passed on intergenerationally and contains artistic and creative elements (folk creativity, crafts, etc.).

Each culture has its basis in traditions and preserves them as a cultural base identifiable by cultural and artistic artifacts. Through artistic expression, culture reminds us of the values and virtues of our past. Through these artifacts, places, events or monuments, the cultural tradition is present in formal places such as museums, galleries, or monuments, or informally in a community that maintains customs and traditions.

The culture of everyday life presupposes the cultural memory of the community, as a construct of past reality. Communicating with one's own past or the past of another nation requires working with cultural heritage and tradition. However, we determine how we will present it. Cultural heritage and tradition help an individual to find roots that can be fictional in some way. However, belonging to a certain tradition gives a person a sense of identity.

One example is the transformation of an originally agricultural area into an area with a developed industry. This historical event was accompanied by, for example, settlement by new settlers who brought a different way of life, standards of living, and architecture. Therefore, the cultural landscape was characterized by a certain aesthetic norm based on the values and social need to "reorganize nature". Today, in practice, three discourses can be recognized

[6] Marianne Hirsch, 2012, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust*, New York: Columbia University Press, p. 15.

in transformation of heritage sites: heritage conservation, urban development, and architectural production.[7]

Cultural heritage in the European context

Cultural heritage has an important position in the cultural landscape. Cultural heritage can be defined as a result of creative social activity, from the earliest times to the present day.

Cultural heritage is a legacy of the past. It can take the form of buildings, exceptional places, natural attractions, or other cultural rarities that we should protect and maintain, but we should also appreciate their uniqueness. Each country or nation has its own cultural heritage which distinguishes it from others. Although in the past these differences have been the target of various disputes and conflicts, we should respect and recognize these differences.[8]

Natural heritage is also an important part of the common heritage, and it includes landscapes and natural areas, including flora and fauna, but also heritage underwater. It often serves as an important part of the tourist industry and attracts many visitors, also from abroad.

Cultural heritage is divided into two groups:[9]

- **Intangible heritage**

Intangible cultural heritage, or even "living heritage" is composed of spiritual, and not material, substance and it is passed on from generation to generation. It consists of non-physical aspects that belong to a particular culture and have been maintained by social customs during a selected period of history. It includes folk songs, dances, folklore, traditions, rituals, rumours, spiritual beliefs, customs, crafts, and language. Naturally, intangible cultural heritage is more difficult to retain than physical objects.

[7] Heike Oevermann, Harald A. Mieg (eds.), 2015, *Industrial Heritage Sites in Transformation: Clash of Discourses*, London: Routledge, p. 82.

[8] Anna Maria Colavitti, 2018, *Urban Heritage Management: Planning with History*, Cham: Springer, p. 52.

[9] Jana Pecníková, Anna Slatinská, 2017, *Jazyk – kultúra – identita*, Banska Bystrica: Belianum, p. 26.

- **Tangible/material heritage**

This group includes monuments that were created by people or groups of people – it is the material essence (base) of monuments/artefacts. These include buildings, coins, books, clothing, jewellery, sculptures, castles, mansions, country estates, water mills and everyday objects that remind us of the past.

European activities in the field of cultural heritage

The roots of European cultural policy (cultural heritage policy) can be found in the predecessor of today's European Union, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), which was established on 18 April 1951 by the *Treaty of Paris*. This *Treaty* was signed by the governments of Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Germany, Luxembourg, and Italy. Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman were the most important founders. Nowadays, it is the European Union which covers areas such as agriculture, trade, and monetary policy, as well as cultural institutions, which have real impact on cultural heritage. Cultural policy deals with institutions such as:

- **The European Parliament** –representing the interests of the Member States of the European Union.
- **The Council of the EU** –preserving and promoting cultural heritage and its sectors.
- **The European Commission** –The European Union's highest executive body, which has decision-making power over many issues. It also appeals to the development of culture, through, for example, various events such as the European Capital of Culture. In the cultural heritage we can find a clear European dimension and therefore it requires actions at the European level.

Every year, the Council of Europe, in cooperation with the European Commission, organizes *The Days of European Cultural Heritage,* with the aim of celebrating European ideals, values, heritage, and history in the form of many cultural events.

The effort and the idea of saving Europe's cultural heritage was reflected in the adoption of *the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* at the UNESCO Conference in Paris in 1972.[10] This convention

[10] *Convention*, www.whc/unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf, accessed February 7, 2021.

is also known by the term *World Heritage*. The document was a written form to encourage efforts to save cultural and natural heritage, which has been increasingly at risk of destruction, not only because of the traditional causes of decay, but also because of changing social and economic conditions. The aim is to protect the most important cultural and natural heritage objects, following assessment and recommendation by the International Council for Monuments and Settlements (ICOMOS) and the International Union for The Protection of Nature (IUCN).

An important point in this development was the establishment of the World Heritage Committee, the World Heritage Fund, which has been in force since 1976, and the *List of World Heritage in Danger.* The Committee checks the state of protection of cultural and natural heritage. In case of an emergency and poor conditions of monuments, it decides which of them will be reassigned to *List of World Heritage in Danger.* The Committee further determines how and under what conditions the resources of the World Heritage Fund can be used to protect the cultural and natural heritage of the Member States. It is the duty of each signatory Member State of this agreement to ensure the protection, preservation, designation, and presentation of its heritage situated in its territory, which it will later hand down to future generations.

European heritage label

Cultural heritage is an aspect of many EU initiatives, one being the *European Heritage Label* created in 2005. It was established as an intergovernmental initiative of 19 European countries. On 16 November 2011, Decision No 1194/2011/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council officially established the *European Heritage Label* as an action of the European Union.

The aim is to focus on a common European heritage, in order to, among other things, strengthen intercultural dialogue among citizens of different countries and boost tourism. Emphasis is placed on supporting and providing access to various European sites. This includes organizing a wide range of educational activities, especially for young people.

To be awarded a label,[11] sites must meet three basic criteria:

a) to demonstrate transnational or pro-European character, transcending national borders in addition to being impactful and attractive. They must

[11] *European Heritage Label*, https://ec.europa.eu/culture/cultural-heritage/initiatives-and-success-stories/european-heritage-label-sites, accessed February 7, 2021.

also point to a role in European history and a relationship to key European events, personalities, or movements.

b) the quality of the project – applicant sites and objects must submit a project promoting the European dimension in which they undertake to organize educational activities and promote intercultural dialogue and multilingualism, and they must promote the site on the European level.

c) to ensure the protection of the site for future generations, ensure the quality of facilities for visitors, focus on the younger generation, and promote the site, objects and destinations that can attract or increase tourism.

Places of European heritage can be joined individually or as part of a network. Visitors can get a real experience of what Europe can offer and what it has achieved. In the EU, 38 sites in 18 countries currently hold the *European Heritage Label*. The *European Heritage Label* may be awarded to monuments of tangible and intangible cultural heritage, and natural sites or areas of cultural landscapes which are of historical or cultural importance and contribute to the development of the values of the European Union.

UNESCO and heritage

We consider UNESCO to be one of the most important global organizations because it covers the world's most important cultural heritage. One of the main objectives of this organization is to build peace on the global and international level in the fields of education, culture, and science.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was created in response to the world wars of the twentieth century, with the history of this organization dating to 1942. At a time of ongoing war, the governments of European countries met in Britain to confront Nazi Germany and the axis. Although World War II was far from over, these countries nevertheless tried to find ways and means to rebuild their education systems once peace was restored. The project got underway very quickly. Many governments, including that of the U.S.A., decided to join.

A United Nations conference on the establishment of an educational and cultural organization was convened in London from 1 to 16 November 1945. Representatives of forty-four countries gathered and decided to create an organization that embodied a true culture of peace. According to them, the new

organization must create "the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind" to prevent the outbreak of the next world war.

At the end of the conference, 37 countries established the United Nations Education, Science and Culture Organization (UNESCO). The *UNESCO Constitution* was signed on 16 November 1945. It entered into force on 4 November 1946 after ratification by 20 countries: Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Egypt, France, Greece, India, Lebanon, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America. The first meeting of the UNESCO General Conference was held in Paris from 19 November to 10 December 1946, with the participation of representatives of 30 governments with a right to vote. Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany only joined UNESCO in 1951, and Spain was adopted in 1953. Historical factors such as the Cold War and the process of decolonization and dissolution of the USSR, which joined UNESCO in 1954, also left their mark. Nineteen African states also became members in the 1960s. Some countries have withdrawn from the organization for various political reasons at different times.

The UNESCO *Constitution*[12] states:

> The international mistrust, disputes and conflicts were born out of mutual misunderstanding of nations, and World War II arose, among other things, by denying the democratic ideal, equality and respect for the human being. Therefore, it is necessary to build peace, to expand culture and education.

Peace must be based on dialogue and mutual understanding, which should be built on the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind. In this way, UNESCO is developing educational tools to help people live as global citizens free from hatred and intolerance. It also strives to ensure that every child, young person, and citizen has access to quality education. By promoting cultural heritage and the equal dignity of all cultures, it strengthens interactions among people.

UNESCO fights for freedom of expression as a fundamental right and a key condition for democracy and the development of society.[13] It serves as a labora-

[12] *Constitution*, http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=15244&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html,, accessed February 7, 2021.

[13] Ken Taylor, Nora Mitchell, Archer St. Clair (eds.), 2017, *Conserving Cultural Landscapes* (op. cit.), p. 75.

tory of ideas and helps countries to adopt international standards and programs that promote the free flow of ideas and knowledge sharing.

One of the organization's functions is education – it creates, among others, literacy programs; programs for teachers and pupils; international projects suitable for students, freedom of the press; and translations of world literature. UNESCO cooperates with the European Union (EU), the European Economic Commission for Europe (EECE) and the Council of Europe (CE).

In today's interconnected world, in addition to the economy and science, culture plays a role essential to society. Our historical monuments and museums enrich our daily lives in countless ways. Culture and heritage are a source of identity and cohesion for communities disturbed by the confusion of change and economic instability. UNESCO strives to ensure that culture is at the right place in strategic development. It has adopted various approaches: UNESCO leads the world's defence of culture and development as it engages the international community to establish clear policies and legal frameworks, seeks to work on the ground and to support governments and local stakeholders in protecting heritage, and finally, it works to strengthen creative industries and promote cultural pluralism.

International treaties seek to protect the world's cultural and natural heritage, including ancient archaeological sites, intangible and underwater heritage, museum collections, oral traditions, and other forms of heritage, and to promote creativity, innovation, and the emergence of dynamic cultural sectors.

According to the *Convention*,[14] cultural heritage is composed of:

- memorials;
- groups of buildings – with an exceptional world value in a country in terms of history, art or science;
- locations – creations of humans or humans in combination with nature which have important historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological value;
- natural phenomena consisting of physical and biological formations;
- geological and well-defined areas forming the natural habitat of endangered species of animals and plants of exceptional world value in terms of science or conservation; and
- natural sites or well-defined natural areas of world value in terms of science, conservation, or natural beauty.

[14] *Convention*, https://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf, accessed February 7, 2021.

The *Convention* further states that it is the duty of each Contracting State to take care of monuments via all the means at its disposal. It is intended to use its own resources. If this is not sufficient for the protection, marking, and safeguarding of cultural heritage, a state may request international assistance. The state is to establish services for the protection, preservation and presentation of cultural and natural heritage with relevant staff with the means and knowledge to perform these functions. It should also have certain measures in the form of scientific and technical studies to be able to counter the dangers that threaten the cultural or national heritage.

The World Heritage Committee consists of 15 Contracting States, who meet at the General Assembly during the ordinary session of the UNESCO General Conference. They coordinate the procedures for adding a cultural or natural monument to the World Heritage List of one of the Member States. A Contracting State shall submit to the World Heritage Committee an inventory of ownership forming part of the cultural and natural heritage situated on its territory. Any monument in need of a higher level of care and protection will be listed as a World Heritage Site in danger. This list includes only objects that are exposed to danger in the form of, for example, public or private projects, calamity, natural disasters, or interference with the land on which the building is located. An important part of the Convention is the World Heritage Fund. The Resources of the Fund shall consist of:

a) compulsory and voluntary contributions from Contracting States;
b) contributions, gifts, or messages that may be made by other States, UNESCO, other organizations within the Framework of the United Nations, public or private bodies, or individuals;
c) any interest attributable to the resources;
d) funds incurred by collections and income from actions organized for the benefit of a site; and
e) other resources that comply with the regulations of the fund.

The Contracting States undertake to pay contributions to this Fund every two years. Their amount is decided at the General Assembly, which takes place during the meeting of the UNESCO General Conference. However, the compulsory contribution shall not exceed 1% of the contribution to the regular budget of UNESCO.

Cultural Heritage Protection and Transformation

We can perceive the heritage as a "repository" in which all cultural monuments – attributes – are stored. Each part of it has a telling value, but the real question is who can understand it today. When we talk about transgenerational transmission, we perceive a strong emotional bond that arises between the transmitter and the carrier. If this connection is broken, the transmission does not take place and we lose the entire cultural trail. However, there are many different institutions at the national and supra-national levels who foster cultural understanding and protect heritage sites.

The number one world organization dealing with the protection of cultural heritage is UNESCO. The document *Convention,*[15] which is focused on the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage, defines as the sources of threat of destruction not only the traditional causes of decay, but also changing social and economic conditions. According to this document parts of the cultural or natural heritage which are of outstanding interest need to be preserved as part of the world heritage, which belongs to mankind as a whole.

In the document *Conservation and Restoration of the Burra Charter*[16] the protection of heritage is considered to be important because "places of cultural significance enrich people's lives, often providing a deep and inspirational sense of connection to community and landscape, to the past and to live experience." Those places are characterized as historical records and important expressions of identity and experience.

Dennis Rodwell,[17] a Scottish consultant architect planner, has focused on the achievement of the best practices in the management of historic cities and the conservation of historic buildings. He sees the sense of architectural and urban conservation in their broader environmental agenda of (ecological) sustainability. According to him, we should offer historical cities, especially preindustrial cities, models of sustainable urban development functioning in a balanced ecological relationship within their subregions. He appeals to this principle of balance that we should recover for our industrialized world in the age of globalization. His analyses of the ideal historic city are based on those of the

[15] Ibid.

[16] *The Burra Charter*, 2013, Burwood, p. 1, https://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Burra-Charter-2013-Adopted-31.10.2013.pdf, accessed February 25, 2021.

[17] Dennis Rodwell, 1956, *Conservation and Sustainability in Historic Cities*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 205.

Italian architect and architectural historian, Gustavo Giovannoni. Giovannoni underlines the compactness of a historical city, its pedestrian pace, and rhythm of living, unlike modern cities with their possibilities of limitless expansion, faster pace and dynamism related to non-pedestrian forms of movement and the larger scale of their urban layout.[18]

Another heritage protection discourse touches not on the question of *why* to preserve monuments, but *what* monuments should be preserved. There are monuments meaningful and valuable for humankind (as it is written in the *UNESCO Convention*), such as the Acropolis in Athens, the Colosseum in Rome, and the pyramids in Egypt, regardless of the country in which they are located. In the *UNESCO Convention*, they are called universal monuments. However, the General Conference adds later in the *Convention* that other heritage not listed by UNESCO is of outstanding universal value as well. There are monuments of outstanding value to particular nations, cultures, and smaller communities. For the history and identity of the British these include Buckingham Palace, for Slovaks, Bratislava Castle, and for Catholics, St. Peter's Church in Rome. For experts in technology, it is important to see a working steam locomotive.

We want to highlight the links between a person and a heritage. To an elderly man, for example, a meaningful object can be associated with a sentimental emotion. It might be important to him to show his grandson an old factory in which he used to work hard. For many people, silver cutlery from a grandmother is important, and it has become a family heirloom passed on to their children. For professionals it can be a meaningful and valuable object with architectural and visual qualities as well as historical and educational value. According to *The Burra Charter*, it is an important to protect places with cultural significance.

Cultural significance is defined as aesthetic, historic, scientific, social, or spiritual value for the past, present, or future generations.[19] Muñoz[20] summarizes the factors that can determine the meaning or value of monuments to be protected or conserved: 1. history of the object; 2. artistry; 3. material components; 4. documentary efficiency; and 5. material function. Later he adds personal preferences as an important factor, such as a personal matrix of training, tech-

[18] Ibid., p. 34.

[19] *The Burra Charter*, 2013 (op. cit.), p. 2, https://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Burra-Charter-2013-Adopted-31.10.2013.pdf, accessed February 25, 2021.

[20] Salvador Muñoz, 2002, *Contemporary Theory of Conservation*, Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, p. 26.

nical, aesthetic, cultural, political, and metaphysical choices. We summarize the criteria for the selection of specific monuments (suitability, meaningfulness, and value) for protection in Figure 1.

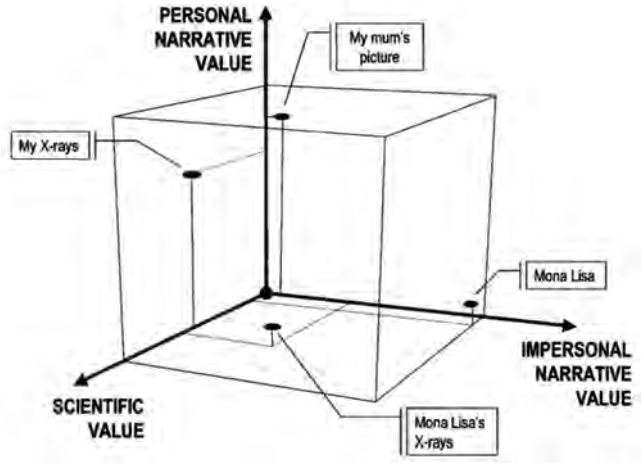


Figure 1. Factors determining the value/meaning of an object to be conserved according to Muñoz. Source: Salvador Muñoz, 2002, *Contemporary Theory of Conservation*, Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, p. 26.

International institutions in heritage protection and conservation

The first step in saving and protecting monuments is to arouse or provoke public interest. It can be very useful, and for a particular heritage it is often a question of its survival. Organizations and institutions play an irreplaceable role in this process. As authorities, they evoke respect, which can provide a very protective effect on monuments. In addition to respect, the commitment and attention of a national or international authority adds a kind of exclusivity to a monument. Each of us remembers that while visiting tourist attractions at home or abroad, we often meet most tourists at monuments that can be found on the UNESCO list. Several monuments have been rescued thanks to their inclusion on the *List of World Heritage in Danger*.[21]

UNESCO preserves 1,073 world heritage sites in 167 countries. As an advisory body to UNESCO, the International Centre for the Study of the Preser-

[21] *List of World Heritage in Danger*, https://whc.unesco.org/en/danger/, accessed February 26, 2021.

vation and Restoration of Cultural Property[22] (ICCROM) must be mentioned. It is a partner and supporter in safeguarding heritage in questions of the conservation of heritage to Member States. The ICCROM's global activities and initiatives include conservation training, information, research, cooperation, and advocacy with researchers, archaeologists, archivists, site managers, and museum curators. It also has one of the world leading conservation libraries, containing over 120,000 books, reports and specialized journals in several languages.

A third international organization working in the field of the conservation and protection of cultural heritage places is the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), a global non-governmental organization dedicated to promoting the application of theory, methodology, and scientific techniques to the conservation of heritage. The members of ICOMOS are architects, historians, archaeologists, geographers, urban planners, and other experts, and they can benefit from the professional exchange thanks to this network.

In cooperation with UNESCO, ICCROM and ICOMOS, the Nara Conference was held, in which *The Nara Document on Authenticity* was drafted. Its aim was to evaluate the value and authenticity of cultural property in relation to conservation. *The Nara Document* is an instrumental tool for the inscription procedures on the World Heritage List.

In connection with the protection of industrial heritage, we find it important to mention a special adviser to ICOMOS: The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage[23] (TICCIH), an organization with the goal of promoting international cooperation in preserving, conserving, investigating, documenting, researching, interpreting, and advancing education of industrial heritage. It supports the international cooperation of people in safeguarding, conserving, investigating, documenting, and researching all aspects of the industrial heritage throughout the world.

Crucial documents in heritage conservation and preservation

The guidance for the conservation processes and actions is provided by national and international charters and declarations. Going back to the history of conservation (18th and 19th centuries) it started with a focus on the protection of

[22] ICCROM, https://www.iccrom.org/about/overview/what-iccrom, accessed February 26, 2021.

[23] TICCIH, https://ticcih.org/about/, accessed February 26, 2021.

individual monuments and ensembles, such as castles, mansions, churches, and cathedrals. In 1877 a document was formed setting conservation standards, *Manifesto of the Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings* (1877), which introduced two principles of conservation:

1) a minimum of intervention, and
2) when a monument is no longer suitable for use without being altered or enlarged, it should be taken out of use and preserved as it stands.

The theories in the *Manifesto* were influenced by both Romanticism and rationalism. However, thanks to the museum and scientific concept of authenticity, and minimal interventions in this period, we not only retained several museums and places of cultural significance but also historical records and reliable information sources – the basis for the methodology of modern conservation. The *Manifesto* is often cited as the formal basis for architectural conservation.[24]

The first official document on restoration was published in 1931, the *Athens Charter*, based on the scientific principles for the preservation and restoration of historic monuments. It allowed and supported the use of modern materials and techniques in restoration work. It was a recognition of the importance of cultural heritage and its conservation.

Historical monuments are not only individual isolated monuments and sites; today conservation includes historical gardens, home architecture, vernacular architecture, historic areas of cities, and industrial archaeology. The educational, inspirational, romantic, and nostalgic preservation of individual buildings cannot be adapted in the expanding cities and urban planning processes of today. On one hand, people do not want to live in museums, even though aesthetic and sometimes nostalgic reasons or status are relatively strong bonds and motivational factors to live in such places. On the other hand, we want to live in and preserve precious and attractive cities, not to destroy them.

The late 18th century and the 19th brought about a concentration of factories in cities and migration from the countryside. The 20th century was accompanied by the dynamic development of transportation and commerce, which naturally enhanced the demand for more space. With growing cities, it became a relevant question whether the historic parts of cities should be set apart from contemporary life as historical and aesthetic tourist objects, or play socio-economic roles in the daily life of citizens.

[24] Dennis Rodwell, 1956, *Conservation and Sustainability in Historic Cities* (op. cit.), p. 43.

As a solution, the *Venice Charter* (1964) was created. It supported the use of modern techniques for conservation, and it extended the concept of historic monuments to include both urban and rural settings. The later documents the *European Charter* (1975) and the *Declaration of Amsterdam* added to this concept the importance of passing on heritage to future generations in its authentic form, and further on it recognized the social and economic values of heritage. The future of heritage depends on its integration into the context of people's lives. Thanks to this insight, historical sites and monuments can be included into the fabric of modern civil constructions.

Complemented solutions for dynamic development in cities were brought about by the *Washington Charter* (1987), representing the integral urban conservation of socio-economic development and urban and regional planning policies at all levels. The *Washington Charter* supports the multidisciplinary urban conservation and participation of residents.

The *Burra Charter* provides practical guidance for the conservation and management of important cultural and historical sites. It is based on changes in international charters and documents described above (e.g., the *Venice Charter*). In the introduction to the latest revision (2013), it provides several arguments for the importance of conservation of monuments. It summarizes the definitions of places, cultural significance and works with the interpretation of conservation measures for conservation, maintenance, restoration, reconstruction, adaptation, use, and compatible use.

Forms of heritage protection and conservation

In the *UNESCO Convention* document (mentioned above) it is written that the State Parties to the *Convention* recognize the duty to ensure the identification, protection, conservation, presentation, and transmission to future generations the cultural and natural heritage situated on the territory belonging primarily to each state. Let us now consider the main terms used in practice.

There are several key terms used in connection to the protection of heritage. Let us take a closer look at preservation, restoration, conservation, and reconstruction. The *Burra Charter*[25] devotes its first chapter to several definitions:

[25] *The Burra Charter*, 2013 (op. cit.), p. 2, https://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Burra-Charter-2013-Adopted-31.10.2013.pdf, accessed February 25, 2021.

Conservation means the processes of looking after a place to retain its cultural significance.

Maintenance means the continuous protective care of a place and its setting.

Preservation means maintaining a place in its existing state and retarding deterioration.

Restoration means returning a place to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by reassembling existing elements without the introduction of new material.

Reconstruction means returning a place to a known earlier state and is distinguished from restoration by the introduction of new material.

Two concepts of conservation of monuments are currently discussed in the field of conservation: scientific conservation and functional conservation.

Scientific conservation is based on the indispensable role of science for establishing truth and objectivity and efforts to protect the authenticity of (conservable) heritage with minimum intervention. In conservational practice, science should establish how the restored object should be, how it is at a given moment, and which conservation techniques and materials are most efficient, It also monitors the development of a conservation process.[26]

Changes in society in recent decades have led to a new conception of conservation, **functional conservation**. This theory of conservation leans on adding the social dimension to decision-making about the conservation of subjects. There is a need to involve not only scientists in the conservation decisions, but the negotiations concerning the heritage (conservable) should be conducted with professionals from tourism, economists and other communities and users. Muñoz[27] terms this 'negotiative conservation'.

When describing the idea of functional conservation in more detail, Gustavo Giovannoni must be mentioned, as he is a key figure in the field of integrating modern planning requirements into historic town centres. He saw the historic area of the city as a vibrant, closely interlinked component of its new, enlarged form, performing an essential and distinctive socio-economic role in the daily life of its citizens. He did not want to make the historic area of a city

[26] Salvador Muñoz, 2002, *Contemporary Theory of Conservation* (op. cit.), p. 30.
[27] Ibid., p. 31.

merely a subject of museum protection, or set it apart from contemporary life. Models of the harmonious integration of a modern historic town could also make a great contribution to a sustainable city of the kind Muñoz calls '*sustainable conservation*'.

Industrial heritage

Through tangible remnants, we can reflect upon the exchange between human labour and new technologies under development in the 18th and 19th centuries, when the continent became the cradle of the modern economy. The area of industrial history covers a wide range of disciplines, including archaeology, architecture, construction, engineering, protection, museology, technology, and urbanism. It also includes the exploration of the sites of buildings that were once used as industrial objects. Thanks to these buildings (those that have been preserved), we can monitor not only the development of architecture and the materials necessary for their construction, but also the development of the company itself. Industrial or technical heritage is a set of physical remnants related to industry. This includes industrial factories, and production and mining sites.

The *Industrial Heritage Charter*[28] defines this heritage as:

> Industrial heritage consists of remnants of industrial culture that have historical, technological, social, architectural or scientific value. These are various structures and machinery, workshops, factories, mills, warehouses, shops, mines, places where raw materials are processed and cleaned, and buildings where energy is produced, transmitted, and used. This includes transport structures and all infrastructure, places related to industry, including buildings used for housing, worship and education.

We have already mentioned the definition of the monument itself. However, we can define a technical monument as a unique and typical material remnant, referring to the development of technology and its levels in certain historical contexts and stages.

[28] TICCIH, https://ticcih.org/about/, accessed February 26, 2021.

Establishment, classification, and protection of industrial monuments

Until the 18th century, our ancestors worked mainly in the agricultural sector. Rural life, tillage, tooling, and animal husbandry were an integral part of everyday life. Everything changed, however, at the end of the 18th century, especially in England. It was during this period that the first machines were created to replace the human workforce. The English historian Arnold Toynbee named and popularized the process as the *Industrial Revolution*.

The *Preamble* to the *Charter of Industrial Heritage* states:

> From the earliest periods of human history, archaeological findings come from, documenting fundamental changes in the ways in which humans made objects. Today, we generally recognize the importance of maintaining and studying the evidence of these changes. In Europe, from the Middle Ages to the end of the 18th century, there were such substantial innovations in energy use, production, and trade that they could be compared to the difference between the Neolithic and Bronze age. The development of social, technical, and economic conditions of production was so rapid and fundamental that we could call it a revolution. From the outset, the Industrial Revolution was a historical phenomenon that increasingly affected the entire human population, but also other forms of life on our planet. This process continues to this day. The tangible evidence of these profound changes is of universal value to mankind, and we must therefore also recognize the importance of studying and preserving them.

In many people's minds, industry has little to do with culture. It is sometimes even seen as the antithesis of culture, as unused buildings from the past are referred to as environmental damage, the devastation of the territory, and the degradation of human expressions and social values. However, it is this part of national identity that also has a significant part in shaping contemporary culture.[29] This set of human activities and interpersonal relations was shaped by the collective and their joint work, which was reflected in not only the development of society but also in traditions that arose in a territory thanks to industrial enterprises (e.g., a technical tradition can become a symbol of a city). Buildings for industrial activity were designed and built for large-capacity, long-term production, and they had to withstand external influences. High-quality materials

[29] Heike Oevermann, Harald A. Mieg (eds.), 2015, *Industrial Heritage Sites in Transformation* (op. cit.), p. 40.

and the latest technologies were thus used in their construction. Architecture was also an integral part of their creation.

We can divide technical monuments into three groups:

a) **monuments of production** – The result and the source of technical work, these are so-called industrial monuments, which are linked to various industries such as mining, metallurgy, construction, energy, chemical, textile, and food production.
b) **monuments of technology** – They are the result of technical work, and this includes civil engineering.
c) **monuments of science** – These are professional workplaces equipped with scientific instruments such as planetariums, observatories, laboratories, and meteorological stations.

Securing, maintaining, renovating, financing, and especially protecting industrial monuments are very important activities in their preservation for future generations. As cultural monuments, industrial heritage is managed by organizations dedicated to saving them. One of the first movements to address the issue was the Sheffield Craft Tech Companies, founded in 1918 at the University of Sheffield to preserve elements of the city's industrial history and to support the study of the history of engineering and technology, including many monuments of the Industrial Revolution, such as steam engines, canals, iron bridges, machinery, and other historical artefacts.

In 1973, the first international conference on the conservation of industrial monuments was held in Shropshire. This conference led to the formal establishment in 1978 of the International Committee for the Preservation of the Industrial Heritage (now known as TICCIH) as a global organization for the promotion of industrial heritage. The aim of the TICCIH is to promote international cooperation in the protection, conservation, investigation, documentation, research, interpretation, and development of education relating to industrial heritage.

According to the *Industrial Heritage Charter*, the remnants of industrial heritage that need to be protected for future generations should be identified, documented, and protected in each territorial unit. The information obtained from the surveys of the territory should establish inventories of all sites that have been identified, and they should be freely accessible to the public. Digitalization and online access are other important objectives. The complete documentation of the physical characteristics and condition of a site should be drawn up and stored in public archives before any interventions are carried out.

In the past, the interest in preservation of tangible goods was mainly based on architecture in the form of churches, castles and manor houses, and care for technical monuments was neglected. That is why the European Commission has decided to support a solution in the form of research.

The *LUDA* (*Large Urban Distressed Areas Regeneration*) project was supported by the European Commission under the 5th Framework Programme of the European Union. The project focused on the methodology for the regeneration of large urban areas affected by degradation, and it featured the participation of major European cities. The project partners dealt with the affected territories and their regeneration, based on the knowledge that the degradation of these territories is a natural part of development.

This means that the development of settlements are currently marked by enormous dynamism in the development of human activities. It is precisely because of this rapid development that industrial production and its historical buildings are often forgotten. Other reasons include changes in the nature and technologies in the production of goods, market competition, and environmental reasons. These derelict and often unused industrial areas of cities are called *brownfields*.

With the term **brownfield** we characterize abandoned or worn production and trading areas that are suitable for new use with other functions. However, complications in the development of such an area can arise from the point of view of environmental protection and sustainable development. Other complications that arise in the restoration of *brownfields* include inactivity of the territory in terms of users, conditions in the property market, and even the unease of the owners. The LUDA project is focused on finding a sustainable way of regenerating the affected post-industrial sites, to preserve, exploit and develop the potential of these territories.

This concept is based on several objectives and aspects:

- to protect the culture valued by the local people and explore opportunities for the emergence of new forms of social and cultural development,
- to improve the perception and overall image of the development of specific functional areas, and
- to ensure physical availability.

Processes of regeneration of industrial monuments can be carried out according to these strategies:

- **Compensation** – replacement of original structures with new structures.

- **Adaptation** – based on the protection of an original nature (functional, social and physical).
- **Completion** – complementing an existing functional or physical structure in accordance with identified deficiencies.
- **Reconstruction** – restoration of existing structures with particular emphasis on maintaining their highest qualities.
- **Modernization** – improving the quality of amenities, through measures and innovations that will increase the value of an existing structure.
- **Humanization** – a strategy aimed at increasing the value of a structure in the direction of improving the quality of the environment.

In particular, the possibility of obtaining financial support is important in the process of restoring brownfields. This support can be obtained by self-financing, meaning private investment, based on public-private partnerships (PPP) projects or public projects.

Transformation of cultural heritage

Transformation or adaptive reuse seems to be a suitable solution for the preservation of monuments, and at the same time a tool for maintaining sustainability. One example of the transformation of heritage is the use of building materials from ancient buildings and uninhabited medieval castles for the construction of sacral and civil buildings during the Renaissance. Some of the building materials of the Colosseum and the Pantheon were used in the construction of the Church of St. Peter in Rome, while building material from medieval city walls was reused for new buildings. At present, this would be an efficient tool of the circular economy.

On a global scale, we can mention well-known objects whose original use was replaced by a new one, for example the Louvre, once the royal residence of French monarchs, is now the National Museum and Art Gallery of France. Reusing for new purposes is becoming more popular as a highly useful, ecological, and sustainable solution in cases of abandoned and out-of-use factories and industrial heritage.

The International Committee for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage (TICCHIC) defines industrial heritage as the remains of industrial culture which are of historical, technological, social, architectural, or scientific value. These remains consist of buildings and machinery; workshops, mills and factories;

mines and sites for processing and refining; warehouses and stores; places where energy is generated, transmitted, and used; transport and all its infrastructure; as well as places used for social activities related to industry such as housing, religious worship or education.[30] This industrial heritage gives evidence to the activities that had profound historical consequences to the community. According to the TICCHIC, this is the reason and motivation behind protecting industrial heritage and its universal value of evidence, not the singularity of unique sites.

Technological and scientific value is based on the history of manufacturing, engineering, and construction, and the social value is a part of the lives of ordinary women and men, providing them with an important sense of identity. Industrial heritage can also consist of machinery and, in this case, the main task of the conservation of industrial heritage is to bring back its functionality or functional integrity. An intervention should be considered with the aim of maintaining this integrity. A reduction of value and authenticity is foreseen in cases where any components, machinery, or important elements are destroyed or removed.

The other aspect of industrial heritage is made up of buildings, factories, coal mines, or metallurgy plants. They cannot be used for their original purposes when more efficient resources may be found in other regions of the world (this can be the case of mines), as production in factories and companies becomes no longer economically viable and they are closed. Adaptive reuse can bring new meaning to an abandoned industrial place, and it has been becoming increasingly popular for many reasons. A heritage site can be reused and at the same time we have a building or place for our new activities.

The aesthetic experience of the reused site or object is more intensive when an old industrial building is put to new active use, or a ruin forms a romantic and aesthetic image of the landscape. Industrial monuments often represent aesthetically unattractive objects, often being in the minds of people synonymous with a damaged environment and devastated landscapes. As a very good example, we can mention the former coal and steel production plant of Landschaftspark Duisburg in Germany,[31] located in a once-industrial area of Duisburg-Meiderich.

A polluted and aesthetically disturbing industrial site became an interesting recreation area with green parks. Each space within the main complex has

[30] TICCIH, https://ticcih.org/about/, accessed February 26, 2021.

[31] *Landschaftspark*, https://www.landschaftspark.de/, accessed February 26, 2021.

been reused/designed for a specific new use: concrete bunkers create a space for a series of intimate gardens; old gas tanks have become tanks for scuba divers; concrete walls are used by rock climbers; and one of the most central places of the factory, the former steel mill, has been made into a sort of main square (*piazza*). All structures and elements were reused with respect to their historic, social, aesthetic, and ecologic potential. There is a beautiful idea behind the concept: a personal story of a grandfather, who might have worked at the plant, could walk with his grandchildren, explaining what he used to do and what the machinery had been used for. This represents an important moment and a reason for saving heritage – to have the opportunity to pass memories on to the next generation.

When talking about the reuse of old structures, we often hear professionals asserting that new builds are always more economical, and renovation is usually more expensive. Adaptive reuse projects often come with uncertainty surrounding their profitability, and it is not always easy to recognize the potential of abandoned industrial heritage. Financing conservation and adaptive reuse projects in Europe can be done through different EU sources, regional development funds, or from the public or private sector, individually or jointly. Experience from good adaptive reuse projects shows that if a project is to be successful it should include representatives of all key local interests: experts with the requisite financial, legal, business, and conservation skills.

Case study – best practice in adaptive reuse in Slovakia: The forest railway in Čierny Balog

The Čierny Balog forest railway is located in the central part of Slovakia, around 250 km from the capital of Bratislava. The central part of Slovakia is a forested area where logging and timber were historically, and still are, crucial to the livelihoods of the local population. Waterways were initially used for the transport of the logs but in the first half of the 20th century more efficient railways (tramlines) with steam-powered locomotives were built. In Slovakia about 40 forest railways were built in this period in different parts of the country. The forest railway in Čierny Balog commenced operations in 1909. With a final length of almost 132 km, it transported logs from the forest down to sawmills in the surrounding villages. With the advent of new and more efficient technology, all the forest railways in Slovakia closed in the 1980s and were dismantled. Thanks to the initiative of an enthusiast, a former employee of the forest railway,

the railway was put on the *List of national heritage of Slovakia* in 1982. A year later, a group of architects began the reconstruction of the railway on a volunteer basis. This initiative began a tradition of volunteer summer camps, and the success of the camps led to the railway becoming a popular tourist attraction, transporting tourists to an open-air museum of forestry and wood technology, with the numbers of tourists growing every year.

It is a non-profit organization established for the conservation, protection and redevelopment of industrial heritage using the original narrow-gauge lines and infrastructure, with steam and diesel-powered locomotives used for transporting tourists. The old steam-powered locomotives are maintained and kept functioning partially in the workshops of locomotive enthusiasts, aided by professional companies specializing in the restoration of old machines. Money for more complex restoration and materials needed to maintain and keep the site in operation also comes from the *Slovak National Trust for Heritage,* some other trusts, and revenue from ticket sales.

Every object in this railway is an industrial monument. There are different types of wagons used, with the original ones partially adapted for the transport of tourists and for other marketing reasons (birthday trains, a Santa Claus train). The oldest locomotive is from 1906, and thanks to volunteers and enthusiasts it was rescued from a pile of rusted iron found abandoned and brought back to its original use in 2012. Locomotives, wagons, and other elements of the infrastructure have also been collected from various museums and resources from abroad. Currently, there are negotiations for the long-term loan of a unique Alishan Forest Railway steam locomotive from Thailand that would be the only one of this type working in Europe.

The attraction has a little forest railway museum explaining the history of the forest railway. The maintenance of the locomotives, wagons, and the entire infrastructure continues on the basis of volunteer summer camps. Moreover, all of the locomotive drivers are volunteers – professional drivers who spend their summer holidays fulfilling their nostalgic childhood dreams as engineers of steam-powered locomotives.

Summarizing the advantages of this adaptive reuse project, there are of course the revitalized and saved historic and technical value, and the economic profit for the village and the whole region in the form of guests staying in local hotels and pensions. The forest railway used to be a part of the romantic landscape and the social identity of the local people, as it was an important source of their livelihoods. Since 1992 the number of tourists visiting this attraction

has been growing and the village, far from the other popular tourist attractions close to Bratislava, has become an exclusive place to visit.

It is motivation for the other villages in the region with both quite high unemployment and a high number of abandoned industrial sites. Central area of Slovakia has the highest number of industrial heritage sites in the whole country, yet the majority of them are abandoned without any special projects or ideas for their revitalisation and reuse.

Questions

1. Find a good practice of adaptive reuse in your country. Characterize it.
2. Compare it with the forest railway in Čierny Balog.
3. What is the aim of the transformation of monuments and how it is carried out?

References

Bartošová Nina, Haberlandová Katarína, 2016, *Industrial Heritage in the Eyes of Expertise/Experience*, Bratislava: Slovak University of Technology in Bratislava, STU Publishers.

Bianconi Fabio, Filippucci Marco, 2019, *Landscape Lab*, Cham: Springer, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-94150-9.

The Burra Charter, 2013, Burwood, https://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Burra-Charter-2013-Adopted-31.10.2013.pdf.

Colavitti Anna Maria, 2018, *Urban Heritage Management: Planning with History*, Cham: Springer, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-72338-9.

Constitution, http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=15244&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

Convention, https://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf.

Czepczyński Mariusz, 2012, *Cultural Landscapes of Post-Socialist Cities*, London: Routledge.

European Heritage Label, https://ec.europa.eu/culture/cultural-heritage/initiatives-and-success-stories/european-heritage-label-sites.

Hirsch Marianne, 2012, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust*, New York: Columbia University Press.

ICCROM, https://www.iccrom.org/about/overview/what-iccrom.

ICOMOS, https://www.icomos.org/en/about-icomos/mission-and-vision/mission-and-vision.

International Council on Monuments and Sites, https://icomos.org.

Landschaftspark, https://www.landschaftspark.de/.

List of World Heritage in Danger, https://whc.unesco.org/en/danger/.

Muñoz Salvador, 2002, *Contemporary Theory of Conservation*, Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Nara Document on Authenticity, https://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf.

Oevermann Heike, Mieg Harald A. (eds.), 2015, *Industrial Heritage Sites in Transformation: Clash of Discourses*, London: Routledge, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315797991.

Parowicz Izabella, 2019, *Cultural Heritage Marketing*, Frankfurt: Palgrave Macmillan, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-00287-9.

Pecníková Jana, Slatinská Anna, 2017, *Jazyk – kultúra – identita*, Banska Bystrica: Belianum.

Rodwell Dennis, 1956, *Conservation and Sustainability in Historic Cities*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Taylor Ken, Mitchell Nora, St. Clair Archer (eds.), 2017, *Conserving Cultural Landscapes: Challenges and New Directions*, London: Routledge.

TICCIH, https://ticcih.org/about/.

https://doi.org/10.12797/9788381386708.04

Multicultural Krakow

The Role of International Heritage in Creating the Narrative of the City

JOANNA SONDEL-CEDARMAS
Jagiellonian University in Kraków

Cracow's historical and architectural urban centre,
which has evolved over a period of practically one thousand years,
constitutes one of the most remarkable artistic and cultural complexes
in this area of Europe […].
The city of Cracow, one of the major centres of Central European trade,
was at the same time a focal point of art and craftsmanship.
A number of eminent European artists worked there.
The art of the Italian Renaissance exerted a strong influence on Cracow,
but was enriched by local variations of style which added an important dimension
in the artistic vision of Europe.[1]

ABSTRACT

As the former capital of Poland and an important centre for the development of culture and science, for centuries Krakow has attracted foreigners who have helped to develop its economic might and cultural riches. Today, we can admire the traces of the material heritage of multiculturalism in terms of architecture, painting, and sculpture, both secular and religious. Equally important is their non-material contribution, which can

[1] "Cracow's Historic Centre", in: *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, July 18, 1978, Justification for inclusion in the World Heritage List. Cultural property, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/29/documents/, accessed September 8, 2021.

be discerned in Krakow's cuisine, language, legends and traditions. Examining Italian, Jewish and Austro-Hungarian influences, this text aims to present the role and use of this multicultural heritage in creating the contemporary image of the city. It is also an attempt to analyse the current strategy of the local authorities in the field of multicultural management and creating the image of an open and tolerant city.

Keywords: Krakow, multiculturalism, social memory, intercultural cities

1. Introduction

In Krakow, the former capital of Poland, the heritage and memory of many different cultures has accumulated in a particularly discernible manner. Its history is connected with the presence of Jews, Germans, Italians, Scots, and Armenians, who all contributed to its cultural and socio-economic development by settling in the city. Their influence was particularly marked in the heyday of Krakow, from the thirteenth century to the seventeenth century. As the seat of the royal court, the bishop's court, the Krakow Academy, and being the centre of international trade contacts, it was open to the world, as evidenced by its multi-ethnic character. After enjoying a period of spectacular development in the second half of the 17th century, it entered a phase of long-term crisis, characterized, among other things, by the loss of its multi-ethnic riches and increasing provincialisation.[2] The transfer of the Polish capital to Warsaw and the destruction of the city twice by the Swedes in the 17th century contributed to the gradual abandonment of Krakow by foreigners. The Third Partition and Poland's erasure from the map of Europe found the city within the borders of Austria, as part of Western Galicia. After a period of decline related to policies pursued by the Austrian authorities – apart from its brief interlude when it functioned as a free city (1815-1846) – it began to revive in the 1860s, during the so-called Galician autonomy. As with the rest of Galicia, it once again became a city strongly diversified in terms of ethnicity and religion. At the same time, due to the favourable conditions prevailing here for the development of Polish culture and national identity, its symbolic character and significance for the broader national culture began to take shape. As the former capital of Poland, the place

[2] Jacek Purchla, 2017, "Kraków od wieków międzynarodowy", in: *Kraków międzynarodowy: Materiały z sesji naukowej 7 maja 2016 roku*, Kraków: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, p. 6.

of the coronation and burial of Polish monarchs, it rose to the rank of a symbol of the Polish national idea, which was particularly important in the context of the then non-existent state.[3] The multicultural and multi-ethnic character of the city persisted after Poland regained independence in the interwar period. It was not until the years of the Nazi occupation (1939-1945), and then the period of the Polish People's Republic, that the multicultural wealth of the city would be erased by the deliberate actions of fascist and communist authorities alike.[4] As a result of the political and economic transformation in 1989, and in particular following Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004, the attitude and approach towards Krakow's multicultural memory began to change significantly.[5] Trying to create an image of a more open and tolerant city for the purposes of tourism, and to attract investment capital, local government authorities began to increasingly refer to its multicultural heritage.[6] Like Wrocław and Gdańsk, Krakow is one of Poland's most frequently visited cities thanks to its historical attractions. Not only is tourism rapidly developing in the city, but it is also pursuing a very extensive "industry" of external promotion, becoming an important centre of the so-called "creative economy."[7] By showing Krakow's Italian, Jewish, and Austro-Hungarian influences, which had a particular impact on its architectural, urban, cultural and social shape, this text aims to present the role and manner in which this multicultural heritage has been exploited to create the contemporary image of the city.[8] It is also an analysis of the current strategy of local authorities in the field of multicultural management.

3 Paweł Kubicki, 2010, *Miasto w sieci znaczeń: Kraków i jego tożsamości*, Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, p. 9.

4 Paweł Kubicki, 2012, "Pomiędzy pamięcią a historią: Polskie miasta wobec wielokulturowego dziedzictwa", *Pogranicze. Studia Społeczne* 20, p. 54.

5 Marcin Galent, Paweł Kubicki, 2010, "An Invisible Revolution: How the Urban Way of Life is Transforming the Identities of Poles", in: Magdalena Góra, Zdzisław Mach (eds.), *Collective Identity and Democracy: The Impact of EU Enlargement*, Oslo: Arena Centre for European Studies University of Oslo, pp. 205–247.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

8 As correctly noted by Marek S. Szczepański and Anna Śliz, the multiculturalism of cities is manifested both in cultural and social features, as well as at the level of urban architecture, which objectifies urban multiculturalism and consists of both sacred and national buildings. See Marek S. Szczepański, Anna Śliz, 2011, "Wielokulturowe miasta", *Przegląd Socjologiczny* 60: 2/3, pp. 47–66.

2. The multicultural city as a research subject

In some ways, the idea of multiculturalism is inscribed in the very essence of the city: Multicultural cities appeared at the very outset of the urbanization process, with Rome being arguably the oldest documented manifestation of urban multiculturalism. As noted by the Krakow sociologist Paweł Kubicki, cities have always attracted people of different social status, coming from different cultures and believing in different religions. By changing their place of residence, foreigners not only sought opportunities for personal development, but they also contributed to the economic and often the cultural dimensions of cities. As a result, policies of multiculturalism, especially the mechanisms of cooperation and respect for strangers, developed much earlier in local urban societies than in the policies of states.[9]

The term multiculturalism itself first appeared only in the late 1960s, in the Canadian debate on the structure and model of the state, although it initially referred to Canada's official biculturalism and bilingualism.[10] Many researchers have highlighted that it is an imprecise concept, one that can be defined in various ways. In this text, we will use a definition drawn from Polish sociology by Andrzej Sadowski, for whom multiculturalism is a specific category, a theoretical tool helpful in the analysis of the various forms of the coexistence of cultures. Sadowski stresses that we can only speak of the phenomenon of multiculturalism when the following processes take place: 1) permanent, multifaceted and voluntary forms of intercultural contacts are created, which lead to the creation of a new cultural and social whole; 2) the domination of the culture which had the status of the dominant culture in the state comes to an end; 3) the duration, development and regression of a given culture depend on the decisions of the supporters of a given culture themselves; 4) cultures are not dependent on politics, violence, or political and legal regulations, but are regulated by cultural norms; and 5) despite the occurrence of dynamic changes in cultural diversity in society, it maintains integrity to the extent that allows it to achieve the intended goals.[11] In other words, multiculturalism does not merely mean the phenomenon (fact) of the coexistence of two or more communities

[9] Paweł Kubicki, 2012, "Pomiędzy pamięcią a historią" (op. cit.), p. 54.

[10] Edward Możejko, 2004, "Wielka szansa czy iluzja. Wielokulturowość w dobie ponowoczesności", in: Wojciech Kalaga (ed.), *Dylematy wielokulturowości*, Kraków: Universitas.

[11] Andrzej Sadowski, 2011, "Socjologia wielokulturowości jako nowa subdyscyplina socjologiczna", *Pogranicze. Studia Społeczne* 18, pp. 5–25.

(groups) equipped with autonomous or separate cultures in a given society, since this would be merely cultural diversity.[12] Multiculturalism means that in a culturally diverse society, on the basis of long-term and permanent intercultural contacts, most often within the framework of common citizenship, socio-cultural integration is so advanced that a qualitatively new society of many cultures is created, capable of achieving common goals. As Kubicki rightly noted, in the case of Polish society, which is rather homogeneous by contemporary European standards, the policy of multiculturalism was realized more on the level of memory than the phenomenology of everyday life. With regard to Polish cities, which, although quite culturally diverse until the outbreak of World War II, it is difficult to discern anything akin to multicultural policy. According to Kubicki, the relations between various ethnic and religious groups were closer to the model of "market pluralism". During the People's Republic of Poland, for political and economic reasons, Polish cities did not experience a massive influx of economic migrants, which was a characteristic phenomenon in the second half of the 20th century in Western Europe. As a consequence, the issue of multiculturalism in Poland has taken on a different character: it is not as much about regulating mutual social relations as it is about collective memory. There is no doubt, however, that the heritage and memory of various cultures have accumulated in Polish cities.

3. The multicultural heritage of Krakow and its role in the creation of the narrative of the city

In the 13th and 17th centuries, Krakow, as the capital of Poland, as well being as a city of success and prosperity, was clearly multi-ethnic. It attracted foreigners, primarily Germans, Italians, and Jews, but also Hungarians, Armenians, and Scots, who all contributed to its cultural and economic greatness. It was founded in 1257 under German (Magdeburg) law, in the Middle Ages, and later in the 16th and 17th centuries it was the seat of the royal court and the bishop's court, as well as home to a university. It conducted lively international trade contacts and maintained important cultural ties. According to Józef Mitkowski, about 5,000 Poles, 3,500 Germans, and 800 Jews lived in Krakow in the

[12] Ibid., pp. 18–19.

14th century.[13] Despite the predominance of the Polish population, Krakow was dominated by German burghers who formed the power elite until the first half of the 16th century. Consisting mainly of great merchants, they also presided over craft guilds, especially the most prestigious and profitable ones (such as goldsmiths and furriers).[14] Later, the proportions among the various ethnic groups began to change. This was influenced on the one hand by permanent immigration to Krakow, and on the other by the fact that at the beginning of the 16th century, a modern national sentiment began to emerge, a result of which was the polonisation of the upper class of the Krakow bourgeoisie.[15] Leszek Belzyt, using the criterion of the sound of surnames, estimated that approximately 13,000 Poles (85%), 1,500 Germans (10%) and 450 Italians (3%) lived in Kraków at the beginning of the 17th century. The remaining ethnic groups numbered about 300 people, including over 100 Scots, 50 Hungarians, and 50 French.[16] The coexistence of various ethnic groups was generally peaceful. As Zdzisław Noga rightly noted, the community of that time was divided not so much by national differences, but rather by their place in the social structure, property status and the professions related to it, and, during the Reformation, by religion.[17] However, the full assimilation of immigrants is evidenced by the fact that many of them performed honourable functions and offices in the city, among the university authorities, and at the royal court. According to Danuta Quirini-Popławska, from 1343, when the mayor was the Genoese Frederick Gallik (Fridericus Gakkus), many Italians performed this honourable function until 1778.[18] From the moment of its founding in 1558, by King Sigismund II Augustus, the Post Office of the Kingdom of Poland, which operated

[13] Józef Mitkowski, 1978, "Nationality Problems and Patterns in Medieval Polish Towns: The Example of Cracow", *Prace Historyczne. Zeszyty Naukowe UJ* 59, pp. 31–42.

[14] Jerzy Wyrozumski, 1992, "Kraków do schyłku wieków średnich", in: Janina Bieniarzówna, Jan M. Małecki (eds.), *Dzieje Krakowa*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, pp. 164–166.

[15] Zdzisław Noga, 2017, "Niemcy w Krakowie w dobie staropolskiej", in: *Kraków międzynarodowy* (op. cit.), pp. 11–14.

[16] Leszek Belzyt, 1999, *Kraków i Praga około 1600 roku: Porównanie topograficznych i demograficznych aspektów struktury społecznej i etnicznej dwóch metropolii Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, Toruń: Adam Marszałek. Cit. Zdzisław Noga, 2017, "Niemcy w Krakowie w dobie staropolskiej" (op. cit.), p. 11.

[17] Zdzisław Noga, 2017, "Niemcy w Krakowie w dobie staropolskiej" (op. cit.), p. 24.

[18] From the 14th to the 16th century, 9 Italians served as mayor. In the 17th century, the role was filled by 33 and in the 18th (until 1778) by 13 others. See Danuta Quirini-Popławska, 2017, "Rola i znaczenie działalności Włochów w Krakowie od średniowiecza do XVIII wieku", in: *Kraków międzynarodowy* (op. cit.), pp. 56–57.

between Krakow and Venice, Italians also acted as its managers.[19] From the 15th century on, many Jewish doctors from Italy or Spain worked at the royal court; Hungarian goldsmiths were also highly valued. However, the Jews who appeared in Krakow as early as the Middle Ages and for the next seven centuries formed an integral part of it left a particularly strong mark on the city's identity. Thanks to the privileges granted by King Casimir the Great, they had their own legislation, courts, and local government institutions.[20] Judicial and religious autonomy led to an increase in their numbers.[21] In the 14th century, the Jews of Kraków already had their own community in the city, which numbered about 800 people (8.65% of the population). In the second half of the 14th century, a second community was established in Kazimierz, which, after the Jews were moved from the centre of Krakow after a fire in 1459, more than doubled in population by the 1670s, reaching 2,000. Krakow at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries became a valued home of Jewish science and thought. Among the Krakow rabbinic scholars whose fame went beyond the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, worthy of mention are Jakub the Pole (1460-1530), the creator of a new method of studying the Talmud called *pilpul* or *chiluki*; the rector of the yeshiva, Mojżesz Isserles (1525/1530-1572); and Jomtow Heeller (1579-1654), author of commentaries on the six Mishnah orders. Historical and mystical studies were also developed here, such as those of Dawid Gans from Prague (1541-1613), the author of the famous chronicle of the world, or Natan Nate Hannover (1610-1683) from Ostroh, who lectured on the Kabbalah in Krakow. Before 1939, the Jewish community numbered about 60,000, a quarter of the entire population of Krakow. In the interwar period, there were as many as 18 Jewish clubs and sports societies. Among the notable figures of Jewish origin were Rector of the Jagiellonian University Władysław Natanson

[19] Its first manager was Prosper Provana from Piedmont. In 1562 it was headed by Cristofo de Taxis, an Italian in the service of the Emperor, and from 1564 it was administered by Sebastano Monteluppi, who fulfilled the role until his death in 1600. Ibid., p. 42.

[20] In 1334, Casimir the Great confirmed the privilege of Kalisz for the Jews of Greater Poland from 1264, and with the general privilege of 1364, he extended to the territory of the entire Polish Kingdom the validity of the provisions of the Kalisz privilege, which gave Jews the right to unrestricted trade and usury, as well as guarantees of personal safety and respect for synagogues and cemeteries.

[21] In the 16th century, many refugees from Bohemia and Silesia came to Kazimierz, and then from Italy and Vienna (in 1670), who took refuge in Poland by fleeing persecution or in the hope of improving their financial situation. See: Leszek Hońdo, 2017, "Żydzi w Krakowie (od XIV do XVIII wieku)", in: *Kraków międzynarodowy* (op. cit.), p. 63.

(1864-1937), the city Mayor Maurycy Kapellner (Mieczysław Kaplicki) (1875-1959), and one of the leading figures of Zionism, the outstanding parliamentarian of the Second Polish Republic, Ozjasz Thon (1870-1936).[22]

3.1. The Italian influence on the shaping of Krakow's heritage

The Italian community began to settle in Krakow from the 15th century, although the influence of Italian culture was already marked in the Middle Ages. During the Piast Poland period, in the 12th and 13th centuries, the first monks, abbots, and apostolic nuncios, came to Krakow from Italy, followed by merchants. The activity of Italians in the 15th and 16th centuries developed around the royal court, the Academy at the University of Krakow, and in the urban sphere, with merchants, bankers, miners, leaseholders of customs and tolls, as well as builders and architects. In the first half of the 15th century, new humanistic ideas reached Poland from Italy. Filippo Buonaccorsi (known as Callimachus), a poet, political writer, advisor and teacher to the sons of King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, as well as a lecturer at the Krakow Academy, played a special role in promoting them. In the 16th century, many Polish bishops studied in Italy (including Bishop Piotr Tomicki, who obtained a doctorate in Bologna in 1500), and then employed Italian secretaries, medics and humanists at their courts. Numerous Italians came to Poland with the court of Princess Bona Sforza, who married King Sigismund I in 1518, then found employment in the royal chancellery, as well as servants, doctors, artists and craftsmen. Bona not only introduced the Italian fashion in dress to the royal court, reorganized the Wawel orchestra, and initiated a collection of tapestries[23] and the Wawel gardens, but she also contributed to changing the culinary tastes of Poles. She imported a large amount of Italian fruit and vegetables, in particular citrus (oranges and mandarins), pomegranates, figs, apricots, olives and almonds, thus contributing to their popularization in Poland. She also introduced a trend toward herbs, including marjoram, basil, rosemary, and thyme, the seeds of which were imported from Italy and planted in the castle gardens. It is no coincidence that this Italian influence was also marked on the linguistic level. The Polish names of

[22] Jacek Purchla, Aleksander B. Skotnicki, 2007, "Przywrócić pamięć", in: *Świat przed katastrofą: Żydzi krakowscy w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym*, Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, p. 5.

[23] Katarzyna Siwiec, Mieczysław Czuma, Leszek Mazan, 2015, *Włoska Małopolska*, Cieszyn: Pracownia na Pastwiskach, p. 68.

many vegetables (tomatoes, lettuce), fruit (mandarins, oranges) and herbs are derived from Italian.[24] It should be noted that a form of commemorating this intangible Italian culinary heritage is the Świętojański Fair, organized annually from June 16 to 18 in Krakow, featuring an activity known as "In the kitchen of Queen Bona."[25] The Italian influence was most pronounced in the 16th and 17th centuries in terms of architecture, sculpture and painting. Italian architects and builders worked on the reconstruction of Wawel Castle at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries and also designed palaces, churches, and most of the Renaissance tombstones of Polish rulers and secular and religious magnates. Among the most outstanding architects were: Bartolomeo Berecci, the designer of the Wawel courtyard and the creator of Sigismund Chapel, called "the pearl of the Renaissance from this side of the Alps" and considered the most outstanding work of the Polish Renaissance, and the tombs of King Sigismund the Old and Bishop Piotr Tomicki; Giovanni Maria Padovano, also known as Mosca, creator of the statue of Bishop Piotr Gamrat in the Wawel Cathedral, the ciborium in St. Mary's Church, and the Cloth Hall (in 1556-1559); Santi Gucci, court architect, sculptor of the last Jagiellonians, and the creator of the tombstones of Sigismund August and Anna Jagiellon in the Sigismund Chapel, and Stefan Batory in the Chapel of Stefan Batory in the Chapel of St. Mary, and also the reconstruction of the royal castle in Niepołomice and the mascarons decorating the attic of the Cloth Hall.[26] We should also mention here the wealthy patrician families who came from Italy, including the Boners, who funded valuable works of art, mainly for St. Mary's Church. At the same time, the Italian master architects, Pankracy, Giovanni Maria Padovano and Santi Gucci, rebuilt the old gothic Cloth Hall in the spirit of the Renaissance after it had been destroyed by fire in 1555. From 1545, the goldsmith and copper engraving artist Gian Giacomo Caraglia was active in the court of Sigismund Augustus, where he created medals with images of the ruling family, and was awarded the title of Golden Knight (*eques auratus*). The most famous Italian painter in Krakow was Tommaso Dolabella of Belluno (around 1570-1650), who was brought in

[24] For example, *Pomodoro, insalata, mandarini, arance, ulivi, maggiorana, rosmarino, basilico* etc. See Stanisław Widłak, 2006, *Italia e Polonia: Popoli e Lingue in Contatto*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, p. 70.

[25] See: Katarzyna Bik, 2004, "Raj rozkoszy ziemskich", *Gazeta Wyborcza*, July 16, https://kultura.onet.pl/wiadomosci/w-kuchni-z-bona-renesansowe-atrakcje-kulinarne-krakowskiego-jarmarku-swietojanskiego/c88884e, accessed February 14, 2021.

[26] Danuta Quirini-Popławska, 2017, "Rola i znaczenie działalności Włochów w Krakowie od średniowiecza do XVIII wieku" (op. cit.), pp. 50–51.

by Sigismund III Vasa in 1598 to decorate Wawel. The most numerous collection of his works on religious, historical and battle themes has been preserved in the Dominican Church and Monastery. At the end of the 17th century, on the initiative of university professors, the Church of St. Anne, considered the most outstanding example of Polish Baroque, was designed by the Dutch architect Tylman van Gameren. The execution of the stucco interior of the temple was entrusted to an Italian sculptor, Baltazar Fontana. Fontana, considered an artist whose works refer in the style of Gian Lorenzo Bernini, also designed the interior of the Romanesque Church of St. Andrew and a number of stuccoes in tenement houses. In the 18th century, Francesco Placidi, the builder of the Trinitarian Church in Kazimierz and the façade of the Piarist Church, was also active in Kraków.

During the period of the loss of Poland's independence and the fight for national liberation in the 19th century known as "For your freedom and ours", Krakow became known as the Polish Piedmont. The participation of Italian volunteers fighting in the January Uprising also testifies to the Polish-Italian affinities of that period. A street in Krakow is dedicated to the honour of Francesco Nullo, a follower of Garibaldi who died on May 5, 1863 in the battle of Krzykawka near Ojców. Currently, Italian traditions are cultivated by the Italian Institute, which has been in operation in Grodzka Street since 1929, organizing lectures, conferences, film screenings and language courses. Since 1992, Italicus Bookstore and Italian Cafe at 11 Kremerowska Street, has been selling Italian books and newspapers and genuine espresso coffee. It also holds regular lectures on Italian culture and book promotions. Italian cuisine is also very popular in Krakow, with restaurants, trattorias, pizzerias and ice cream parlours run by native Italians becoming a permanent part of the city's landscape.

3.2. Jewish heritage in Krakow

The centuries-old presence of Jews in Krakow made its mark particularly on the urban and architectural face of Kazimierz, where a unique complex of objects related to the specific needs of the Jewish community has been preserved to the present day.[27] It should be noted that in the 14th century Jews initially

[27] While they were expelled or subjected to forced Christianization in Western Europe, their unique lifestyle, religious identity, customs, language, and socio-economic circumstances were respected for many centuries in Poland. They could freely develop their culture and

lived in the very centre of the city , on territory stretching from today's Gołębia Street to St. Thomas' Street and, above all, on St. Anne's Street, was which home to two synagogues and cemeteries and in sources from 1304 was called *Jugengasse* (Jewish Street). In 1469, the Krakow parish bought the Jewish houses on St. Anne's Street, handing them over to the University, and the Jews moved to another part of the city, in the vicinity of St. Thomas and Sławkowska Streets and the Church of St. Stephen.

In 1495, after the great city fire for which the Jews of Kraków were blamed, King Jan Olbracht issued an order to transfer them from Kraków to Kazimierz. The Jewish district, which developed around Szeroka Street and the Church of St. Wawrzyńca, was known as the Jewish Town (*Oppidum Judeorum*) and occupied one-fifth of the whole area of Kazimierz.[28] The oldest Jewish monuments in Kazimierz date from this period: the Old Synagogue, dating back to the beginning of the 15th century and rebuilt in 1570 by the aforementioned Italian architect Santi Gucci, as well as Remuh Synagogue, the High Synagogue, and Kupa Synagogue. There is also the former building of the great *mikvah*, a ritual bath dating back to the 16th century. At the beginning of the 17th century, Popper Synagogue was built, and in 1640-1644 Izaak (Jakubowicz) synagogue, with others built during the period of Galician autonomy, 1867-1918. It is worth mentioning the Israel Meisels, B`nei Emuna, Chevra Kadisza, and Chevra Tchilim houses of prayer, as well as the progressive Tempel Synagogue at 24 Miodowa Street. From 1959, the Old Synagogue has housed the Jewish history museum, a branch of the Historical Museum of the City of Krakow, displaying old liturgical equipment, items related to Jewish customs, and photographs and paintings depicting the life and culture of Krakow Jews. Currently, the only active synagogue in Kazimierz is Remuh Synagogue, founded in 1553 by the wealthy merchant Israel Isserl. The Remuh Cemetery, opened in 1552, is one of the oldest in Europe and has been preserved to this day.[29] Although the old necropolis was officially closed in 1805 when a new Jewish cemetery was established in Miodowa Street, it still functions as a museum to this day. Despite

education, and to cultivate their traditions, which also influenced the specific layout of their districts. See: Barbara Zbroja, 2007, "Zapomniane dziedzictwo: Architektura żydowskiego Krakowa", in: *Świat przed katastrofą* (op. cit.), p. 43.

[28] Leszek Hońdo, 2017, "Żydzi w Krakowie (od XIV do XVIII wieku)" (op. cit.), p. 64.

[29] In 1533 the Jewish authorities bought the land near the Remuh synagogue for the cemetery, but it was only in 1551 that it was opened. It was in use until 1799 when the Austrian authorities recommended its closure and bought land for a new cemetery on Miodowa Street. Ibid., p. 66.

the destruction inflicted by the Nazis during World War II, many Renaissance and Baroque tombstones have been preserved here, and on the eastern wall there is the so-called "Wailing Wall", made of the remains of tombstones that were broken by the Germans during the occupation.[30]

Significant architectural changes took place in the 19th century, when Kazimierz, which had functioned as a separate city from the 14th century, was incorporated into Krakow in 1800. As a result of the constitution of 1867, which granted the Jews of Krakow civic rights, and thus the option of choosing a place to settle, the district became the centre of the poorest, mainly Orthodox, Jewish population. This situation lasted for twenty years until the outbreak of World War II, giving Kazimierz a unique atmosphere which Karol Estreicher described in the following words:

> In the evenings of holy days, Kazimierz quietens and calms down. Jews walk the streets dressed in long coats and hats trimmed with fox fur, and the lights of incandescent candles shine from the windows of the houses. The faithful fill the synagogues: the Old Synagogue, Remuh, Wysoka and others. The Jewish cities create a strange, charming picture.[31]

In September 1939, the Germans resettled nearly 70,000 Jews in Krakow and soon began their planned liquidation and the looting and destruction of their property. In 1941, a ghetto was established, from where the road led to the death camps in Birkenau, Auschwitz, and Bełzec, or to the nearby camp in Płaszów. After the liberation of Krakow, Kazimierz did not return to its previous state, although since the 1990s there have been initiatives related to the revalorization of its heritage. The Jewish Culture Festival has been held since 1988, and it plays an important role on the cultural scene in Krakow. Through lectures, events, meetings with artists, film screenings and workshops, it aims to present contemporary Jewish culture. The culmination of the music program is "Shalom on Szeroka", a 7-hour concert for an audience of approximately 15,000 known as the "Jewish Woodstock". Steven Spielberg's 1993 film Schindler's List played a key role in raising awareness of Jewish Kazimierz. Many travel agencies, sensing the boom that was to follow the film, offered tourists the chance to walk 'In the footsteps of Oscar Schindler', including a sightseeing tour of

[30] Michał Rożek, 1990, *Żydowskie zabytki krakowskiego Kazimierza: Krótki przewodnik*, Kraków: Oficyna Cracovia, p. 25.

[31] Cit. Agnieszka Sabor, 2007, "Co dalej z pamięcią?", in: *Świat przed katastrofą* (op. cit.), p. 10.

Kazimierz, the ghetto and the grounds of the Płaszów camp.[32] Szeroka Street is home to numerous Jewish restaurants such as Ariel, Ester Restaurant and the Klezmer-Hois, serving kosher dishes and food from the Jewish culinary tradition, such as goose livers fried with almonds, cholent, gefilte fish (Jewish carp), and vegetables baked with meat or groats. Since 2004, the Galicia Jewish Museum at 18 Dajwór Street has been operating in Kazimierz, with the exhibitions 'In the Footsteps of Memory' and 'Unfinished Memory' presenting the 800 years of Jewish heritage in Poland. It also organizes temporary exhibitions, workshops and discussions to show the history and culture of Jews from a new perspective. The publishing house 'Austeria' has been exploring the forgotten world of pre-war traditions and Jewish literature since 2002.

3.3. Multicultural Galicia: Austro-Hungarian heritage in Krakow

Among the Galician myths, perhaps the most widespread is that of multicultural and multinational Galicia as a kind of melting pot of cultures in which various ethnic, national and religious groups coexisted and enriched each other: Poles, Ukrainians and Jews. It is a fact that the liberalization taking place in Austria from the 1860s and the long reign of Franz Joseph I favoured the economic development of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, the flourishing of its political and cultural autonomy, and the national emancipation of its inhabitants. In particular, the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries is identified with the concept of a "happy country" (*Galicia felix*), although in fact it was a period of growing national and social conflict.[33]

A special affinity with Vienna has survived in Krakow.[34] Already in the 1970s and 1980s, the fashion of hanging portraits of Franz Józef I appeared here, which – as Jacek Purchla noted – was a kind of protest against Sovietization and part of discovering the heritage of Galicia as a phenomenon of Central Europe.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Jacek Purchla et al. (eds.), 2004, *Mit Galicji*, Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury.

[34] It should be noted that although Krakow was incorporated into the Kingdom of Galicia under the rule of the Habsburgs after the Third Partition of Poland in 1795, as part of the so-called Western Galicia, in 1809 during the Napoleonic Wars Austria lost the lands north of the Vistula along with the city and from the Congress of Vienna in 1815 to the defeat of the Krakow Uprising in 1846. Krakow and the surrounding towns had the status of a free city. Only later did the Republic of Krakow become part of Galicia and this state of affairs lasted until 1918.

The Viennese influence was, however, reflected primarily in the city's architecture. Buildings in the Viennese style include the seat of the Municipal Savings Bank at 15 Szpitalna Street, erected according to the design of the architect Karol Borkowski, the main designer of the Wiener Cottage-Verein; the pavilion of the Society of Friends of Fine Arts on Szczepański Square (from 1898-1901), the detail of which clearly refers to the 'wire' style of the Viennese Secession; and City Theatre, built according to a design by a graduate of the Viennese Polytechnic University, Jan Zawiejski, with clear references to the Viennese School of architecture. The building of the Railway Directorate on Matejko Square, constructed in 1888-1889, is redolent of the buildings on Vienna's *Ringstrasse*. To this day, some classic buildings on Rynek Podgórski (the district established by the Austrian authorities as a new city in 1784) have also been preserved, and are considered a good example of Josephinism in Galician architecture at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries. The Austrian influence is also discernible in the military architecture of the city, one of the consequences of Austrian attempts to transform it into a fortress. According to the project to fortify the city based on plans sent from Vienna in the 1850s, four forts were built: Kościuszko, Krakus, Grzegórzecka Luneta, and Warsaw Luneta. In 1856-1865, the entire fortification system was modernized, which ultimately led to the city being surrounded by three rings of fortifications. Apart from the fortifications around Kościuszko Mound, complexes of barracks (the so-called Archduke Rudolf's barracks at Warszawska Street) were built in Krzemionki in 1871-1877. It is the best-preserved group of forts from the 19th and early 20th centuries in Poland.

The immaterial influence of the heritage of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy is of equal importance. It should be emphasized that in Galician times Krakow was not only in the same country as Vienna, but Venice and Trieste as well. It is here that the first cafe gardens in Poland appeared as a symbol of Mediterranean culture and customs, which shapes the unique atmosphere of Krakow's Market Square to this day. When it comes to culinary influences, the most popular contributions of Austrian cuisine to the modern menu are the *Wiener Schnitzel* and a bastardized version known as the *kotlet schabowy*.[35] Recipes for such dishes as cold pork brawn in aspic (served in Krakow with mustard sauce), or Zator style carp stuffed with cheese, eggs and mushrooms are also Viennese in

[35] The *Wiener Schnitzel* is associated with Siege of Milan, where it was known as *cotoletta alla milanese,* and from where it was transferred to Vienna by Field Marshal Radecki. In Vienna, one key ingredient was changed: instead of being fried in butter, lard was preferred, and wheat breadcrumbs were typically used in the Viennese variant.

origin. Among the desserts originating from the Viennese court, apart from the Sacher torte, a chocolate cake invented by a representative of the famous Viennese confectioner dynasty, filled with marmalade and covered with chocolate ganache, one should mention semolina cake with dried fruit, Viennese cheesecake, strudel served hot (considered to be the favourite dessert of Franz Józef I) and *piszynger*, a cake made of crunchy wafers with a slightly alcoholic chocolate filling, named after the Viennese confectioner Oskar Pischinger. It should be noted that the Austro-Hungarian influence was also visible in the popularization of stews and brands of paprika in Galicia, prepared in the Viennese fashion in the form of meat stewed with onions and peppers. Czech culinary influences, in turn, include all kinds of potato dumplings with the addition of apricots and plums. Eastern influences have also had considerable influence on the culinary traditions of Krakow, especially Ruthenian and Ukrainian. Ukrainian cuisine is distinguished in particular by a variety of dumplings and grits, as well as three types of borscht: red beetroot with meat stock, plain with pork scratchings, and a Lenten version with an oil base. The Ukrainian culinary legacy also includes various types of cabbage rolls and stuffed peppers. Finally, we should also mention *sztangielki* and *kajzerki*, small buns marked with a characteristic cross on top. These supposedly owe their name to Emperor Franz Joseph I, who according to tradition was particularly fond of this type of bread.[36] It is worth noting that Galician culinary traditions were cultivated until relatively recently on Bracka Street by the C.K. Dezerter restaurant, where both the decor and menu were redolent of the atmosphere of the times of the Dual Monarchy.

4. Kraków as a contemporary multicultural city

As noted by Marek S. Szczepański and Anna Śliz, the multiculturalism of contemporary cities is a special effect of today's migration revolution which, thanks to the compression of space and time, favours the movement of people to big cities. Migrants moving from different parts of the world bring with them different cultural patterns, axiological and normative systems and languages. They erect buildings imitating native architecture.[37] Hence, contemporary metropolises are clearly multicultural. The American historian and lawyer Stanley Fish

[36] Robert Makłowicz, 1995, *CK kuchnia*, Kraków: Prószyński i S-ka, p. 25.

[37] Marek S. Szczepański, Anna Śliz, 2011, "Wielokulturowe miasta" (op. cit.), p. 63.

made a distinction between so-called boutique multiculturalism, which is characterized by the introduction of symbols to the social space identifying cultural diversity, such as ethnic restaurants and weekend festivals which are a manifestation of a different ethnic culture, and strong multiculturalism, which mainly amounts to national and ethnic diversity. Contemporary global metropolises combine both strong and boutique multiculturalism in their spaces.[38]

When it comes to Polish metropolises, Krakow is the second city after Warsaw in terms of diverse populations.[39] This is because it is an important academic centre and a place where important economic investments are located, attracting foreign capital. The city is also one of the most attractive tourist destinations in Europe.

Like other European metropolises, Krakow implements many initiatives in line with the assumptions of policies of openness, multiculturalism and integration. In particular, the local government authorities pursue an active policy of counteracting all manifestations of racism and xenophobia. To this end, in 2012-2016, based on the funds of the Fundacja im. Stefan Batory and in cooperation with the Interkulturalni.pl Association, a program was carried out under the banner of "Krakow against racism and xenophobia". Its main goal was to develop a strategy for preventing and responding to racist and xenophobic events in the city's public space. This task was to be dealt with by a specially appointed

[38] Stanley Fish, 1997, "Boutique Multiculturalism or Why Liberale Are Incapable of Thinking about Hale Speech", *Critical Inquiry* 22:2, pp. 378–395. Cit. ibid.

[39] According to the *Imigranci w Krakowie w 2020 roku* report, Ukrainians comprise the largest immigrant group in the city. It is the largest group of immigrants from Eastern Europe, followed by Belarusians and Russians (7% and 6% respectively). When it comes to groups from EU countries in Kraków, Italians (14%) and Spaniards (11%) are the most numerous, followed by French and Germans. As for Asians, the most numerous are Indians (33%), Vietnamese (11%) and Turks (10%). The greatest number of immigrants from North America come from the USA (85%), while from Australia and Oceania the only sizable group are made up of Australians (also 85%), South America is primarily represented by Brazilian citizens (51%) and Mexicans (14%). There are also quite a few Colombians, Venezuelans and representatives of the Argentine minority. Among Africans, the most common are Egyptians (21%), Tunisians (13%), Moroccans (11%) and Algerians (10%). See: Konrad Pędziwiatr, Marcin Stonawski, Jan Brzozowski, *Imigranci w Krakowie w 2020 roku*, Kraków: Centrum Zaawansowanych Badań Ludnościowych i Religijnych, Uniwersytet Ekonomiczny w Krakowie, https://owim.uek.krakow.pl/wp-content/uploads/user-files/reports/OWIM_Raport_Demograficzny2020revised.pdf, accessed July 14, 2021.

team of representatives of non-governmental organizations, departments of the Krakow municipal authorities, and organizational units.[40]

In 2016, the City Council adopted the "Open Kraków Program", which envisages a number of activities at the institutional and social level, aimed at building a society living in a community, tapping the potential of representatives of national and ethnic minorities and foreigners for development. As explained in the introduction, a fuller use of the human, economic and cultural potential of representatives of other cultures, nationalities and world views, while maintaining harmony and mutual respect, is meant to contribute to the implementation of the idea of Krakow as an open and friendly city, able to utilize the social capital that arises from cultural diversity and an atmosphere of openness to a multicultural environment.[41] The projects implemented under this program are aimed at shaping a sense of solidarity, tolerance and multicultural awareness among the city's residents, as well as developing knowledge about the cultures and customs of people of other nationalities. The program also translates into activities aimed at identifying and solving problems related to the functioning of an intercultural society in the community. For example, the project "Mine, Yours, Ours. Faces of Krakow" is part of the task of promoting Krakow as a city open to cultural and ethnic diversity, and this was carried out in cooperation with the informal group Multicultural Krakow and NKF Independent Photo Club. It consisted of an exhibition of photos and interviews presenting the cultural, national and religious wealth of the city, and it featured twelve representatives of various nationalities and religions: Syrian, Polish-Jewish, Georgian, Polish-Romani, Lithuanian, Czech, Ukrainian, American, Scottish, Ukrainian, Guyanese and Polish Muslim. Based on the statements of the subjects of reportage, who deal with social work on a daily basis to promote their culture, ethnicity, religion and multiculturalism, a debate entitled 'Multicultural Krakow, what is that?' took place on November 23, 2017 in the Cheder Cafe.[42] The debate, led by Jędrzej Soliński, writer, publicist and doctoral student at the Fac-

[40] Zarządzenie nr 551/2013 Prezydenta Miasta Krakowa z dnia 4 marca 2013 r. The team worked under the leadership of the Vice President of Krakow, Magdalena Sroka, from April to December 2013.

[41] *UCHWAŁA NR LII/964/16 RADY MIASTA KRAKOWA z dnia 14 września 2016 r. w sprawie przyjęcia Programu "Otwarty Kraków"*, https://www.bip.krakow.pl/?dok_id=167&sub_dok_id=167&sub=uchwala&query=id%3D21638%26typ%3Du&_ga=2.90218578.956487 42.1625392527-1812167548.1625392527, accessed July 4, 2021.

[42] *Debata "Wielokulturowy Kraków, czyli jaki?"*, https://wielokulturowykrakow.pl/debata-wielokulturowy-krakow-czyli-jaki/, accessed July 14, 2021.

ulty of Philology of the University of Wrocław, was attended by specialists in the field of cultural studies and representatives of organizations dealing with multiculturalism, such as Ewa Sowa-Behtane from the Multicultural Families Association, Urszula Majcher-Legawiec from the M. Reja Foundation for the Support of Polish Culture and Language, Joanna Antonik from Multicultural Krakow, and Jakub Kościółek from the Interkulturalni.pl Association. An attempt was made to define the concept of multiculturalism and interculturalism, and the issues of transcultural identity and the contemporary challenges of multiculturalism were discussed, in particular in the context of the level of intercultural integration of the Krakow community.

Another important initiative to support activities aimed at promoting cultural, ethnic and religious diversity, as well as the integration of Krakow's residents and foreigners, was the establishment of the title of Krakow Multicultural Ambassador by the decision of the City Council in December 2018, awarded annually by the President of Krakow to persons or entities promoting intercultural dialogue. Its laureates receive awards in the form of a symbolic multi-coloured *Lajkonik*. In the first edition of the competition, organized in 2019, four Krakow Ambassadors of Multiculturalism were selected. In the category of individuals, the actions of Urszula Majcher-Legawiec, president of the Foundation for the Support of Polish Culture and Language, organizing initiatives supporting the integration process and conferences on multiculturalism in Polish schools, and Olha Menko, editor-in-chief of an information portal for Ukrainians, were awarded.

Another important event in the cultural life of Krakow is the eight-day Krakow Multicultural Festival, organized annually since 2019 by the Villa Decius Association and the Villa Decius Cultural Institute in cooperation with the Krakow municipal authorities, Krakow universities and NGOs working for foreigners, the business sector, schools, institutions, and the local community. Last year's edition of "New Krakowianie 2020", held from November 26 to December 3, 2020 under pandemic conditions, took a hybrid form. As the organizers emphasized, the main goal of the festival was for participants to get to know each other in an atmosphere of tolerance and cooperation, connecting people of different nationalities, cultures and religions living in Krakow, beyond the concept of borders and despite social distancing.[43]

[43] *Festiwal wielokulturowy "Nowi krakowianie"*, 2020, 30 November https://www.krakow.pl/aktualnosci/244638,29,komunikat,festiwal_wielokulturowy__nowi_krakowianie_.html?_ga=2.231195103.1986288850.1606718478-1938776563.158633861, accessed July 4, 2021.

In November 2020, an artistic competition, "The multicultural city in the twenty-first century", was organized by the Interkulturalni.pl Association together with the Mikołaj Rej Foundation for the Support of Polish Culture and Language. Here, students of primary and secondary schools in Krakow were encouraged to present how they imagined a multicultural city of the twenty-first century should look. This project was also intended to promote multiculturalism, social attitudes based on tolerance and openness to social diversity, and respect for the historical and cultural environment, including local heritage, helping to shape a creative approach to the future of the city as a centre of many cultures and a reservoir of social diversity. The organizers' intention was for it to also serve as an impulse for the development of intercultural sensitivity in the context of migration and social diversity.

The crowning achievement of efforts to implement best practices in the field of multicultural management was the accession of Krakow to the programme of the International Intercultural Cities Network on February 9, 2021. IICN is a joint initiative of the Council of Europe and the European Commission, the idea of which is to strengthen and support the activities of local communities to make better use of their cultural diversity. The network, which currently brings together more than 140 cities in Europe, Australia, Canada, Japan, Israel, Mexico, Morocco and the United States, is a laboratory for local policy innovation. It is also a coalition of cities that are trying to prove that responsible management of diversity is an important asset for European societies. As one can see on the programme's website, "it is also a platform to connect cities and leaders globally into a community where initiatives and practice from one city are analysed and shared to inspire the others." [44] In the context of this program, interculturalism is understood as promoting policies and practices that strengthen interaction, mutual understanding and respect among different cultures and ethnic groups. Cities participating in the program undergo a review of urban policies, governance and good practice. Then, in cooperation with experts from the Council of Europe, they assess their previous commitment and create a management strategy based on diversity. A tool facilitating the assessment of cities is the Index of Intercultural Cities, created under the auspices of the ICC program, which contains a set of indicators that make it easier to identify the level of intercultural integration in a given city and potential areas for development.

[44] *Kraków, Poland – Intercultural City*, https://www.coe.int/en/web/interculturalcities/krakow, accessed May 21, 2021.

Conclusions

Krakow, as the former capital of Poland and an important centre for the development of culture and science, has attracted foreigners for centuries. Settling in their new home, they have helped to build its cultural power and the development of its economy. We can admire the traces of the material heritage of multiculturalism in the architecture, painting and sculpture, both secular and religious. Equally important is their non-material contribution, present in Krakow's cuisine, language, legends and traditions. In recent years, thanks to the coherent and consistent policy of local authorities regarding diversity management, Krakow has become a very attractive place for foreigners. Through programs such as 'Open Krakow' and joining the Intercultural Cities Network, Krakow has worked to create an image of a tolerant and open city, happy to celebrate its multicultural traditions, while at the same time promoting policies that strengthen interactions, mutual understanding and respect between different cultures and ethnic groups to develop tools for the integration of foreigners. Regardless of these policies of active diversity management, in Krakow we can still speak of 'boutique multiculturalism', which manifests itself in organizing various multicultural festivals (including the Jewish Culture Festival, Multicultural Picnic, Multicultural Festival), and the spread of ethnic restaurants and bars (Italian pizzerias and ice cream parlours, restaurants with Georgian, Ukrainian or Greek cuisine) than the strong multiculturalism that characterizes contemporary Western European metropolises.

Key Questions:

1. Define the notion of multiculturalism and describe how the issues of multiculturalism manifest themselves at the city level.
2. Describe the contribution of the selected multicultural heritage, both tangible and intangible, to the socio-economic and cultural development of Krakow.
3. Using the example of Krakow, describe the strategies undertaken by local authorities in the field of multicultural management.

References

Belzyt Leszek, 1999, *Kraków i Praga około 1600 roku: Porównanie topograficznych i demograficznych aspektów struktury społecznej i etnicznej dwóch metropolii Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, Toruń: Adam Marszałek.

Fish Stanley, 1997, "Boutique Multiculturalism or Why Liberale Are Incapable of Thinking about Hale Speech", *Critical Inquiry* 22:2, https://doi.org/10.1086/448833.

Galent Marcin, Kubicki Paweł, 2010, "An Invisible Revolution: How the Urban Way of Life Is Transforming the Identities of Poles", in: Magdalena Góra, Zdzisław Mach (eds.), *Collective Identity and Democracy. The Impact of EU Enlargement*, Oslo: Arena Centre for European Studies University of Oslo.

Hońdo Leszek, 2017, "Żydzi w Krakowie (od XIV do XVIII wieku)", in: *Kraków międzynarodowy: Materiały z sesji naukowej 7 maja 2016 roku*, Kraków: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa.

Identity and Democracy. The Impact of EU Enlargement, Oslo: Arena Centre for European Studies University of Oslo.

Kantor Ryszard, 2004, "Wielokulturowość miasta. Prolegomena do badań nad zróżnicowaniem kulturowym społeczności miejskiej Krakowa", *Studia Etnologiczne i Antropologiczne* 8.

Kubicki Paweł, 2010, *Miasto w sieci znaczeń: Kraków i jego tożsamości*, Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka.

Kubicki Paweł, 2012, "Pomiędzy pamięcią a historią: Polskie miasta wobec wielokulturowego dziedzictwa", *Pogranicze. Studia Społeczne* 20, https://doi.org/10.15290/pss.2012.20.04.

Makłowicz Robert, 1995, *CK kuchnia*, Kraków: Prószyński i S-ka.

Makłowicz Robert, Mancewicz Stanisław, 2001, *Zjeść Kraków: Przewodnik subiektywny*, Kraków: Znak.

Mitkowski Józef, 1978, "Nationality Problems and Patterns in Medieval Polish Towns: The Exemple of Cracow", *Prace Historyczne. Zeszyty Naukowe UJ* 59.

Możejko Edward, 2004, "Wielka szansa czy iluzja: wielokulturowość w dobie ponowoczesności", in: Wojciech Kalaga (ed.), *Dylematy wielokulturowości*, Kraków: Universitas.

Noga Zdzisław, 2017, "Niemcy w Krakowie w dobie staropolskiej", in: *Kraków międzynarodowy: Materiały z sesji naukowej 7 maja 2016 roku*, Kraków: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa.

Pielesz Marcin (ed.), 2017, *Galicja: Historia, przyroda, kuchnia*, Bielsko-Biała: Dragon.

Purchla Jacek, 2017, "Kraków od wieków międzynarodowy", in: *Kraków międzynarodowy: Materiały z sesji naukowej 7 maja 2016 roku*, Kraków: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa.

Purchla Jacek et al. (eds.), 2004, *Mit Galicji*, Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury.

Purchla Jacek, Skotnicki Aleksander B., 2007, "Przywrócić pamięć", in: *Świat przed katastrofą: Żydzi krakowscy w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym*, Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury.

Quirini-Popławska Danuta, 2017, "Rola i znaczenie działalności Włochów w Krakowie od średniowiecza do XVIII wieku", in: *Kraków międzynarodowy: Materiały z sesji naukowej 7 maja 2016 roku*, Kraków: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa.

Rajchel Dorota, 2014, "Wielokulturowość jako artefakt na przykładzie miasta Łodzi", *Studia Historyczne AGH* 13:3, https://doi.org/10.7494/human.2014.13.3.185.

Rożek Michał, 1990, *Żydowskie zabytki krakowskiego Kazimierza: Krótki przewodnik*, Kraków: Oficyna Cracovia.

Sabor Agnieszka, 2007, "Co dalej z pamięcią?", in: *Świat przed katastrofą: Żydzi krakowscy w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym*, Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury.

Sadowski Andrzej, 2011, "Socjologia wielokulturowości jako nowa subdyscyplina socjologiczna", *Pogranicze. Studia Społeczne* 18, https://doi.org/10.15290/pss.2011.18.01.

Salwiński Jacek (ed.), 2009, *Podgórze: Przewodnik po Podgórzu, prawobrzeżnej części Krakowa*, Kraków: vis-à-vis/Etiuda.

Siwiec Katarzyna, Czuma Mieczysław, Mazan Leszek, 2015, *Włoska Małopolska*, Cieszyn: Pracownia na Pastwiskach.

Szczepański Marek S., Śliz Anna, 2011, "Wielokulturowe miasta", *Przegląd Socjologiczny* 60: 2/3.

Widłak Stanisław, 2006, *Italia e Polonia: Popoli e Lingue in Contatto*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

Wyrozumski Jerzy, 1992, "Kraków do schyłku wieków średnich", in: Janina Bieniarzówna, Jan M. Małecki (eds.), *Dzieje Krakowa*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Zbroja Barbara, 2007, "Zapomniane dziedzictwo: Architektura żydowskiego Krakowa", in: *Świat przed katastrofą: Żydzi krakowscy w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym*, Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury.

Online sources:

Bik Katarzyna, 2004, "Raj rozkoszy ziemskich", *Gazeta Wyborcza*, July 16, https://kultura.onet.pl/wiadomosci/w-kuchni-z-bona-renesansowe-atrakcje-kulinarne-krakowskiego-jarmarku-swietojanskiego/c88884e.

"Cracow's Historic Centre", in: *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, July 18, 1978, Justification for inclusion in the World Heritage List. Cultural property, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/29/documents.

Debata "Wielokulturowy Kraków, czyli jaki?", https://wielokulturowykrakow.pl/debata-wielokulturowy-krakow-czyli-jaki/.

Festiwal wielokulturowy "Nowi krakowianie", 2020, 30 November, https://www.krakow.pl/aktualnosci/244638,29,komunikat,festiwal_wielokulturowy__nowi_krakowianie_.html?_ga=2.231195103.1986288850.1606718478-1938776563.158633861.

Kraków, Poland – Intercultural City, https://www.coe.int/en/web/interculturalcities/krakow.

Pędziwiatr Konrad, Stonawski Marcin, Brzozowski Jan, *Imigranci w Krakowie w 2020 roku*, Kraków: Centrum Zaawansowanych Badań Ludnosciowych i Religijnych, Uniwersytet Ekonomiczny w Krakowie, https://owim.uek.krakow.pl/wp-content/uploads/user-files/reports/OWIM_Raport_Demograficzny2020revised.pdf.

UCHWAŁA NR LII/964/16 RADY MIASTA KRAKOWA z dnia 14 września 2016 r. w sprawie przyjęcia Programu "Otwarty Kraków", https://www.bip.krakow.pl/?dok_id=167&sub_dok_id=167&sub=uchwala&query=id%3D21638%26typ%3Du&_ga=2.90218578.95648742.1625392527-1812167548.1625392527.

https://doi.org/10.12797/9788381386708.05

The Alteration and Degradation of the Urban Form and Social Relations

The Reconstruction of L'Aquila

PAOLA RIZZI
University of Sassari

FEDERICO D'ASCANIO
University of L'Aquila

ABSTRACT

The 2009 earthquake found the city of L'Aquila without a plan or a strategy for in Italy post-earthquake strategies are being prepared *a posteriori* within the development of the Reconstruction Plan. It is assumed that the Reconstruction Plan can open a new approach to the future development of the urban system. It is what partially happened in few cases.

In L'Aquila, recovery did not open ways to urban restoration and revitalisation, and the timespans of reconstruction resulted in private buildings that are being finished and public ones along with public spaces the revitalisation and restoration of which has not started yet. Today it becomes evident that a process, which tends to recover a city by rebuilding is as it was where it was, is only recovering its physical structure. Moreover, the problems of urban sprawl and peripherical settlements are neglected. A pre-disaster planning approach would allow avoiding this fundamental, methodological error.

Keywords: opportunities, absence of strategy, public spaces, relationship, urban form

What we should lament is not the loss of houses or of land,
but the loss of men's lives. Men come first; the rest is the fruit of their labour.
Thucydides

Italian urban heritage as vulnerability issue

Many Italian cities are rich in priceless world heritage sites. However, with the geography of this country located in an earthquake-prone zone, this makes both its inhabitants and heritage sites at risk of earthquakes and accompanying natural disasters such as landslides and volcanic eruptions. This risk is increased by uncontrolled urban expansion into areas vulnerable to such disasters, thus making disaster risk management even harder to achieve.

It should be remembered that 60% of Italian municipalities and 40% of the national population live in areas classified from 1 to 3 in terms of the danger of seismic risk, while if we look at hydro-geological risk, landslides potentially affect 6.9% of the national territory and 5,708 municipalities. In terms of the phenomenon of flooding, the population exposed to such risks is about 6 million.[1]

In this context of risk, issues have too often been addressed in the "post" phase rather than in the "pre". The inability to deal with the destructive effects of calamitous events by means of both short- and long-term planning also stems from too little attention having been paid in recent decades to the study of historical centres and suburbs.[2]

On April 6th of 2009, an earthquake with a magnitude of 6.3*MW*, at a depth of 10 km, and with an epicentre located in Poggio del Roio, struck 3.4 km to the southwest of the city centre of L'Aquila in Italy. L'Aquila (population 72,800) is the administrative capital city of the Abruzzo region.

The 2009 earthquake found the city of L'Aquila without a plan or a strategy, since earthquake strategies in Italy are prepared *a posteriori* (with the seemingly reasonable explanation that every earthquake is different). The first concern was to secure the safety of its inhabitants and to provide a temporary solution for shortages of public buildings and housing. The need for an immediate reaction

1 Silvia Peppoloni, 2014, *Convivere con i rischi naturali*, Bologna: Il Mulino.

2 Paola Rizzi, Federico D'Ascanio, 2020, "Urban Cultural Heritage and Disaster", in: Noriko Inoue, Valentina Orioli (eds.), *Bologna and Kanazawa: Protection and Valorization of Two Historic Cities*, Bologna: Bononia University Press.

left no time for a debate on the future of the city or its present. It was decided that the historical city centre, home to the core of the local economy, which is based on tourism and the university, would be restored. However, the buildings would be improved with basalt fibre-reinforced polymers and polymer cement injections, becoming the first anti-seismic historical city centre in Italy. Unfortunately, the reconstruction of private property preceded this, and it obstructs the resumption of social activities and public functions within the city centre.

L'Aquila and post disaster reconstruction: are civitas and urbs a concern?

In the study promoted by the Ministry for Territorial Cohesion, "L'Aquila 2030", Antonio G. Calafati clearly identified the direction that L'Aquila has taken in the transformations that occurred in the post-quake period: "It is the choices of the civitas that determine the spatial development of the city."

Earthquakes, being unpredictable events, send the organizational systems for the regulation of the transformations of cities out of control. As a rule, these transformations are provided for in development plans that define the required changes to a territory on the basis of simulations and short- and long-term scenarios. No emergency plan is capable of predicting the layout of a city after a catastrophe, or the mechanisms that will lead to choosing this or that model of transformation, because the behaviour of the population is an unknown factor.

An exogenous trauma, be it a natural or social disaster, forces the affected city to rethink its future. In the case of a natural disaster such as an earthquake, the 'restoration' of pre-disaster conditions takes place through phases of varying lengths. These depend on the need to resolve any immediate housing emergency as quickly as possible while also accounting for the gradual rebuilding of the city over time. In cases of very serious disasters such as the L'Aquila earthquake, the emergency phase, for obvious reasons, is only partly managed by the local community. The management of the city's long-term reconstruction phase is different; it is one in which the local community (and in collaboration with the national and regional government) plays a crucial decision-making role through its institutions. The local community is therefore required to imagine and design a spatial and economic development trajectory for the city and its urban system.

These choices, made through ordinary and extra-ordinary planning instruments, produce effects in the organization of a city, in its spatial and social articulation, and in its formal characteristics. In fact, the process of reconstruction after a natural (or social) disaster gives a city the opportunity to rethink and redesign itself. However, in order to rebuild itself and to become competitive with other urban systems, a city is forced to become a strategic city. It is compelled to evaluate and modify, if necessary, the suitability of its structure on the physical, social, institutional and political levels.

After the L'Aquila earthquake, the greatest need was to keep the urbs and the civitas together, and to do so we adopted the slogan "as it was, where it was", which was agreed upon almost universally by all citizens. They felt that this idea meant that they felt that they belonged to the city in some way and that their identity places were being protected. These were easily identified places which had been imprinted in the collective memory as places of value, playing a role in their sense of belonging.

If we define the 2009 earthquake as a historical event, we can share the conviction that the effects it produced are able to radically change the shape of the city, not only the historical part which was most compromised in terms of material damage, but also that of the suburbs and surrounding hamlets. As a result, the slogan of "as it was, where it was" turns out to be utopian, with the long reconstruction times and resulting processes creating greater societal stratification than before.[3]

In this waiting phase, in which the places recognizable by all as public spaces are compromised and less frequented, it is necessary to seize the opportunities that may arise from the new spaces generated as a result of the event. However, it is precisely in these moments that mistakes produced by an absence of strategy become more serious and can leave indelible wounds on the territory.

The already complex nature of the problems of the contemporary city means that answers are often sought beyond ordinary planning tools, since those typical of a top-down governance model are not always suitable to respond to impulses coming from below.

It seems unusual today to associate the difficult conditions of an urban fabric seriously compromised by natural disasters (as was the case with the L'Aquila earthquake of 2009) with the opportunities that may arise from the new spaces generated by the event.

[3] Ibid.

This primarily consists of filling empty spaces with full volumes, instead of generating new opportunities for meeting spaces, or restoring buildings without considering the connection between those parts which had previously not been in harmony with one another in favour of the simpler tasks of restoring what had been there in the first place.

On the other hand, reflecting on perspectives different from those strictly related to construction, the objectives to be pursued could be those of searching for interstitial spaces to activate new opportunities for sharing, exploiting the indeterminacy of the use of urban vacant lots to create temporary spaces that revitalize dying suburbs, as well as reinterpreting existing abandoned spaces with objectives that are not necessarily territorial but social.

The opportunities afforded by such new spaces are an asset that must be managed with great care, because they make it possible to improve the surrounding area from the urban and environmental points of view, creating new infrastructures for the mobility of the public and goods, connecting and maintaining homogeneity with the existing context, improving liveability and creating new neighbourhoods, including densely populated ones with diversified functions.

The New "L'Aquila 2020" Strategic Plan does not in itself set any objectives, but, as often happens when discussing the reconstruction of L'Aquila, it does identify the historic centre as a priority, seeing it as the only real public space capable of satisfying all the needs linked to meetings and relations, ignoring and underestimating the important role of public spaces, some of which only became such after the earthquake, in both the urban and rural suburbs of the city.

The reuse of urban vacant lots, rather than expansive building, makes it possible to avoid placing a further burden on a land supply made precarious by years of settlement dispersion (consuming soil, the environment and the green and agricultural landscape), channelling new needs into areas that are normally already exploited and densely inhabited, thus creating the "compact city" and new neighbourhoods with a low environmental impact.

On the basis of these premises, the city of L'Aquila, whose urban and social fabric was devastated by the earthquakes of 6 April 2009, could become an experimental laboratory for such planning practices. We could try to imagine paths of recovery by involving the inhabitants themselves since they, finding themselves living in the suburbs and often far from their original homes, can recognize and identify new spaces for gathering and socializing in abandoned spaces or places where it is impossible to rebuild.

An overview of the results of the L'Aquila reconstruction plan

The introduction of "collective themes" in reference to the historic centre of L'Aquila fully conveys the discomfort the city is facing at this stage: streets and squares have been perceived since ancient times as collective spaces, the result of the reconstruction only as an aesthetic desire to restore without considering or prioritizing the happiness of citizens has contributed significantly to the current urban problem.

The slow process of reconstruction, with the aim of making the city a masterpiece, and the stratification and divisions which took place over time have meant that L'Aquila has been left as an essentially bipolar settlement system, with two towns of 20-25,000 inhabitants each, built around the expansions of the current Piano Regolatore Comunale (1975).

Today, L'Aquila's urban system is complex, and it can be summarized as being characterized by:

- an important settlement dispersion, partly deriving from the urban expansion processes and partly from the operations to solve the housing emergency (C.A.S.E., M.A.P., Resolution n. 58) which have increased urban sprawl and also altered the hierarchies of focal points;
- an ongoing reconstruction program, based on the "as it was, where it was" paradigm, which is rebuilding all the buildings in a patchwork fashion, regardless of their historical and architectural value;
- a phenomenon of building overproduction, due in part to a pre-earthquake imbalance, in part to the new 'temporary' housing stock, and in part to physical reconstruction based on property rights and not on real housing demand; and
- parts of the city being rebuilt with poor formal architectural and urbanistic quality.

Moreover, L'Aquila's reconstruction plan is neither a prescriptive nor an operational plan, but a hybrid. However, this plan was not supported by any other planning instrument defining one or more master plans for reconstruction. Not even a planned and chronologically organized zoning system has been drawn up to decide which portions of the city should be rebuilt and according to which urban regeneration strategies (spatial and socio-economic).

In addition to the post-earthquake C.A.S.E. projects, built according to the urban planning principle of the PEEPs (Piano per l'Edilizia Economica e Popo-

lare) of the 1970s, there is also the sporadic occupation of temporary buildings, creating a continuous network without centrality or services, in which new social models are developing in areas totally lacking in public spaces.

The rural landscape, a strong feature of L'Aquila's suburbs until 2009, has now lost its consistency and productivity, giving way to boundless residential agglomerations lacking in shape and urban references.

The challenge proposed in the context described is to project the city outside the historic walls in order to immediately return the collective themes to the citizens and a quality of life independent of the historic centre, with a new layout around the original settlement.

Defining the relationship between the suburbs and the centre is therefore an issue of tomorrow which needs to be included in the vision of the new city today, one which shares the future of L'Aquila through strategic consultation tools.

It seems clear that the city of L'Aquila has not managed to deal with this challenge satisfactorily.

The actors charged with the housing emergency have not succeeded in either realizing the apparently innovative ideas promoted by the temporary housing policies or managing the misunderstandings produced, in both the immediate and medium-range terms.

The image twelve years after the earthquake is of an urban system whose structure and spatial organization has been profoundly modified by the construction and implantation of a temporary city.

Moreover, the definitive characteristics of the temporary city do not seem to be the focus of policies on the part of those planning long-term reconstruction.

In fact, not only are the CASE Project, the MAPs and the buildings of Resolution no. 58 not subject to a disposal program over time, but they are not even considered as an issue within the territorial government instruments currently being defined (the Final Document of the Strategic Plan and Preliminary Document of the New Regulatory Plan), which should define and reorganize the future image of the city.

The denial of a significant portion of the new urbanized fabric, one not intended to become part of the urban system in a definitive way, combined with the reconstruction of the existing tissue based on the "as it was, where it was" paradigm, is producing effects that are not taken into account by the programs and planning tools regardless of the urban and architectural value of what is being reconstructed.

These emergent effects display themselves most clearly in the production of excess capital-building and the strengthening of dispersion and non-hierarchical polycentrism.

Failure to interpret emergent effects is distorting the developmental path of the city.

The new peripheries

The suburbs of contemporary cities are presented in public policies as falling within the remit of urban planning regulations and as active components of a city that is evolving, guided by a broad vision, shaped by new paradigms and ensured by renewed planning devices. The main Italian urban suburbs, such as those of L'Aquila, are products of a twentieth-century urban planning model, and are based essentially on the joint action of Public Resources, Income and Regulations, which have strongly segmented their development, relegating them to the spatial and conceptual margins of urban planning.

For those who know how to look at them correctly, contemporary suburbs are evolving from being critical urban areas, with marginalization and often generating conflict, into significant components of the metamorphosis of cities. They will have to be transformed from clusters of decay into active subjects of negotiation for the choices of location of new centralities, for infrastructural actions to be carried out in a scenario of metropolitan transformation, for the reconnection of suburban landscape networks, and for the setting up of new societies in the most integrated cities.

The commitment to tackling the issue of the spatial, social or economic regeneration of the suburbs therefore finds a new impetus in not limiting itself to their physical recovery or to environmental rehabilitation, acting instead on their more general regenerative capacity of not only the social and spatial, but also the economic and productive issues within these new visions of the city. The issue of the suburbs being a sectoral problem must now increasingly become a challenge within overall strategic planning and integrated urban regeneration processes. This means that any area with an interconnected system of transformation demands requires the convergence of various revitalization interventions, including those related to buildings, culture and landscape, infrastructure, and economic measures.

Conclusions and remarks

Today we must respond to the historical opposition between the centre and the suburbs and to the urban planning model of the last century which limited the development of peripheral areas, relegating them to the spatial and conceptual borders. This response must not only guarantee appropriate distribution of services and functions, but also give citizens back the atmosphere and spaces of urban living, reconfiguring social, political and economic relations, aiming at enhancing (and sometimes creating) connective frameworks (ecological, infrastructural, functional relations, etc.) with the goal of a polycentric and networked city.

A bottom-up design proposal could serve to revitalize these areas, integrating them in a new language that merges the architecture of the recent past with contemporary architecture. This can certainly be assisted by the resident communities which have lived in these places for years, bearing witness to the transformations that have taken place, and in many cases, such as that of the suburbs of L'Aquila which have come back to life after the post-earthquake reconstruction, continue to experience these neighbourhoods as places of value and take steps to make them better.

In some cases, our suburbs also hide genuine historical treasures which have been erased by uncontrolled post-war urbanization, but which an experienced eye might recognize and enhance by upgrading their surrounding context. At the same time, in the case of the suburbs of L'Aquila, the boundary position between the natural and artificial territory could be a suitable context for the formation of slow mobilities that connect to the territory, thus making the suburbs no longer an urban border, but a connection between the city and the countryside, a concept that matches the new challenges of sustainability and development perfectly.

It could therefore be said that the real issue of the periphery is public space and working with the community to investigate the history of places and the potential for connection with the territory, without having to deeply modify the existing fabric, which would be extremely complex.

References

Calafati Antonio G., 2009, *Economie in cerca di città: La questione urbana in Italia*, Roma: Donzelli.

Carta Maurizio, 2009, *Governare l'evoluzione: Principi, metodi e progetti per una urbanistica in azione*, Milano: Franco Angeli.

D'Ascanio Federico, Di Ludovico Donato, Di Lodovico Luana, 2016, "Design and Urban Shape for a Resilient City", *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences* (edited by Francesco Calabrò, Lucia Della Spina. Published by Elsevier) 223, pp. 764–769, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2016.05.265.

D'Ascanio Federico, Di Ludovico Donato, Properzi Pierluigi, 2018, "L'Aquila città al futuro", in: "L'Aquila a 10 anni dal sisma", *Urbanistica INFORMAZIONI* (Roma: INU Edizioni) Luglio–Agosto–Settembre–Ottobre.

Lino Barbara, 2013, *Periferie in trasform-azione: Riflessioni dai "margini" delle città*, Firenze: Alinea.

Peppoloni Silvia, 2014, *Convivere con i rischi naturali*, Bologna: Il Mulino.

Rizzi Paola, D'Ascanio Federico, 2020, "Urban Cultural Heritage and Disaster", in: Noriko Inoue, Valentina Orioli (eds.), *Bologna and Kanazawa: Protection and Valorization of Two Historic Cities*, Bologna: Bononia University Press.

Rizzi Paola, D'Ascanio Federico, Di Lodovico Luana, 2017, "From Fragile to Resilient Territories: The Reconstruction after Earthquakes in Central Italy", in: *Conference ISOCARP – Smart Communities – 53rd Annual Congress – Session 4: "Natural Disaster Mitigation"*, Portland, Oregon, USA.

Rizzi Paola, Porębska Anna, 2020, "Towards a Revised Framework for Participatory Planning in the Context of Risk", *Sustainability* 12:14, https://doi.org/10.3390/su12145539.

https://doi.org/10.12797/9788381386708.06

Lieux de Mémoire *and Post-communist Nostalgia in the Central European Symbolic Landscape of Urban Spaces*

GRZEGORZ POŻARLIK
Jagiellonian University in Kraków

ABSTRACT

The aim of this chapter is to shed some light on the explanatory power of *lieux de mémoire* in investigating post-communist nostalgia in the symbolic landscape of urban spaces in Central Europe. In doing so, the mutually constituting nature of remembering and forgetting as social constructs will be outlined. More specifically, drawing on Pierre Nora's concept of *lieux de mémoire,* I examine the explanatory value of the social construction of the meaning of the past as an analytical perspective applied to the study of nostalgia in the contemporary symbolic landscape of Central European urban spaces.

Keywords: *lieux de mémoire*, nostalgia, symbolic landscape, urban space, Central Europe

Lieux de mémoire *and the social construction of the past*

Pierre Nora's seminal conceptualisation of *lieux de memoire* has truly changed the trajectory of recent research on the social construction of the past and its

meaning for collective identity-building.[1] Nora's term has opened up a new perspective on studying remembering and forgetting as social constructs. The novelty of Nora's reasoning stems from how it goes beyond the modern nation-state first version of historical narratives on national identity-building. Alternatively, Nora comes up with social emotions and the different forms of contestations related to non-materialistic sites of memory as a conceptual lens through which we can study and better understand who remembers or forgets what in the process of national identity boundary-drawing.[2]

In what follows, I will touch upon some of the key elements of Nora's *lieux de memoire*, which seem particularly relevant to the study of the Central European urban landscape of post-communist symbolic nostalgia.

First, let us recall the essence of Nora's concept in its original contextualisation as set against the background of a more general discussion of whether this concept could be applied beyond the realms of the French modern identity and nation-state building processes.

The core assumption of Nora's *lieux de memoire* lies in marking a historical discontinuity in modern nation-state collective identity storytelling. As insightfully explained by Nora himself:

> Our interest in lieux de memoire where memory crystallizes and secretes itself has occurred at a particular historical moment, a turning point where consciousness of a break with the past is bound up with the sense that memory has been torn, but torn in such a way as to pose the problem of the embodiment of memory in certain sites where a sense of historical continuity persists. There are lieux de memoire, sites of memory, because there are no longer milieux de memoire, real environments of memory.[3]

Indeed, challenging the existence of uncontested, natural and therefore 'real' *milieux de memoire* has opened up a new analytical horizon for the emergence of cultural *lieux de memoire*. Nora's revolutionary approach to memory and history, as closely interwoven yet distinct narratives on collective identity-building, is of crucial relevance for our study of the symbolic construction of

[1] Pierre Nora, 1989, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire", *Representations* (University of California Press) 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring), pp. 7–24.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 7.

identities in urban landscapes as seen through the conceptual lens of symbolic post-communist nostalgia.

Nora's key epistemological assumption is as follows:

> Memory and history, far from being synonymous, appear now to be in fundamental opposition. Memory is life, borne by living societies founded in its name. It remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived. History, on the other hand, is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer. Memory is a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present; history is a representation of the past. Memory, insofar as it is affective and magical, only accommodates those facts that suit it; it nourishes recollections that may be out of focus or telescopic, global or detached, particular or symbolic-responsive to each avenue of conveyance or phenomenal screen, to every censorship or projection.[4]

Indeed, Nora's conceptualisation of memory-history dialectics could be acknowledged as an innovative, refreshing and inspiring approach to symbolic construction of collective identity. Referring to the case study of modern France's collective memory-building, Nora developed in his *opus magnum* a genuine research agenda along with an alternative methodology. As insightfully outlined by Lawrence D. Kritzman in his foreword to *Realms of Memory*: […] the whole project of Realms of Memory is oriented around symbols, claiming only a symbolic history can restore to France the unity and dynamism not recognized by either the man in the street or the academic historian." He [Nora] goes on to distinguish between two very different types of symbols: imposed and constructed. Imposed symbols may be official state emblems like the tricolour flag or 'La Marsaillaise', or they may be monuments like the Eiffel Tower, symbols imbued with a sense of history. Constructed symbols are produced over the passage of time, by human effort, and by history itself. They include figures such as Joan d'Arc, Descartes, and the Gallic cock. Part I, Emblems, traces the development of four major national symbols from the time of the Revolution: the tricolour flag, the national anthem (La Marsaillaise), the motto Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and Bastille Day. Far from having fixed identities, these representations of the French nations are shown to have undergone

[4] Ibid., p. 8.

transformations. As French republics rose and regimes changed, the emblems of the French state – and the meanings associated with them – were also altered.[5]

> Nora, having introduced two types of the symbolic construction of memory – "imposed" and "constructed" – not only went beyond the orthodoxy of linear, official, state-driven and emblematic manifestations of national identity. By including the constructed type of symbolic memory, he opened up room for the study of dynamic, transformative and socially contested realms of memory *par excellence* and thus making *lieux de memoire* applicable to more than just the French nation.

To sum up the argument made so far, Nora's central analytical axis is an ontological opposition of "memory vs. cultures of history". Andrzej Szpociński explains this ontological tension convincingly:

> Nora contrasts "cultures of memory" with "cultures of history." In the latter, the past is felt to be something decidedly different from the present. Cultures of history are characterized by a significant development dynamic and as such they pose a constant danger to the past. However, only the latter culture, Nora claims, can evaluate the past and only in those cultures can the past be subjected to the special techniques of commemoration. In one of Nora's later works, places of memory refer to all practices (objects, organizations) whose main goal is to uphold (stimulate) the memory of the past.[6]

As always in cases of revolutionary concepts in social science, a great deal of controversy arose in the scholarly debate about the general applicability and intersubjectivity of Nora's *lieux de memoire*. Robert Traba brings to the fore the implicit elusiveness of the empirical intersubjectivity of Nora's *lieux de memoire*. Investigating "Polish-German Realms of Memory" Traba argues that:

> In the 1970s, the French historian Pierre Nora introduced into the study of history the concept of "history of the second degree," or that which happens in our minds and defines our individual and collective identity. The dominance of historical myth in the public space is characteristic of each national ideology.[7]

[5] Pierre Nora, Lawrence D. Kritzman (eds.), 1996, *Realms of Memory*: *The Construction of the French Past*, vol. 1: *Conflicts and Divisions*, New York: Columbia University Press, p. ix.

[6] Andrzej Szpociński, 2016, "Sites of Memory", *Teksty Drugie* 1, Special Issue – English Edition, Institute of Literary Research Polish Academy of Science, p. 247.

[7] Robert Traba, 2016, "Two Dimensions of History: An Opening Sketch", *Teksty Drugie* 1, Special Issue – English Edition, Institute of Literary Research Polish Academy of Science, p. 39.

One of the symptoms of implicit deficit of the intersubjectivity of *lieux de memoire* seems to be a relative communication polyphony syndrome among scholars dealing with the history-memory nexus. Here, Traba has again been outspoken in emphasising this syndrome:

> Historical imagination is distinct from fantasy, and it is something different than intuition. It is distinct from fantasy in that – because it is rooted in the scenario of real events –it recognizes alternative histories and is accompanied by an awareness of multidisciplinarity. As opposed to intuition, imagination is not something that one has (or does not have), but it is something that one can learn. Thus, awareness of its presence is not a dead postulate. The starting point of "teaching (and learning) imagination" is to draw attention to narrative polyphony and to a diversified body of sources and methods of analysing them. Mastering the skill of exploiting these potentials can also influence the style of the narrative, determining how truly communicative it is.[8]

Another reason might be the nature of the communicative matrix we live in. Everyone has their own story to tell. Madalena Cunha Matos explains this communicative ambiguity of Nora's *lieux de memoire* as applied to the world wide web society syndrome.[9] As she claims:

> Every man is his own historian *indeed*: no longer by the self-defined task of Nora's "everyone" who sets out to explore origin and evolution and in so doing redefines the identity of the social group to which he happens to belong, nor in the pragmatic sense of Carl Becker's "Mr. Everyman" (1932) who, by minding his own business, chooses and collects data in order to live. Our means of communication and production have changed substantially since then. Diverse publishing opportunities now abound. Everyone can collaborate, initiate, present and produce material, comment upon it, and engage with others in the particular public sphere of the Internet.[10]

Related directly to the subject area of this very analysis, there seems to be a question of a dilemma between the time and place variables of *lieux de memoire*. More specifically, would it be analytically justified to apply Nora's concept

[8] Ibid., p. 67.

[9] Madalena Cunha Matos, 2013, "Digital *lieux de mémoire*: Notes from a Portuguese Perspective", *Architecture Beyond Europe* 3.

[10] Ibid., p. 4.

to "mnemonic warfare"[11] in the deeply divided societies of post-communist Europe, or post-authoritarian societies of Latin America for that matter? A valuable account in this discussion is provided by Eugenia Allier Montaño,[12] who investigated contested memory in Uruguay in light of the applicability of Nora's *lieux de memoire* to societal manifestations of "mnemonic warfare"[13] in general, including in Eastern Europe. Montaño's major assumption is grounded in the belief that all nations need to face the need to reconcile their traumatic pasts in one way or another. Montaño built up her reasoning by referring to Nora's understanding of the past and present dialectic:

> It is also fundamental, after an exceedingly violent past, to understand the disclosures and proposals of the memory and amnesia sites raised on the foundation of this past. Because, ultimately, "the present of the past is a mark of the century's end". If we live today in a structure of historicity determined by the present (the present dominates both the past and the future in the social relationships with time), three words resume the new changes: memory, heritage and commemoration. And, ultimately, these three terms point towards another, which represents the focus: identity. And this is the starting point of Nora's diagnosis, and the reason why it is so important to analyse the implications of the places of memory related to a specific past, because if presentism goes hand in hand with questions about the nation and the crisis of national identities, it should be pointed out that practically all nations are faced by the need to probe into these matters.[14]

Despite all of the reservations about the general applicability and intersubjectivity of *lieux de memoire*'s explanatory power, it needs to be emphasised that the concept still displays a magnetic allure to scholars trying to find their own path in the memory-history overlap.

One of the most telling examples of the memory-history overlap dilemma is Peter Catterral's account of *lieux de memoire* and contested histories.[15] First,

[11] See: Michael Bernhard, Jan Kubik (eds.), 2014, *Twenty Years after Communism: The Politics of Memory and Commemoration*, New York: Oxford University Press.

[12] Eugenia Allier Montaño, 2008, "Places of Memory: Is the Concept Applicable to the Analysis of Memorial Struggles? The Case of Uruguay and Its Recent Past", *Cuadernos del CLAEH* 4(se), pp. 87–109, http://socialsciences.scielo.org/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0797-60622008000100001&lng=en&tlng=en, accessed September 26, 2021.

[13] Michael Bernhard, Jan Kubik (eds.), 2014, *Twenty Years after Communism* (op. cit.).

[14] Eugenia Allier Montaño, "Places of Memory" (op. cit.), p. 22.

[15] Peter Catterall, 2017, "Changing Attitudes to the Past: Lieux de Memoire and Contested Histories", *Westminster Research*, http://www.westminster.ac.uk/westminsterresearch, accessed September 8, 2021.

Catterall categorizes *lieux de memoire* in terms of eight different forms of "residues of the Past ordering functionally our understanding of the Present."[16] According to Caterrall, *lieux de memoire* help us to "commemorate, celebrate, console, identify, inform, commodify, represent and (provide) order."[17] In this sense, a *lieu de memoire* is the modus operandi of our collective memory understood as living history. As assumed by Caterrall, they "make statements about the political and/or social values of the society that produced them, recording its achievements or those of particular individuals celebrated – sometimes at their own expense and for their own ends – within it. These statements, however, are interpreted, understood and contested in the Present."[18]

One of the possible options to cope with the memory-history epistemological overlap is to identify two major approaches to socially constructed interpretations of the past. As diligently noticed by Monica Juneja:

> It might be useful [therefore] to identify important senses in which the notion of memory has been fruitfully used in historical writing to signify the ways in which people recompose the past through remembrance. Memory, or the act of remembering, has been drawn upon, first, to analyse the agency of those people reconstructing a past they have actually experienced and survived, a past often centred on traumatic events such as the two world wars, the Holocaust, or the Partition of the Indian subcontinent. Prolific German-language research on the subject has rendered this sense of the concept as *kommunikatives Gedächtnis*. This is distinct from another level of signification where memory, or the process of memorializing, denotes the ways in which successive generations of people are held to share common representations – *kollektives/kulturelles Gedächtnis* – of the past that have been canonized by a range of places, media, and practices: museums; intellectual production; emblems; heritage sites; commemorative festivals; and individuals, real and mythical.[19]

[16] Ibid., p. 6.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Monica Juneja, 2009, "Architectural Memory between Representation and Practice: Rethinking Pierre Nora's *Les lieux de mémoire*", in: Indra Sengupta (ed.), *Memory, History and Colonialism: Engaging with Pierre Nora in Colonial and Postcolonial Contexts*, London: German Historical Institute London, p. 11.

Lieux de mémoire *and traces of post-communist nostalgia in the symbolic landscape of Central European cities*

Having outlined the different approaches to the conceptualisation of *lieux de mémoire*, we can now provide an empirical illustration of the concept itself and its analytical relevance for the study of post-communist nostalgia in the symbolic landscapes of Central European cities. First, we need to explain why nostalgia matters as one of the key factors in shaping social identity in the post-communist societies of Central Europe in general. This would enable us to understand the broader phenomenon of "longing for the good old days" which is clearly discernible within Central European societies, as well their symbolic representations within urban landscapes.

It should be noted that 1989 did not mean the ultimate farewell to the memory of the communist times. Irrespectively of how divided the peoples of Central Europe were vis-à-vis the existing social, planned economy and one-party political system, the memory of that period shaped the minds of many in the post-1989 reality. One could possibly argue that clinging tenaciously to the glorification of the communist times has been relevant for the generational memory of those who lived under the system, but the picture seems far more complex. As vividly depicted by Kateřina Štroblová:

> The key to understanding nostalgia is however the present, not the past. The strength of nostalgic feeling depends on the state of the society: the more problematic it is, the stronger the nostalgic feeling is – to sum up, the more the society is disappointed with unfulfilled wishes and promises, the more nostalgic it is. It is necessary to define the difference between nostalgia and calming memory of old happy times, which serve as a connection with the past and offers a feeling of continuity. For nostalgia, a certain underrating of the present and exaggerating the past is significant. Only some of the aspects of the past are pointed out, such as "safe and easy life", low prices, stable jobs, etc. Other significant features of the communist state – repressions, centrally planned economics, censorship, travelling restrictions – are out of sight or forgotten. The result is that the past seems to be resurrected and critical thinking about its heritage is left out. Nostalgia is collecting and preserving several elements of a fallen era, and the renewing of the reality in certain points seems to be possible.[20]

[20] Kateřina Štroblová, 2020, "Whose Nostalgia is Ostalgia? Post-Communist Nostalgia in Central-European Contemporary Art", *Bibliotekarz Podlaski* 47:2, p. 249. See also: Nina

Sociological research on the post-1989 transformation clearly indicates that post-communist nostalgia has been a sort of collective, emotional compensation for economic shock-therapy and is recently a pertinent feature of Central European societies. It serves as an excellent illustration of a deeply rooted belief that the post-1989 revolution did not mean happiness and justice for all. Zofia Kinowska-Mazaraki, after Anita Miszalska and Piotr Sztompka, rightly emphasises that: "In contrast with the involvement in Solidarity activities prior to 1989, the withdrawal of large groups of people from public involvement after 1989 was also explained as a reaction to the trauma of rapid post-1989 change."[21] The economic transformation in the 1990s was rapid, radical, and brutal, leaving parts of society disadvantaged and marginalised. The transformation process itself, dictated centrally, reinforced an attitude of passivity and apathy. The state and the political elites played a decisive role in the political transformation and this effectively marginalised social participation, rendering most passive recipients in the process.[22] Despite the opportunities offered by the new democracy and the associated enthusiasm, it was perhaps overly optimistic to expect that the mentality shaped by years under communism would disappear automatically with a change of the political system.[23]

Clearly evident from this picture has been the acknowledgement of the pre-1989 reality as a synonym for welfare and certainty. Whilst the price for "goulash socialism" was high, as it meant a life lived under oppression and Orwellian control, when compared with the ongoing crisis and dysfunctionality of the post-1989 *l'état providence,* many still find the "good old days" of the socialist welfare state to be far more appealing than muddling through permanent uncertainty and fear on a daily basis. The post-1989 generations, on the other hand, overwhelmingly live in the here and now, and do not seem particularly concerned about the darker side of the communist system. Rather, they discover and use bits and pieces of the old system in their current anti-system and anti-establishment phraseology.

Pancheva-Kirkova, 2013, *Between Propaganda and Cultural Diplomacy: Nostalgia towards Socialist Realism in Post-Communist Bulgaria*, https://www.scribd.com/document/220436391/Nina-Pancheva-Kirkova-Between-Propaganda-and-Cultural-DiplomacyNostalgia-Towards-Socialist-Realism-in-Post-Communist-Bulgaria, accessed September 7, 2021.

21 Piotr Sztompka, 2000, *Trauma wielkiej zmiany: Społeczne koszty transformacji*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Znak.

22 Anita Miszalska, 1996, "O apatii politycznej Polaków", *Kultura i Społeczeństwo* 2, pp. 131–148.

23 Zofia Kinowska-Mazaraki, 2021, "The Polish Paradox: From a Fight for Democracy to the Political Radicalization and Social Exclusion", *Social Sciences* 10(3):112.

For an "outsider", a "Westerner", the pre-1989 civilisational reality means a predominantly bizarre and humorous matrix. This may explain the ever growing popularity of so-called communist heritage tourism. Rasa Baločkaitė's study on dealing with the burden of a rejected past in post-socialist urban space explains the paradoxical nature of such dissonance heritage:

> In a paradoxical way, the socialist heritage tourism is generating complex associations with the socialist past. Continuous exposure to the tourists' interest and discourses imposed from the outside (Western tourists and Western travel guides) foster self-reflection and articulation of one's own past. These are the empowering effects of tourism; it allows positive identification with one's personal past and softens the effects of the dramatic experiences of disjuncture, discontinuity, and displacement without relocation.[24]

Connecting a general feeling of post-communist nostalgia with its symbolic representation in the Central European urban landscape seems both conceptually challenging and a fascinating research endeavour. Craig Young and Sylvia Kaczmarek, in their post-socialist urban identity state-of-the art, explain this challenge:

> […] little is known about the relationship between urban space, the representation of cities and postsocialist identity formation […]. By focusing on the 'Europeanization' of postsocialist urban identity, however, this literature neglects to examine the role played by the other pasts of such cities, particularly their socialist pasts. This omission potentially limits our understanding of postsocialist urban identity formation given that postsocialist societies have acknowledged and struggled to come to terms with their socialist (and other) 'unwelcome pasts' in various ways.[25]

Consequently, in a more empirical tone, Young and Kaczmarek argue that:

> The re-emergence of these pasts also raises issues of how they should be evaluated and represented. The socialist and Soviet pasts of cities are also receiving more acknowledgement in some cities where there is continuity in Soviet-era urban cultural landscapes (e.g. Sevastopol, Ukraine; see Qualls, 2005) or a positive re-evaluation of state-socialist urban landscapes (e.g. Stalinallee

[24] Rasa Baločkaitė, 2012, "Coping with the Unwanted Past in Planned Socialist Towns: Visaginas, Tychy, and Nowa Huta", *Slovo* 24:1 (Spring), p. 58.

[25] Craig Young, Sylvia Kaczmarek, 2008, "The Socialist Past and Post-Socialist Urban Identity in Central and Eastern Europe", *European Urban and Regional Studies* 15:1, p. 54.

> in the former East Berlin [Kil, 2005]). Some cities, such as Gdańsk (Poland) and Leipzig (Germany), explicitly acknowledge the socialist period but do so by emphasizing their histories of anti-Communist resistance in their contemporary identity. The growth of 'Communist heritage tourism' is generating complex processes of acknowledging the socialist past in the contemporary identities of postsocialist cities (Frank, 2006; Young and Light, 2006). However, in general the literature lacks consideration of how other, perhaps 'less welcome', pasts may 'resist forgetting' and return to unsettle and disrupt dominant contemporary narratives of postsocialist identity formation.[26]

To make the picture complete, we cannot ignore the case of Nowa Huta as empirical evidence of a particular kind of Central European post-socialist heritage – the urban symbolic identity nexus model. Alison Stenning offered an insightful picture of Nowa Huta and the turbulent transformation of its post-socialist city landscape.[27] The major analytical frame of reference of this study was the "places, economies and identities" nexus set against a wider background of finding a *new place* for post-socialist industrial functionalism in a contemporary urban space.[28]

However, what makes the case of Nowa Huta particularly striking is its unique legacy of an ideal working-class urban neighbourhood identity that in many respects transgresses other forms of post-socialist industrial urban transformation. The core problem here seems to be the dialectical nature of Nowa Huta's *lieux de memoire* in the sense that it could be acknowledged as both a magnifier of general trends present in Poland, and elsewhere in Central

[26] Ibid., p. 55. See also: Karl D. Qualls, 2005, "'Today's Travel through Sevastopol's Past", paper presented at the conference 'Cities after the Fall: European Integration and Urban History', Harvard University, USA, http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~ces-lib/docs/postcommunistcities.pdf, accessed March 1, 2022; Wolfgang Kil, 2005, "Berlin: Post-communist or Anti-modern?", paper presented at the conference 'Cities after the Fall: European Integration and Urban History' (Mar.), Harvard University, USA, http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~ces-lib/docs/kilberlin.pdf, accessed March 1, 2022; Sybille Frank, 2006, "Disputed Tourist Stages, Heritage Stories and Cultural Scripts at Checkpoint Charlie, Berlin", in: Sebastian Schröder-Esch, Justus H. Ulbricht (eds.), *The Politics of Heritage and Regional Development Strategies – Actors, Interests, Conflicts*, Weimar: Bauhaus Universität Weimar, pp. 175–185; Craig Young, Duncan Light, 2006, "'Communist Heritage Tourism": Between Economic Development and European Integration', in: Dieter Hassenpflug, Burkhardt Kolbmüller, Sebastian Schröder-Esch (eds.), *Heritage and Media in Europe: Contributing towards Integration and Regional Development*, Weimar: Bauhaus Universität Weimar, pp. 249–263.

[27] Alison Stenning, 2000, "Placing (Post-)Socialism: The Making and Remaking of Nowa Huta", *Poland, European Urban and Regional Studies* 7:2, pp. 99–118.

[28] Ibid.

Europe, while at the same time an extreme case of urban post-industrialisation syndrome. Alison Stenning has been outspoken in emphasising the phenomenon of Nowa Huta:

> As a major urban–industrial centre, the experiences of Nowa Huta have been in many ways characteristic of wider changes in Poland and elsewhere in Central Europe. These changes include the reorienting of economic and political priorities, the promotion of particular types of work, workplace and space (from the architectural to the political), the increasing challenges to socialism by workers and other pressure groups and their repression, the ongoing replacement of socialism by market practices and the increasing influence of wider European economic and cultural. However, in many ways Nowa Huta can be seen not as characterizing but caricaturing these changes. The sheer scale of industrial development and the importance attached to the construction of a 'socialist city' in Nowa Huta are atypical, taking many of the more general tendencies to their extreme.[29]

One way of conceptually framing post-communist nostalgia and urban landscape identity-building is to go beyond the post-1989 elitist narrative of really existing socialism's inherently and exclusively oppressive nature. Challenging this symbolic mainstream and elitist rhetoric by offering an alternative, reconciliatory vision of the communist past seems a particular kind of indispensable right to remember the past in its full complexity. This, in turn, may be the reason for the renaissance in the popular interest in traces of the unwanted past so that the past – however traumatic it might be – can be reconciled with the present. As observed by Irena Reifová:

> Inquiry into the roots and meanings of post-socialist nostalgia generally results in two different kinds of nostalgia, with scant attempts to look at the dichotomy dialectically. Post-socialist nostalgia is defined either as an affirmative outlook on social security under socialism (socio-political nostalgia) or as a comeback of the iconicity of socialist everyday life mediated by the media and the cultural industry (cultural nostalgia). This study argues that socio-political, as well as cultural, nostalgia derive from the superior mnemonic motivation and urge of popular memory to reinstate continuity between the past and the present.[30]

[29] Ibid., p. 99.

[30] Irena Reifová, 2018, "The Pleasure of Continuity: Re-reading Post-socialist Nostalgia", *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 21:6, p. 595.

Another way of explaining the contested nature of post-communist nostalgia and symbolic representation in the Central European urban *lieux de memoire* nexus might be the commodification and political instrumentalization of societal memory, as rightly observed by Barbara Törnquist-Plewa.[31] As she insightfully notes:

> Since the 1990s considerable changes have occurred in local politics of memory within the cities of [Eastern and Central Europe] due to the influence of liberalisation, globalisation and Europeanisation. The most visible feature of these changes is that the memories of the vanished populations underwent the process of commodification and political instrumentalization. These memories became objects of nostalgia and commodities for sale, but also tools used by sections of the national and the local political elites to display that they were complying with the values promoted by the EU.[32]

By way of concluding our reflections on *lieux de memoire* and post-communist nostalgia in Central European urban spaces, let us once again recall the generational memory factor as the driving motive behind the persistence of the appeal of post-communist nostalgia. Brett R. Chloupek's account of the leftover landscape of communism in Košice as a liminal landscape seems particularly relevant:

> The question remains: how long will the current liminal phase that is called post-communism continue – or at least what may signal its conclusion? A possible answer may be: as long as elements of the communist city-text are still viable as sources of political meaning and serve the purpose of calling to mind the old system for those people who are able to remember.[33]

[31] Barbara Törnquist-Plewa, 2016, "Cosmopolitan Memory, European Memory and Local Memories in East Central Europe", *Australian Humanities Review* 59, pp. 136–154, http://australianhumanitiesreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/AHR-59_Plewa-Tornquist.pdf, accessed September 5, 2021.

[32] Ibid., p. 150.

[33] Brett R. Chloupek, 2019, "Post-communist City Text in Košice, Slovakia as a Liminal Landscape", *Miscellanea Geographica – Regional Studies on Development* 23:2.

Questions for further research:

What makes Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire* a revolutionary concept in history-memory nexus research?

Is post-communist nostalgia in the Central European urban symbolic landscape evidence of a natural attitude to remember the past in its complexity?

What are some examples of post-communist nostalgia in the Central European urban landscape of successful reconciliation between an unwanted past and the present?

References

Baločkaitė Rasa, 2012, "Coping with the Unwanted Past in Planned Socialist Towns: Visaginas, Tychy, and Nowa Huta", *Slovo* 24:1 (Spring).

Bernhard Michael, Kubik Jan (eds.), 2014, *Twenty Years after Communism: The Politics of Memory and Commemoration*, New York: Oxford University Press, https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199375134.001.0001.

Catterall Peter, 2017, "Changing Attitudes to the Past: Lieux de Memoire and Contested Histories", *Westminster Research*, http://www.westminster.ac.uk/westminsterresearch.

Chloupek Brett R., 2019, "Post-communist City Text in Košice, Slovakia as a Liminal Landscape", *Miscellanea Geographica – Regional Studies on Development* 23:2, https://doi.org/10.2478/mgrsd-2019-0009.

Cunha Matos Madalena, 2013, "Digital *lieux de mémoire*: Notes from a Portuguese Perspective", *Architecture Beyond Europe* 3, https://doi.org/10.4000/abe.328.

Frank Sybille, 2006, "Disputed Tourist Stages, Heritage Stories and Cultural Scripts at Checkpoint Charlie, Berlin", in: Sebastian Schröder-Esch, Justus H. Ulbricht (eds.), *The Politics of Heritage and Regional Development Strategies – Actors, Interests, Conflicts*, Weimar: Bauhaus Universität Weimar.

Juneja Monica, 2009, "Architectural Memory between Representation and Practice: Rethinking Pierre Nora's *Les lieux de mémoire*", in: Indra Sengupta (ed.), *Memory, History and Colonialism: Engaging with Pierre Nora in Colonial and Postcolonial Contexts*, London: German Historical Institute London.

Kil Wolfgang, 2005, "Berlin: Post-communist or Anti-modern?", paper presented at the conference 'Cities after the Fall: European Integration and Urban History' (Mar.), Harvard University, USA, http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~ces-lib/docs/kilberlin.pdf.

Kinowska-Mazaraki Zofia, 2021, "The Polish Paradox: From a Fight for Democracy to the Political Radicalization and Social Exclusion", *Social Sciences* 10(3):112, https:// doi.org/10.3390/socsci10030112.

Miszalska Anita, 1996, "O apatii politycznej Polaków", *Kultura i Społeczeństwo* 2.

Montaño Eugenia Allier, 2008, "Places of Memory: Is the Concept Applicable to the Analysis of Memorial Struggles? The Case of Uruguay and Its Recent Past", *Cuadernos del CLAEH* 4(se), http://socialsciences.scielo.org/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0797-60622008000100001&lng=en&tlng=en.

Nora Pierre, 1989, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire", *Representations* (University of California Press) 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring), https://doi.org/10.2307/2928520 .

Nora Pierre, Lawrence D. Kritzman (eds.), 1996, *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, vol. 1: *Conflicts and Divisions*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Pancheva-Kirkova Nina, 2013, *Between Propaganda and Cultural Diplomacy: Nostalgia towards Socialist Realism in Post-Communist Bulgaria*, https://www.scribd.com/document/220436391/Nina-Pancheva-Kirkova-Between-Propaganda-and-Cultural-DiplomacyNostalgia-Towards-Socialist-Realism-in-Post-Communist-Bulgaria.

Qualls Karl D., 2005, "Today's Travel through Sevastopol's Past", paper presented at the conference 'Cities after the Fall: European Integration and Urban History', Harvard University, USA, http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~ces-lib/docs/postcommunistcities.pdf.

Reifová Irena, 2018, "The Pleasure of Continuity: Re-reading Post-socialist Nostalgia", *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 21:6, https://doi.org/10.1177/1367877917741693.

Stenning Alison, 2000, "Placing (Post-)Socialism: The Making and Remaking of Nowa Huta", *Poland, European Urban and Regional Studies* 7:2, https://doi.org/10.1177/096977640000700201.

Štroblová Kateřina, 2020, "Whose Nostalgia is Ostalgia? Post-Communist Nostalgia in Central-European Contemporary Art", *Bibliotekarz Podlaski* 47:2, https://doi.org/10.36770/bp.481.

Szpociński Andrzej, 2016, "Sites of Memory", *Teksty Drugie* 1, Special Issue – English Edition, Institute of Literary Research Polish Academy of Science.

Sztompka Piotr, 2000, *Trauma wielkiej zmiany: Społeczne koszty transformacji*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Znak.

Törnquist-Plewa Barbara, 2016, "Cosmopolitan Memory, European Memory and Local Memories in East Central Europe", *Australian Humanities Review* 59, http://australianhumanitiesreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/AHR-59_Plewa-Tornquist.pdf.

Traba Robert, 2016, "Two Dimensions of History: An Opening Sketch", *Teksty Drugie* 1, Special Issue – English Edition, Institute of Literary Research Polish Academy of Science.

Young Craig, Kaczmarek Sylvia, 2008, "The Socialist Past and Post-Socialist Urban Identity in Central and Eastern Europe", *European Urban and Regional Studies* 15:1, https://doi.org/10.1177/0969776407081275.

Young Craig, Light Duncan, 2006, "'Communist Heritage Tourism': Between Economic Development and European Integration", in: Dieter Hassenpflug, Burkhardt Kolbmüller, Sebastian Schröder-Esch (eds.), *Heritage and Media in Europe: Contributing towards Integration and Regional Development*, Weimar: Bauhaus Universität Weimar.

PART II

https://doi.org/10.12797/9788381386708.07

The Role of the Museum in the Creation of the Identity of the City

ŁUCJA PIEKARSKA
Jagiellonian University in Kraków

ABSTRACT

While heritage plays a major role in the construction of collective identities of many cities and towns, it is important to study their musems' programs and collections as they do not only store but also interpret significant symbolic resources used in the processes of such collective identity formation. City museums are however often underestimated as institutions of public service due to the role they play in tourism, and this is how they are predominantly seen.

This chapter presents introduction to heritage and museum studies by providing some examples and terms needed for effective research of city museums. It contains both theoretical considerations and some exercises that can be conducted by students (and anyone wishing to reflect upon the nature of heritage in the perspective of city). Both the methods of storytelling and the making of collections are looked at with the aim of encouraging readers to study specific examples of city museums.

Keywords: heritage, museums, city, exhibition, identity, memory

"Give me a museum and I'll fill it"
The City
(also: Pablo Picasso)

If you were to stop tourists and travellers taking the metro from the airport to the centre of Lisbon and ask them "Why are you here?" we would probably hear these answers or similar ones: "For the history and atmosphere of this city", "for the Fado bars and azulejos", "because of Alfama, its steep streets and unique atmosphere", "because my bucket list includes a ride on the famous yellow trams", "I love the local churches and street altars of St. Antony", or "the Jeronimos Monastery is one of the greatest architectural miracles".

All these answers (and many others) refer to the local heritage, and more precisely to the part of it that motivates many journeys: **the combination of tangible and intangible elements**. The promise of unique experiences related to travel is based – among other things – on the fact that thanks to their history, cities and other spaces not only allow us to find out how it used to be, but above all to find ourselves under new conditions. As in the song, "I am a traveller / I go from place to place / to see my face when I am gone",[1] the most important thing in heritage is to reflect on ourselves.

Heritage allows one to construct multi-layered stories about identity. This is why it is more than collections of old things, more than historic buildings. Heritage is a part of culture and social life, the study of which allows us to understand how people remember,[2] how they organize their lived world for the purposes of collective memory, how they want to build communities of memory (and forgetting), and finally how they structure the tremendous diversity of their lives and others who are no longer with them. Hence, in the theory of heritage, we ask questions about what makes something heritage, what (and why) forms of commemoration are available, what values and what heroes are chosen as models of attitudes, or who determines the meaning of heritage. Crucial in this respect is how heritage responds to social needs, especially in terms of identity-creation processes.

EXERCISE
Try to formulate your own definition of heritage. How do you understand this concept? Make a note of your definition and then find an official one, for ex-

[1] Guru, *Jazzmatazz*, vol. 2: *The New Reality* (1995).
[2] See: Paul Connerton, 1989, *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

ample those used by UNESCO and ICOMOS. Check what the abbreviations of these organizations mean and remember to record the bibliographic reference of this definition, as it may be useful in your further work. Does your definition of heritage match either of the official ones? What connects them?

Today, it is often openly said that the most important thing in sharing heritage is the building of personal relationships (not just preserving the past or sharing a collection). Today, hardly anyone would deny Lisbon Fado bars the status of heritage, or the tradition of drying cod, or the local altars of St. Anthony, which are by definition temporary and impermanent. Today, we recognize that heritage is not only about places, objects, buildings, and monuments; we now see it as a domain of diversity: both what it consists of and how it is interpreted. Private stories or personal objects can quite easily become "heritage objects" today. This is because heritage is naturally associated with the extremely dynamic domain that is social memory and, more broadly, collective identity.

EXERCISE
Can you recall a specific experience that made a deep impression on you and was related to heritage? What was it? You can choose from a few different memories (travels, exploring your neighbourhood, etc.) and then see what they had in common. Write down a few key words to help you define what a visitor's or traveller's experience could be. You can get interesting results by comparing your reflections with those of your colleagues. What does heritage mean for you?

The Museum of Broken Relationships in Zagreb is a good example of the broader understanding of heritage.[3] It is a space where – like a traditional museum – personal items that are directly related to partings are exhibited. These items usually do not have much objective value, but thanks to the stories attached to them, they reveal emotions and experiences that may turn out to be very interesting for visitors. Is there anyone who can honestly admit that they are completely ignorant of any breakups and their causes, courses, and consequences? Of course, it can be said that above all the museum allows its donors to work through trauma, and in this sense it is more a place of therapy than commemoration. However, it is worth noting a few elements that contribute to the popularity and appeal of this place. First of all, the objects are mostly unpretentious, they are "somewhat ours", ordinary, so it is much easier to relate to them than to sophisticated collections of, for example, furniture from a royal

[3] Museum of Broken Relationships, https://brokenships.com, accessed March 3, 2022.

court. Second, the items are chosen for their personal importance, and so are immediately more credible. Third, the narrative nature of this museum is crucial: ordinary things "come to life" precisely thanks to appropriate interpretations included in the text. Finally, despite these obvious differences between this institution and traditional heritage sites, the site declares itself to be a museum. Multiple voices, interpretability, unpretentiousness and the everyday, these are the features of many contemporary heritage institutions.

Of course, it was not always so. Let us therefore consider how the understanding of the concept of "heritage" has changed, and especially how those changes have reflected broader social processes. In this chapter, we will also travel to a few European cities to see how very different contemporary ways of remembering and interpreting the past can be. We will also take a closer look at a few museums and institutions where heritage plays a special role. We will also try to note some fundamental trends and tendencies that play a significant role in museology today. Above all, however, we will pose a number of questions from research areas as the theory of heritage, the anthropology of memory, or museum studies. Perhaps reading this chapter will make your next trip, or even a visit to a local museum, a more rewarding experience.

"The past is a foreign country"

The quote above, coined by L. P. Hartley in his novel *The Go-Between* and later popularized by the historian David Lowenthal,[4] is among the most oft-quoted in the field of heritage. Even though everyone knows it, it still has not lost its relevance, which can be said that it has long since freed itself from its original context and few of those repeating it know exactly what Lowenthal meant. Before you check his own definition for yourself, let us take a look at what that phrase might mean.

The past is primarily something that we do not have direct access to (assuming we are unable to travel back in time). This means that we are left to try to imagine and reconstruct a world that no longer exists. In order to define these ideas as precisely as possible, considerable scientific research has been

[4] David Lowenthal, 1985, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

conducted, including in some of the most important disciplines for heritage, such as archaeology, history and art history.

Yet what if your life were to be reconstructed from a few objects that belong to you, with the use of these scientific disciplines? You would probably be surprised and perhaps not even recognise yourself in this description. There would be a lack of what constitutes the uniqueness of each of us: our emotions, dilemmas that we still face, our feelings, everyday conversations or worries that we deal with in different ways. When we take up the challenge of talking about the past, we have no way of comparing the results of historical research with how people really lived back then. After all, an object excavated by archaeologists is only a small fragment of a diverse world and it is very difficult to define exactly what role it had, and often even what function it might have performed for its owner. Of course, modern technologies and methods of working with heritage are extremely helpful in accurate interpretations of the past. However, we must always remember that we are dealing only with fragments, sometimes not well-preserved, and, equally importantly, devoid of the original context.

EXERCISE
Create a "box of me", or in other words, your own mini-museum. Choose 3-5 objects which have a particular significance for you or perhaps even define you. If an object won't fit on the desk because of its size, you can draw it instead. Now consider how you would describe your exhibits. You only have a small card for each exhibit, so try to think of the most important information to help your visitors understand the exhibit.

One of the most important scholars of the twentieth century, Michel Foucault, proposed that when talking about the past we should not try to reconstruct it, because that would be impossible. Instead, Foucault wanted to discover primal, socially ingrained ways of thinking and producing knowledge.[5] He wondered from where people got their convictions and beliefs that had a direct impact on their lives. He was convinced that they also influenced the meanings attached to specific objects (some of them we see in museums). Moreover, Foucault believed that heritage experts should reconstruct such systems for the acquisition, transmission and interpretation of knowledge. To describe his idea, he adopted a term referring to one of the fundamental branches of heritage: "the archaeology of knowledge".

[5] Michel Foucault, 1969, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, London: Routledge.

EXERCISE
Find some biographical information about Michel Foucault and make a note of the most interesting titles of his works.

Today, with most of our knowledge coming from the internet and both easily and immediately available, it can be difficult for us to imagine the old pre-digital era. However, the internet and mobile technologies were not the first inventions to completely change the lives of entire societies and civilizations. Many such inventions today look very inconspicuous and even anachronistic, but thanks to research conducted by specialists in social history, we have the opportunity to imagine social processes in which inconspicuous objects played an important role for many people. One such example is the sewing machine, the advent of which made the work of seamstresses faster and their products cheaper. Of course, when factories began to appear, in which clothes were sewn on a large scale, the demand for dressmakers decreased, because clothes from factories were even cheaper. However, the mere fact that one invention made it possible to create a home workshop at low cost had a tremendous impact on the lives of individuals and entire societies. But how can we talk about the sewing machine today in a manner that captures the tremendous social change that it brought about? How can we describe such an exhibit so that it is something more than just an object that is part of a workshop? How can we formulate information about it in such a way that will allow our contemporaries to imagine the context in which it was used? And, finally, does an ordinary sewing machine constitute heritage?

Let us recall the words made popular by David Lowenthal: the past is a foreign country. Always, regardless of the advancement of scientific research, the past will remain alien to some degree, impossible to reconstruct, understand or imagine. We are separated by a distance from both the old world and to the people who lived in it. What we have access to are only fragments of the past, and heritage provides ways to create stories that connect these – accessible – elements. Therefore, heritage is not an objective record of the past, but much more its interpretation – constructed in response to needs (knowledge, conditions, etc.) and from the perspective of the present. So should all that remains of the past be considered heritage? Above all, who determines what heritage is? With these questions to hand, we can consider one of the most important issues related to social memory.

Martyrs and heroes

In many cultures, the memory of ancestors and the past is so important that it is commonly described as ancestor worship. There are various rituals associated with it that allow a certain sense of the presence of ancestors to be maintained, even though they are no longer present among the living members of the community. Thanks to this, despite the fact that its members die the community does not lose them, because it gains ancestors and with them a sense of continuity. During rituals, the community tells itself about what happened before, and thus also about who its members are today. This heritage includes, among other aspects, traditions and rituals that are repeated, so that the continuity with the past is maintained.

EXERCISE
Are there references to the past in the national and/or state rituals that take place in your country? What form do they take? What messages can be found in them? How would you describe the nature of these gatherings? What makes them celebrations?

In many countries, the memory of ancestors is still a very important part of social life, and the past itself is a valuable symbolic resource. This means that in situations where collective identity is discussed, that is, whenever we attempt to answer the question of "who are we?", certain symbols, objects and stories from the past are evoked. Nations and other social groups are eager to refer to the heroic tales of their past, often honouring figures they consider to be martyrs who sacrificed their lives or attained important achievements that are remembered to this day, and which are sources of pride. Every social group also has a wealth of events from its past which it does not want to remember, because they are not sources of pride. It is often believed that this, known as "difficult memory", does not strengthen social ties, although some are of the conviction that a shared responsibility for the past makes societies more aware, open and democratic.

EXERCISE
Are there any events in the past of your nation that transpired but that do not reinforce an unequivocally positive image of your nation? Why, in your opinion, is the assessment of these events debatable?

Another question is the grounds upon which our knowledge of the past actually rests. It is true that the methodology of history and its auxiliary sciences

are still very much evolving. However, the problem still remains that many groups and individuals have left no evidence that would allow them to be included in the official canon of history. This applies especially to those groups that were excluded from the circles in power, although it is difficult to say that their role in life was insignificant. Often minority groups (different from the dominant culture) did not document their lives other than orally, or in other ways that have not survived to this day. Even more often, minority voices were not taken into account in creating the official version of the story. Women, non-heteronormative people, non-dominant people, children, the sick, the poor and many, many other diverse social groups and individuals have been excluded from official history for centuries.

Today, the broadly understood notion of heritage gives them a chance to speak on an equal footing with those who exercised power and had more opportunities to record their achievements. It can be said that this turn to marginalized stories is a measure of justice, but it also significantly enriches our understanding and interpretation of the past.

When it comes to the history and heritage of cities, diversity and polyphony are extremely important issues. Without diminishing the importance of such events as the location of the city or official celebrations, which are often well documented and can still be seen in their testimonies, it is worth saying that a city's past – no less than its present – is made up of the fates of many different people, their efforts, joys, dilemmas, and successes… Many contemporary museums and other heritage institutions make efforts to ensure that heritage is an area of public life that does not only show the official version of history.

Nevertheless, the symbolic resources offered by the past are willingly used in politics, and, unfortunately, also abused. The image of the past provided by the ruling elite (from all political sides) often refers to selected events from the past, and their interpretation is often aimed at strengthening the government's program. The stories of selected heroes from the past are also reinforced, and their profiles are promoted to reflect current ideologies. Heritage, due to its diversity, but also because the past cannot be ultimately verified, provides opportunities for manipulation and abuse. Politicians use the power of social memory and the power of symbols that are preserved in heritage.

Nowadays, much is said about the democratization of heritage, so among other things, the question is raised: Who has the right to interpret it and choose its elements? More and more local communities and marginalized groups are

institutionalizing their ways of remembering the past. There are museums and local archives with various stories and exhibits, including private objects. Increasingly, heritage is becoming an opportunity to express the identity of minority groups. Unfortunately, the official and dominant version of heritage still receives the greatest financial support, while marginalized heritage is displayed at temporary exhibitions or in smaller museum centres.

Representation and interpretation

Imagine that you want to tell someone about your life and yourself with items. Your task is to select a few things that you consider significant for yourself, those that say something important about you. Put these things in front of you and show them to someone without adding anything else. Just let someone else interpret them, no matter what they know about you (and what they don't). Perhaps you have already prepared such a collection by completing the "box of me" task above.

Perhaps some of the interpretations you get will be in line with what you think about yourself. Certainly, however, without a story and explanation, it will be difficult to pinpoint exactly what your chosen items are intended to mean. For example, the watch you have chosen may show the importance you attach to the passage of time and punctuality. At the same time, it might be a representation of a particular memory, for example the day you got it. We can easily see that what is the most important thing about a particular object might be completely different to what another person sees in it.

In heritage, we are frequently confronted with different processes of interpretation. Usually, some fragment of the past becomes available in a new context, having lost its original significance. It can be said that exhibits are things that come to mean more, beyond their practical meaning. (Of course, many exhibits never had any practical significance, but their original context has changed anyway, and so have been somehow reinterpreted.) So sometimes in the conditions of the official institutionalization of heritage, in order to unify a selected interpretation, the context in which the exhibit is presented is strengthened. Thanks to this, the understanding of the past may become less controversial, although there is no consensus that the homogeneity (as opposed to the diversity) of interpretations of the past necessarily translates into a social bond.

Museum collections are a good example of the combination of representation and interpretation, while at the same time creating a new context that allows the creation of a story that combines individual elements. Collections can be groupings of items that have something in common. They can also illustrate a single topic or concept. Imagine your own colourful collection of things. Now think of a private collection of items that would illustrate old age (either childhood or freedom). You will easily notice that the selection of items itself is very individual (and arbitrary), and collecting them into one set in a fixed order can be compared to building sentences out of individual words, or an essay with individual sentences.

One could say that heritage is based on the interplay between the processes of representation and interpretation. Fragments of the past receive new contexts in heritage. Sometimes the memory of heritage is given a fixed organizational framework, for example when museums are established. We are then talking about the institutionalization of heritage. One of the important contemporary trends in the field is the democratization of heritage. It is a process that supports its diversity and polyphony, extending the authority of interpretation beyond experts. Efforts are made to involve local communities in the process of interpreting the heritage of those communities; artists are invited, and various project activities are created. One of the consequences of democratizing heritage is the loss of uniformity in the message of the past. Not only are we dealing with various historical testimonies, but they are also remembered in different ways, not to mention the problem of representation: how can objects illustrate a topic, event or idea that interests us? Will they always be perceived as intended by the authors of the message?

Representation and interpretation in urban museums

Museums whose mission is (among other things) to research and disseminate the history of cities find many ways to serve not only tourists for whom visiting a museum often serves as an orientation in the space-time of the place visited, but also the inhabitants of the cities they are concerned with. There are museums that reserve spaces for the purpose of which the neighbours of the museum co-decide. Others create digital archives of local history or invite people to record local stories. As heritage is no longer limited by a material or official definition, many people may feel invited to co-create museums.

At the Helsinki City Museum, it was decided to show a temporary exhibition in which the city was interpreted by skateboarders. There you can watch movies, see photos of specific skate spots, and listen to what skaters have to say about their city. The exhibition also featured skateboards, but they do not play the central role of the exhibition. Meanwhile, at the Quai Branly in Paris, a museum that has collected thousands of artifacts related to various cultures of the world, their creators, among others, comment on their own works. For example, visitors to the museum can see how Australian Aboriginal paintings are made and then admire them as museum objects. Thanks to the sharing of a film that shows the original context of the creation of the paintings, visitors learn about an important context that cannot be recreated in a museum.

The Ethnographic Museum in Krakow presented an exhibition entitled the "Art of the Allotment": an interpretative, multi-layered story about the phenomenon of urban gardening. The exhibition used, among others, large-scale portraits of gardeners, which were presented in a sound space where gardeners talked about what urban gardening meant to them. Through this technique, the typical objectifying, external commentary was replaced with personal stories. Moreover, the collection consisted of objects invented and made by modern gardeners, and not, for example, historical garden tools (which can also be found in the museum's collection).

Storytelling in museums

We know all too well that without direct access to the past, we are doomed to interpret only its fragments. While many of these past pieces of evidence seem to communicate what they represent immediately to experts, most museum visitors will appreciate the support they receive during their visit. In many cases, a guided tour is a great option; elsewhere you choose to visit on your own with an audio guide or using other techniques that allow guests to gain knowledge at their own pace and according to their interests. Today there are so-called narrative museums, in which the interpretation of heritage takes the form of a story. Not only can visitors tell their stories themselves from the available objects, presented in various contexts. Not only do guides try to bring the past to museum visitors in an appealing way. Smaller stories, as if told by "people from the past", are also included in the scope of heritage, and they too become part of the exhibitions.

The moving testimonies of Holocaust survivors, presented as videos at many museum exhibitions, are a good example of how a story based on a personal experience becomes more convincing than many exhibits.

The Story of Berlin Museum presents two parallel stories of the city, which developed in a completely different ways during the period when it was divided by the wall. The effect of parallelism and distinctness of the two parts of Berlin could only be achieved with the acceptance of the narrative of heritage: pluralistic and challenging the concept of one official story. In turn, in the Lisbon Story Museum, a museum full of intertextual games from its name onwards, situations based on real and legendary stories about the city were arranged. Despite the lack of original artifacts in this facility, the story is told in a fascinating way: it was recognized that not only material traces and historical sources testify to the city's heritage, but also frequently repeated stories. With the help of modern technologies, visitors also become participants in the dramatic events of the historic earthquake that completely changed the city.

EXERCISE
Do you know any museum or other municipal institution that is dedicated to telling local history? What methods are used to present the heritage found there? Do you remember any particular exhibits, facts, or biographies used in the narratives of these museums?

City museums are often keen to refer to their founding myths, stories that locate the existence of the city in some distant past. Typically, the founding myth is legendary in nature and not treated as an objective story that is practiced within a scientific discipline. However, it is precisely such stories that visitors often remember, while forgetting dates and names. The founding myth (and others) is also an important aspect of the marketing of a place, contributing to the popularization of many cities.

The Museum of Krakow, with the help of a mechanical theatre, in which the main role is played by a mechanical raven, presents a show about the history of the place where the city was founded. Pictures that are meant to reflect what is inaccessible to us today, imaginary spaces are complemented with music and sound, but the narrator is a mechanical bird. Everything is therefore far from literal, but it allows you to enjoy the simple charms of visiting a museum.

EXERCISE
Do you know the founding myth of the place that you are from?

Many museums encourage their visitors to share their thoughts and opinions. Some even ask visitors to record their stories and share them with others. The Stockholm Skansen has launched a special story cottage, where visitors can leave their own stories: both those that they experienced themselves and those that played an important role in their lives. These stories don't have to have anything to do with Swedish folk culture! It is more important for visitors to pay attention to how important and ubiquitous stories are. They allow us to imagine the past, but also make it easier to relate to what seems to be very distant.

The concrete and the abstract

There are museums that have the task of commemorating one person: by building stories about their life and achievements, it is possible to capture their biography as well as the times in which the hero of the museum lived. There are also those that aim to present a more comprehensive topic, for example the Museum of the Second World War in Gdansk, Poland. There are museums that talk about a place, not only about a city or region, but also about a moving space, such as a ship. There are museums related to a particular scientific discipline, and a number of other institutions that use the name of the museum for a fairly similar purpose: to present and make available a piece of heritage.

Regardless of the type of museum – and many attempts have been made to categorize them from various perspectives – it is recognized that all museums contain objects, most often authentic ones, which are subject to conservation processes, are scientifically examined and then made available to the public. As mentioned above, they receive new contexts during exhibitions and other activities carried out by museums, exhibits and entire collections. Sometimes museums decide to create special sets; other times they provide visitors with copies of some exhibits so that they can, for example, be touched. In this way, the specific experience of visitors becomes a source of memories and knowledge.

We know that museums relate to the diversity of the world. On the one hand, they are forced to organize its extremely complex reality. In order to somehow organize this multiplicity, they divide their collections into different departments. Neither of these divisions is entirely "natural", and they often correspond to the logic of individual auxiliary disciplines. Often, to help visitors create a cognitive context, museums propose lines or timelines, where the

dates are marked in a consecutive way. In this way, local events can be placed in a broader historical period or related to other, lesser or more distant episodes of the past.

It is worth noting that a meaningful use of timelines is only possible when time is represented in a linear (and not, for example, circular, or repeating) manner. A side effect of using a linear story about history is to create a continuity effect (of the nation, ethnic group, city, etc.). Such a procedure is, however, based on a gross simplification in which the past is told primarily from the official and dominant perspective.

Some museums choose to reveal some of the working methods they use, including self-reflection, in which there is no shortage of self-criticism. The Army Museum in Stockholm offers a fascinating overview of specific cases of musealization, including those where falsification takes place: the creation of artificial heritage. The Stockholm curators also reveal some of the processes of constructing authenticity for museum activities. At the exhibition, which is the last step in visiting a traditional exposition about the Swedish Army, visitors have the opportunity to question some of the content that has just been presented to them. It is worth noting that the most important ideas of this exhibition result directly from the expanded definition of heritage, in which heritage is not only what (materially) we inherit, but also how and what is said about it, how and what is remembered, and how and what is forgotten. It is also important to analyse the contexts in which heritage is presented as well as – and perhaps most importantly – the relationship between the representation of the past and its interpretation. The challenge is in particular to present a diverse past in which different perspectives will be present and, at the same time, the content conveyed will be relevant and attractive to visitors. In doing so, museums must act in accordance with their missions, which are primarily concerned with the preservation and conservation of heritage.

Coffee, tango, szopki

Many of us have travel memories related to some sort of local experience. We went to watch ships arriving in the port, eat cheese in the place where it is produced, admire the frescoes on the wall of the church, or listen to local songs. Although you can read about all of these experiences on the Internet, their per-

sonal experience in places with which they are particularly associated (although not necessarily from there) is something completely different. Experience is another key word used in museology and in heritage theory. This concept refers to a specific reality that is experienced in a personalized way. When we experience something, we process messages and impulses that we encounter in a specific space. We use our senses in this, but most of all we try to accept and assimilate what we are dealing with. We usually remember experiences in which we learned something about ourselves, but we also mention those that can be called extraordinary.

Frequently, when in search of new experiences, we come across products, phenomena or spaces that are very specific. These include local holidays or traditions celebrated in specific places. We are often looking for local products that will remind us of our travels. However, many of these experiences are based not on things, but on something that is intangible, although undoubtedly an important part of the local experience.

A Neapolitan espresso, or a pizza eaten at a local pizzeria, ouzo sipped on the terrace of a Greek tavern, the smell of freshly baked baguettes in France, or the taste of wine from a wine cellar on the route to Santiago de Compostela – all of these are an important part of heritage. We believe that they are authentic aspects of the locality; we are looking for stories that connect them with space and history. Perhaps the strength of so-called intangible heritage is that it is made up of the work, imagination and fate of many people who lived before us? Perhaps that is why it is easier to experience the experience of contact with intangible heritage?

Intangible heritage is very diverse, as diverse as the cultures with which it is associated. Often it would be difficult to define its elements precisely, for example, "tango culture", included on the world list of intangible heritage, covers much more than just the dance. Another example of intangible heritage are the Krakow nativity scenes, or *szopki*, which are not only treated as small works of art, but also accorded their own annual competition held in a public space. Therefore, it is worth noting that intangible heritage means not only diverse customs, customs, traditions, relationships between people, but also the very ways of transmitting knowledge and memory. The fact that it is often difficult to grasp does not change its importance for the formation of many identities, both collective and individual. The heritage may be the spatial arrangement of the city or the New Year's tradition of visiting neighbours. The fact that heritage comes from the past and extends to the present does not mean, of course, that

it remains unchanged – on the contrary, it undergoes many transformations resulting from, among other things, social changes.

Intangible heritage plays a huge role in the process of democratization. As already mentioned, the past of many minority groups has not been sufficiently well documented, but the memory of it has survived in various forms. Recognizing intangible heritage, and also everyday or private heritage, as important components of collective identity, allows us to hope that it will be an important frame of reference and a source of inspiration in the future.

Kings and thieves

The history of cities is at least as multifaceted as the fate of their inhabitants, although in reality it is much more complicated. Cities have been important actors in international associations and networks, often becoming centres for the exchange of ideas, goods, and fashions. Some were the seats of states and kingdoms, and all are witnesses of the passing of time. For a long time, heritage was associated with a certain, often class-based, prestige. The aristocrats boasted about their origins dating back centuries, and their castles have been used as evidence of political and economic strength for centuries. The same is true of churches, monasteries and other monuments related to religion. We often treat them as unquestionable heritage, clearly worth preserving and disseminating.

Today, however, there is much talk of resigning from the indisputable worship of the past as part of expanding the concept of heritage. Of course, monuments are very important symbolic resources and should be cared for, but it is worth departing from presenting them only from the perspective created by official history. This is why many city museums and other heritage institutions choose polyphonic interpretations of their past. The voices that have not yet been heard find their place in them, as do the stories that have not yet been told. At the same time, many museums give their visitors a final assessment of the past by abandoning their monopoly on interpretation. Often, such attitudes in museums stem from their belief in democracy and civil society, part of which is personal responsibility, also for the stories we hear. Many museums thus encourage their visitors to seek and express their own opinions while avoiding unambiguous expressions of judgments about the deeds (and the choices behind them) made by our ancestors. These institutions admit that it is difficult

to judge other people's decisions made under conditions that we do not fully know. By the way, they see their task in initiating debates and meetings devoted to reflection on various topics. Contemporary museums often voluntarily relinquish their status as authoritarian institutions that are supposed to preserve the past and transmit unambiguously established knowledge about it. More and more often they want to be actual participants in social life, implement their own ideas, and challenge centuries-old patterns of behaviour.

Muses, unicorn horns, and spoons

The rise of the European museum is usually traced back to Antiquity. There were special places in Greek cities where you could contemplate art and encounter beauty. These places of the muses were called museums, and although some monuments remain, it is not known exactly how these places functioned. It can be assumed that they were closely related to the sphere of the sacred, and it is known that they played an important social role.

Contemporary heritage, also presented in museums, often refers to the most important issues, including those surrounding religion and religiosity. However, there are institutions that recognize that religion is a personal sphere, and that religious heritage is considered sensitive. It often transpires that decisions are made to donate exhibits to a religious (or other) community on the assumption that they primarily belong to them, and the museum is not the most appropriate place to exhibit them. Sensitive heritage also applies to human remains, which are sometimes exhibited in museums as if they were things.

Skulls, deformed foetuses and other physiological anomalies formed a significant part of collections which made up a heritage phenomenon second only to the Greek museums in importance. With travel in the Middle Ages much more difficult and expensive than today, expeditions were undertaken mainly by very wealthy people. Pharmacists and chemists comprised a group that was not only wealthy, but also had important reasons to travel. Their services were always valued and needed, and they themselves were respected, often replacing (overpriced) doctors. Pharmacists were famous especially for the souvenirs they brought back from their journeys. They were often displayed in pharmacy windows, which attracted children and other passers-by. Turtle shells, stuffed exotic animals, antlers, shells, roots, minerals… all of these, and many others

collected and stored according to the tastes and capacities of their owners, were called curiosities. It sometimes happened that such private collections gained international fame and people travelled from far and wide to see them. In the cabinets of curiosities there were mostly unusual objects: strange, but also beautiful. The ordinary was of no interest.

During the Renaissance, with the development of early archaeology, other collections began to appear, those of ancient works of art, especially sculptures. In addition, paintings and other items created by artists and craftsmen were collected. It seems that along with the increased interest in the art of Antiquity, the collections provided the impulse to consider proportion, beauty and ornamentation. The nineteenth century was another important period for national museums, leading to the creation of modern museums. These institutions were meant to support, and often create, the foundations of the emerging national mythologies. These stories, intended to testify to the continuity of groups inhabiting specific territories, were illustrated in national museums through various significant objects, usually ancient ones. Thus, early national museums documented, among other things, methods of adaptation to the natural environment by presenting collections of weapons and tools. They also presented monuments of official culture, including preserved documents, insignias of power, and historical paintings. These museums were intended to validate certain truths and myths by presenting the material objects that relate to them. The collections of early national museums included not only outstanding works, but also everyday objects. Thanks to this diversity, these museums could relate to very complex social groups, which were more and more often referred to as nations, playing an important role in building a sense of belonging to them. However, it can be said that decisions about what was in national collections were made without extensive public consultations, resulting instead from current political needs. The task of the national museums was to create certain canons by means of which national identity was to be created. It is therefore understandable that the focus was primarily on unambiguous, one-way messages.

This approach to heritage began to change, especially under the influence of the democratization processes which took place gradually after World War II. Little by little, the role of museums was modified so that today many of them consider themselves public service institutions. By involving ever wider groups of recipients of heritage in the processes of its interpretation, the models of museum organization shifted and evolved, along with their messages. The interactivity of museum exhibitions and rich educational programs for chil-

dren and their families are now considered a standard. The curators invite both artists and minority groups, which have thus far been marginalized, to cooperate. Often, contemporary museums want to primarily be places for the discussion of meanings, rather than treasuries that convey (seemingly) objective knowledge. At the same time, they have not abandoned the mission of preserving their collections and enriching them, but even these activities have become a pretext for interactions with museum guests.

The above, albeit extremely brief and simplified, overview of several heritage institutions influencing the shape and functioning of contemporary museums can stand as testament to one more thing: Heritage, long before the term was re-invented for emerging national communities, has always been a social construct that records and influences uncountable significant social changes. Always closely related to living social memory, heritage remains one of the most important areas for the creation of collective identities. From the collections of the muses to the cabinets of curiosities, to national collections, and then to participatory museums, heritage has always in some way repeated the logic of the dominant social structure, but it has also been present in the processes of change – often commenting on them from its own perspective.

References

Connerton Paul, 1989, *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511628061.

Foucault Michel, 1969, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, London: Routledge.

Lowenthal David, 1985, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Museum of Broken Relationships, https://brokenships.com.

Music

Guru, *Jazzmatazz*, vol. 2: *The New Reality* (1995).

https://doi.org/10.12797/9788381386708.08

Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development

GEANA DE MIRANDA LESCHKO
University of Deusto, Deusto Cities Lab

NEREA ARANBARRI KORTABARRIA
University of Deusto, Deusto Cities Lab

ABSTRACT

The article looks at the role of cultural heritage as driver of sustainable urban development. In the first section of the article, the authors explore the concept of sustainable urban development as a multidimensional development process that takes into account social, economic, environmental and cultural development. In the second part, the relationship between culture, cultural heritage and sustainable urban development is analysed. To conclude, a short description of the case study of Bilbao is presented. Throughout the article, several exercises are suggested for students and teachers to deepen the understanding of the issues and concepts presented in the text.

Keywords: cultural heritage, sustainable development, sustainable urban development, multidimensional development, SDGs

1. What is sustainable development?

Today, sustainable development is widely accepted as the basis for any development agenda, process, or transformation. The concept of sustainable development came to be widespread during the 1980s, when the 1987 report *Our Common Future*, more widely known as the Brundtland Report, defined sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." Since then, sustainable development has become a key word when talking about the development of nations, cities and communities, and has been adopted by public institutions, private companies, academic institutions and citizens. More than three decades after the Brundtland Report, in 2015 Sustainable Development was strongly reaffirmed as the only way to advance to the future by the United Nations with the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development and the 17 Sustainable Development Goals.[1]

Specifically, the term "sustainable development" was first used in the text of an agreement signed by 33 African countries in 1969. This agreement, promoted by the International Union for Conservation of Nature, was intended to provide a cultural and conceptual basis that would facilitate the incorporation of nature conservation policies into the regulatory bodies of African countries that had only recently been decolonized.

However, the debate surrounding the issue of the possibility of economic development without harming nature dates back to the discussions between Thomas Malthus – advocate of the "apocalyptic theory" on the future of the human species, according to which a population tends to grow in geometric progression over time, much faster than the availability of food, which grows in arithmetic progression – and Marie Jean Antoine Condorcet, who theorized, on the contrary, an era characterized by human beings capable of guaranteeing future generations happiness and not just mere existence. Condorcet was convinced that through the accumulation and exchange of knowledge, each person could come to the understanding of all events in the natural world. The human, moreover, was oriented towards a "perfect society" and the search for unity among all people, without distinction of race, religion, culture or gender.[2]

[1] More information about Agenda 2030 and Sustainable Development Goals at: https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/development-agenda/, accessed March 1, 2022.

[2] Giuseppantonio De Vincentiis, 2012, "La evolución del concepto de desarrollo sostenible", *Medio Ambiente & Derecho: Revista electrónica de derecho ambiental* 23.

It is important to note that the world experienced a period of unprecedented industrial and commercial expansion after World War II. As a consequence, people began to become aware of the threats that rapid population growth could generate, as well as of all the problems that pollution and the depletion of natural resources posed to the environment and to the very survival of human beings on planet Earth.[3]

As something akin to a hangover from the earlier rapid development, a climate of environmental alarmism set in during the 1970s and 1980s. The expectation of an imminent ecological catastrophe ended up stimulating the consolidation of a new way of thinking about development and paved the way for the establishment of sustainable development as an alternative to models based on unlimited economic growth.

This scenario marked the preparation of the *Our Common Future* report and the conceptual definition of sustainable development adopted in this document, which continued to evolve, as the debates on the issues related to the possibility, or not, of carrying out economic development without generating negative environmental impacts was also evolving.

Some of the policy frameworks that have reflected this conceptual evolution are:[4]

- The Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (1992), adopted at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (second Earth Summit), in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil).

For the first time, sustainable development is assumed at the global level as a guide for the formulation of rational and regional development policies, that is, the integration of development and the environment.

Another important outcome of the Summit was a document entitled Agenda 21, defining a general sustainable development strategy for the entire world, with a special emphasis on North-South relations between developed and developing countries. The adoption of Agenda 21 by local administrations around the world was widely encouraged.

- As a result of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (1997), the Kyoto Protocol was signed, committing the signatory countries to reduce greenhouse gas emissions through international action.

[3] Jacobus A. Du Pisani, 2006, "Sustainable Development – Historical Roots of the Concept", *Environmental Sciences* 3:2, pp. 83–96.

[4] Jeremy L. Caradonna, 2014, *Sustainability: A History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- After a decade of United Nations conferences and summits, world leaders gathered at the UN headquarters in New York to adopt the United Nations Millennium Declaration (2000).

As a result, countries committed to a new global partnership to reduce extreme poverty and established a series of eight goals, with a deadline of 2015, known as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

- Another edition of the Earth Summit was held in 2002. This third edition served to take stock of the previous summit.

It focused on sustainable development. Its objective was the adoption of an action plan of 153 articles divided into 615 points on various topics: poverty and misery, consumption, natural resources and their management, globalization, the fulfilment of human rights, and more. The intention was for national governments to incorporate the action plan into their domestic policies.

Traditionally, sustainability and sustainable development have been understood as a "three-legged stool" in these policy frameworks, with the three legs representing environmental, economic, and social sustainability. **Economic sustainability** looks at economic development and growth, employment generation and productivity, in line with environmentally and/or socially acceptable conditions of employment. **Social sustainability** encompasses the concepts of equity, community participation and strong civil society presence in policy making, accessibility of information and sharing. Lastly, **environmental sustainability** involves an ecosystem approach to development, looking at protecting natural resources like water, land, air, minerals and ecosystems themselves.

However, UNESCO and other organisations like the World Organization of United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) have claimed the presence of culture as a fourth pillar of sustainable development, arguing that the three first dimensions alone are incapable of responding to the increasing complexity of the world and societies.[5] **Cultural sustainability** looks at maintaining cultural practices and beliefs, developing cultural industries and the conservation of heritage, among other things. In this line of thinking sustainability is thus understood as being formed by four dimensions: environmental, economic, social, and cultural.

[5] For more information, refer to: UNESCO, 1982, *World Conference on Cultural Policies: Final Report* (Mexico Declaration), Paris: UNESCO, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000052505, accessed March 1, 2022; United Cities and Local Governments, 2010, *Culture: Fourth Pillar of Sustainable Development*, http://www.agenda21culture.net/sites/default/files/files/documents/en/zz_culture4pillarsd_eng.pdf, accessed March 1, 2022.

- The UCLG approved the Policy Paper "Culture is the Fourth Pillar of Sustainable Development" on November 17, 2010, in the framework of the World Summit of Local and Regional Leaders – 3rd UCLG World Congress, held in Mexico City,[6] in which culture is claimed as an area of sustainable development.
- The UN General Assembly of 2015 adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, an action plan in favour of people, the planet and prosperity, which also intends to strengthen universal peace and access to justice. The Agenda sets out 17 Goals, with 169 integrated and indivisible targets covering the economic, social and environmental spheres.[7]

The strategy will guide global development programs until 2030. In adopting it, states committed themselves to mobilizing the means necessary for its implementation through partnerships focused especially on the needs of the poorest and most vulnerable.

The United Nations 2030 Agenda is an important step forward for sustainable development in many areas, and more specifically in the cultural sphere. This is the first time that the international development agenda has made reference to culture in the framework of the development goals related to education, achieving sustainable cities, food security, environmental protection, economic growth, sustainable consumption and production patterns, and the promotion of inclusive and peaceful societies.

While UNESCO has recognized this advance as unprecedented, it also recognizes that when we group the SDGs around the traditional three fundamental pillars of sustainable development – economic, social and environmental – we realize that culture and creativity play a cross-cutting role in all of them. In turn, the economic, social and environmental aspects of sustainable development contribute to safeguarding cultural heritage and nurturing creativity. However, and this must also be recognized, culture does not establish itself as an independent axis on the basis of which its own development objectives are set.

6 United Cities and Local Governments, 2010, *Culture: Fourth Pillar of Sustainable Development*, http://www.agenda21culture.net/sites/default/files/files/documents/en/zz_culture4pillarsd_eng.pdf, accessed March 2, 2022.

7 More information about Sustainable Development Goals at: https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/development-agenda/, accessed March 1, 2022.

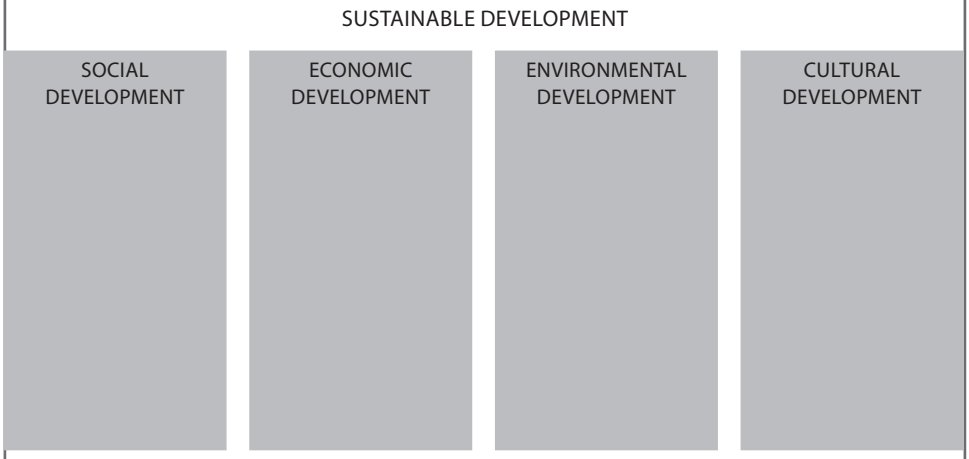
Group exercise:

Step 1. Collective understanding of the SDGs

In small groups (of 2-4 people) search for the Agenda 2030 and the Sustainable Development Goal. Each group will be given one SDG and should briefly present it (1-2 minutes) to the rest of the class. If the class is small, each group can present two or more SDGs.

Step 2. Positioning SDGs

On the blackboard, or on a projection, draw four big rectangles, one for each dimension of sustainable development (social, economic, environmental, and cultural, as shown below).



Each group of students has a stack of sticky notes. Ask them to write down the number of their SDG on it (SDG1 – No poverty, SDG2 – No hunger, SDG3 – Good health and well-being, etc.) and to place their SDG in one of the four rectangles, to reflect on the dimension of sustainability it belongs to. Each group can place more than one note, so that one SDG can be placed in more than one rectangle. When placing sticky notes, ask students to explain why they have placed their notes in one rectangle or another.

For example, if we take SDG5, Gender Equality, it will most likely fall under Social Sustainability, although its relevance it could be argued for in other dimensions. If we look at SDG7, Affordable and Clean Energy, it will most likely first fall under the Environmental Sustainability rectangle, although it can also be part of Economic Sustainability, as a new clean energy industry development and market, and the associated employment-generation.

Step 3. Reflecting upon the multi-dimensionality of the SDGs
Once all SDGs are placed on the board, reflect upon the balance of notes between the different dimensions of sustainable development. Is there any dimension (social, economic, environmental or cultural) that has more notes? Is there any dimension with very few notes, or no notes? Why?

This exercise will help understand how the most widely accepted notion of sustainability (defined in Agenda 2030 and the SDGs) refers to the different dimensions of sustainable development.

Most likely, the exercise will reveal the limited presence of culture in the SDGs.

2. The relation between sustainable development and culture

Culture as part of sustainable development has been addressed in two different ways. On the one hand, there is a trend arguing that culture is a different and independent dimension of sustainable development, as we have proposed above, while on the other hand, some authors have argued that culture is intrinsic to the other three dimensions. Culture, in this line of thinking, would be integrated within the social, economic, and environmental dimensions of sustainable development, without becoming a "pillar" of sustainable development on its own.

In defence of the recognition of culture as an independent element of sustainable development, the UCLG document which claims culture as the fourth pillar of sustainable development[8] explains that culture ultimately shapes what we mean by development and determines the way people act in the world, and that this new perspective points to the relationship between culture and sustainable development through a two-pronged approach: developing the cultural sectors (heritage, creativity, cultural industries, art, cultural tourism) themselves, and advocating for culture to be duly recognized in all public policies, particularly those related to education, the economy, science, communication, the environment, social cohesion and international cooperation.

It is affirmed that the world is not only facing challenges of an economic, social or environmental nature. Creativity, knowledge, diversity, and beauty are essential prerequisites for the dialogue for peace and progress that we seek

[8] United Cities and Local Governments, 2010, *Culture: Fourth Pillar of Sustainable Development*, http://www.agenda21culture.net/sites/default/files/files/documents/en/zz_culture4pillarsd_eng.pdf, accessed March 1, 2022.

to consolidate, as they are intrinsically related to human development and freedom.

The recognition of culture as an independent pillar of sustainable development is a complex issue. The concepts involved – cultural and sustainable development – have different understandings, contents, and acceptances, and this makes it difficult to identify indicators capable of measuring aspects related to cultural development.[9]

Social, environmental or economic indicators are consolidated, and this facilitates measurement. However, in the cultural field it is much more complex because many elements are subjective or intangible, and making measuring them a challenge that has not yet been fully resolved.

There is also the question of political will. In the framework of some world forums, the absence of national representatives in the debates related to culture, heritage and sustainability has been noted. It seems that the problem, which may be conceptual, also has a component of a lack of political interest.

Group reflection

Reflect upon the presence of culture, and cultural heritage, in the framework defined above. Is culture and cultural heritage present in the Agenda 2030 and SDG?

Do you think there are other sustainability goals that are not captured by the SDGs in relation to culture and cultural heritage?

Having seen the relation between the SDGs and the different dimensions of sustainable development (previous exercise), what would be the most appropriate approach to the cultural dimension – as a separate dimension or as intrinsic to the other three dimensions?

3. The role of culture and cultural heritage in sustainable development

In previous paragraphs we have seen culture and cultural heritage as part of the literature on sustainable development. However, it is still unclear what the role and meaning of culture and cultural heritage really is.

[9] Keith Nurse, 2006, "Culture as the Fourth Pillar of Sustainable Development", *Small States: Economic Review and Basic Statistics* 11, pp. 28–40.

In accordance with the above, culture is a very complex concept that has been used in many different ways throughout history. There is no single definition that is agreed upon about the concept of culture, and in spite of this, everyone seems to understand and use the concept of culture in everyday life.

Group exercise:
In a quick round of brainstorming exercises, ask students what they understand by culture. What aspects they think are included in culture.

Think about both tangible and intangible culture.

This exercise could be made more dynamic, asking students to write down what they understand by culture (for example, identity, heritage, music, literature, symbols, etc.) on sticky notes, and post them in a shared board.

Are there different cultures? What does this mean?

This exercise will help understand the diversity of understandings of culture in society.

UNESCO[10] defines **culture** as the set of distinctive spiritual and material, intellectual and affective features that characterize a society or a social group. This encompasses, in addition to arts and literature, ways of life, fundamental rights to human beings, value systems, traditions and beliefs, and cultural heritage.

So, what is the role of culture in sustainable development? Culture has been identified as a key driver of sustainable development. One way this can happen is through the development of the cultural sector itself (heritage, creativity, cultural industries, crafts, cultural tourism). There are plenty of examples worldwide that promote cultural heritage, cultural events and institutions as drivers for their sustainable development strategies, improving their image, stimulating urban development, attracting visitors and investment. However, the impact of culture in sustainable development goes far beyond the above.

If we now focus on **cultural heritage**, it has been defined as "a wide and varied mixture of past events, personalities, folk memories, mythologies, literary associations, surviving physical relics, together with the places – whether sites, towns or landscapes – with which they can be symbolically associated."[11]

[10] Javier P. Pérez de Cuéllar et al., 1996, *Nuestra diversidad creativa: Informe de la Comisión Mundial de Cultura y Desarrollo*, México: Ediciones UNESCO, p. 13.

[11] Gregory J. Ashworth, Brian Graham, John E. Tunbridge, 2007, *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies*, London: Pluto Press, p. 40.

The *Paris Declaration on Heritage as a driver of development*, adopted in 2011, specifically aims to promote "a development process that incorporates tangible and intangible cultural heritage as a vital aspect of sustainability" giving a "human face to development."[12] In this sense, heritage not only provides opportunities for economic growth and environmental development, but it also provides the opportunity for communities to take ownership of the development process, as they identify with the heritage they are surrounded by, and consequently, promote social cohesion.

For this reason, it is important to understand the value, benefits and impacts that culture and heritage can bring to a society and to its sustainable development, in all its dimensions.

In analysing the possibilities of incorporating culture – and therefore cultural heritage – into sustainability, Molina Neira presents a series of examples and possibilities to establish this relationship within different areas of sustainability: social, economic and environmental.[13]

In relation to the social sphere, the author states that cultural sustainability through heritage allows a group of actors to exercise their cultural rights by redefining heritage assets through the assimilation of different visions. This would imply a cooperative effort between the holders of specialized knowledge and community agents. A situation that would lead to the performance of a guardianship and governance of the cultural heritage in question would allow its preservation and transmission, without causing social ruptures related to socioeconomic class or ethnicity. A participatory management of heritage would be able to satisfy a series of artistic, aesthetic, cognitive and even recreational aspirations and needs. The author states that:

> The historical and symbolic charge of its discourse [resulting from participatory management] through memory and collective input serves as a framework in order to improve the quality of life, well-being and cultural values of communities and territories.[14]

With respect to the socio-political sphere, cultural heritage also presents a value in the national context because it affirms an identity that contributes to

[12] UNESCO, 2011, *The Paris Declaration: On Heritage as a Driver of Development*, Paris: UNESCO, https://www.icomos.org/Paris2011/GA2011_Declaration_de_Paris_EN_20120109.pdf, accessed March 1, 2022.

[13] Bárbara Amanda Molina Neira, 2018, "La incorporación de la cultura y el patrimonio en el desarrollo sostenible: desafíos y posibilidades", *Revista Humanidades* 8:1, pp. 50–82.

[14] Ibid., p. 68.

the sense of solidarity among its citizens, generating political implications on the exercise and commitment from the civic sector, public and private organizations to follow up on what can be understood as "national cultural identity."

With respect to economic development, the properties catalogued as cultural heritage are a source of income through tourism, both natural and material resources, which favours a broad value chain (hotels, restaurants, stores, etc.). Likewise, heritage resources such as popular music, crafts, the practices of traditional trades and the occupation of cultural professionals, among others, are also sources of income. Effective administration of heritage resources, the author explains, promotes the economic reuse of spaces that diversify activities, thus increasing the quality of life. It can be affirmed that cultural heritage is capable of generating economic development, employment, and different investment possibilities.

Considering the environmental element, cultural sustainability through heritage is capable of rescuing the use of traditional knowledge whose practice has been considered environmentally friendly. It also makes possible the reuse of historical infrastructures for housing and services, constituting a way to mitigate the use of finite resources and even pollution. In this way, it is possible to understand how human beings have related to their natural and built environment, facilitating access to accumulated knowledge about technologies and problem-solving with the implications this has on the cultures and ways of life of these communities.

Finally, the author emphasizes the importance of heritage on culture itself through a system of values, a source of meaning, which links people to cultural objects and products. In this way, not only are previous cultural testimonies preserved, but current ones are also developed through creativity and innovation.

It is in the possibility of interaction of heritage with different cultural forms where its power of mediation is found, since, linked to cultural creation, it constitutes a great critical and democratic force and is one of the most effective ways of disseminating different messages to society. This makes possible the reinterpretation of the past in the present moment and the construction of new patrimonial layers in the future. It allows the empowerment of the various actors through knowledge and recognition of their culture, with the aim of taking on other issues related to sustainable development, such as social inclusion, economic growth, and environmental balance.

Group exercise:

Step 1. Brainstorming

The exercise starts with a quick brainstorming exercise to identify elements of local cultural heritage of the city/community the students are studying in (and therefore share). Identify both tangible and intangible cultural local heritage assets.

Step 2. Finding local potentials

To continue, the class will divide into groups of 3-4 people, and each group will select one element of the local heritage that has been identified earlier (creating a mixture of tangible and intangible cultural heritage assets to analyse among the students).

In these groups, discuss what is the potential for the development of these cultural heritage assets.

For example, if it is about local folk music, think about how local folk music could contribute to the local sustainable development (through the promotion of new/young folk musicians, the promotion of a local folk music festival, etc.). Another example, if it is about a heritage building related to local history, it could be promoted through local cultural tourism, creation of programmes and activities in the building, etc.

Step 3. Multidimensional impact

In small groups, reflect upon how the development potential identified above impacts on the other three dimensions of sustainable development (economic, social and environmental).

This exercise can be assisted by the diagram with the four rectangles used earlier.

Following with the previous example of the local folk festival, how does the promotion of this music festival promote economic sustainability (income generation through ticketing, tourism, sales, etc.), social sustainability (improving social cohesion in a community event, defining the programme of the festival through a participatory process, including local artists, etc.) and environmental sustainability (recycling strategy for festival waste, promote sustainable transport to and from the festival, promoting organic producers in the festival food, etc.).

Step 4. Group presentations

Very briefly (3 minutes), each group presents their development proposal and the impacts this proposal has in all dimensions of sustainable development.

This exercise will help understand the impact cultural heritage can have in the sustainable development of a community/city/region, and how the promotion of cultural heritage can have a direct impact on the four dimensions of sustainable development.

Conclusion

This handbook aims to highlight the importance of understanding sustainable development as a multidimensional development process, one which involves economic, social, environmental and cultural aspects. In this sense, it has become clear that sustainable development is very closely linked to cultural heritage, with this being a multifaceted relationship. In previous paragraphs we have looked at how cultural heritage can be a key driver of sustainable development for our communities, cities, and regions, one having a strong impact on all dimensions of sustainable development.

From now on, students are encouraged to think about the cultural heritage of their community or city and reflect upon the impact that culture has on all aspects of sustainable development for their urban environment.

Additional resource: the Bilbao case study

As an additional resource, a case study of Bilbao can be presented. In this context, when addressing the sustainable development of the city, the significance of the case study is its transversal approach, considering as it does the environmental, economic, social and cultural dimensions of sustainable development. Cultural development is present in the transformation process, in a double dimension of culture as identity-heritage (Basque culture and language, medieval city, industrialization…) and as identity-creation (gastronomy, plastic arts, audio-visual arts, literature, performing arts, design…). A vision of tangible and intangible heritage is not static, not only inherited, but it is in progression, in evolution. This can be seen clearly in three areas: the Basque language (Euskera), gastronomy or local sports such as Basque pelota. The following videos available on the CHIC website support this topic: Bilbao Case Study: Storytelling; Bilbao Case Study: A Matter of Space; Bilbao Case Study: A Matter of Past Time.

References

Ashworth Gregory J., Graham Brian, Tunbridge John E., 2007, *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies*, London: Pluto Press.

Caradonna Jeremy L., 2014, *Sustainability: A History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

De Vincentiis Giuseppantonio, 2012 "La evolución del concepto de desarrollo sostenible", *Medio Ambiente & Derecho: Revista electrónica de derecho ambiental* 23.

Du Pisani Jacobus A., 2006, "Sustainable Development – Historical Roots of the Concept", *Environmental Sciences* 3:2, https://doi.org/10.1080/15693430600688831.

Molina Neira Bárbara Amanda, 2018, "La incorporación de la cultura y el patrimonio en el desarrollo sostenible: desafíos y posibilidades", *Revista Humanidades* 8:1.

Nurse Keith, 2006, "Culture as the Fourth Pillar of Sustainable Development", *Small States: Economic Review and Basic Statistics* 11.

Pérez de Cuéllar P. Javier et al., 1996, *Nuestra diversidad creativa: Informe de la Comisión Mundial de Cultura y Desarrollo*, México: Ediciones UNESCO.

United Nations (UN), 2015, *The Sustainable Development Agenda*, https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/development-agenda/.

United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG), 2010, *Culture: Fourth Pillar of Sustainable Development*, http://www.agenda21culture.net/sites/default/files/files/documents/en/zz_culture4pillarsd_eng.pdf.

UNESCO, 2011, *The Paris Declaration: On Heritage as a Driver of Development*, Paris: UNESCO, https://www.icomos.org/Paris2011/GA2011_Declaration_de_Paris_EN_20120109.pdf.

UNESCO, 1982, *World Conference on Cultural Policies: Final Report* (Mexico Declaration), Paris: UNESCO.

World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), 1987, *Our Common Future. The Brundtland Report*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/5987our-common-future.pdf.

https://doi.org/10.12797/9788381386708.09

Innovation and Cultural Heritage

ANARTZ MADARIAGA HERNANI
University of Deusto, Deusto Cities Lab

ROBERTO SAN SALVADOR DEL VALLE
University of Deusto, Deusto Cities Lab

ABSTRACT

The main objective of this article is to provide teacher with the fundamental knowledge keys to transmit to students so that they will be able to identify the crucial elements that can answer the following question: How can cultural heritage be compatible with new technologies to convey the values of different cultures to other communities or generations?

The article aims to provide teachers and students with the necessary knowledge to understand how existing cultural heritage can be transmitted in a sustainable way. To this end, the article reviews some basic knowledge that will allow students to reflect on the sustainability of cultural heritage and its transmission, as well as the role that new technologies can play in safeguarding, preserving and transmitting cultural heritage.

Keywords: innovation, transmission, cultural heritage, new technologies

Fundamental concepts

1) HERITAGE

Heritage is a cultural element that has a material or perceivable aspect and/or an intangible side that has been granted by the culture that created it.

According to Vecco,[1] the evolutionary process of the definition of heritage can be summarized as follows:

> The concept of heritage has been characterised by a threefold process of extension: a typological-thematic extension since objects that were not part of the traditional, chronological and geographical concept of heritage have been given the status of heritage; furthermore, the monument is no longer considered alone, but also in its context, thus meaning the adoption of an integral approach towards heritage.
>
> Parallel to this extension process, the selection criteria of cultural heritage have also changed: while initially historic and artistic values were the only parameters, other additional ones have now been added: cultural value, its value of identity and the capacity of the object to interact with memory.
>
> From a purely normative approach, of an objective and systematic nature – the recognition of cultural heritage of an object depended on its being included on a list – a less restrictive approach was taken, one based on the capacity of the object to arouse certain values that led the society in question to consider it as heritage and therefore, to a further step in which heritage is no longer defined on the basis of its material aspect.
>
> This development has also made it possible to recognise intangible cultural heritage, which was ignored for a long time, as heritage to be protected and safeguarded.
>
> This acknowledgment of the importance of immateriality and orality can be interpreted as a step in the direction of overcoming a Eurocentric perspective of heritage, accepting cultural diversity as a source of enrichment for the whole of mankind.

It is important to emphasize that UNESCO envisaged this intangible aspect of heritage back in 2003 and has highlighted the need to safeguard it for its cultural expressions that transmit knowledge and techniques generation after

[1] Marilena Vecco, 2010, "A Definition of Cultural Heritage: From the Tangible to the Intangible", *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 11:3, p. 324.

generation and contribute to maintaining cultural diversity and its richness in a globalised world.[2]

More specifically, what is UNESCO? And what are its activities? The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is a specialized agency of the United Nations created on November 16, 1945 with the mission "to contribute to the building of peace, the eradication of poverty, sustainable development and intercultural dialogue through education, the sciences, culture, communication and information." The organization now has 193 members and 11 associate members. It currently operates through five major programs: Education, Culture, Natural Sciences, Social and Human Sciences, and Communication and Information.

Each of these has an overarching objective: achieving quality education for all and lifelong learning; mobilizing scientific knowledge and science-related policies for sustainable development; addressing emerging ethical and social issues; promoting cultural diversity, intercultural dialogue and a culture of peace; and building inclusive knowledge societies through information and communication.[3]

With respect to the relationship established between culture and sustainable development, UNESCO is convinced that:

> (…) no development can be sustainable without a strong culture component. Indeed only a human-centred approach to development based on mutual respect and open dialogue among cultures can lead to lasting, inclusive and equitable results. Yet until recently, culture has been missing from the development equation.
>
> To ensure that culture takes it rightful place in development strategies and processes, UNESCO has adopted a three-pronged approach: it spearheads worldwide advocacy for culture and development, while engaging with the international community to set clear policies and legal frameworks and working on the ground to support governments and local stakeholders to safeguard heritage, strengthen creative industries and encourage cultural pluralism.[4]

[2] Richard Kurin, 2004, "Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention: A Critical Appraisal", *Museum International* 56:1–2, pp. 66–67.

[3] For more information about UNESCO: https://en.unesco.org/about-us/introducing-unesco.

[4] UNESCO, Protecting Our Heritage and Fostering Creativity, Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, https://en.unesco.org/themes/protecting-our-heritage-and-fostering-creativity, accessed March 1, 2022.

Focusing the question on a possible definition, UNESCO understands that cultural heritage is, in its broadest sense, a product and a process capable of providing societies with a wealth of resources that are inherited from the past, created in the present and delivered for the benefit of future generations. This definition not only includes tangible heritage, but also natural and intangible heritage.[5]

However, as pointed out in the publication *Our Creative Diversity*, these resources are fragile and therefore require development policies and tools that preserve and respect their diversity and uniqueness, since they are not renewable.[6] Once lost, they are lost forever.

UNESCO understands that cultural heritage today is directly linked to the main challenges facing humanity, such as climate change and natural disasters (including the loss of biodiversity or access to drinking water and food), conflicts between communities, education, health, migration, the accelerated process of the urbanization of cities, marginalization, and economic inequalities. In light of all this, UNESCO believes that cultural heritage should be considered an essential element in promoting peace and sustainable social, environmental, and economic development.

In the abovementioned publication, UNESCO presents its definition of cultural heritage:

> Cultural Heritage: Refers to: a) monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features which are of outstanding value from the point of view of history, art or science; b) groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings, which because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding value from the point of view of history, art or science; c) sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites, which are of outstanding value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.[7]

[5] UNESCO, 2014, *Unesco Culture for Development Indicator: Methodology Manual*, Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, p. 131, https://en.unesco.org/creativity/sites/creativity/files/cdis_methodology_manual_0_0.pdf, accessed March 2, 2022.

[6] UNESCO, 1996, *Report on the Status of the Culture at the End of the 20th Century: Creativity, Women and Culture, Young People and Culture, Cultural Policies, etc*, Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000101651, accessed March 2, 2022.

[7] UNESCO, 2014, *Unesco Culture for Development Indicators* (op. cit.), p. 132.

EXERCISE 1
In groups, find an example of cultural heritage, and answer the following questions:
a. Why do you think it is cultural heritage?
b. What would you say is the quality that makes it valuable?

In this context, there is an opportunity to explain what we understand by cultural heritage, and that it might be something different from a set of artistic representations. We could even reflect on artistic representations, such as pieces of dance, architecture, literature, or painting, which are a means of expression of something more intangible: Culture.[8]

Using a Gothic cathedral as an example, it is possible to conclude that it is not just a novel expression of construction techniques or a decorative style. It is an expression of a way of understanding the world: a sacred place to be closer to the kingdom of heaven around which the social life of a whole community is organized in a particular historical and spatial context. Its heritage reaches our days, not only in the material aspect, as the cathedral itself, but in the shared belief that keeps it as a temple of worship worthy of being preserved.

The reflection that arises from the above is that cultural heritage may have a material dimension (an object/signifier), but this is coupled with a symbolic dimension (a collective meaning) that may not be visible to the naked eye.

EXERCISE 2
In groups, imagine the rain dance of the Cherokee (you can also do this exercise using the heritage example of the first exercise).
a. What is its signifier? (the more or less choreographed dance that we see).
b. What is its meaning? (A collective way of contacting the gods for them to intercede and provide rain).

In summary, it must be noted that cultural heritage is much more than a set of objects or pieces and that it has to do with the identity, beliefs, and way of understanding the world by a group, at a given time and place. It is also worth highlighting that culture, in order to be culture, must be shared by a group of people. In other words, it is a common heritage, not an individual one.

[8] Marilena Vecco, 2010, "A Definition of Cultural Heritage" (op. cit.).

2) INNOVATION

Presenting a concept or definition of innovation is not a simple task. According to Kogabayev and Maziliauskas[9] the concept of innovation is quite complex and multifaceted, and it has been the subject of much research. However, despite this, a widely accepted definition of innovation does not exist in science.

Even so, the authors examined the various interpretations of innovation and compiled materials from many authors, following the methodological approach to innovation for its definition, and they have also considered its typology and classification.

Focusing on the interpretation of different authors, they indicate that some of them state that innovation consists of the generation of a new idea and its implementation by means of a new product, process or service, leading to the dynamic growth of the national economy and the increase of employment, as well as the generation of pure profit for the innovating company.[10]

The abovementioned authors explain that Joseph Schumpeter, considered the founder of the theory of innovation in economics in general, defined innovation as the economic impact of technological change, as the use of new combinations of existing productive forces to solve a company's problems. For B. Twiss, innovation is a process that combines science, technology, economics and management to achieve novelty, and it extends from the emergence of the idea to its commercialization in the form of production, exchange, and consumption. Meanwhile, for A. Afuah, innovation refers to new knowledge incorporated into products, processes and services, and he classifies innovations according to technological, market and administrative/organizational characteristics.[11]

According to revisions of the Oslo Manual,[12] innovation may be understood as:

a) a new product or service that results from human creativity,
b) a new improved way of creating an already existing product or service,
c) a new way of organising to provide them,
d) a new way of communicating or transmitting them.

[9] Timur Kogabayev, Antanas Maziliauskas, 2017, "The Definition and Classification of Innovation", *Holistica* 8:1, p. 60.

[10] Ibid., pp. 59–72.

[11] Schumpeter (1982) and A. Afuah (1998) as cited in Timur Kogabayev, Antanas Maziliauskas, 2017, "The Definition and Classification of Innovation" (op. cit.), pp. 60–61.

[12] Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) 2005, *Oslo Manual*, Paris: OECD Publishing.

The following table reviews some different definitions of innovation, serving to reaffirm how complex it is to consider a single definition:

Author	Definition
Joseph Schumpeter (1930)	• Introducing a new product or modifications brought to an existing product; • A new process of innovation in an industry; • The discovery of a new market; • Developing new sources of supply with raw materials; • Other changes in the organization.
Peter Druker (1954)	One of the two basic functions of an organization.
Howard and Sheth (1969)	Any new element brought to the buyer, whether or not new to the organization.
Mohr (1969)	The degree to which specific new changes are implemented in an organization.
Damanpour and Evan (1984)	Broad utility concept defined in various ways to reflect a specific requirement and characteristic of a particular study.
Kenneth Simmonds (1986)	Innovations are new ideas that consist of: new products and services, new use of existing products, new markets for existing products or new marketing methods.
Kenneth Simmonds (1986)	Basic creative process.
Damanpour (1991)	Development and adoption of new ideas by a firm.
Davenport (1991)	Complete a task development in a radically new way.
Evans (1991)	The ability to discover new relationships, of seeing things from new perspectives and to form new combinations from existing concepts.
Covin şi Slevin (1991), Lumpkin and Dess (1996), Knox (2002)	Innovation can be defined as a process that provides added value and a degree of novelty to the organization, suppliers and customers, developing new procedures, solutions, products and services and new ways of marketing.
Business Council Australia (1993)	Adoption of new or significantly improved elements to create added value to the organization directly or indirectly for its customers.
Henderson and Lentz (1995)	Implementation of innovative ideas.
Nohria and Gulati (1996)	Any policy, structure, method, process, product or market opportunity that the manager of a working business unit should perceive as new.
Rogers (1998)	Involves both knowledge creation and diffusion of existing knowledge.
The European Commission Green (1999)	Successful production, assimilation and exploitation of novelty in the economic or social environment.
Boer and During (2001)	Creating a new association (combination) product-market-technology-organization.

Source: Lala Popa Ioan, Preda Gheorghe, Boldea Monica, 2010, "Theoretical Approach of the Concept of Innovation", *Managerial Challenges of the Contemporary Society* 1, p. 151.

It is important to emphasize that innovation is not always linked to the economic sphere. According to the definition of innovation adopted by the European Commission,[13] innovation should be considered as synonymous with

[13] Comisión Europea, 1995, *Libro Verde de la Innovación*, Bruselas: Comisión Europea, p. 11.

producing, assimilating, and successfully exploiting a novelty, in the economic and social spheres, in such a way as to provide new solutions to problems and thus respond to the needs of people and society.

When referring to the application of innovation to the social sphere, the term social innovation is commonly used to characterize this movement. In this context, social innovation can be defined as:

> (…) as the development and implementation of new ideas (products, services and models) to meet social needs and create new social relationships or collaborations. It represents new responses to pressing social demands, which affect the process of social interactions. It is aimed at improving human well-being. Social innovations are innovations that are social in both their ends and their means. They are innovations that are not only good for society but also enhance individuals' capacity to act.
>
> They rely on the inventiveness of citizens, civil society organisations, local communities, businesses and public servants and services. They are an opportunity both for the public sector and for the markets, so that the products and services better satisfy individual but also collective aspirations.
>
> (…) Social innovation describes the entire process by which new responses to social needs are developed in order to deliver better social outcomes. This process is composed of four main elements:
>
> - identification of new/unmet/inadequately met social needs;
> - development of new solutions in response to these social needs;
> - evaluation of the effectiveness of new solutions in meeting social needs;
> - scaling up of effective social innovations.[14]

Another term that has been widely used is "eco-innovation," which tries to complete the spheres in which innovation can have an impact. This term can be defined as "the creation of novel and competitively produced goods, processes, systems, services and procedures designed to satisfy human needs and provide a better quality of life for everyone with a life-cycle minimal use of natural resources per unit output and minimal release of toxic substances."[15]

[14] European Commission – DG Regional and Urban Policy, 2013, *Guide to Social Innovation*, Luxembourg: Publications Office.

[15] Alasdair Reid, Michał Miedzinski, 2008, "Eco-Innovation: Final Report for Sectoral Innovation Watch", *Systematic Eco-Innovation Report* 1–3.

Is important to note that the use of terms like social innovation or eco-innovation are increasingly common. While they may well appear in connection with technological progress, they are not always based on it.

EXERCISE 3
In groups, think of an example of innovation.
a. Why do you think it is innovative?

For this exercise, it is important to highlight the concept of innovation identified in the Oslo Manual.[16] It should also be explained that, from this point of view, innovation is something transversal that can occur in any sphere of life (social, cultural, economic, or environmental) and does not necessarily have to be based on technology.[17]

An example of this are terms such as social innovation[18] or eco-innovation,[19] already mentioned above, which are not necessarily linked to technological advances, although they sometimes are. The terms social innovation and eco-innovation are becoming increasingly popular.

The content of this session focuses on the transmission of cultural heritage through technology. However, it must be clarified that this is not the only form of innovation that can be useful in the transmission of heritage.

3) HERITAGE TRANSMISSION

Heritage transmission is mainly linked to the concept of intangible cultural heritage, which can be defined as follows:

> The "Intangible Cultural Heritage" means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their

16 OECD, 2005, *Oslo Manual* (op. cit.).
17 Comisión Europea, 1995, *Libro Verde de la Innovación* (op. cit.).
18 European Commission – DG Regional and Urban Policy, 2013, *Guide to Social Innovation* (op. cit.).
19 Katarzyna Tarnawska, 2013, "Eco-innovations – Tools for the Transition to Green Economy", *Economics and Management* 18:4.

> interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.[20]

Transmitting cultural heritage is not only about disseminating it to communities other than those from which it originated. It is also about transmitting that heritage from generation to generation within the same community. In order to achieve both transmissions, it seems logical to follow the steps below:

a) Identify that heritage, recognise it as such and register it.[21]
b) Take appropriate measures to preserve it both in its material dimension and in its more symbolic meanings.[22]
c) Disseminate it to other communities or to new generations of the same community. That is, to transmit it without losing its integrity.[23]
d) Educate the people who approach it so that they are aware of all value, both material and symbolic.

In this context, it is important to remember that intangible cultural heritage is constantly being recreated by its bearers. The experts claim that no two manifestations of one practice or expression are totally identical. The survival of intangible heritage practices depends on the continuous transmission of the special knowledge and skills essential for their adoption or incorporation. Each community and group of experts around the world, as well as other tradition bearers, have developed their own systems for the transmission of their knowledge and skills.

Most of the time, these systems depend or rely on oral tradition rather than written texts. This situation exposes the transmission of heritage to severe risks. These risks are linked to social and demographic changes that reduce contact between generations, such as migration and urbanization, which often sepa-

[20] UNESCO, 2018, *Basic Texts of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage 2018 Edition*, Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, p. 5, https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/2003_Convention_Basic_Texts-_2018_version-EN.pdf, accessed March 2, 2022.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Meredith Wilson, Chris Ballard, 2017, *Safeguarding and Mobilising Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Context of Natural and Human-induced Hazards*, Paris: UNESCO Living Heritage Entity; Federico Lenzerini, 2011, "Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Living Culture of Peoples", *The European Journal of International Law* 22:1, February 1.

[23] Federico Lenzerini, 2011, "Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Living Culture of Peoples" (op. cit.).

rates current generations from older transmitters. There may also be the imposition of formal education systems that undervalue traditional knowledge and skills. Invasive media can also break the chain of the oral transmission of intangible cultural heritage.[24]

EXERCISE 4

In groups, can you think of any example of a technology that has been used for the transmission of cultural heritage? Refer to the Oslo Manual in previous paragraphs.

a. Identify its material dimension
b. Identify its immaterial dimension
c. What type of innovation is it? (product, manner, organization and/or communication)
d. What aspects does it affect? (identification, preservation, dissemination, or education/enhancement)

Addressing the relationship between technological innovation and heritage transmission

When analysing the relationship between technological innovation and cultural heritage in the framework of the European Union, it is possible to identify a significant number of projects promoted at the highest level by the European Commission. The Council of Europe considers cultural heritage a key resource for shaping a sustainable Europe, and therefore aims to promote the cohesion of large regions with a common historical identity through awareness-raising in this field.

In this context, technology has the potential to act as an innovative element not only at the time of heritage communication or dissemination, but also during the identification, preservation and education stages. This may be achieved by creating new products or services, improving procedures, or setting up new organisational methods, or through new ways of communicating heritage.

The application of technological innovation is occurring in all areas of cultural heritage management. It contributes to facilitating knowledge, both

[24] UNESCO, *Transmission*, Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, https://ich.unesco.org/en/transmission-00078, accessed March 3, 2022.

academic through improved information management, and educational by means of visits and dissemination.

Once the above concepts have been explained and understood, the aim of the course is to present a practical example of each aspect of heritage transmission. Each case could correspond to an online video/class. However, these examples need not be the only ones. We encourage teachers to choose and discuss with students his/her own examples (those with which he/she feels closest or most comfortable).

In this case, we will use examples of:

- Digital culture as heritage: We will reflect on how the collection of digital pieces make up a diverse spectrum of works that convey a way of living and understanding the world. Pieces of net art, machimina or tik tok videos can become digital expressions of a collective culture.
- Technology for heritage identification and preservation. From the analysis of pictorial works that reveal earlier paintings, to virtual visits to archaeological sites and augmented reality initiatives in our cities.
- Video games as tools for heritage transmission. The case of Assassins Creed and its variant Discovery Tour.
- Education: Virtual tours of museums, explanations of works through social networks, or interactive documentaries as formats that can serve to educate in heritage using a technological base.

Additional resource: the Bilbao case study

As an additional resource, the Bilbao case study can be presented. In this context, the case study of Bilbao presents interesting examples of the interplay between heritage and innovation, such as: the commercial and tourist transformation of its Old Town from the preservation of its medieval (1300-1511) and modern (1511-1840) heritage; the transformation of the Ensanches of the 19th and 20th centuries, with the conservation of the features of its urban planning (1840-1979); the post-industrial transformation of the two banks of the river from the preservation of its memory and industrial heritage (1840-1979); the incorporation of new urban spaces from the late 20th and 21st, that could become cultural heritage over time (1979-2021). The videos available on the CHIC website support this topic: Bilbao Case Study: Present. Transversal Gov-

ernance II. Economic Development; Bilbao Case Study: Present. Transversal Governance III. Social and Cultural Development; Bilbao Case Study: Present. Cross-Sectoral Governance; Bilbao Case Study: Future. Urban Sustainable Development Challenge; Bilbao Case Study: Future. Urban Sustainable Development Challenge II.

Some critical reflections

Finally, it is worth noting certain risks regarding the transfer of assets:

a) Cultural appropriation: when something is taken from a culture and commercially exploited without benefiting in any way the community that gave rise to it and maintains that culture/artistic expression.
b) Acculturation: a dominant culture spreads and imposes itself on a minority culture that eventually disappears. A sort of cultural colonization that we could be carrying out in and from the West.
c) Spectacularisation or trivialisation. The replication of a cultural product but emptied of symbolic content, ranging from souvenirs made in China to Las Vegas constructions.

FINAL REFLECTION

Raise a debate (without a solution) on topics such as Rosalia and cultural appropriation, Caesar's Palace and trivialisation, or the use by high fashion designers of tribal or ethnic designs, the global culture of Disney…

It is not about giving an answer or reaching a conclusion, but rather that there should be a reflection on the risks involved in the transmission of heritage.

References

Alivizatou-Barakou Marilena et al., 2017, "Intangible Cultural Heritage and New Technologies: Challenges and Opportunities for Cultural Preservation and Development", in: Marinos Ioannides, Nadia Magnenat-Thalmann, George Papagiannakis (eds.), *Mixed Reality and Gamification for Cultural Heritage*, Cham: Switzerland Springer.

Anderson Eike Falk et al., 2010, "Developing Serious Games for Cultural Heritage: A State-of-the-art Review", *Virtual Reality* 14, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10055-010-0177-3.

Comisión Europea, 1995, *Libro Verde de la Innovación*, Bruselas: Comisión Europea.

COTEC, 2011, *Innovación en el sector del patrimonio histórico*, Madrid: Fundación Cotec para la Innovación Tecnológica.

Dagnino Francesca Maria et al., 2014, "An Integrated Platform Supporting Intangible Cultural Heritage Learning and Transmission: Definition of Requirements and Evaluation Criteria", *Journal of Computing and Information Technology* 22:4, https://doi.org/10.2498/cit.1002461.

Diaconu Mihaela, 2011, "Technological Innovation: Concept, Process, Typology and Implications in the Economy", *Theoretical and Applied Economic* 18:10.

ENCATC, https://www.encatc.org/en/resources/encatc-journal/.

European Commission – DG Regional and Urban Policy, 2013, *Guide to Social Innovation*, Luxembourg: Publications Office.

European Commission, 2018, *Innovation & Cultural Heritage*, Royal Museum of Arts and History, Brussels: Conference Report.

European Commission, 2018, *Innovative Solutions for Cultural Heritage*, Brussels: European Commission.

Faus Joan, 2014, "El 'fantasma' de Pablo Picasso", *El País*, June 14, https://elpais.com/especiales/2014/fantasma-pablo-picasso/.

Kogabayev Timur, Maziliauskas Antanas, 2017, "The Definition and Classification of Innovation", *Holistica* 8:1, pp. 59–72, https://doi.org/10.1515/hjbpa-2017-0005.

Kotsemir Maxim, Abroskin Alexander, 2013, *Innovation Concepts and Typology: An Evolutionary Discussion*, National Research University Higher School of Economics, https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2221299.

Kurin Richard, 2004, "Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention: A Critical Appraisal", *Museum International* 56:1–2, pp. 66–67, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1350-0775.2004.00459.x.

Lala Popa Ioan, Preda Gheorghe, Boldea Monica, 2010, "Theoretical Approach of the Concept of Innovation", *Managerial Challenges of the Contemporary Society* 1.

Lazzeretti Luciana, Sartori Andrea, 2016, "Digitization of Cultural Heritage and Business Model Innovation: The Case of the Uffizi Gallery in Florence", *Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage* 14.

Lenzerini Federico, 2011, "Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Living Culture of Peoples", *The European Journal of International Law* 22:1, February 1, https://doi.org/10.1093/ejil/chr006.

Lundvall Bengt-Åke, 2016, *The Learning Economy and the Economics of Hope*, London: Anthem Press, https://doi.org/10.26530/OAPEN_626406.

OECD, 2005, *Oslo Manual*, Paris: OECD Publishing.

Ortega Cristina, http://blogs.encatc.org/encatcscholar/.

Ortelli Federica, Emeriau Estelle, Dall Elke, 2017, *Cultural Heritage in the Digital Era*, Brussels: COST Association.

Reid Alasdair, Miedzinski Michał, 2008, "Eco-Innovation: Final Report for Sectoral Innovation Watch", *Systematic Eco-Innovation Report* 1–3, http://dx.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.1.1748.0089.

Schreiber Hanna (ed.), 2017, *Intangible Cultural Heritage: Safeguarding Experiences in Central and Eastern European Countries and China*, Warszawa: National Heritage Board of Poland.

Schumpeter Joseph Alois, 1996, *Capitalismo, Socialismo y Democracia*, Barcelona: Ediciones Folio.

Shane Scott (ed.), 2008, *Handbook of Technology and Innovation Management*, Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, Ltd.

SHCity, 2017, "'BIG DATA' para proteger la Muralla de Ávila", in: *SMART HERITAGE CITY,* June 26,, http://shcity.eu/noticia.asp?id=15.

Sloat Sarah, 2018, "4 New Technologies That Are Driving Archaeology into the Future", *Inverse*, September 14, https://www.inverse.com/article/48863-tomb-tech.

Tarnawska Katarzyna, 2013, "Eco-innovations – Tools for the Transition to Green Economy", *Economics and Management* 18:4, https://doi.org/10.5755/j01.em.18.4.4485.

UNESCO (s.f), *Identifying and Inventorying Intangible Cultural Heritage*.

UNESCO, 1996, *Report on the Status of the Culture at the End of the 20th Century: Creativity*, Women and Culture, Young People and Culture, Cultural Policies, etc, Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000101651.

UNESCO, 2003, *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, Paris, MISC/2003/CLT/CH/14.

UNESCO, 2014, *Unesco Culture for Development Indicators: Methodology Manual*, Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, https://en.unesco.org/creativity/sites/creativity/files/cdis_methodology_manual_0_0.pdf.

UNESCO, 2018, *Basic Texts of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage 2018 Edition*, Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/2003_Convention_Basic_Texts-_2018_version-EN.pdf.

UNESCO, Intangible Cultural Heritage, *Dive into Intangible Cultural Heritage!*, Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, https://ich.unesco.org/en/dive&display=constellation#tabs.

UNESCO, Patrimonio Cultural Inmaterial, *¿Qué es el patrimonio cultural inmaterial?*, Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, https://ich.unesco.org/es/que-es-el-patrimonio-inmaterial-00003.

UNESCO, *Protecting Our Heritage and Fostering Creativity*, Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, https://en.unesco.org/themes/protecting-our-heritage-and-fostering-creativity.

UNESCO, *Transmission*, Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, https://ich.unesco.org/en/transmission-00078.

Vecco Marilena, 2010, "A Definition of Cultural Heritage: From the Tangible to the Intangible", *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 11:3, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.culher.2010.01.006.

Wilson Meredith, Ballard Chris, 2017, *Safeguarding and Mobilising Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Context of Natural and Human-induced Hazards*, Paris: UNESCO Living Heritage Entity.

Yilmaz Erdal et al., 2015, "Novel 3D Game-like Applications Driven by Body Interactions for Learning Specific Forms of Intangible Cultural Heritage", in: *Proceedings of the 10th International Conference on Computer Vision Theory and Applications* (MMS-ER3D-2015), https://doi.org/10.5220/0005456606510660.

https://doi.org/10.12797/9788381386708.10

Leisure, Tourism & Events

Generation of Comprehensive Experiences in Cities

JUNE CALVO-SORALUCE
University of Deusto

MARÍA JESÚS MONTEAGUDO SÁNCHEZ
University of Deusto

ABSTRACT

This work seeks to highlight the importance of leisure and its different manifestations, more specifically, through cultural tourism, events and their relationship with the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of cities in order to understand their potential to contribute strategically to the sustainable development of contemporary cities.

Keywords: leisure experiences, tourism, cultural tourism, cultural heritage, events

1. The value of leisure experiences (1st lecture)

1.1 Leisure experience

For decades, leisure has been one of the best-placed aspects in the hierarchy of the values of contemporary societies. Various studies have shown that this

phenomenon is part of those aspects that people do not want to do without, that is, "of what matters most."[1]

Aristegui and Silvestre verified this trend when analysing the European Values Survey and affirmed that: "In today's society, free time and leisure has become an increasingly significant sphere of life, affirming itself not only as an attractive possibility, but as a value in itself, while work has been losing part of its centrality, especially in the period studied (1999-2008)."[2]

The revaluation that leisure has undergone in recent decades must be understood within the framework of the profound transformation of its meaning that characterizes postmodern societies. Its old understanding as free time or activity has given way to a new paradigm in which leisure is conceived as a field of free, voluntary, and satisfactory human experience, whose value lies in the meaning that its protagonist gives it.[3] As Cuenca states:

> Leisure experiences place us in a field that is not dominated by duty or obligation, but by actions with a purpose in and of themselves. A suitable environment for the accomplishment of satisfactory and gratuitous acts, not guided by goals or useful purposes; an area distant from subsistence needs, but close to other equally important human needs, such as the need to know, act, express oneself or, ultimately, be.[4]

Understood in this way, experiential leisure is related to deeply personal factors, such as emotions, motivations, attitudes, or perceived benefits; as well,

1 Beverly L. Driver, Donald H. Bruns, 1999, "Concepts and Uses of Benefits Approach to Leisure", in: Edgar Lionel Jackson, Thomas L. Burton (eds.), *Leisure Studies: Prospects for the 21st Century*, State College: Venture Publishing, pp. 349–369; Francisco Javier Elzo Imaz, María Silvestre Cabrera, 2010, *Un individualismo placentero y protegido. Cuarta Encuesta Europea de Valores en su aplicación a España*, Bilbao: Publicaciones Deusto.

2 Fradua Iratxe Aristegui, María Silvestre Cabrera, 2012, "El ocio como valor en la sociedad actual", *Arbor* 188:754, p. 290.

3 Manuel Cuenca Cabeza, 2000, *Ocio humanista: dimensiones y manifestaciones actuales del ocio*, Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto; Manuel Cuenca Cabeza, 2014, *Ocio valioso*, Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto (*Documentos de Estudios de Ocio* 52); María Jesús Monteagudo Sánchez, 2008, "Reconstruyendo la experiencia de ocio: características, condiciones de posibilidad y amenazas en la sociedad de consumo", in: María Jesús Monteagudo Sánchez (ed.), *La experiencia de ocio: una mirada científica desde los Estudios de Ocio*, Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto, pp. 81–110; Jaime Cuenca et al., 2014, "The Influence of Meaningful Leisure on the Subjective Well-being of Older Adults in the Basque Country of Northern Spain", *World Leisure* 56:2, pp. 120–129.

4 Manuel Cuenca Cabeza, 2011, "El ocio como ámbito de Educación Social", *Educación social: Revista de intervención socioeducativa* 47, p. 21.

due to objective factors such as the type of practices, the spaces and times in which it takes place, or the resources that people or groups have for their enjoyment, its relevance is understood as a unique and unrepeatable experience.

1.2 Factors involved in the generation of leisure experiences: objective and subjective coordinates

Any leisure experience, regardless of the field in which it occurs (cultural, tourist, sports, events, etc.), is structured around different variables or factors that intervene in the configuration of a leisure experience, to the extent that they determine the degree of satisfaction it provides, the perceived benefits, the intensity with which it is experienced, its impact on the perception of well-being, and so on. These factors can be classified and studied, according to their objective or subjective nature. In the case of the city and heritage binomial, and thinking about experiences that may have heritage elements as their main ingredient, it is especially interesting to highlight the following factors:

Objective coordinate

The factors most commonly associated with this *objective coordinate* of leisure experiences are: a*ctivity, space, time and resources*.[5] These parameters provide content and context to leisure experiences and define and materialize them, becoming their explicit manifestation.

- *Activity*

It provides the experience with a specific type of content (cultural, sports, tourist, recreational, digital, etc.). The choice of one activity or another confers on the experience a series of characteristics, possibilities and limitations that modulate and configure it. The activity ultimately becomes an exercise in thematization of the experience. The question it answers is WHAT.

- *Space*

Space, like time, contextualizes practice. Traditionally, it defines the type of physical space in which the practice takes place: closed or open spaces (sports facilities, squares, parks, etc.), the environment in which it takes place (water,

[5] Roberto San Salvador del Valle, 2010, "El valor del ocio", *ADOZ. Revista de Estudios de Ocio* 33, pp. 11–16.

land, air); and ownership of the facilities used (public or private). Technological advances present a "space" open to new possibilities that link leisure experiences to the digital world: digital and hybrid spaces, as the current reality shows. These are complex and interconnected spaces, with the capacity to generate different flows of social interaction and new ways of experiencing leisure. The space parameter provides practice with the setting in which it takes place; it constitutes an exercise in localization and therefore answers the question of WHERE.

- *Time*

Time is another key parameter that helps shape and define experience within an objective framework, but it is changing. The secularization of time raises the need to break traditional models characterized by seasonality or concentrations of time dedicated to leisure (for example weekends, or vacation periods) in favour of a more plural expansion and distribution. On the other hand, the emerging society model[6] has upset the conception of this concept towards a new culture of immediacy, haste and acceleration that also permeates our behaviours and leisure styles. One of the most common expressions of the concept of time applied to leisure materializes in terms of frequency, period, continuity, etc. Its use with a longitudinal perspective links leisure to the perspective of the life cycle, necessarily raising the idea of leisure itineraries. The time parameter marks the beginnings and ends of leisure experiences, as well as their duration in people's leisure stories.

- *Resources*

Resources refers to the media that a person has or is willing to put to the service of their entertainment experiences. As we understand this concept, it arises not only in economic terms, that is, spending on the use of services, programs and the acquisition of goods or products, but also in terms of the social networks or supports that the person has to carry out their leisure practices, educational and cultural capital, etc.

- *Subjective coordinate*

The objective coordinate of leisure experiences is complemented by another of a *subjective* nature, made up of variables such as needs and motivations, values, emotions and benefits perceived as the return of our leisure experiences.

[6] Roberto San Salvador del Valle, 2000, *Políticas de Ocio*, Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto.

They are psychological constructs that help explain the decisions that people make in relation to their leisure.

- *Motivations*

Deci and Ryan are among the authors who defend the importance of intrinsic motivation as a driver of human behaviour. Under the assumptions of his theory of self-determination, he highlights the intrinsic orientation of the human being towards behaviours that allow responding to basic needs such as the need for competence, autonomy and interpersonal relationships.[7] Leisure is manifested as a suitable environment to respond to such internal motives, the achievement of which explains, to a large extent, the reason for leisure behaviours. Leisure is part of the few human behaviours characterized by the absence of instrumentalization. That is, leisure does not have a utilitarian character. Leisure activities do not pursue an end other than the action, the action itself being an end in itself. That is, the action is not a means to another end, but the prize itself. For this reason, it is said that leisure has an autotelic nature, because it does not require other arguments beyond the action itself, which is satisfactory in itself. The satisfaction derives from the ability of leisure to respond to some of the basic psychological needs mentioned above.

- *Values*

Ruiz Omeñaca considers that values are conceptions, beliefs and principles referring to desirable forms of behaviour and ways of life, with which a person maintains an intense emotional bond and from which one guides one's thoughts and actions. From this point of view, people make up a value system that gives continuity to their actions and adapts to maturity processes and social and cultural changes.[8] Values are an interesting perspective from which to rethink what we feel, think and do, and this includes in the field of leisure. Values allow us to understand our decisions and personal actions, within a framework of shared values with the society that welcomes us. Hence, studying leisure means studying the values of its protagonists and the predominant values of the social context in which people develop. In this sense, it is worth considering whether the most representative leisure events in contemporary Europe are a reflection of the priority or dominant values of the moment, or whether leisure really

[7] Edward L. Deci, Richard M. Ryan, 2000, "The 'What' and 'Why' of Goal Pursuits: Human Needs and Self-determination of Behaviour", *Psychological Inquiry* 11, pp. 227–268.

[8] Ruiz Omeñaca 2004 in: Manuel Cuenca Cabeza, 2014, *Ocio valioso* (op. cit.), p. 18.

contributes to consolidating these values. What values can leisure promote? Can it contribute to the construction and strengthening of a collective identity? Be that as it may, the truth is that leisure can only become a valuable experience when it is deeply connected with what is valuable for the person and the society that welcomes it.

- *Emotions*

Every leisure experience contains a strong emotional component that makes it a singular, personal and non-transferable event. One element that contributes to the recognition of leisure as a promoter of experiences is its ability to reach people through emotions. Emotions are aroused through external or internal stimuli of different nature (memories, sensations, unfulfilled desires, etc.), and they can be caused by agents, scenarios, situations or actions that also vary. The truth is that for an experience to be such, it must be able to remove the emotional foundations of the person. The varied intensity of the emotions that a leisure experience can evoke explains the existence of experiences of different gradations, but there is not always necessarily a positive correlation between the intensity of the experience and the stimulus that provokes it. That is, under greater stimulus, a more intense experience is not always achieved. Emotions are complex constructs in which modulating variables such as cognitions, mood, and attributional styles intervene. However, this complexity has not limited the use of emotions as a safe value by the leisure industries.

- *Benefits*

Leisure is a recognized source of benefits of variegated nature, which make it an ally of the well-being and quality of life of citizens. One of the most recurrent taxonomies of benefits in the scientific literature is that which differentiates between physiological, psychological, social, economic, and environmental benefits.[9] Benefit is understood as "a change that is perceived as advantageous, an improvement in some aspect that may favour the person, group, society or any other entity."[10] However, Driver and Bruns[11] recently advanced a new meaning of this concept, one that contemplates a threefold aspect; i) as an improvement

[9] Beverly L. Driver, Perry J. Brown, George L. Peterson, 1991, *Benefits of Leisure*, State College, PA: Venture Publishing.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Beverly L. Driver, Donald H. Bruns, 1999, "Concepts and Uses of Benefits Approach to Leisure"(op. cit.), pp. 349–369.

of a state or condition of a person or group; ii) as prevention of a deleterious condition by maintaining the already existing desired condition; and iii) as a satisfying psychological experience. The importance of this new definition lies in the recognition of the ability of leisure to be an end in itself, a primary source of satisfaction that does not need other arguments to justify the action, and can simultaneously act as an instrument for the achievement of other objectives (educational, social, economic, health, etc.), beyond satisfaction.[12] Increasingly, research highlights the central role of satisfaction as a *sine qua non* condition for the achievement of other benefits through leisure.[13]

1.3. Leisure characteristics and areas

Characteristics

Understanding leisure as an experience, its main characteristics include:

1. **Referential elements**: The person and their context are its fundamental pillars.
2. **Awareness/Differentiation**: As an exercise of free will, the experience requires awareness of living something different from everyday life.
3. **Appropriation/Immersion**: It requires making what is lived one's own through an attitude of openness, receptivity and assimilation that allows immersion in the experience.
4. **Significance**: It does not demand a commitment to duty. The ultimate meaning of the action resides in its non-utilitarian character, free from any productive purpose. It has meaning in itself (autotelic character).
5. **Emotion**: Its strength lies in its ability to transform the person through the emotions it fosters.
6. **Transformation**: It has a dynamic character that orients the person towards change and improvement. The action is almost always a challenge, an adventure dominated by uncertainty about the future of its development. It requires active participation: personal, open and determined involvement, and the management of certain knowledge, skills and abilities,

[12] María Jesús Monteagudo Sánchez, 2017, *Leisure Meanings, Opportunities and Contributions to Human Development*, Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto.

[13] Beverly L. Driver, Donald H. Bruns, 1999, "Concepts and Uses of Benefits Approach to Leisure" (op. cit.); María Jesús Monteagudo Sánchez et al., 2014, "Repensando el deporte desde nuevos parámetros", in: Cristina Ortega Nuere, Fernando Bayón (eds.), *El papel del ocio en la construcción social del joven*, Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto, pp. 197–210.

without which, at times, it can be difficult to overcome the challenge that the chosen action poses.

7. **Three-dimensional temporality**: The experience must be interpreted according to the moments in which it occurs; *before, during* and *after* the action. Although it is rarely noticed, the preparation stage of the activity can be a source of satisfaction, helping to increase the final value of the experience. It is assumed as a positive predisposition towards it, a way of perceiving, apprehending and feeling that helps to explain why actions that are experienced as leisure by one person are not so for others. Likewise, *after* the experience refers to a positive state of mind that is interpreted as a consequence of the action carried out and around which the individual and/or collective elaboration of the memory revolves, allowing the experience to be relived, re-signified and valued after being experienced.
8. **Gradation of intensities** (potential memorable character): Not all experiences impact the protagonist in the same way. The attributed meaning, the emotions that the action triggers, the circumstances in which it has taken place, the attitude, openness or training of the person are some of the factors that can modulate the intensity of experiences. Leisure is a source of memorable experiences, highly significant and emotional experiences capable of leaving a mark on the memory of the person.
9. **Interpretation**: It is the cognitive exercise through which the person gives meaning to their experience. Interpretation is the main reason radically different emotions and feelings can be experienced in two identical situations.
10. It is a **potential area of human**, personal and community development that does not take place spontaneously but as a consequence of a trajectory.

Leisure areas

Leisure areas refers to the different sectors in which leisure can manifest itself. Thus, we can find expressions of leisure in the fields of culture, tourism, sports, and recreation. There are important connections between the different areas, so that each individually, or in relation to the other areas, can become generators of leisure experiences. Tourism is one of the most important and representative areas of contemporary leisure. Its relationship with the field of culture connects the tourist phenomenon with cities and shows the potential of the latter and their historical heritage as promoters of leisure experiences.

1.4. Leisure as a source of wellbeing and human development

The transformative power of leisure and its contribution to personal and social improvement processes is one of the main arguments for the defence of leisure as an essential factor for well-being and human development. The specialized literature specifies this contribution in the possibilities that leisure entails, in that people and communities develop their capacities to the maximum throughout life,[14] through actions linked to their interests, wishes and preferences.

2. Tourism as a generator of leisure experiences

One of the areas in which leisure is manifested is tourism. Tourism is defined as the act of travelling for recreation. Traveling, coming to know new places and their people and customs always entails an aura of adventure, novelty and uncertainty, which explains the potential of tourism as a privileged area for leisure. Tourist experiences perfectly illustrate the extraordinary nature and rupture with daily life that many leisure experiences involve, and they reveal their potential as memorable experiences when their impact leaves an important mark worth remembering and incorporating into one's life story.

2.1. Tourism: historic evolution

There is an extensive bibliography that confirms the contribution of tourism to the world economy and the central role it plays in various countries and regions of the world by becoming among the sector with the highest growth rates. As an industry, it has become a major part of the global economy, now accounting for 10% of global GDP (according to WTO tourism) and one of every eleven jobs in the world. Tourism has grown almost without interruption in terms of international tourist arrivals (World Tourism Organization). According to the Barometer of the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), in 2019 there

[14] Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, 2000, "Ocio y creatividad en el desarrollo Humano", in: Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi et al. (eds.), *Ocio y Desarrollo. Potencialidades del ocio para el desarrollo* Humano, Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto, pp. 17–32; Fausto Massimini, Antonella Delle Fave, 2000, "Individual Development in a Bio-cultural Perspective", *American Psychologist* 55:1, pp. 24–33.

were 1.5 billion international tourist arrivals in the world, a 4% increase over the previous year. This was expected to be repeated in 2020, which would confirm the position of tourism as a strong and resilient economic sector, especially considering the uncertainties generated by Brexit and other events before the COVID-19 pandemic, such as geopolitical and social tensions and the collapse of Thomas Cook. Forecasts pointed to a growth of between 3% and 4% in 2020, a perspective that showed cautious optimism: 47% of the participants in the WTO World Tourism Barometer 2019 considered that tourism will have better results than in 2019, and 43% predicted that it would remain the at the same level. Similarly, it was expected that some major sporting events such as the Tokyo Olympics, and cultural events like Expo 2020 in Dubai would have a positive impact on the sector. These figures are a good example of the contribution of tourism to development and the world economy.[15]

2.2. Cultural tourism

Cultural tourism is the field of tourism in which the footprint on and connection with the cultural heritage of cities are most evident.[16] Tourism destinations seeking to distinguish themselves from their increasingly numerous competitors have turned to culture as a means of distinction. In fact, culture has come to play an important role in distinguishing places from each other.

The growth of cultural tourism has been a major trend in global tourism in the past three decades, and is still seen as one of the major growth areas for the future. Cultural tourism has become a 'good' form of tourism, widely viewed as sustainable and supporting local culture.[17]

Cultural tourism is increasingly important as a source of wealth due to the economic flows it generates and because it constitutes an unquestionable sign of the identity of a society, town or region, as well as its history and legacy.[18]

[15] UNWTO, 2019, *World Tourism Barometer 2019*, World Tourism Organization, https://www.unwto.org/international-tourism-growth-continues-to-outpace-the-economy, accessed January 12, 2022.

[16] Greg Richards, 2003, "What Is Cultural Tourism?", in: Annemieke van Maaren (ed.), *Erfgoed voor Toerisme*, Weesp: Nationaal Contact Monumenten.

[17] Greg Richards (ed.), 2007, *Cultural Tourism: Global and Local Perspectives*, New York: Routledge.

[18] Greg Richards, Julie Wilson, 2007, *Tourism, Creativity and Development*, London: Routledge; Greg Richards, Robert Palmer, 2010, *Eventful Cities: Cultural Management and Urban Revitalisation*, Oxford: Elsevier.

For this reason, cultural assets and, above all, those associated with historical heritage, are not just any outputs, but rather have some characteristics that explain their value.[19] In the first place, they are goods that carry a qualitative value, associated with the aesthetic experience of their consumption. Along with their use and exchange value, these goods have an intrinsic value associated with the citizens' interest in maintaining them, which they would be willing to pay for even when not directly consuming the goods themselves.[20] Finally, it should be noted that a good number of cultural and historical heritage assets have the status of public or semi-public assets, meaning they can pose problems of appropriability of the results of their consumption or production, as they are framed in an economy of goods as purely intangible.[21]

2.3. Immaterial cultural heritage

Intangible cultural heritage is made up of the non-physical elements of culture, such as music, festivals, dance, and oral traditions.[22] They are cultural representations of great public impact, which express the cultural capital they represent with greater intensity.[23] In this sense, leisure, as a social phenomenon with manifestations in fields as diverse as culture, tourism, sports or recreation, constitutes a faithful reflection of the cultural, social and human capital of a society, group or collective. One aspect explaining the value of cultural heritage, be it tangible or intangible, is its ability to strengthen the cultural identity of a group, town or region. The concept of cultural identity contains a sense of belonging to a social group with which cultural traits are shared, such as customs, values and beliefs. Its includes "multiple aspects in which their culture

[19] June Calvo-Soraluze, Roberto San Salvador del Valle, 2013, "Tourism Policy Makers and Managers as Generators of Meaningful Leisure Experiences – Knowledge, Skills and Values Needed by the New Professionals", *Journal of Tourism Research & Hospitality* 2:4.

[20] José Angel Sanz Lara, Luis César Herrero Prieto, Ana María Bedate Centeno, 2001, "Turismo cultural y patrimonio histórico: aplicación multivariante al estudio de la demanda", *Estudios turísticos* 150, pp. 113–132.

[21] Joseph B. Pine, James H. Gilmore, 1999, *The Experience Economy: Work Is Theatre & Every Business a Stage*, Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

[22] Susan Wright, 1992, "Heritage and Critical History in the Reinvention of Mining Festivals in North East England", in: Jeremy Boissevain (ed.), *Revitalizing European Rituals*, London: Routledge.

[23] Marilena Vecco, 2010, "A Definition of Cultural Heritage: From the Tangible to the Intangible", *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 11:3, pp. 321–324.

is reflected, such as language, an instrument of communication between the members of a community, social relations, their own rituals and ceremonies, or collective behaviours, that is, systems of values and beliefs (…) A characteristic of these elements of cultural identity is their immaterial and anonymous character, since they are the product of the community."[24]

However, "neither heritage nor cultural identity are static elements, as they are subject to permanent changes."[25] In fact, it is society that, as an active agent, configures its cultural heritage by identifying those elements that it wishes to value and that it assumes as its own and those that, naturally, become the benchmark of identity. Hence, although historical heritage is always associated with the past, the processes of citizen social transformation, so present in contemporary leisure, are a main focus for the creation of new forms of cultural capital, which in turn can be identified at some point as heritage and a hallmark of a group, society, town, or region.

This intangible and dynamic nature of immaterial heritage implies great complexity with regard to its study, conservation, dissemination and social recognition, and therefore, it is essential to reflect on its concept, the realities it hosts, and the legal conservation and protection strategies it deserves. Although the notion of intangible cultural heritage has been received very positively by UNESCO Member States, it is not without its problems.[26] Among these are the risk that cultural institutions apply to this new notion, criteria inherited from the traditional conception of (tangible) heritage, among them the essentialist vision of heritage, the material and symbolic appropriation of it by hegemonic groups, the preferential emphasis on the grandiose and spectacular, and the search for authenticity defined from perspectives other than those of the people who build that heritage. In this complex scenario, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, approved by the UNESCO General Assembly in 2003, in force since 2006 and ratified so far by 136 member states, has been an important advance. This convention made it possible to focus on the revitalization and transmission of cultural practices as central strategies to ensure the protection of these intangible expressions, the need to

[24] González Varas, 2000, p. 43, in: Olga Lucía Molano, 2007, "Identidad cultural: un concepto que evoluciona", *Revista Opera* 7, pp. 69–84.

[25] Bákula, 2000, p. 169, in: Olga Lucía Molano, 2007, "Identidad cultural…" (op. cit.).

[26] UNESCO, 2016, *Culture Urban Future: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*, Paris: UNESCO.

use different approaches to the conservation of intangible heritage, and the urgency behind avoiding the folklorization of cultural practices.[27]

3. Events as the enhancement of leisure and tourism experiences

Having demonstrated the strategic appeal that leisure, tourism and, more specifically, cultural heritage add to cities as generators of positive and satisfiying experiences, it is essential to understand the benefits that events provide in the tourist and cultural offer of cities. The incorporation of events as part of the urban leisure offered contributes to combating the problem of seasonality in certain destinations, but, above all, it adds a halo of uniqueness and exclusivity to the available alternatives, both for the local population and tourists. Some authors consider that urban events are the maximum exponent of what they call "ephemeral tourism" in cities,[28] because, among other reasons, the ephemeral nature of urban events turns the experience lived in them into something truly unique and unrepeatable. In other words, the ephemeral nature of the events is transferred to the experiences it generates and contributes to making these memorable experiences,[29] which deserve to be integrated into the historical memory of the city, its inhabitants, and tourists.

The increase in the tourist appeal of cities is used as an indicator of the success of policies by urban management aimed at positioning cities in the international context. It is understood, therefore, that events have become an essential element of contemporary life, inseparably linked to leisure and tourism promotion, government strategies, and corporate marketing of cities.

The number of events listed by tourism organizations and leisure directories compared to ten years ago indicates growth and magnitude akin to an exponential increase.

[27] Noriko Aikawa, 2004, "An Historical Overview of the Preparation of the UNESCO International Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage", *Museum International* 56:1–2, pp. 139.

[28] Francesc González Reverté, Soledad Morales Pérez, 2009, *Ciudades efímeras transformando el turismo urbano a través de la producción de eventos*, Barcelona: Editorial UOC.

[29] June Calvo-Soraluze, Roberto San Salvador del Valle, 2014, "The Transformation of Leisure Experiences in Music Festivals: New Ways to Design Imaginative, Creative and Memorable Leisure Experiences through Technology and Social Networks", in: Greg Richards, Lenia Marques and Karen Mein (eds.), *Event Design: Social Perspectives and Practices*, New York: Routledge.

3.1. Tourism events: definitions, characteristics and benefits

A tourism event is a tourism modality in which the celebration of an event becomes the origin of the tourist flows achieved. Event tourism is a tourist typology that includes tourism for conventions, congresses and meetings, and that requires knowledge of the economic, social, cultural and environmental reality within a systemic vision and opportunities.[30] There are as many types of events as there are tourists and their different motivations: cultural events; parties and celebrations, such as carnivals, religious, and sporting events; international, corporate and commercial events; educational events; and others.[31]

As tourism products, events have the following characteristics:[32]

1. They have an unquestionable intangible character, since the experiences they promote may be more important than the tangible returns that can be obtained from the event.
2. They are the result of an amalgamation of services and products (entertainment, catering, gifts, accommodation, activities, etc.).
3. They are subject to heterogeneous demand and possible changes in the profiles of the participants, but, by their nature, they are a means to overcome the seasonality of the tourism sector.
4. Normally, they depend on intermediaries for their promotion and sale.
5. They cannot be standardized products because, even if they are repeated, each event is unique.

However, one aspect that differentiates it from other tourist products is its ephemeral nature, as mentioned.

Event tourism can be very beneficial for a city mainly for three interrelated reasons:

1. The attraction of tourists and economic benefits,
2. The creation of infrastructures and services, and
3. The generation or consolidation of a brand image for the city.

However, event tourism may not always be beneficial to a city. Especially in those cases in which the decision-making regarding the event is not based on a serious and measured commitment to the strategic objectives of the city,

[30] António Carrizo Moreira, Alexandra Vieira Batista, 2009, "Turismo de eventos: desafíos estratégicos de la ciudad de João Pessoa (Brasil)", *Cuadernos de Turismo* 23, pp. 31–46.

[31] Donald Getz, 2007, *Event Studies: Theory, Research and Policy for Planned Events*, London: Elsevier.

[32] Francesc González Reverté, Soledad Morales Pérez, 2009, *Ciudades efímeras…* (op. cit.).

or the necessary strategic planning is not available. Some of the risks of holding events and, especially, mega-events, are the musealization of cities, trivialization of their cultural heritage, mono-thematisation of the city, congestion and saturation of visits due to exceeding their carrying capacity, gentrification, negative economic effects, and malaise and disenchantment of the citizenry. For this reason, it is essential that those cities that opt to organize events conduct strategic planning through which to assess the suitability of using the celebration of a (large) event as the ideal strategy to advance towards the achievement of the proposed urban improvements. This will be the case only when the actions required by the organization of an event are in line with those improvements that the city needs.[33]

3.2. Cultural events: its potential as factor of urban development in the contemporary cities

The factors that have contributed to making cultural events essential elements of the tourist and leisure offers available in cities include the increasing fragmentation of holiday periods, which allows the enjoyment of relatively close destinations and in shorter and improvised times; the evolution of the motivations and tastes of tourists, with increasing educational levels; the universalization of access to culture; and the efforts made by cities to make them visible as increasingly attractive tourist destinations.[34]

In addition, it cannot be ignored that cultural events constitute a source of income essential for the proper management and conservation of the heritage of cities. In this sense, it can be affirmed that the celebration of cultural events represents a great opportunity for cities, as it contributes to reinforcing their appeal and positioning as a cultural tourist destination.[35]

In short, cultural events are key for several reasons:

[33] Julia Carrasco Salom, Maria Dolores Pitarch-Garrido, 2017, "Análisis del impacto en el turismo de la estrategia de desarrollo urbano basada en megaproyectos. El caso de la ciudad de Valencia", *Cuadernos de Turismo* 40, pp. 573–598.

[34] Donovan Rypkema, Hristina Mikic, 2016, *Cultural Heritage and Creative Industries*, Belgrade: Creative Economy Group Foundation.

[35] June Calvo-Soraluze, Ana Viñals Blanko, 2014, "Stimulating Attendees' Leisure Experience at Music Festivals: Innovative Strategies and Managerial Processes", *Global Journal of Management and Business Research* 14:2, pp. 37–52.

- The ability to democratize culture,
- unique artistic and cultural value,
- good economic opportunities,
- visibility/image of the cities or communities that host them,
- ways of forging new social relationships and reinforcing a sense of local identity.

Conclusion

The consolidation of dynamic tourism models, capable of hosting, integrating and highlighting the diversity of cultural, heritage, tourism and leisure resources that cities possess – sometimes invisible or overshadowed by the great tangible heritage elements – and the use in favour of the improvement of the cities of the new emerging segments, such as the events sector, with a high complementarity with tourism-cultural goods and products, are among the great strategic challenges that contemporary cities should not shy away from.

References

Aikawa Noriko, 2004, "An Historical Overview of the Preparation of the UNESCO International Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage", *Museum International* 56:1–2, pp. 137–149, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1350-0775.2004.00468.x.

Aristegui Fradua Iratxe, Silvestre Cabrera María, 2012, "El ocio como valor en la sociedad actual", *Arbor* 188:754, pp. 283–291, http://dx.doi.org/10.3989/arbor.2012.754n2002.

Calvo-Soraluze June, San Salvador del Valle Roberto, 2013, "Tourism Policy Makers and Managers as Generators of Meaningful Leisure Experiences – Knowledge, Skills and Values Needed by the New Professionals", *Journal of Tourism Research & Hospitality* 2:4, https://doi.org/10.4172/2324-8807.1000126.

Calvo-Soraluze June, San Salvador del Valle Roberto, 2014, "The Transformation of Leisure Experiences in Music Festivals: New Ways to Design Imaginative, Creative and Memorable Leisure Experiences through Technology and Social Networks", in: Greg Richards, Lenia Marques and Karen Mein (eds.), *Event Design: Social Perspectives and Practices*, New York: Routledge.

Calvo-Soraluze June, Viñals Blanko Ana, 2014, "Stimulating Attendees' Leisure Experience at Music Festivals: Innovative Strategies and Managerial Processes", *Global Journal of Management and Business Research* 14:2, pp. 37–52.

Carrasco Salom Julia, Pitarch-Garrido Maria Dolores, 2017, "Análisis del impacto en el turismo de la estrategia de desarrollo urbano basada en megaproyectos. El caso de la ciudad de Valencia", *Cuadernos de Turismo* 40, pp. 573–598, https://doi.org/10.6018/turismo.40.310111.

Carrizo Moreira António, Vieira Batista Alexandra, 2009, "Turismo de eventos: desafíos estratégicos de la ciudad de João Pessoa (Brasil)", *Cuadernos de Turismo* 23, pp. 31–46.

Csikszentmihalyi Mihaly, 2000, "Ocio y creatividad en el desarrollo Humano", in: Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi et al. (eds.), *Ocio y Desarrollo. Potencialidades del ocio para el desarrollo* Humano, Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto, pp. 17–32.

Cuenca Cabeza Manuel, 2000, *Ocio humanista: dimensiones y manifestaciones actuales del ocio*, Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto.

Cuenca Cabeza Manuel, 2011, "El ocio como ámbito de Educación Social", *Educación social: Revista de intervención socioeducativa* 47, pp. 25–40.

Cuenca Cabeza Manuel, 2014, *Ocio* valioso, Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto (*Documentos de Estudios de Ocio* 52).

Cuenca Jaime et al., 2014, "The Influence of Meaningful Leisure on the Subjective Well-being of Older Adults in the Basque Country of Northern Spain", *World Leisure* 56:2, pp. 120–129, https://doi.org/10.1080/16078055.2014.903721.

Deci Edward L., Ryan Richard M., 2000b, "The 'What' and 'Why' of Goal Pursuits: Human Needs and Self-determination of Behaviour", *Psychological Inquiry* 11, pp. 227–268, https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327965PLI1104_01.

Driver Beverly L., Brown Perry J., Peterson George L., 1991, *Benefits of Leisure*, State College, PA: Venture Publishing.

Driver Beverly L., Bruns Donald H., 1999, "Concepts and Uses of Benefits Approach to Leisure", in: Edgar Lionel Jackson, Thomas L. Burton (eds.), *Leisure Studies: Prospects for the 21st Century*, State College: Venture Publishing, pp. 349–369.

Elzo Imaz Francisco Javier, Silvestre Cabrera María, 2010, *Un individualismo placentero y protegido. Cuarta Encuesta Europea de Valores en su aplicación a España*, Bilbao: Publicaciones Deusto.

European Commission, 2018, *Innovation & Cultural Heritage: Conference Report*, Brussels: European Commission.

Getz Donald, 2007, *Event Studies: Theory, Research and Policy for Planned Events*, London: Elsevier.

González Reverté Francesc, Morales Pérez Soledad, 2009, *Ciudades efímeras transformando el turismo urbano a través de la producción de eventos*, Barcelona: Editorial UOC.

Kalay Yehuda, Kvan Thomas, Affleck Janice (eds.), 2007, *New Heritage: New Media and Cultural Heritage*, Oxford: Routledge.

Massimini Fausto, Delle Fave Antonella, 2000, "Individual Development in a Bio-cultural Perspective", *American Psychologist* 55:1, pp. 24–33, http://dx.doi.org/10.1037//0003-066X.55.1.24.

Molano Olga Lucía, 2007, "Identidad cultural: un concepto que evoluciona", *Revista Opera* 7, pp. 69–84.

Monteagudo Sánchez María Jesús et al., 2014, "Repensando el deporte desde nuevos parámetros", in: Ortega Nuere Cristina, Bayón Fernando (eds.), *El papel del ocio en la construcción social del joven*, Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto, pp. 197–210.

Monteagudo Sánchez María Jesús, 2008, "Reconstruyendo la experiencia de ocio: características, condiciones de posibilidad y amenazas en la sociedad de consumo", in: María Jesús Monteagudo Sánchez (ed.), *La experiencia de ocio: una mirada científica desde los Estudios de Ocio*, Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto, pp. 81–110.

Monteagudo Sánchez María Jesús, 2017, *Leisure Meanings, Opportunities and Contributions to Human Development*, Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto.

Pine Joseph B., Gilmore James H., 1999, *The Experience Economy: Work Is Theatre & Every Business a Stage*, Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

Richards Greg, 2003, "What Is Cultural Tourism?", in: Annemieke van Maaren (ed.), *Erfgoed voor Toerisme*, Weesp: Nationaal Contact Monumenten.

Richards Greg (ed.), 2007, *Cultural Tourism: Global and Local Perspectives*, New York: Routledge.

Richards Greg, Palmer Robert, 2010, *Eventful Cities: Cultural Management and Urban Revitalisation*, Oxford: Elsevier.

Richards Greg, Wilson Julie, 2007, *Tourism, Creativity and Development*, London: Routledge.

Rypkema Donovan, Mikic Hristina, 2016, *Cultural Heritage and Creative Industries*, Belgrade: Creative Economy Group Foundation.

San Salvador del Valle Roberto, 2000, *Políticas de Ocio*, Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto.

San Salvador del Valle Roberto, 2010, "El valor del ocio", *ADOZ. Revista de Estudios de Ocio* 33, pp. 11–16.

Sanz Lara José Angel, Herrero Prieto Luis César, Bedate Centeno Ana María, 2001, "Turismo cultural y patrimonio histórico: aplicación multivariante al estudio de la demanda", *Estudios turísticos* 150, pp. 113–132.

UNESCO, 2016, *Culture Urban Future: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*, Paris: UNESCO.

UNWTO, 2019, *World Tourism Barometer 2019*, World Tourism Organization, https://www.unwto.org/international-tourism-growth-continues-to-outpace-the-economy.

Vecco Marilena, 2010, "A Definition of Cultural Heritage: From the Tangible to the Intangible", *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 11:3, pp. 321–324, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.culher.2010.01.006.

Wright Susan, 1992, "Heritage and Critical History in the Reinvention of Mining Festivals in North East England", in: Jeremy Boissevain (ed.), *Revitalizing European Rituals*, London: Routledge.

Index of names

Z

Ż

The publication, which is the culmination of a European project carried out under the Erasmus Plus Programme, presents the city as a place of culture, heritage and sustainable development, a place where tradition and modernity mingle and where heritage is integrated with new forms. It is a place where cultures meet, but also a place where the inhabitants draw vitality, which is a source of identity; finally, it is a place where new generations are raised. The book shows life in the city as a composition of places of memory, which binds the past, the present and the future into a coherent whole (...). This book not only stimulates the reader's reflection on the city, inspiring them to their own reflections and cultural explorations, but it can also be an excellent textbook for students exploring the mysteries of cultural studies, anthropology, sociology or urban planning.

dr hab. Marcin Rebes

WYDAWNICTWO KSIĘGARNIA AKADEMICKA Sp. z o.o. Kraków

https://akademicka.pl

ISBN 978-83-8138-669-2