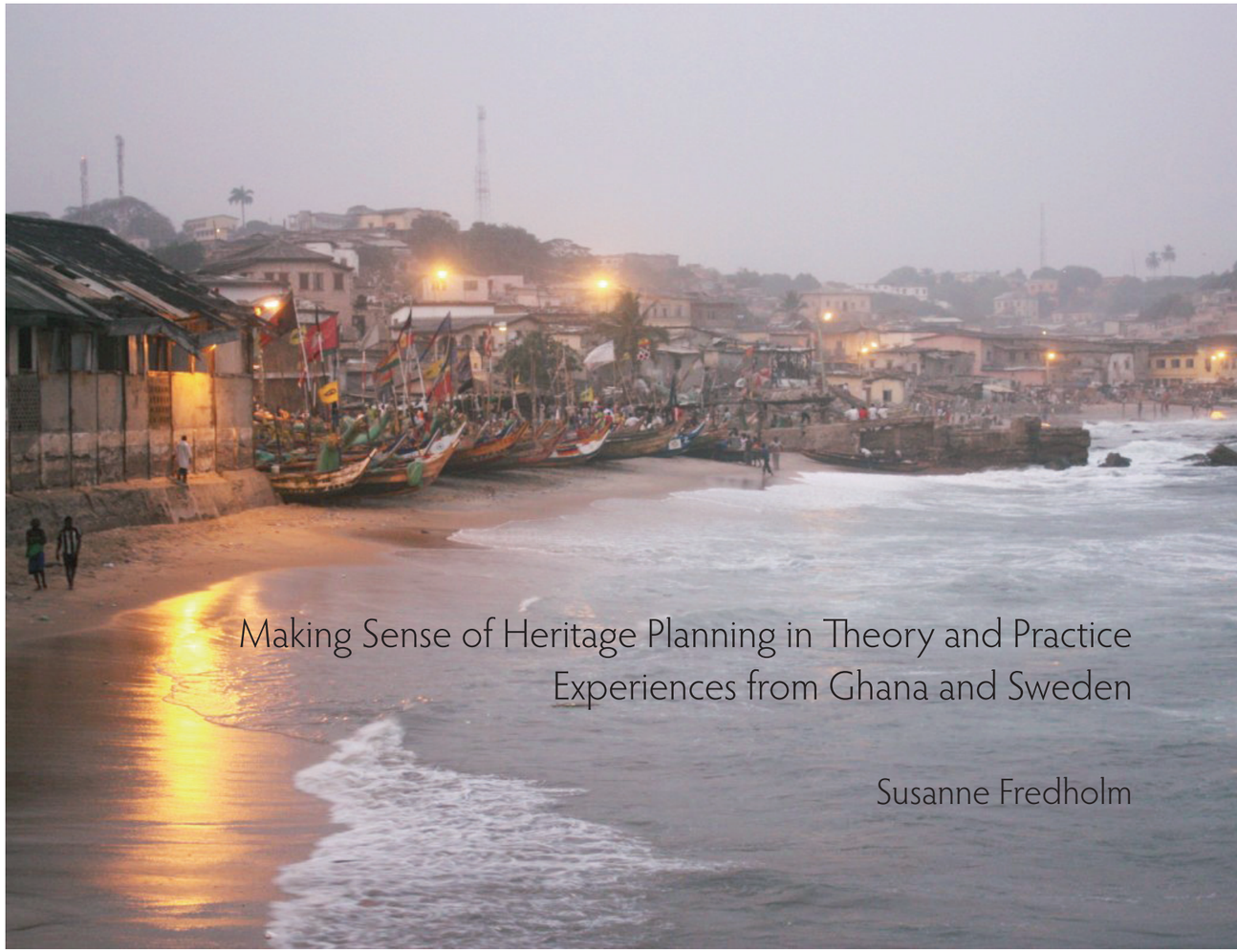
Making Sense of Heritage Planning in Theory and Practice

Gothenburg Studies in Conservation 40



Making Sense of Heritage Planning in Theory and Practice
Experiences from Ghana and Sweden

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Cover: A view of Cape Coast from the western wall of Cape Coast Castle, Ghana.
Back cover: Flatrod system at Fröå mine, County of Jämtland, Sweden.

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Abstract

Heritage has become a key element in the development of places, and historic areas have become valuable spaces because of their economic relevance for global cultural tourism. However, the interpretations and management of historic areas are inevitably contested and subject to multiple and conflicting claims, representations, and discourses. These challenges are nowadays often approached through inclusive planning processes, but they nevertheless tend to ignore the specific complex relations that underpin heritage in development context.

This thesis brings heritage theory and practice into dialogue with theories of place branding, planning and sustainability research in order to make sense of the complexities and the challenges of heritage planning in different socio-political contexts, and thereby contributing to heritage planning becoming more locally responsive. It employs methods of discursive analysis to study situations where heritage is integrated in development processes, and to analyse how different sets of values and objectives are negotiated, and the consequences of these negotiations.

In Ghana, tourism development is politically used as a tool to create new jobs and business opportunities, and to strengthen the local economies. Heritage, and in particular the historic built environment, is in this context interpreted as a resource for development, which has also been the guiding premise in an internationally sanctioned regeneration project in Cape Coast. Yet, the historic built environment is interpreted differently by local stakeholders, and the ambitions of the project have

not had great effect on the local planning system. Civil engagement in managing the historic landscape of Fröå in the county of Jämtland, Sweden, has resulted in benefits which reflect regional policy objectives to combine heritage management, tourism development and social inclusiveness. Yet, when future management of Fröå is debated, heritage authorities prioritise traditional heritage values over social commitment. This reflects the general county-wide applied heritage planning, which show difficulties implementing policy objectives of being pro-active and supportive of heritage activities from below.

The findings are presented in five articles which are linked and examined in an introductory monograph. A conceptual framework is developed and used to illustrate how resource-driven politics are put at work in historic built environments, and in particular, how different value frames and strategies are structured and re-negotiated over time. It is suggested that heritage planning constantly balance a demand/supply-driven point of departure, a product/process orientation, a bottom-up/top-down approach, and laymen/expert knowledge. The balancing of these features in relation to internal and external markets governs the way heritage planning is performed. Applied to the case studies, the conceptual framework makes evident the diverse and interwoven discursive laden and institutional constraints that make it difficult for heritage planning to move from a focus on objects to a focus on process and outcome in line with contemporary developments in theory.

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List of Articles

This doctoral thesis is based on five articles, which will be referred to in the text by their Roman numerals.

I. Fredholm, S. (2017) Assets in the Age of Tourism: The Development of Heritage Planning in Ghanaian Policy. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 34(4) pp.498-518. DOI: 10.1080/02589001.2017.1285011

II. Fredholm, S. (2015) Negotiating a Dominant Heritage Discourse. Sustainable Urban Planning in Cape Coast, Ghana. *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development*, 5(3), pp.274–289. DOI:10.1108/JCHMSD-04-2014-0016

III. Fredholm, S., Eliasson, I. & Knez, I. (accepted) Conservation of Historic Landscapes: What Signifies `Highly Successful´ Management? *Landscape Research.*

IV. Fredholm, S., Olsson, K. (in review) Managing the Image of the Place and the Past. Contemporary Views on Place Branding and Built Heritage Management, *Journal of Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*.

V. Tengberg, A., Fredholm, S., Eliasson, I., Knez, I., Saltzman, K., Wetterberg, O. (2012). Cultural Ecosystem Services Provided by Landscapes: Assessment of Heritage Values and Identity. *Ecosystem Services*, 2, pp.14–26. DOI:10.1016/j.ecoser.2012.07.006

My contribution to the co-authored articles:

Article III. I am the first author of this article. I conducted the empirical study and wrote a draft version. I and Ingegärd Eliasson jointly revised the whole article. Igor Knez contributed with his expertize.

Article IV. I am the first author of this article. I conducted the literature review and wrote a draft version. I and Krister Olsson jointly revised the whole article.

Article V. I am the second author of this article. I conducted a literature review on cultural ecosystem services, and wrote the sections on conceptual and methodological aspects of cultural heritage management. I conducted the first case study as part of a master's thesis which was then re-analysed jointly with Anna Tengberg and Ingegärd Eliasson. All authors jointly revised the whole article.

Sammanfattning på svenska

Kulturarv ses idag som en resurs inom lokal och regional utveckling, och historiska platser bedöms ha ekonomisk betydelse som drivkraft i den globala turismindustrin. Samtidigt formas kulturarvet av olika representationer och diskurser, och historiska platser utsätts oundvikligen för motstridiga anspråk. Dessa utmaningar bemöts ofta idag genom inkluderande planeringsprocesser, som trots allt tenderar att ignorera de specifika komplexa relationer och sammanhang som kulturarv i utvecklingssammanhang är en del av.

Denna avhandling kombinerar kulturarvsteori med teori inom platsmarknadsföring, planering och hållbarhetsforskning för att undersöka den komplexitet och de utmaningar som kulturarvsförvaltningen står inför i olika socio-politiska kontexter. En diskursiv analys genomförs för att studera situationer där kulturarv är integrerat i utvecklingsprocesser, och för att analysera hur olika värden och planeringsambitioner förhandlas mellan olika parter, och konsekvenserna av dessa förhandlingar.

I Ghana utgör turismindustrin ett viktigt politiskt incitament för att skapa nya jobb och för att stärka den lokala ekonomin. Kulturarv, och särskilt historiska platser, anses i detta sammanhang fungera som utvecklingsresurser, vilket också varit utgångspunkt för ett internationellt genomdrivet stadsomvandlingsprogram i Cape Coast. Samtidigt tolkas den historiska miljön annorlunda lokalt, och ambitionerna inom projektet har inte haft stor effekt på den lokala stadsplaneringens riktning eller innehåll. Privata initiativ att bevara Fröås historiska landskap i Jämtlands län,

Sverige, har resulterat i regionalpolitikens uttryckliga målbild; att kombinera kulturarvsförvaltning, turismutveckling och social sammanhållning. Men när framtida förvaltning av området diskuteras, tenderar kulturarvsförvaltningen att prioritera traditionella kulturhistoriska värden framför att understödja denna resultatrika process. Detta speglar i sin tur den generella länsomfattande kulturarvsförvaltningen, som visar på tydliga svårigheter att implementera politiska mål om att arbeta proaktivt och understödja kulturarvsengagemang.

Resultaten presenteras i fem artiklar som ställts samman och analyseras i en kappa. Utifrån teorigenomgången har ett konceptuellt ramverk sammanställts. Denna används för att illustrera hur resursdriven kulturarvspolitik påverkar den historiska byggda miljön, och framförallt hur olika värdegrunder och strategier bland deltagande parter struktureras och omförhandlas över tid. Kulturarvsförvaltningen visar sig balansera mellan fyra faktorer; en utgångspunkt i efterfrågan/tillgång, en process/produktinriktning, ett bottom-up/top-down perspektiv samt lekman/expert kunskap. Balanserandet mellan dessa olika faktorer är samtidigt alltid satta i relation till en intern och en extern marknad, som i sin tur styr hur kulturarvsförvaltningen utspelar sig över tid. Tillämpat på fallstudierna visar det konceptuella ramverket på de diskursiva och institutionella begränsningar som gör det svårt för kulturarvsförvaltningen att utvecklas i linje med samtida kulturvårdsteori, dvs. från ett fokus på objekt till ett fokus på processer och önskvärt resultat.

Contents

Foreword

Being a specialist in conservation of built environments with a few years of practical experience, I took the opportunity in 2010 to challenge my own ways of thinking about heritage planning, its logic and its consequenses. The importance of the subject is unquestionable, and I have certainly gained new insights which hopefully will contribute to further research as well as inspire new ways of approaching heritage in the field. The work has been a privilege and a challenge and I feel rewarded by the experience.

Acknowledgements

This thesis would have been impossible to write without the help and support from a number of people. First of all, I want to thank my main supervisor Professor Ola Wetterberg, who always has had the time to give support and valuable feedback. Your knowledge in the field of heritage has been a source of inspiration. Moreover, in times of self-doubt, your encouragement and your trust in my own ability has been crucial in order to complete the project.

I have also been fortunate enough to benefit from additional supervisors, who have been actively supportive during different phases of this journey. Professor Ingegärd Eliasson, with whom I have co-written two articles, has an amazing ability to bring new energy to an exhausted situation with her strategic and systematic way of thinking. Docent Krister Olsson, with whom I have co-written one article, introduced new concepts and new ways of thinking, and has contributed with highly

valued discussions and ideas that helped make the main strand of this thesis stand out. And thanks also to PhD Feras Hammami, who has continuously encouraged a critical engagement of both the topic and structuring of the text. It has certainly been a privilege to have had the opportunity to collaborate with all four of you. I highly value your efforts, constructive suggestions and inputs.

A great thanks to Professor Elizabeth Peacock for her valuable support as my examiner. Associate professor Maria Håkansson at the Urban and Regional Studies, Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm, was the discussant in the final seminar. Her comments helped make the case become more distinct and shaped the final structure of this research for which I am grateful.

I also wish to thank the intellectual group of researchers at the Department of Conservation at University of Gothenburg and elsewhere, who have helped shape the ideas behind this research and situate them in larger contexts. Some of my text benefited from comments offered by Ingrid Martins Holmberg, Jonathan Westin, Katarina Saltzman, Ulrich Lange, Bo Lagerqvist, Gabriella Olshammar and Martin Gren. Thank you also to all of my colleagues for the time we shared, out of whom I particularly want to mention Laila Stahre and Christer Aronsson for helping out with all the administrative and technical matters, and for creating such an enjoyable working environment.

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Last, but not least, I would like to thank my precious family Johan, Kim and my unborn, for making me happily forget about thesis work when outside office. You are the love of my life.

Prologue

Berat, Albania, 2008:

We entered a restaurant in the historic centre of Berat, a designated UNESCO World heritage site. The restaurant owner had aquired a column from a nearby medieval site which was now the centre piece of the interior décor. "You tourists expect historic settings, and so I brought it for you", he said. Regardless of feeling a bit narrowly defined as a consumer of shallow enjoyment, I laughed along with him.

Gothenburg, Sweden, 2010:

Working as a built heritage conservation professional, I had completed most parts of the inventory of the cultural historic qualities of the building which would support upcoming interior remodelling. It then came to my attention that some of the former tenants were upset having to leave such a highly appreciated working place. This came as no surprise, given the architectural merits. The information increasingly troubled me, however. I assumed there were a lot of interior functional and spatial qualities that the former tenants would have paid attention to which would supplement the inventory, and make me observant to things I normally do not pay attention to. However, I as a consultant with limited time and budget was not assigned to methodologically incorporate interviews for this particular assignment. Despite recognizing the inventory was inadequate, I finished what I started.

Figures 1 and 2. Around the turn of the millennia, a family in central Cape Coast (left) received home owner grants for restoration expenses due to the building´s historic importance. Owners later choose pragmatic solutions for continuing maintenance by using telecom sponsored rather than "historically accurate" paint. The owner of the building to the right expresses both optimism and concerns about the increase in tourists, by which the future of his possibilities of staying in the central part of town is uncertain.

Cape Coast, Ghana, 2011:

The interpreter and I approached a middle aged woman in the courtyard of a 19th century family house. She told us that some foreign people renovated the house some years ago because of its historic importance. Although the family was happy with the renovations at the time, the house had since degraded slightly, and recently the head of family ordered for it to be re-painted with the MTN sign, as the tele company pays for the paint. Pragmatism precedes historical values. The owner of another historic building around the corner told us the "American renovations" more than a decade ago were ambitious. Now, however, he is faced with the same threat of having to leave the city centre due to the changing social status of the neighbourhood, as many did during the clearance of the city centre´s older structures in the 1960´s, making way for modernity.

The episode in Berat, Albania illustrates a situation where forces mainly outside the remit of formal government regulations shape the use of the past in the present. In this particular situation, the restaurant owner took charge of his own environment, and designed his economic livelihood based on his perception of heritage authenticity and the benefits of tourism. In such situations, heritage forms the nexus regarding issues of perceived visitor's expectations, available resources and local consequences of a dominating global heritage discourse on world heritage. On a more personal note, the episode also shows how I as a visitor, intentionally or not, co-create the driving forces that generate certain heritage practices and sustain a global heritage discourse.

The episode in Gothenburg, Sweden illustrates a situation where expert led methodologies conform to and meet the demands of instrumental rational planning ideals to "perfection". Given the fact that the building in question is a designated national monument, heritage planners have two "clienteles" for their assignments; the society at large for whom the building is (ideally) valuable, and the contractor. Through representative democracy and the laws that govern the way past achievements are selected to be of value for the present, the society has, so to speak, already been advised in terms of the building´s value. In circumstances like this, assignments are adjusted to the framework, scale and rationale of the contractor, where participatory activities are, at best, called upon to strengthen the expert´s decisions. The sense I had as a heritage professional, was that opportunities that could have surfaced, did not so because of the particular approach that narrowed interpretations of significance down to expertise knowledge. I as a heritage professional cannot always influence the framework in each situation, but nonetheless, intentionally or not, I do co-create the methodologies and discourses that in the long run generate certain heritage practices.

The episode in Cape Coast, Ghana, illustrates a situation where intentional or unintentional consequences of decisions made by heritage authorities and planners, come to effect the daily lives of people for an extended period of time. Universal strategies, applied to unique socio-economic contexts, can turn good intentions to questionable results, and create new challenges for both civil society and heritage authorities and planners.

Introduction

Heritage can basically be anything and exist anywhere. It can also be personal and collective as well as local and global. Heritage planning, however, can be anything but a simple and straight-forward activity. As heritage is inherently dissonant (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996), poor planning and management can even lead to (violent) conflict. A burgeoning public interest in the ways their past is represented, and associated calls for new inclusive modes of heritage governance, has generated new challenges to traditional planning systems. Among other reasons, the calls suggest that the ways heritage is approached in planning is equally important to professionals, politicians, scientists, citizens and tourists. The three short stories from Berat, Gothenburg and Cape Coast, as narrated in the Section Prologue, give glimpses on personal encounters with heritage and its contestations, and how different actors use it for different agendas and purposes. The narratives of the stories unfold critical questions regarding how heritage becomes conceived, used, enacted and exploited which in turn suggest various spatial, social, cultural and political consequences difficult to anticipate.

Engagement with heritage through these type of stories uncovers the different impacts of heritage on societal development. This thesis explores these impacts and the role heritage planners may play in making heritage values and their management relevant for pertinent 'beneficiaries'. It explores the ways heritage planning interacts with other related fields of practice, especially place branding and the ecosystem

services framework, which are particularly related to planning. During the past decades professional heritage practices have gone through significant turns. This began with the emergence of an international movement in protecting heritage in the post–World War times, along with the development of international standard-setting instruments. This movement has promoted technically oriented preservation of monuments or ensembles of built environments. It has also managed to produce quite effective comprehensive official protective legislation which aligns with an approach to planning based on instrumental rationality. An instrumental rational approach is inherent an epistemological position which suggest heritage planning to be a technical problem, in which an exhaustive formulation can be stated containing all the information the problem-solver needs for understanding and solving the problem (Rittel & Webber, 1973 p. 161). Moreover, in the western institutionalised planning system, this implies that ideally there should be a reciprocal relationship between different levels of political influence; the interpretation and implementation of national policies by local and regional authorities (Bernhard & Wihlborg, 2012). This epistemological position has brought about systems-approaches for assessments of cultural heritage. This includes steps such as “understanding the problem”, “gather information”, “analyse information”, “synthesize information” and “work out solution” on how to best safeguard certain values of objects or sites (see e.g. Rojas, 2012).

Framed by conventions, charters and recommendations, the evolution of the heritage sector has resulted in broadening the definitions of cultural heritage from being monuments and sites to comprise a group of buildings or the "entire" built environment, sometimes including its intangible dimensions (Ahmad, 2006). As part of this evolution, integrated conservation has become a well-established scholarly-professional discourse and an approach to the application of heritage planning in local and regional development contexts (Bizzarro & Nijkamp, 1997). It focuses on shared responsibility in which decision makers, owners, inhabitants, users, and tourists play key roles in collectively managing inevitable change and demands for sustainable development. Within planning context, the evolution of heritage practices has promoted planners to negotiate heritage within the politicized socio-economic processes of local and regional development. In this regard, the heritage sector has developed a closer relationship with urban planning and development (Engelbrektsson, 2008).

Since at least the 1980´s, public participation has become a worldwide issue as a bottom-up approach has spread across the fields of heritage and urban planning. Ideals of “planning from below”, particularly paralleled with the epistemological context of sustainability, has promoted new inclusive spaces in which issues of heritage form part of urban planning and governance. In heritage planning, values-centred approaches have been developed, where the management of historic places is

based on the associated values of the community. They focus on a shift in the role of heritage planners to act as facilitators enabling people to engage with their cultural heritage for the sake of their well-being, rather than as experts prescribing certain actions for the sake of the objects (Mason, 2008; Stephenson, 2008; Worthing & Bond, 2008). These approaches are theoretically grounded in an understanding that heritage planning is a discursive practice which continuously evolves as meanings ascribed to objects shifts with societal developments. Pluralistic value categories have emerged as heritage values are considered less intrinsic to objects, but rather socially constructed (Nanda et al., 2001).

Conceptually different ways to assess and articulate heritage values, as well as contemporary external changes of relevance to the management of historic places, continuously pose challenges for heritage planners. Collective meaning making (Braaksma et al., 2015) is ideally to be addressed in equal measures as to those posed by spatial threats or aesthetic considerations, usually addressed by experts. Economic assessments of heritage are increasingly being called upon within nature science disciplines that understand heritage as a resource, which demands new interdisciplinary approaches (MA, 2005; TEEB, 2010). Additional challenges include the emergence of tourism as one of the largest industries in the world, the growing concern of the sustainability of urban development and the new roles of cities with ongoing market liberalisation, decentralisation and privatisation as new drivers of development (Bandarin & van Oers, 2012, p. 75). In this context, the strengthening and direct development of communities, taking advantage of existing structures and their functionality, is still to a large extent secondary to attracting investments, tourists, and residents through the marketing of heritage assets in rather traditional terms (Rypkema, 2007).

It is recognized here, that there has been a paradigm shift in theory, but this shift is only partly adopted in practice. If we were to think in terms of paradigms in the Kuhnian sense, the dominant paradigm that pervades heritage planning practice is still instrumental rationality i.e. “a logical way to determine the optimal available means to accomplish a given goal” (Alexander, 2000 p. 245).

A central argument is that the complexity inherent to heritage in local and regional development planning context is still not fully recognized. Heritage planners tend, in general, to regard the activity as a technological problem to be solved by rational decisions. The practice is still in many cases being isolated or confined only to the realm of building or site protection, which may result in lack of integration into the general urban planning framework (The Getty Conservation Institute, 2009). Adapting the words of Logan and Reeves (2008, p. 13), heritage planning is indeed about technical issues relating to restoration and adaptive re-use, but it is just as much about cultural politics and about the links between ideology, public policy, national and community identity formation, and celebration. The fact that profes-

Table 1. The research problem of each article.

ARTICLE	TITLE	RESEARCH PROBLEM
I	*"Assets in the Age of Tourism: The Development of Heritage Planning in Ghanaian Policy"*	There is a general lack of research on heritage policy in Ghana. The role of heritage planning for development from socio-economic, cultural and tourism perspectives is diffused in terms of concepts, objectives and approaches, with inevitable consequences for practice.
II	*"Negotiating a dominant heritage discourse. Sustainable urban planning in Cape Coast, Ghana"*	Complications arise when practices and standards of a dominating heritage discourse are insensitive towards local notions of heritage and alternative ways to manage the historic built environment.
III	*"Conservation of historic landscapes: what signifies 'successful' management?"*	Heritage planners generally lack methods to address immaterial values and the socio-economic benefits of engaging in heritage activities, resulting in a separation between physical and communal aspects of heritage planning.
IV	*"Managing the Image of the Place and the Past. Contemporary views on Place Branding and Heritage Management"*	Common theoretical perspectives and corresponding tendencies between place branding and heritage management is not utilized for the benefit of practice, particularly in terms of balancing instrumental/communicative rationality in planning and when targeting internal/external markets.
V	*"Cultural ecosystem services provided by landscapes: Assessment of heritage values and identity"*	Sustainability practices and heritage planning often operate on their own as isolated phenomena in local and regional planning and development. There is a lack of integrated implementation of conventions and instruments from the environmental and cultural heritage fields, respectively.

sional heritage practice do not seem to be able to apply the theoretical ambitions and recognise the inherent complexity of heritage planning, demonstrates a combination of a theory-practice divide, and a societal challenge. Healey (2010 p. 44) asserts that in all planning processes, it is imperative to "recognize the complexity of the overlapping systems of relationships and responsibilities that connect specific local actions to wider relations, impacts and responsibilities". For practitioners involved in heritage planning, this is particularly important when aiming to channel the enthusiasm of heritage advocates into dialogue among various community interests (De la Torre et al., 2005; Kalman, 2014).

As a consequence of working with the theoretical perspectives and the respective problem formulations in each article (see Table 1), it has successively become evident that issues of heritage in a development planning context needs to be understood as a complex, multifaceted, open-ended and unpredictable activity. This understanding aligns with the characteristics of a "wicked problem" (Harvey & Perry, 2015; Rittel & Webber, 1973). A wicked problem is difficult or impossible to solve due to incomplete or contradictory knowledge, the number of people and opinions involved, the large economic burden, and the interconnected nature of these problems with other problems (Kolko, 2012). Therefore, it is impossible for heritage planners to rationally collaborate or communicate and knowing exactly what to do based on problem

formulations grounded in one´s self interests´, as the "perfect planning" is utopian in the sense of "perfect results". However, rather than ignoring the task because of it being more or less impossible to follow through, a normative approach applied in this thesis is that heritage planners should engage with their tasks as being exactly what it is – a wicked problem, and acknowledge the extraordinary dynamics of such a task. This calls for responsibility amongst all parties involved to comply with adaptive strategies, including adopting new forms of cooperative interpretation and stewardship.

The research problem will be investigated in this thesis in relation to two specific case studies: Cape Coast, located in Ghana and Jämtland/Fröå, located in Sweden. The two case studies each cover more than three decades, and heritage is in both cases inextricably linked to the historic environment and with socio-economic interests such as local and regional development and the growth of the tourism industry. The two case studies differ, however, in the underlying challenges that govern and determine ways forward. In the Cape Coast case, the fundamental basis for heritage related activities has throughout the period studied been poverty alleviation. In the Jämtland/Fröå case, future management is dependent on a renewed understanding of the public relevance of this specific industrial heritage site. The focus is set on the way in which practice corresponds to the intentions imposed on regional and local actors within heritage planning, based on a combination of authority and civil perspectives. The case is thus characterized by group efforts, with members of the group having different frames of reference and different value systems influencing the way heritage and its relevance for society is interpreted, communicated and managed. As every such case is unique, the case defines the group members. This can include community members, researchers and academics, policy-makers, governments, non-government organisations, and enterprises like those in the tourism sectors.

The empirical analysis of the two cases uncovered the multifaceted nature of heritage and its complex entanglement with built environments, tourism development mechanisms, and people´s well-being. Each case represents a situation in which professional heritage practices attempted to recognise the values that Patsy Healey promotes through "the planning project". This involves "an orienting and mobilising set of ideas, [which] centres on deliberate collective action; that is, on governance activity, to improve place qualities, infused with a particular orientation" (Healey, 2010 p. 21). Basically, the set of ideas are based on improvement of place qualities rather than improving the physical fabrics of the city, about making places sustainable rather than beautiful and functional, about balancing and integrating diverse values rather than letting dominant values dictate, about participation rather than technical, technocratic and top-down processes. The empirical material of the two cases sought to explore the extent to which these ambitions managed to be realised within the complex task of integrating heritage in local and regional development planning.

1.2 Research Aim

The overall aim of this thesis is to explore the complexity of heritage planning and the challenges it faces in different socio-political contexts. Specifically, the objective is to make sense of these complexities and challenges within the context of historic places, and thereby contributing to heritage planning becoming more locally responsive. To reach the aim and objective, this thesis investigates the following research questions:

How are internal objectives and challenges of heritage planning research shared and met by other research areas on local and regional development planning? *(Article IV and V)*

How are public policies with specific focus on heritage planning articulated and implemented by involved stakeholders in local and regional development planning? *(Article I, II, III and IV)*

How are different sets of values and objectives negotiated, and how do these negotiations influence interpretations and management strategies of the historic built environment over time? *(Article II and III)*

What are the intended and unintended consequences of interpretations and implemented management strategies, and how are these consequences taken responsibility for by heritage planners? *(Article II, III and IV)*

1.3 Definitions

In order to provide a clear understanding of the text in this thesis, some definitions are examined, established and adopted. There are many notions that describe different cultural heritage activities whose differences are sometimes elusive. In the articles, definitions of heritage management, heritage planning and conservation are made according the appropriate contexts. As a result of testing the different terms in relation to the practice at hand, the following terms were chosen for the discussions in this introductory monograph. The concept of heritage and the heritage planning practice are discussed in depth in the first and second section of chapter four.

Heritage management refers in this thesis to the wide-ranging practice that addresses all aspects of retaining and enhancing cultural heritage, principally based on civil engagement. The practice goes beyond planning contexts and is part of a growing interest in issues of cultural heritage generally and the subject of increasing discussion and controversy among both professionals and the public.

Heritage planning refers in this thesis to the application of heritage into the specific context of local and regional planning in the public interest, i.e. the way that heritage comes into play in planning. The major distinction between heritage management and heritage planning is that the latter is an activity based not primarily on advocacy, but initiated and governed by public officials. Heritage planning is a collective term which spans a wide set of approaches, clarified more in depth in section 4.2. In its most constricted sense, it deals with the protection of individual monuments, while in a wider sense it refers to a collaborative, interdisciplinary and professional process involving a range of actors with different educational backgrounds (including archaeologists, anthropologists and historians as well as less heritage-centred specialist such as geographers, urban planners and architects). It also includes involvement of civil society and should be attentive and supportive of civil engagement, and its success depends on cooperation and partnerships with the community at large.

Important to note, is that the empirical material does not mirror this terminology. For example, heritage management and heritage conservation (or conservation planning) are often used in similar ways as heritage planning is defined here. The empirical material is structured and analysed according to what people say they do and how they approach the issue at hand, onto which the terminology is applied.

Heritage planners are here referred to as those with any kind of responsibility in regards to cultural heritage or historic environments in planning. These public officials or consultants do not necessarily have an educational background related to heritage studies or heritage planning as a discipline. Rather, quite often, they are specialized geographers, urban planners and architects.

1.4 Epistemological Positioning

The epistemological positioning is based on a qualitative and humanistic research approach in the form of social constructionism, which combined with an interdisciplinary approach, precondition the choice of methodology and methods used in this research. Drawing on Burr (1995, pp. 2–5), three arguments are adopted as to why social constructionism is used as a principle perspective.

First, it adopts a critical approach to taken-for-granted knowledge, meaning that our knowledge of the world should not be treated as objective truth. Heritage, for example, is interpreted differently among social groups and is influenced by different external political agendas and demands over time. In a similar vein, Harvey (2001 p. 334) asserts that heritage has always been "presented (or intentionally not presented) within the context of political agendas and wider conceptions of popular memory contemporary to the time".

Second, the social world is constructed socially and discursively which implies that its character is not pre-given or determined by external conditions. Foucault (1972/2011 p. 193) defines discourse as "systems of thoughts composed of ideas, attitudes, courses of action, beliefs and practices that systematically construct the subjects and the worlds of which they speak." Policy discourses deal with the production of meaning and knowledge, which is here understood as shaped by, and in turn, influencing power relations governing heritage planning.

Third, within a particular worldview, some forms of action become natural, others unthinkable. This means that different social understandings of the world lead to different social actions, and therefore the social construction of knowledge and truth has social consequences. Following Jørgensen & Phillips (2002, p. 10), it is the ambition of this thesis to investigate and analyse the relations that make a certain practice dominant in heritage related activities. That way, normative perspectives can be formulated based on a critique of such relations.

The central position that permeates the thesis is that planning and management of historic places forms part of a system shaped by different social actors and needs. In order to facilitate a fuller understanding of the inherent complexity of the subject and its implications for practice, the study seeks a "synthesis of knowledge" through interdisciplinary integration (Loulanski, 2007). This type of knowledge formation is based on borrowing and lending concepts, methods, theories and praxes so as to further stimulate cross-fertilization and transform the ways that objects are treated in traditional disciplines (Loulanski & Loulanski, 2016 p. 16). This eclectic approach permits an outset in the societal problem rather than in the problems of the respective scientific disciplines, relevant when studying the dynamics of heritage in development context.

Articles Summarized

This chapter outlines the specific aims, arguments and conclusions of the articles presented in this study.

I: Assets in the Age of Tourism: The Development of Heritage Planning in Ghanaian Policy

The aim of this article is to examine the role of heritage planning in national Ghanaian policy, and to highlight various ambiguities in terms of concepts, objectives and approaches. The mapping of discursive formations was undertaken in ten policies from three governmental areas in which heritage are addressed. These were produced 1995-2013 and focus on socio-economic, cultural, and tourism development.

The major findings show a shift in heritage planning objectives from nation building towards the development of a heritage tourism industry. Less emphasized are objectives to maintain and improve cultural and social values and the safeguarding of diverse expressions of Ghanaian culture in planning contexts. These objectives seem to run parallel without ever actually connecting due to theoretical gaps between instrumental and communicative planning ideals, between traditional management systems and wider democratic concerns, and between delimited and comprehensive planning perspectives. The central argument is that the lack of coherence between different development planning perspectives is an issue for future policy, in order for practice to balance tourism development with concerns such as social stability, community development and local pride of place.

II: Negotiating a dominant heritage discourse. Sustainable Urban Planning in Cape Coast, Ghana

The aim of the article is to study how local forms of heritage management and planning adapt, adjust and negotiate a dominating global discourse on cultural heritage, with specific focus on sustainable development of the built environment in Cape Coast, Ghana.

The findings suggest that local planning initiatives align with a global and authorized discourse on built heritage being a resource for tourism development. In light of an international regeneration project, however, practical and discursive constrains prove how such a planning approach demote other forms of existing local systems of governance and alternative views of urban heritage in planning context. Interviews with planning authorities reveal a number of constrains that hinder a local continuation of heritage planning according to the principles of the regeneration project. Constrains include lack of leadership, lack of long-term economic funding in combination with corruption, apprehensiveness of new ideas, as well lack of human resources. Moreover, ambitions to safeguard features in the historic environment which are not designated national monuments, is locally regarded an obstacle for development in terms of improving the physical environment to modern standard. Other discursive constrains include complex notions of private and public heritage, which a tourism-oriented heritage planning approach proves insensitive towards. A critical reflection on the sustainability of such international regeneration projects indicates the need for continuous revision and changes of direction giving changed circumstances and unexpected consequences.

III: Conservation of Historic Landscapes: What Signifies `Successful´ Management?

This article examines the management of an industrial heritage site in Åre, Jämtland, Sweden, which has been defined successful by local heritage planners and stakeholders. This status of excellence is a result of the restoration society's work process, which mirrors public policy objectives of safeguarding historical characteristics while simultaneously creating added value in terms of economic and social benefits for society at large. This achievement is compared to how public officials perceive success in terms of applied county-wide heritage planning on detailed and comprehensive level. Inclusive processes and a broad definition of heritage are for the most part accepted as theoretical ideals amongst public officials. Nonetheless, in practice, they tend to focus on protection of material authenticity and seem to lack methods for integrating immaterial heritage values and social and economic benefits into their daily practices.

The results indicate a separation between the physical content and the social aspects of historical landscapes in county-wide applied heritage planning, which highlight

the issue of professional legitimacy and the emergent challenges for heritage authorities and planners. Among the concluding reflections about being truly pro-active, we highlight the need for a reconceptualization amongst public officials of the notion of heritage resource, in order to include social aspects in heritage planning assessments and to reconsider for whom management of historical landscapes is beneficial.

IV: Managing the Image of the Place and the Past. Contemporary views on Place Branding and Heritage Management

This article focuses on the theoretical intersection between place branding and heritage management, in relation to general planning theory. The aim is to highlight similar theoretical underpinnings. A case study of a historical site – the Fröå mine in Åre, Sweden – is used to shed light on how these theoretical perspectives are balanced in practice. The case represents a place in which ideas of place branding and heritage management co-exist, and illustrate how different stakeholders´ agenda (brand managers, heritage authorities and laymen) have influenced the management principles up to now. An integrative literature study resulted in a tentative analytical framework for linking theory and practice. It highlights a number of concepts that are central to the understanding of contemporary theory of place branding, heritage management and planning, which form a basis for a discussion about future management potentials in practice.

The main results show that brand and heritage meanings are socially constructed and culturally dependent, and, thus place brand formation and heritage management needs to be an interactive process of identity construction through a dialogue between all stakeholders concerned. Moreover, heritage management and place branding in practice would benefit from considering a demand-approach, turning towards the internal market first and foremost, as theory implies. This mutual learning potential is especially true when heritage management and place branding practice is so clearly entwined as in our case study. The analytical framework has been further developed and applied in the analysis of this thesis.

V: Cultural Ecosystem Services Provided by Landscapes: Assessment of Heritage Values and Identity

The aim of this article is to provide a conceptual analysis of cultural ecosystem services and how they are linked to the concepts of landscape, heritage and identity. The ecosystem services framework (linking environmental degradation to loss of ecosystem services and impacts on human well-being) is mainly based on a natural science paradigm. The outset for our study is the need for methods and tools for integrated assessment of cultural and ecological values in the landscape to ensure informed policy making.

The main conclusions demonstrate that the so far simplified notion of cultural ecosystem services among the ecological research community could be enriched by

value-based approaches in cultural landscape research, both by adding time-depth to more spatially focused ecosystem assessments, and as a way to inform about contemporary notions of heritage. Cultural landscape research could, on the other hand, benefit from a practical tool for analysis of different values and their trade-offs at the landscape scale based on the ecosystem services framework and the four types of ecosystem services it distinguishes among – provisioning, regulating, cultural and supporting ecosystem services. In relation to the thesis, this article confirms that heritage serves as a central phenomenon in sustainability research. It also demonstrates how different fields of inquiry acknowledge, conceptualise and operationalise heritage in a variety of ways with consequences for research and practice.

Table 2: Argument, method, theory and contribution of the five articles, respectively.

ARTICLE	ARGUMENT	METHOD	THEORY	CONTRIBUTION
I	National Ghanaian policy demonstrate a complex and conflicting understanding of the way heritage serve as a resource for development, without linking it to practical consequences.	- Discursive analysis. - Methods: official documents.	- Heritage: object or process (balancing policy – practice) - Instrumental and communicative rational approaches to heritage planning	- Understanding the political instrumentality of heritage.
II	Tourism oriented heritage planning and management embrace protection of materiality but does not necessarily pay sensitive attention to the expectations of local communities.	- Discursive analysis. - Methods: interviews, official documents, media.	- Authorized Heritage Discourse	Understanding: - The discursive field of heritage. - Social and spatial consequences of the authorized heritage discourse.
III	Successful heritage management is defined and reinforced by factors that public officials do not methodologically handle in daily practice.	- Discursive analysis. - Methods: interviews, official documents, media.	- Instrumental and communicative rationale in heritage planning - Heritage conservation; urban development, architectural design	Highlighting: - Civil society organizations. - Discrepancies between heritage practices and heritage planning.
IV	A participatory approach to place branding and heritage management suggests seeing struggles over meanings of a place as creative tensions that can be utilized to bring forward different perspectives and thus bring the place brand or heritage significance closer to the pragmatic realities of the place.	- Theory comparison - Analytical framework for linking theory and practice - Continuing analysis of case study in paper III	- Image-making - Instrumental/communicative rational approach to heritage planning - External/ internal markets	Heritage in planning considering: - Bridging disciplinary notions of heritage - Possible theoretical ways forward.
V	Interdisciplinary approaches to heritage planning require conceptual clarifications in order to inform methodology.	- Theory comparison - Analytical framework for linking theory and practice - Triangular continuing analysis of a previous cultural heritage assessment.	- Sustainability approach: bridging nature science and social science paradigms - Heritage: object or process?	Heritage in planning considering: - Bridging disciplinary notions of heritage - Possible methodological ways forward.

Research Strategy and Methodology

This section presents the research strategy, with a specific focus on the use of case study and theory comparison, followed by a presentation of the methodologies used in the thesis. Finally, it presents how the cases were analysed.

3.1 Research strategy

The thesis combines two lines of research approaches: case studies and theory comparison. Table 3 shows the main focus in terms of content and approach used in each article. Important to note, is that theoretical perspectives are included in each article, although the main focus in articles I-III was conducting and analysing case studies. Similarly, each article includes case studies, although the main focus in articles IV-V was theory comparison.

Case study methodology establish the base of the study, conceived to be appropriate in order to examine the dynamics of heritage planning in local and regional development. Two cases – Cape Coast, Ghana and Jämtland/Åre, Sweden – have been investigated (Figure 3). The field research in each case was carried out through ethnographic methods, including interviews and site visits, and discourse analysis of a number of official documents and media materials. The case study methodology was useful to engage in the specificities of each case, and thereby provide answers to 'How?' and 'Why?' questions for exploratory, descriptive and/or explanatory research (Rowley, 2002). A case study can be defined as an empirical inquiry that investigates

Table 3. Approach used in each article.

		Case study	Theory comparison
Article I:	Assets in the Age of Tourism: The Development of Heritage Planning in Ghanaian Policy	x	
Article II:	Negotiating a dominant heritage discourse. Sustainable Urban Planning in Cape Coast, Ghana	x	
Article III:	Conservation of Historical Landscapes: What Signifies `Successful´ Management?	x	
Article IV:	Managing the Image of the Place and the Past. Contemporary views on Place Branding and Heritage Management		x
Article V:	Cultural Ecosystem Services Provided by Landscapes: Assessment of Heritage Values and Identity		x

a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context (Yin, 1994 p. 13), providing practical knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2006 p. 224). According to Flyvbjerg (ibid p. 225), it is incorrect to conclude that one cannot generalize from a single case as "predictive theories and universals cannot be found in the study of human affairs. Concrete, context-dependent knowledge is, therefore, more valuable than the vain search for predictive theories and universals".

3.1.1 On the choice of case studies

The Cape Coast case in Ghana was chosen based on preliminary findings in literature as well as information from "the man on the street" during a site visit in 2011. In 2001, a representative of the US International Council on Monuments and Sites (US/ICOMOS) describes a then newly completed regeneration project in Cape Coast (1998-2001) in positive wordings in terms of having helped to empower the local population to join a heritage planning process. The representative furthermore argued that the regeneration project had achieved holistic protection and development of community and encouraged a broader commitment to sustainability (Haney, 2003). Information from "the man on the street" in 2011 confirmed the positive results of the regeneration project, but also expressed concerns about the transitory character and the socio-economic consequences of such initiatives (see prologue). Based on this information, the pilot study was conducted in January 2012 to explore the "story of success", with a focus on the implication of sustainable heritage planning and the effects of such a project a decade later.

Figure 3. Map of the world showing the geographical location of Ghana and Sweden.

Figure 4. The geographical location of Central Region and Cape Coast, Ghana.

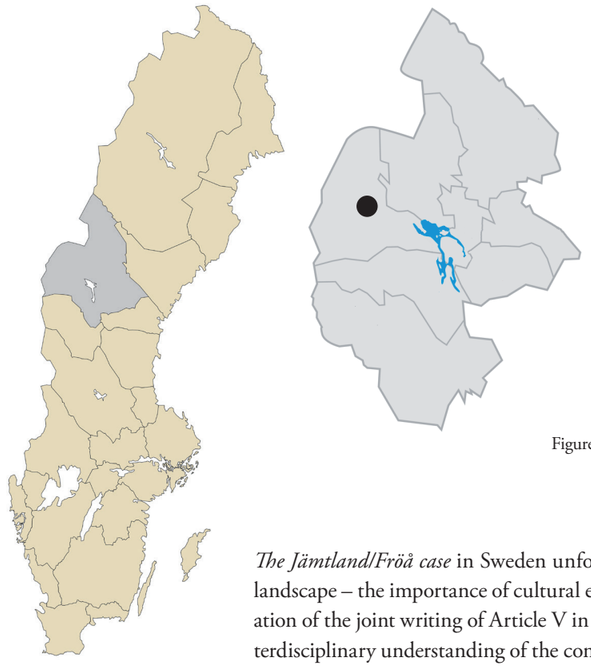

Figure 5. Location of Jämtland County, and Åre/Fröå, Sweden.

The Jämtland/Fröå case in Sweden unfolded as part of a research project "Mountain landscape – the importance of cultural ecosystem services". The project was a continuation of the joint writing of Article V in 2012, and had the ambition to further the interdisciplinary understanding of the concept and application of the ecosystem services framework in local and regional planning (Eliasson et al., 2015; Eliasson et al, 2017; Knez & Eliasson, 2017). During the project, interviews with officials from the county of Jämtland were carried out (presented in depth in the methodology section). Prior to the interviews, the respondents were asked to select a plan or project which exemplified specific processes where issues of heritage, as they conceive them, had been or should have been integrated in local and regional planning. Several respondents referred to the management of the Fröå heritage site situated 11 km from Åre village, as successful in terms of public-private cooperation, management strategies and outcomes. This inspired the selection of the Jämtland/Fröå as a case study which would supplement the Cape Coast case. Unlike the Cape Coast case, however, the Jämtland/Fröå case was expected to deepen the understanding on the "story of success" governed by bottom-up engagement rather than top-down decision-making.

The two localities unfold different socio-political contexts and research problems regarding issues of contemporary heritage planning. These differences helped explore the complexity of each context, including both similarities and differences. The two cases are located in regions (Central region and Jämtland/Härjedalen region) where tourism development is politically used as a tool to create new jobs and business opportunities, and to strengthen the local economies. Thus, heritage, and in particular the historic built environment, is interpreted by official authorities as an asset and resource for development, yet not necessarily interpreted in similar ways by other stakeholders. The analyses of the case studies helped understand how resource-driven politics are applied into local contexts, and in particular, the interplay between intentions and results of projects with a specific focus on heritage as resource.

Figure 6. The two cases are located in regions - Jämtland/Härjedalen (left) and Central region (right) - where tourism development is politically used as a tool to create new jobs and business opportunities, and to strengthen the local economies.
Photos: Skiing in Åre, Ola Matsson/SkiStar Creative Commons (left), and Cape Coast beach, Susanne Fredholm (right).

3.1.2 On the choice of theory comparisons

The case which is examined in this thesis is the networked and multidimensional role of heritage to sustainable development, with specific attention given to the entanglement of heritage, built environments, tourism development mechanisms, and people´s well-being. The theory comparisons are first and foremost aiming at giving the case a richer context and thereby a better base for conclusions to be drawn, but they also serve as studies in their own right to cross-connect theories from different fields of study. The way they were compared is presented in depth in the methodology section 3.2.4.

The engagement with issues of heritage and heritage planning through ecosystem services research helped frame and define contemporary ways in which heritage and planning practices link to sustainable development principles. It also uncovered relationships between people´s well-being, place and change. Of particular interest was the way cultural and amenity services of the ecosystem services framework are linked to the concepts of landscape, heritage and identity.

Expanding on heritage through place branding as a field of study helped understand how heritage can be used for the political objectives to create attractiveness and what implications such use have for heritage planning practice in the two case studies. Place branding, unlike destination branding, focus on creating attractiveness not only for visitors or potential investors, but first and foremost for community development. Thus, place branding was examined in comparison with heritage planning from the point of view of being a special form of planning practice. Therefore, the theoretical similarities between the two fields of study were, moreover, related to general planning theory.

Table 4. Summary of methods applied in the case studies.

Case Study Methodology	Cape Coast		Jämtland/Fröå
	Article I	Article II	Article III
Interviews	**Total 25**		**Total 29**
Face-to-face with experts		*24*	*22*
On telephone with experts		*1*	*2*
Face-to face with members of a restoration society			*4*
On telephone with members of a restoration society			*1*
Discourse analysis			
Official documents	*10*	*3*	*7*

3.2 Methodology

The methodologies used in this research included case studies and comparative theory studies. As shown in Table 4, the case studies were conducted using interviews (face-to–face and on telephone), as well as discourse analysis of official documents and onsite observations.

3.2.1 Interviews

The Cape Coast case pilot study was conducted in January 2012. It included interviews with stakeholders, on-site observations and preliminary document analysis. This allowed for familiarity with the local context of heritage planning, the case, and the competing interests and preferences of the stakeholders and concerned groups. The objective was to gather information about, and identify actors who had taken part in, an international two-phase project lasting 1991-2001. The focus was on the second phase of the project 1998-2001, which aimed at integrating cultural heritage management with tourism development in the historic core of Cape Coast. The interviewees included people with key positions in the project: representatives from Ghana Museum and Monuments Board; and the non-profit Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust. A representative of the US/COMOS was interviewed via phone. The interviews were informal and only contained a few questions in order to provide enough information to conclude on the continuance of the case study in terms of a list of interest groups. The interviews were recorded in writing while the respondents were answering the questions.

Findings from the pilot study made way for the main field research which was conducted between December 2012 and February 2013 with the aim of capturing a multitude of experts´ views on heritage planning in Cape Coast and particularly the results and consequences of the international regeneration project. The respondents were selected based on one or several criteria presented in Table 5. The interviews were partly based on the list of interest groups formulated during the pilot study,

Table 5. Criteria for selection of respondents (left), and number of selected respondents to each criteria (right). Respondents were often qualified for more than one criteria.

Case	Criteria for selection of respondents	Respondents
Cape Coast	*Took part in the second phase of the regeneration project 1998-2001*	7
	Representing the state-based planning system	10
	- Working at the comprehensive planning level	7
	- Working at the detailed planning level	7
	Representing the traditional authorities	1
	Experience of management and/or planning of historic environments in Cape Coast	10
Jämtland/ Fröå	*Presently or previously part-taking in the management of the Fröå heritage site*	8
	Representing County Administrative Board	7
	Representing Municipal Planning or consultative agencies	13
	- Working at the comprehensive planning level	9
	- Working at the detailed planning level	4
	Representing the regional museum	2

and partly based on additional representatives from the same groups as well as new interest groups. A chain-referral sampling technique developed as a result of a review undertaken to explore how ideas about heritage had been constructed and technologies have been played out during the project, as well as how planning projects and programmes have been undertaken and produced in Cape Coast since 2001. The review revealed further key actors and as a result, and the full list of respondents came to represent international and national NGOs, the local and regional councils, community-based authorities and academic institutions, as well as urban planners at the municipal level.

Due to the diversity of respondents, interviews were scheduled through e-mail, phone or in some cases, through face to face contact at their working place. Each interview lasted 1.5 hours on average. In total, 25 semi-structured interviews were conducted in English language. Most interviews took place at the respondents' working place during office hours. One interview was conducted via Skype and one whilst walking through Cape Coast city centre.

A few of the respondents who met the criteria of having taken part in the second phase of the regeneration project, and had experience of architectural preservation and/or planning of historic environments in Cape Coast, were at the time of the interviews working in academic institutions. These individuals were also helpful in providing a contextual framework for Ghanaian heritage issues in general.

Figure 7-9: A site-specific respondent presenting Fröå and its restored structures. From left to right: Kristian´s croft, a shed and the building containing a waterwheel of 9.5 diameter.

The Jämtland/Fröå case study started out differently. The research project "Mountain landscape – the importance of cultural ecosystem services", in which the study formed part, had the aim to examine heritage planning in the County of Jämtland. As a first step, the research project was presented at semi-formal meetings in November 2013 with public officials with senior positions in six municipalities[1], the regional museum and at the Jämtland County Administrative Board. The full list of respondents scheduled for formal interviews the next year came to include most of those present at the semi-formal meetings as well as additional persons recommended by them. Respondents were chosen based on the criteria that they had an assignment to formal heritage planning at local and regional levels of planning. The specific criteria are listed in Table 5.

Fieldwork was carried out during April-November 2014 and November-December 2015. Interviews were scheduled through e-mail or phone by a research assistant. Each interview lasted 1.5 hours on average. In total, 21 structured interviews were conducted between April and November 2014, in Swedish language. All interviews took place at the respondents' working place during office hours.

Respondents who had previously, or were currently, taken part in the management of the Fröå heritage site were found through recommendations by a public official respondent, and through the Fröå mine restoration society´s website. A review of websites that promoted the Fröå heritage site as a tourist destination identified a number of potential respondents, of which one was chosen. A total of 8 interviews with site-specific respondents were conducted, of which five included members of the Fröå restoration society, and three included experts. Three of the interviews were conducted on the phone (of which two were with experts), one at the Fröå heritage site, two in the private homes of the respondents (of which one was with an expert), and the final two at a public café in Åre village. The interviews were recorded in writing while the respondents were answering the questions.

As a general rule for all interviews, conducted by both the research assistant and the thesis author, the project purpose was presented to the respondents prior to the interviews. The respondents were informed that their identity would remain anonymous and no personal identifiers were collected in order to be used in print. The respondents were calm and relaxed during the interview process and freely shared positive and critical reflections. Their individual responses to the questions have remained anonymous. Having given specific permission, some respondents are shown in photographs.

The interviews of the two case studies differ in terms of being structured or semi-structured. In the Cape Coast case, follow-up questions could be posed according to the authors own judgement. Since the interviews with public officials in the Jämtland/Fröå case were conducted by an assistant, follow-up questions could not be posed in the same way. However, all public officials gave permission to ask follow up questions by phone at a later stage, but this never became necessary. The interview techniques thus gave corresponding results, and the two cases could be analysed on the same grounds of information. In both case studies, the interviews were transcribed and restructured into spreadsheets which allowed for comparisons and contrastations.

1 Härjedalen, Berg, Åre, Krokom, Östersund and Strömsund.

Table 6. Basic demographics of respondents in both case studies.

Case	Age				Sex	
Cape Coast	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-70	Female	Male
	(6)	(7)	(10)	(2)	(5)	(20)
	Line of work when interviews were conducted					
	Heritage Planning	Spatial Planning Town/Region	Local Politics	Research / Consultancy Planning / Architecture	Central Region Development projects	
	(5)	(7)	(1)	(8)	(4)	
Case	Age				Sex	
Jämtland/ Fröå	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-70	Female	Male
	(3)	(7)	(10)	(1)	(12)	(9)
	Line of work when interviews were conducted					
	Heritage Planning	Spatial Planning Town/Region	Local Spatial Planning	Regional Development Strategists	Environmental strategists	
	(5)	(11)	(2)	(1)	(2)	

3.2.2 Interview questions

The interview questions and the way they were posed differed between the two case studies on three accounts. *First*, compared to the Jämtland/Fröå case, the interviews in the Cape Coast case involved a larger set of questions of informative character in order to provide the necessary information on specific Ghanaian planning frameworks and regulations.

Second, the respondents in Cape Coast were asked questions particularly related to the specific international regeneration project and its aftermath. They could thereby clarify how heritage planning at the time had been or should have been played out, according to them. The questions focused on what they knew about the project, the positive and negative outcomes of such interventions, the effects of heritage planning on attracting tourism to the region; the way material authenticity and integrity as project guidelines is reoccurring in heritage planning projects since then, and the way various written documents endorsed during the project has been applied since. In contrast, the public official respondents in the Jämtland/Fröå case were asked to select a plan or project prior to the interviews, which would exemplify specific projects where issues of heritage had been or should have been integrated. The interview partly centred on their chosen plans or projects in order to concretize daily decision-making and general tendencies in heritage planning (see also Eliasson et al., 2017).

Third, given the diverse educational backgrounds and varied official assignments amongst respondents, it was initially necessary to examine what type of heritage planning and respondents were referring to. This was particularly important as the concept of heritage and the varied terms used for its application in planning often cause confusion, particularly in different cultures and when using different languages. Therefore, initial questions in both case studies focused on the respondent´s associations with the concept of heritage and what type of intangible and tangible aspects they integrate in their formal assignments.

Table 7. Interview question for public officials and site-specific respondents in both case studies.

Predefined Themes	Public Officials		Site-specific respondents
	The Cape Coast case: Total 25	The Jämtland/Fröå case: Total 21	The Jämtland/Fröå case: Total 8
Heritage Aspects and Values	- What aspects of heritage are regularly addressed in your formal assignments/voluntary work?		
	- What aspects of heritage are often left aside in your formal assignments, which ought to be regularly addressed?		- What are the characteristics of the site? - What do you value about the site?
Motives for Engagement	- What are the main motives for safeguarding valued aspects of historical landscapes and associated activities?		
	- What policy objectives and political guidelines govern your formal assignment to heritage planning, particularly in urban planning context? - How do the results of your formal assignment to heritage planning align, or fail to align, with the principles of sustainable development? - In what way is your formal assignment to heritage planning integrated with issues of tourism development? - What other societal interests affect your work/engagement in the planning/managing of landscapes?		- Why did you start, and continue to engage yourself at the site?
Working Process	- What general work methods are applied? - What partners do you collaborate with in terms of heritage planning/heritage management, and what are the benefits thereof? - How would you define "successful" heritage planning/heritage management?		
	- What methodological improvements are necessary in order to advance daily practices?		- What are your concerns for future management of Fröå? - If the Fröå heritage site receive additional heritage protection, what is your opinion and why?

Respondents in the Cape Coast case were asked to conceptualise heritage by exemplifying differences between natural and cultural as well as tangible and intangible aspects, and give examples of how they relate heritage to the built environment and historic structures (both African and colonial). They were, furthermore, asked to conceptualise their interpretation of heritage management, particularly in urban planning contexts.

Public officials in the Jämtland/Fröå case were approached differently. The respondents were given a sheet with thirty-three pre-given tangible and intangible heritage related aspects, and were asked to use different coloured pencils to circulate those aspects that are taken into account in their formal assignments (on occasions as well as on regular basis), as well as those that ought to be taken into account according to them, given their own experience or known policy directives. The same question, i.e. what is taken and what is not taken into account in their formal assignments, was asked to public officials in the Cape Coast case based on their previous conceptual accounts.

Figure 10-11. Walks around the case study area in Cape Coast with interpreters gave better access to private houses and made photographing easier. Photographs portray a walk along Victoria Road and a conversation with a local craftsman at Fort William.

The interpretations of heritage in local and regional planning formed the first set of questions related to three pre-defined themes on which the interviews centred upon (see Table 7). The themes essentially focused on What, Why and How-questions in order to examine the way heritage planning is applied in practice and how ambitions may differ from results. The themes were: 1) respondents´ perception of heritage as a concept and the way their formal assignments were connected with heritage planning; 2) their awareness and application of political objectives and other aims governing the assignments; and 3) their respective work processes. Interview questions for the eight site-specific respondents in the Jämtland/Fröå case were based on the same three themes, but focused specifically on the management of the Fröå heritage site.

For the Cape Coast case, besides the interviews which were all conducted in English language, interpreters were hired to facilitate the conduct of field research. This helped the research get acquainted with the particular socio-cultural context of the case, access local stories as narrated by local residents, craftsmen and business owners, visit people in their houses to learn the impacts of restorations on their daily life and to be able to take photos, and to facilitate visiting the case from a local perspective.

Table 8. National legislation governing heritage planning in Ghana and Sweden.

National Legislation Governing Heritage Planning	
Ghana	**Sweden**
The National Liberation Council Decree (1969)	Historic Environment Act (1988)
The 1992 Constitution of Ghana	Environmental Code (1998)
Local Government Act (1993)	Planning and Building Act (2010)
Environmental Assessment Regulations (1999)	

Table 9. National Ghanaian policies and strategies analysed in the Cape Coast case.

Political Body	**Year**	**Policy Document / Strategy**
Socio-Economic Development National Development Planning Commission (NDPC)	1995	Coordinated Programme of Economic and Social Development Policies *Vision 2020: The First Step: 1996-2000*
	2003	The Coordinated Programme for the Economic and Social Development of Ghana 2003-2012
	2006	Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS II) 2006-2009
	2010a	The Coordinated Programme of Economic and Social Development Policies *Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda* 2010-2016
	2010b	Medium-Term National Development Policy Framework 2010-2013
Cultural Development National Commission on Culture (NCC)	2004	The Cultural Policy of Ghana. *For the Promotion of Unity in Diversity*
Tourism Development Ministry of Tourism (MOT)	1995	The Fifteen-Year Tourism Development Plan 1996-2010
	2006	National Tourism Policy, Seventh Draft 2006-2010
	2009	National Tourism Marketing Strategy 2009-2012
	2013	National Tourism Development Plan 2013-2027

3.2.3 Written sources

Legislation, policy and planning documents

The official Ghanaian and Swedish legislative documents that guide heritage policy documents and discourses were analysed (Table 8).

Driven by the general lack of research on the topic, the Cape Coast case required an analysis of policy documents in order to provide an official and political framing of the case, which resulted in a published scientific article (Article I). The policy review and analysis focused, in particular, on national objectives and approaches to heritage planning and management in Ghana. The review included a general search for relevant policies spanning from the introduction of a decentralised planning system in 1992 until 2015. The general search was done by means of literature and

Table 10. Local heritage planning documents analysed in the Cape Coast case.

Originator	Year	Name of Document
US/ICOMOS	2000	Conservation and Tourism Development Plan for Cape Coast
Municipal Assembly of Cape Coast	2000	Cape Coast Historic Preservation Byelaw
Metropolitan Planning Unit	2010	Medium-Term Plan for Cape Coast

search engines. The relevant policies and strategies were chosen through the use of the following keywords: heritage, cultural heritage, historical (resource + asset), monument(s), conservation and preservation. If any of these keywords were found in the various documents reviewed, they were selected for further analysis. Ten relevant policy documents, presented in Table 9, were selected for further analysis, spanning from 1995 to 2013. The three governmental areas in which heritage planning and management is addressed in Ghana was identified: socio-economic development, cultural development and tourism development. The National Development Planning Commission (NDPC)1, the National Commission on Culture (NCC)2 and the Ministry of Tourism (MOT)3 are the key governmental bodies responsible for integrating heritage with the three respective political areas.

In order to examine the dynamics between national objectives and local implementations of heritage planning and management by various actors, the Cape Coast case required analysis of local urban planning strategies and a bye-law, discussed in Article II. The three documents, listed in Table 10, were chosen based on information given by interview respondents.

The Jämtland/Fröå case required analysis of seven policy documents, listed in Table 11. Five concerned regional objectives of heritage planning and management, whereas the Comprehensive plan for Åre and the Jamtli Regional museum report specifically address municipal and site-related issues.

Media material published by private actors, official institutions and different private media organizations was included in the analysis. For example, tourism promotional sites such as Åre Destination, the Ghana News Agency, and Central Press Newspaper were studied. The media material was used in order to help contextualize the cases and bring forward issues that that could generate critical sub-questions to the respondents regarding presentations of heritage and issues of heritage management related to the specific localities in the case studies.

Table 11. Regional Jämtland Policies analysed for the Jämtland/Fröå case.

Originator	Year	Name of Document	
Länsstyrelsen Jämtlands län [County administrative board]	2008	*Strategi för utveckling av hållbar natur- och kulturturism i Jämtlands län* [Development strategy for nature and cultural tourism in the County of Jämtland]	**Regional**
	2013	*Översyn av riksintressen för kulturmiljövården. En inledande studie i Jämtlands län.* [Review of Areas of National Interest for Conservation of the Built Environment. An initial study of the county of Jämtland]	
	2014	*Kulturmiljöstrategi 2014–2020* [Cultural environment strategy 2014-2020]	
Regionförbundet Jämtlands län [Regional Council of Jämtland]	2014a	*Innovativt & Attraktivt. Regional utvecklingsstrategi 2014-2030.* [Innovative and Attractive. Regional development strategy 2014-2030].	
	2014b	*Kulturplan för Region Jämtland Härjedalen 2015-2018* [Culture plan for Region Jämtland Härjedalen 2015-2018]	
Åre Kommun [Åre Municipality]	2015	*Kommuntäckande Översiktsplan. Samrådsförslag.* [Åre municipal comprehensive plan. Consultation draft].	**Local**
Jamtli Regionala Museum	2013	*Fröå gruva. Kulturhistorisk utredning angående bildande av kulturreservat* [Fröå Mine. Cultural Heritage Report on the Formation of a Cultural Reserve]	**Site**

3.2.4 Methodology used for theory comparison

Heritage management forms the base of the comparative analysis, and questions around heritage, planning and professional practice serve as point of departure for comparisons made between the theories of the different fields of study.

The aim of Article V was to "provide a conceptual analysis of cultural ecosystem services, especially how they are linked to the concepts of landscape, heritage and identity" (Tengberg et al., 2012, p. 2). This was done by means of an extensive literature review with particular focus on the cultural and amenity aspects within the ecosystem services literature, and critical heritage studies. The review presents corresponding and divergent aspects between the two fields of study in terms of concepts and historical landscape assessments. Two case studies were used in order to shed light on the way these aspects could benefit practice. Two previously undertaken case studies of the village of Glommen, Sweden and the Arafura–Timor Seas linking the Indian and Pacific Oceans, were re-analysed through triangulation of information using the original case study and expert analysis by experts from the fields of heritage planning and environmental conservation, respectively.

In article IV, the research front in heritage studies, place branding, and planning theory were reviewed, evaluated, and synthesized to generate a new perspective on the topic of this thesis. The theoretical reasoning in the literature resulted in a tentative analytical framework for linking theory and practice and helps unfold the complexity in professional heritage practices. The analytical framework was applied to the analyses and discussions in articles I-III, based on the empirical material from the case studies. The Cape Coast case resulted in an unpublished conference paper (Fredholm & Olsson, 2015), whereas the Jämtland/Fröå case resulted in a published scientific article (IV).

3.3 Analysing the cases

Central in the analysis of the empirical material was the use of discourse analysis which is one of the most widely used analytical tools within social constructionism. As a method, discourse analysis means to uncover rules that during a given period of time allow knowledge about a certain object or phenomena to appear, and to study certain given features of statements (a corpus of knowledge that require a common view of things), and to clarify the way these statements appear (Foucault, 1972:2011). In particular, key terms are identified as examples that are able to demonstrate the extent to which particular discourses are invoked and utilised to create a distinct sense of what constitutes heritage practices (for a similar approach, see Waterton, Smith, & Campbell, 2006).

The aim of using discourse analysis has been to show how a particular discourse acts to establish and shape the various meanings ascribed to issues of heritage with specific focus on the way the built environment was conceptualized as resource for

development in each case. It allowed for a broader analysis that situates policy and planning documents within the social events and networks of practices that validate and authorise it. It also helped deconstruct taken-for-granted structures, which govern practice (Winther Jørgensen &Phillips, 2000 p. 56). The use of this method allowed an examination of the way various actors ascribe different meanings and values to heritage in local and regional planning context with consequences for continuing management principles. It allowed an identification of discursive regularities that emerge in national policy (Ghana) and regional policy (Jämtland, Sweden), in order to produce insights into the way discourse reproduces political authority. Furthermore, it allowed for competing or alternative discourses to be detected that create tensions between actors in terms of management principles locally.

Methodologically, discourse analysis was conducted on all national and regional policies, local and site-specific documents and other legislative documents and reports presented in Tables 8-11. Of particular interest were notions of heritage, as well as objectives and approaches for heritage in local and regional development planning context. Keywords such as cultural heritage, heritage management, conservation, historic building/landscape/environment were used, in order to pinpoint the meaning and context in which heritage management was mentioned. Compared to the Jämtland/Åre case, in which the key words were sufficient tools to map the necessary information, in order to map specifically Ghanaian approaches to heritage planning on national level, three dominant approaches in international debates on sustainable heritage planning served as inspiration. These approaches were (a) the involvement of local communities, (b) additional protective measures and management tools for the safeguarding of cultural heritage and (c) ways to increase public knowledge about cultural heritage and its potential for development.

The narratives, objects and practices that shape the respective discourses that prevail in the cases were systematically analysed into tables in order to determine similarities, differences and gaps. This allowed an identification of conceptual discrepancies between the authorised form of heritage planning and alternative expressions and approaches, as well as changes and developments over time which forms the basis for discussion in this thesis.

Theoretical Perspectives

This chapter presents the concepts and theories that taken together are relevant and useful with regard to the aim, research questions and analysis of the research results. It consists of three main sections. Section one presents heritage as a concept and discourse. This is followed by a discussion on the wide-ranging activities associated with heritage planning and the parallel coexistence of preservation, conservation and a heritage approach. The discussion also includes the traditional and emergent values that govern decision-making which have implications for assessment practices.

Section three entitled “Unfolding of complexity in professional heritage practices” include four sub-sections. First, the exponential complexity inherent to planning situations such as those studied in this thesis is discussed. The second section includes a discussion on communicative rationality, critique on utopian ideals of inclusive planning and issues of power in planning. Third, the basic notion of place branding and the ecosystem services approach is presented. The fourth sub-section gives an example of negotiations in heritage related planning.

All sections include concepts and approaches to planning which are used in the analysis intended to uncover the overarching goal of the thesis, i.e. the challenges facing heritage planners’ cooperative interpretation and stewardship of historic places.

4.1 Heritage: the concept

Heritage is a complex and highly debated concept, and research presents a vast array of reviews and definitions. The scope of heritage, in general, is now agreed internationally to include "tangible" (monuments, groups of buildings, and cultural landscapes) and "intangible" (language, traditions, and expressions) as well as "environments" (Ahmad, 2006; UNESCO, 2003). In particular, heritage is considered a product of social, cultural, political and economic influences in the present (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000; Hewison, 1987; Lowenthal, 1985). Heritage as a cultural process and discursive phenomena challenge traditional notions of heritage as simply a physical artefact or record (Harvey 2001; Smith 2006). Harvey (2001) argue that `every society has had a relationship with its past, even those which have chosen to ignore it´ (2001, p. 320). As an effect of its cultural and social build-up, it has been suggested that all heritage, even the grand and monumental, is dissonant and contested (Graham et al., 2000; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996).

These critical interpretations make heritage a discursive phenomenon. Jørgensen and Phillips (2002 p. 9) give a wide definition of discourse as "a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)". As soon as people try to ascribe meaning to something, it is no longer outside discourse. Discourses are not understood as a mirroring of reality, but what precedes reality (Börjesson, 2003). Börjesson (2003) asserts that an object can only be defined through active meaning-making, such as an old building may be portrayed either as heritage, or as a motorway obstacle. In this sense, discursive formations are always socially constructed. A logical consequence is that each different discourse points to different possible and appropriate courses of action (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002 p. 15).

The work of Michael Foucault is central for the development of discourse theory. His conception of discourse is a relatively rule-bound set of statements which impose limits on what gives meaning. Truth is thus something which is, at least to a large extent, created discursively (Foucault, 1972:2011). Drawing on discourse analysis, the question of who defines and controls heritage has been at the heart of the work of Laurajane Smith. She argues that "discourse not only reflects social meanings, relations and entities, it also constitutes and governs them" (2006 p. 14). Therefore, the way people talk about, discuss and understand heritage poses consequences in the physical milieu.

Two main approaches to the production of heritage can be identified, each of them related to different levels. First, the production of "unofficial" discourses of heritage is mainly carried out at a local level. Constituting a bottom-up approach to the production of heritage, this approach emerges from the actual relationship of people with objects, places and practices (Harrison, 2013). Second, the production of an "official" discourse of heritage is mainly carried out at from global and national perspectives. This process is mainly carried out by authorised experts, supported by international organisations such as UNESCO and/or national governments. The term Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) was coined by Smith (2006) to show how a Western hegemonic discourse identifies the narratives, objects and practices shaping an uncritical, common-sense understanding of the scope of the official heritage discourse, smoothing over conflict and social difference. The AHD privileges expert values and knowledge about the past and its material manifestations, reinforced by international charters and conventions, which normalise and help to implement its views in heritage practices.

The official heritage is a particular strand that has maintained dominant at the expense of unofficial expressions of heritage, mainly due to various forms of institutionalisations. The institutionalisation of heritage is both an effect of the self-referential nature of the AHD, and the legislative framework that is designed for the protection of certain values (Graham et al., 2000). Legalization, in turn, is often based on particular terminologies and thoughts about heritage which has, with time, become construed as factual knowledge (Harrison, 2013; Smith, 2012).

The reducement of complexity inherent to the production of heritage, turn debates about its management into technical issues (Harvey, 2001 p. 320). According to Hammami (2012 p. 14) such a reduction have social consequences, in the sense that when heritage becomes involved in politics, non-authorized heritage become subjugated. It also has spatial consequences, as particular attention is focused on certain physical structures which result in spatial arrangements that are exclusionary in nature, with limited capacity to respond to continuous contextual changes.

4.2 Heritage planning: an evolving practice

The struggle between different knowledge claims and meaning making can be understood and empirically explored as a struggle between different discourses. These discourses represent different ways of understanding aspects of the world and, in turn, construct different identities for speakers, such as expert or layperson (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002 p.10). With specific focus on the treatment of built environments, this section focuses on the way a multitude of discursive narratives and approaches have come to shape the heritage planning field, and the way the use of the past in the present in planning context have become an increasingly complex activity.

Muñoz Viñas (2005) frame these multiple approaches by distinguishing between classical and contemporary theories of conservation. For classical theories, conservation is a "truth-enforcement" operation that attempts to restore a building to its original form or maintain it in present condition. It is a scientifically based and object-oriented activity, in which either the artistic or material authenticity is to be revealed. For contemporary theories, the notion of authenticity and its role within

the conservation ideological framework is further examined, and the relevance of subjective tastes and needs when it comes to decision-making is stressed (ibid. p. 91).

Ashworth (2011) conceptualises the protective intervention governed by classical theories as a preservation approach (ibid. p. 4). This practice has, with time, been extended and modified into what he refers to as a conservation approach, which is a form of intervention linked not to the building or site itself but to wider policy objectives and more extensive schemes of local area renovation, revitalization, renewal and regeneration. In the context of the built environment, contemporary use has become an integral and equal part of the decision to preserve. Therefore, place planners, politicians and government officials have increasingly come to complement experts in the decision-making processes (ibid. p. 10). Adding to the narrative of an evolving practice, Ashworth refers to a heritage approach in terms of a continuation from preservation and conservation to "a shift in focus from object to process and outcome". Rather than asking what and how to treat the historic built environment, those who conform to a heritage approach, ask questions such as "who pays" and "who benefits" (ibid. p. 10).

Contemporary theory of conservation, as defined by Muñoz Viñas (2005), thus includes both a conservation approach and a heritage approach, as defined by Ashworth (2011). The rather indistinct difference between these approaches needs further clarification.

In a Western European context, the notion of integrated conservation has since the 1970´s referred to urban conservation with a social commitment. It includes living spaces, with respect to the way residential areas are used and maintained, as well as how these are planned and cared for (Engelbrektsson, 2008). The focus on the benefits of conservation for community development is, thus, a well-established scholarly-professional discourse and an approach to the application of heritage in planning contexts (Bizzarro & Nijkamp, 1997). The recognition of the various use-values of heritage has enhanced inter-sectorial urban policies, resulting in, for example, the use of environmental impact assessments in which the historic built environment is to be assessed as one of several societal interests (Loulanski, 2007). Furthermore, the social commitment of conservation means to develop local communities through civic governance, social inclusiveness, rootedness and quality of life (Tweed & Sutherland, 2007; Council of Europe, 2000; Low, 2004). According to Clark (2006), heritage projects can include people learning new skills, improving social networks, and bringing different generations together, but also work to spur creativity, critical knowledge, sense of place, empathy, trust, respect, and recognition (Axelsson et al., 2013). Braaksma et al., (2015) show how values often associated with classical theories of conservation such as land use, design, and aesthetics often are combined with more contemporary notions of social meaning making processes such as wanting to connect with and contribute to society.

In terms of economic benefits, Throsby (2010) notes that cultural heritage can contribute to society by means of serving as an attraction for investment, the creation of jobs, and market oriented opportunities for tourism, often preceded by city centre revitalization. Managing heritage "assets" are regarded as an economic investment when providing a place with a unique identity in the competition for global markets (Ashworth & Kavaratzis, 2010). The Ecosystem Services framework, as adopted by the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment process of the United Nations (MA, 2005), even has the aim to merge ecological and social science epistemologies to define, integrate and quantify cultural heritage values in monetary terms (Mooney et al., 2004).

The heritage sector has, thus, developed a closer relationship with urban planning and development, and contemporary approaches to conservation in built environment context suggest creative processes between the people with stakes in a place. This inclusive approach, in which concepts such as authenticity is negotiated, has been adopted and advocated by major conservation authorities both at national and international level (e.g. UNESCO World Heritage Centre), and by major research and educational institutions (e.g. Getty Conservation Institute). The Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Council of Europe, 2005 p. 3) accordingly aim to "determine the public interest in heritage in order to stimulate the right investment for preserving and enhancing the social and economic value of the different kinds of heritage".

The definite shift from classical to contemporary notions of authenticity was manifested amongst experts in the Nara Document on Authenticity (ICOMOS, 1994). In this document, conservation refers not only to protection, but all efforts designed to understand and know the history and meaning of cultural heritage. Stovel (2008, p. 9) notes that the document marked the final stage of the move from belief in universal international absolutes, first introduced by the Venice Charter (ICOMOS, 1964), toward acceptance of conservation judgments as necessarily relative and contextual.

The emphasis on relative values has been accompanied by the emergence of a values-based approach to the management of cultural heritage and what has been labled a values-centred theory (Mason, 2008 p. 304). The theory is grounded in inter-subjectivity, which refers to the collective meanings and basic agreement on the part of a critical mass of interpreters, a consequence of agreements among the subjects for whom objects have meaning (Muñoz Viñas, 2005 p. 152). Inter-subjectivism has obliged the specialists to redefine their own functions and competencies in changing situations where local values systems interact with global views, often in a conflicting way. The expert, therefore, is ideally a social agent who works in a context of inter-subjective interpretations and decisions. The expert recognizes that individuals and groups value heritage differently and thus seek to identify the maximum social consensus that can be reached on conservation decisions (Stiefel & Wells, 2014; Clavir, 2002).

Drawing on the above, the application of an integrated approach to heritage as a discursive phenomenon in planning context has created explicit ties to community, development, and sustainability. However, these approaches are still being criticised for their embedded ambiguity, due to their complex structures of authority and institutionalisation into which the management of designated sites are inserted (Smith, 2006). Critics also highlight the disenfranchisement of local communities living in and around conservation sites, which is linked to processes of gentrification and "touristification" (Bianchi & Boniface, 2002). In such processes, people's livelihoods are often turned into "official heritage" (Harrison, 2013) through designation, mainly focusing on tangible aspects such as buildings and facades. Left aside are often the "unofficial heritage", and its intangible aspects (expressions, knowledge, and skills) represented by the use and practices carried out in the physical spaces (Bandarin & van Oers, 2012).

This critique makes evident a gap between contemporary theory and practice. We therefore need to return to the distinction made by Ashworth (2011) in regards to a parallel coexistence of preservation, conservation and a heritage approach in practice, governed by classical and contemporary theory. He argues that while the focus of conservation is less truth-based than preservation, it is still pre-given (ibid. p. 13). Adopting a conservation approach, despite its contemporary theoretical framework, the treatment of the historic built environment is assumed an end in itself. A heritage approach, on the other hand, aims not to preserve anything from the past but to use the past in the present: the use determines and, in that sense, creates the resource rather than use being a subsequent action for something already preserved (ibid. p. 10).

So while the focus of preservation is truth, and the focus of conservation is pre-defined, the focus of a heritage approach is imagined (Ashworth, 2011 p. 13). Drawing on Lowenthal (1985) who asserts that heritage is not about preserving anything but about creating something, this implies additional future oriented focus to planning. Instead of centring on how the "supply" can benefit community, i.e. pre-defined objects or ensembles within historic environment, a heritage approach centres on assessments that address "the needs of the present that a past transformed into heritage can help satisfy" (Ashworth, 2011 p. 11). Drawing on Hernes (2008) and Hernes & Maitlis (2010), Thorkildsen & Ekman (2013 p. 150) argue that planning should not be understood as something "imposed upon life". Rather, planning processes can, from a process perspective, be seen as a coming into being and a rolling together of people (and their intentions), relations, technologies, routines and practices. The understanding of heritage as a verb in the sense that it is being "made", unavoidably makes heritage planning an ethical enterprise (Brett, 1993 p. 186; Harvey, 2001 p. 186). Thus the central question to be asked following a heritage approach is "what overall and long-term results do we want in the end"?

It can be concluded, that different value-frames amongst involved stakeholders pose different management solutions. Top-down processes and absolute heritage values based on scientific and technological methods are gradually being replaced, at least in theory, by relative, pluralistic value systems. Heritage values are neither pre-given nor universal, but discursively constructed and must be assessed in productive and contextualised ways. Based on the terminology by Ashworth (2011), the following distinction between two aspects of contemporary theory of conservation is adopted in this study: The success of conservation – in which the primary interest has moved from the objects to the subjects for whom objects have meaning – depends on the expert´s ability to derive a fairly consensual message from pre-given objects or environments. The success of a heritage approach – in which the primary interest has moved beyond the supply of historic structures or cultural characteristics towards using the past in the present for those of legitimate stakes in the place – depends on how well the process unfolds.

In this thesis, moreover, heritage planning is used as an all-encompassing term which includes all different types of approaches governed by both classical and contemporary theories of conservation. It is used as a lens in order to understand and conceptualise how heritage is understood, communicated and managed in a development planning context.

4.3 Unfolding of complexity in professional heritage practices

Inherent components of the communicative turn of the 1980´s in planning-oriented theory and practice, is acknowledging complexity and the recognition of participatory activities as ways to manage change. The communicative turn has had important consequences upon the entire logic of how to manage issues of heritage in planning development as well as how other fields approach issues of heritage. In the following four sections, the various components that affect the way heritage is interpreted and integrated in planning will be discussed.

4.3.1 Towards recognition of complexity in planning

Writer and activist Jane Jacobs refers to a city as an "organized complexity" - where situations arise in which many quantities are arranged simultaneously and in subtle interconnected way (Jacobs, 1961). More generally, the term complexity can be used to describe the feature of a dynamic system to which the entire behaviour is difficult to describe, even if the complete information to all single components or elements and their interactions, interdependencies and relations is available (Streich, 2007). Compared to complicated matters which can be simplified by learning, reduction of complexity by learning is not possible. Rather, the task of managing complexity is an ongoing challenge.

Social policy planners Rittel and Webber (1973) make evident a refusal of the idea of political truth and rationality in policymaking. According to them, the paradigm of science and engineering that has underlain modern professionalism (including scientific based conservation in a narrow sense) is not applicable to the problems of open societal systems. They propose the idea of wicked problems, which are ill-defined and inherently difficult or impossible to solve, and rely upon elusive political judgment for resolution (see also Conklin & Christensen, 2009; Harvey & Perry, 2015; Head, 2008; Hildreth, 2010; Kolko, 2012; Skaburskis, 2008). "Wicked" is used in a meaning akin to that of "vicious" (like a circle) or "tricky" (like a leprechaun) or "aggressive" (like a lion, in contrast to the docility of a lamb) (Rittel and Webber, 1973 p. 160). Planners should devote their time to problem understanding as this is actually the more important and evasive part of the process (Conklin & Christensen, 2009). Tracing the problem back to its sources, make way for defining the appropriate policy and course of action, finding tractable ways to improve a situation rather than solving it (Kolko, 2012).

Rittel and Webber (1973) have specified characteristics that distinguish wicked problems from more technical or “tame” problems which can be tackled through traditional system analysis approaches. For example, in correspondence with the communicative ideal, they argue that the processes of planning should be as inclusive as possible, as the choice of explanation to a problem determines the nature of the problem's resolution. The analyst´s “world view” is the strongest determining factor to solutions, which implies that processes of planning should be as inclusive as possible, in order to better capture the “word view” of the many, and not the few. Consequential of this inter-subjectivist approach, they claim that solutions to wicked problems cannot be defined as true-or-false, but rather good-or-bad (ibid. p. 162).

Furthermore, Rittel and Webber (1973 p. 163) argue that there are no immediate and no ultimate test of a solution to a wicked problem. Any implemented solution will generate waves of consequences over an extended or unbounded period of time. The consequences of the solutions might yield repercussions (themselves wicked problems), which outweigh the intended advantages accomplished hitherto. In response to these challenges, Healey (2010, p. 21) asserts that “practices of place-governance need to be subject to continual evaluation and critique to assess whether they still have any connection to a planning orientation”. Strategies may be altered or undermined by conflicting strategies arising from shifts in the bases of power or may simply be subject to interpretive drifts, in which “roles and relationships, previously manifested through a consensus, can become unfocused, contingent, or about to unravel which put implementation at risk” (Healey, 1996 p. 230). Built in to the model of collaborative planning is the need to focus strategic policy discourse to a process of “continual reflexive critique” (ibid. p. 230). Strategies, once devised, are not incapable of being revised.

The characteristics of wicked or complex problems, and the balancing of values and objectives, are to be emphasised in later sections to highlight the root causes for challenges for heritage planners in development planning context. Understanding and recognizing heritage planning as an intricate societal issue make way for critical analysis of decisions made in the empirical material. A major issue is, moreover, concerns who should take responsibility for revisions and the reflexive critique as proposed by Healey.

4.3.2 Communicative rationality and power in planning

A fundamental aspect of the communicative turn is the redefinition of governance. As opposed to the traditional understanding of governance as simply government, i.e. the actions undertaken by the state (Healey, 1997), more recent perspectives assert governance to involve interdependent public, private and civil actors in deliberative policymaking processes (Cars, 2002). Governance also includes formal institutions such as laws and regulations, as well as informal values and norms that mediate behaviour.

The decline of the classic rational planning model (Harris, 2002) made way for a deliberative approach in the late 1970´s and early 1980´s. According to Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones (2002), it stems from various intellectual schools of thought that have intertwined with the communicative approach, including critical theory (Forester, 1993), Foucauldian perspectives (Flyvbjerg, 1998), and planning practice (Hoch, 1992). The various influences have also caused the communicative approach to develop in different directions, particularly in terms of positions of rationality and power (Suleiman, 2010).

Theoretical accounts enthused by Habermasian ideas asserts communicative planning to be an articulation of the interests of different groups, and communicative rationality means to reach a common understanding on an issue under discussion (Healey, 1996). It concerns the democratic management and control of urban and regional environments and the design of less oppressive planning mechanisms (Harris, 2002), by reaching consensus, with planners acting as facilitators and mediators (Friedmann, 2011). Less a theory than a “form” of planning and framework for practical action based on certain theoretical foundations and assumptions (Healey, 1997), Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones (2002) affirms it can serve as analysis (comparing discursive distortion with an abstract ideal situation, as prescription (how we should “go about” planning so as to challenge and avoid such distortions), and as normative theory (the values that underpin deliberation as a form of collective decision-making over, for example, aggregate methods).

Aligning with micro-politics of opposition, in which the role of power in planning is central, concepts of the Foucauldian school of planning have been imported into planning theory as both an alternative and complement to Habermasian commu-

nicative rationality (Hillier, 1993; Richardson, 1996). As an alternative approach to Habermas's focus on "what should be done", Flyvbjerg & Richardson (2002) suggest Michel Foucault´s focus on "what is actually done" as a better way of problematizing planning, in that it asks difficult questions about the treatment of legitimacy, rationality, knowledge and spatiality. Holding a critical position towards communicative planning, they define Habermas utopian world as being "oriented towards an ideal speech situation where validity claims are based on consensus amongst equal participants, and the negative, distorting effects of power are removed" (2002, p. 46). The planner should, therefore, act as an analysist of power structure and challenge oppression.

Ideas regarding building consensus is furthermore criticized by Mouffe (2008), as conflicts will inevitably emerge in decision-making, as the values and the social backgrounds differs amongst deliberators. Along the same reasoning, based on an understanding of heritage as a discursive construction, Waterton, Smith and Campbell (2006), reveal competing and conflicting discourses and the power relations that underpin the power/knowledge relations between expertise and community interests. Drawing on Smith (2004), they argue that "any attempts at engaging with community or stakeholder groups must take into account the power relations that underlie the dominant heritage discourse, as these may inadvertently work to discourage the equitable participation of those groups whose understandings of the nature of heritage are excluded from that discourse" (Waterton et al., 2006 p. 340).

Neither can planning outcomes only be a sign of resistance to domination in a Foucauldian sense. Building on Friedmann (2005), Suleiman (2010 p. 34) argues that in less-than democratic context, planning in terms of power resistance is likely to be incompatible with the functions of planning in the first place. In such instances, planning exists in form, but not in function, due to lack of resources and inappropriate planning structures.

4.3.3 Heritage in other fields of research on development planning

Due to a huge increase in the capacity to store, categorise, interpret and present a broader deposit of time, people have increasingly been involved in more heritage practices than ever before (Dodgshon, 1999; Harvey, 2001). In order for heritage planning to be truly integrated in local and regional planning, professionals need to co-operate and integrate problem solving with other societal interests. Likewise, other societal interests need to acknowledge the complexity of heritage as a discursive phenomenon. This includes domains of local and regional development practices that are increasingly adopting heritage into their undertakings, including the application of ecosystem services agenda and place branding practices.

The ecosystem services approach received considerable stimulus by the publication of the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MA, 2005). It has had wide influence in

the policy and scientific communities for analysing social-ecological systems in cultural landscapes. As a form of sustainability science, the ecosystem services framework is motivated by fundamental questions about interactions between nature and society as well as compelling and urgent social needs (Clark, 2007). It aims to place defined values on the benefits the natural world provides to humans – such as clean water, food supplies and places for recreation, as well as heritage and tourism – as a means of strengthening environmental protection in policy and management decision-making (Costanza et al., 1997; Daily et al., 2009; MA, 2005). From an economic perspective, the aim, is furthermore, according to the assessment of The Economics of Ecosystems and Biodiversity (TEEB, 2010), to better understand the global economic benefit of biological diversity, the costs of future losses resulting from the failure to take protective measures compared to the costs of conservation.

Turner and Daily (2008) define the ecosystem service approach as a problem solving framework, with both practical and theoretical implications. They emphasise the 'role that healthy ecosystems play in the sustainable provision of human wellbeing, economic development and poverty alleviation...' (p. 25), but also suggest that it provides a template for a more holistic analytical approach for decision making. The ecosystem services approach refers to natural or semi-natural ecosystems, which in article V are reconceptualised as "cultural landscapes", as it is recognized that very few places are free from human impact. Plieninger et al. (2014; 2010) supports this redefinition, arguing that the interest in both outstanding and vernacular landscapes finds expression in policies such as the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO, 1972) and the European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe, 2006), which promote the protection, management, planning, and governance of cultural landscapes. While the ecosystem services approach is a powerful framework to guide such efforts, it has rarely been applied in landscape research and management. Reversely, partly because of the novelty of the field, and partly due lack of knowledge and exchange between fields of study, heritage planners are rarely involved in CES analysis of cultural landscapes. Nevertheless, an increasing focus is directed towards the instrumental use of heritage with explicit links to sustainable development principles.

Heritage is also used for the political objectives to create attractiveness. According to Ashworth and Voogd (1990), Kotler et al. (2008) and Olsson & Berglund (2009), the concept of place branding can be adapted to any situation where public space is subjected to actions of regeneration/renewal/change, in which heritage is an inherent feature. The dual aim of the activity is to develop the physical conditions of the place, and, thus, to understand and improve the emotional associations attached to it, based on stakeholder´ actual preferences. It is a way to adapt to present socio-economic circumstances through action, rather than reaction (Kotler et al., 1993). Ideally, as every place is sending messages to itself, place branding is the fostering

of a civic consciousness and self-confidence, which is both an end in itself and a necessary precondition for external promotion to attract new residents, business and investments (Ashworth & Kavaratzis, 2009).

In conclusion, it is no coincidence that heritage, planning theory as well as place branding and frameworks such as the ecosystem services approach are connected and share common ground. They all spring from the communicative turn, by which it is acknowledged that the objects of interest in planning work in several communicative ways at the same time. Moreover, they all acknowledge planning from below as a theoretical ideal. By means of cross-comparison between these different fields of study, a conceptual framework will be used in the analysis, used to illustrate how heritage in development planning can be understood as a practice of negotiation. This negotiation is a constant navigation between different aspects of communicative and instrumental rationality in planning.

4.3.4 Heritage planners and society: managing change through tactical positioning

As shown in previous sections, the discursive struggles internal to the heritage field include various perceptions of preservation, conservation and a heritage approach which simultaneously play important roles in governing practical applications of managing the built environment (see e.g. Ashworth, 2011; Mason, 2008; Muñoz Viñas, 2005). Despite the fact that an inter-subjectivist approach to heritage planning is acknowledged, Smith (2006) demonstrates that the power over heritage interpretations and management rests with a small group of professionals: officials, heritage experts, and scholars. Through an authorized heritage discourse (AHD), these people work according to an established institutionalization and self-confirming practice. As such, in a worst case scenario, the heritage field risks being marginalised in planning as a museal activity with little relevance for development planning.

The discursive struggles occur not only internally within the field of heritage planning itself, but also amongst heritage related activities and other societal interests. Pendlebury (2012) supports Smith (2006), as he criticizes the self-referential nature of the authorized heritage discourse, which he argues, are the conceptions of value internally generated amongst the heritage elite. However, he looks beyond the heritage field and highlights the need to recognize external forces that might shape heritage values or the AHD, which can be broader social movements or explicit tactical responses of the AHD-formers to external pressures. The ability to absorb and adopt change through tactical positioning, i.e. the 'rolling consensus' (Hobson, 2003), is an important characteristic of what he calls "the conservation-planning assemblage" (Pendlebury, 2012 p. 2). Pendlebury argues that the practice of managing the historic environment is being intimately related to its political relationship with other domains of urban management. As such, he argues, it has successfully repositioned itself from being regarded as a barrier to development to being regarded as an active agent of change.

Drawing on similar claims that conservation indeed manage to balance internal objectives with external interest, Oevermann and Mieg (2014) adopt a post-Foucauldian approach to identify different co-existing discourses at a certain period of time. With the outset that complexity and conflict is an inherent component in planning, they study how negotiations play out between heritage planners and other stakeholders. In particular, they focus on the planning practice and discussions leading up to decision-making about the structural-spatial design and function of industrial heritage sites. They argue, (Overmann & Mieg, 2014, p. 6) that there are three parallel and partly overlapping discourses highlight differing values and potential conflicts among stakeholders. These are 'heritage conservation' (the authenticity and integrity of the historical fabric must be maintained with the objective to conserve the testimony of the past based on minimal intervention), 'urban development' (ongoing development and transformation are needed to meet changing demands in order to provide a prosperous and liveable city, based on concepts such as sustainable development), and 'architectural production' (physical space needs to be transformed into something new in order for iconic or site-specific architecture to be designed).

The interaction and constellation of these three discourses determine the way transformation processes play out. In order for representatives of each discourse to find common ground and ways forward, sub-discourses emerge. This means that objectives are shifting, assumptions and values are extended and concepts are being slightly renewed. These sub-discourses are based on values such as accessibility, bottom-up engagement, and re-use. These common values function as bridges to resolve conflicts of the constellation of discourses, balancing protection, conservation, and change (Oevermann & Mieg, 2014 p. 18).

The balancing of interest amongst a heterogeneous group of heritage planners as well as between heritage planners and other professionals create a mutual dependence with consequences on cooperative interpretation and safeguarding of historic places. The assimilation of different discourses are to be emphasised in the analysis, to highlight how different sets of values and objectives are negotiated, and how change is managed in situations where heritage is integrated in development planning.

Analysis

As shown in previous sections, the built environment is subjected to multiple and conflicting representations of heritage values and different discourses point to different possible and suitable courses of action in terms of planning and management. Furthermore, the inherent complexity of the role of heritage to sustainable development cause exponential complications, causing problems to be virtually unsolvable according to conventional planning practice.

Following on from this basic assumption, the analysis starts by positioning heritage in relation to other societal interest (section 5.1). Particularly, based on a theoretical comparison, it examines how the internal objectives and challenges of the heritage field are shared and met by other fields of research on local and regional development and planning. This results in a conceptual framework which is used to analyse the case studies.

The subsequent three sections of analysis (sections 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4) draw on the results of the articles in a more comprehensive way, focusing on a continuing analysis of the Cape Coast and the Jämtland/Fröå case. Section 5.2 examines ambitions amongst participants in the two cases and the way these ambitions correspond to public policy objectives. In section 5.3, the case studies are re-examined by means of the conceptual framework, as well as other concepts and lines of reasoning presented in the theory section. In particular, the section focuses on activities undertaken during the stages of cooperation perceived by involved stakeholders in both case studies, respectively, to have been fairly successful, referred to as momentums.

The time period in question ends around 2001 in the Cape Coast case, and around 2013 in the Jämtland/Fröå case. Section 5.4 analyses the subsequent phase in which results of initial strategies and activities and a shift in perspectives amongst stakeholders become evident.

5.1 Heritage in other research areas on development planning: theoretical comparisons

The theoretical underpinnings of heritage planning being an activity framed by both classical and contemporary frameworks, have been presented in earlier sections. Likewise, the way heritage is approached in other fields of research on development planning briefly introduced the basic outline of place branding and the ecosystem services framework. In this section of analysis, based on the findings in articles IV and V, heritage is brought into dialogue with these theories more in depth.

In the two articles, similar conclusions were drawn, affirming that cross-fertilization between the respective fields of study is beneficial. Despite the diverse focus of interest, the logic of each activity as well as commonly cited objectives and challenges, show similarities in a number of ways. In particular, two theoretical perspectives are shared with contemporary heritage planning theory. These are, primarily, the recognition of a need to balance instrumental and communicative approaches to rational decision-making. Moreover, there is a need to balance the focus towards both internal and external markets as beneficiaries of planning activities.

Following on from article IV, these theoretical perspectives have been combined into a conceptual framework which will be used in subsequent sections of analysis to illustrate how different value frames and strategies are structured and re-negotiated over time, and how it is put at work in historic environments. The conceptual framework (figure 12) structures similar theoretical perspectives in each field of study as two poles of the same aspect in planning[1]. The poles indicate opposite views on particular features in theory and practice. These are demand vs. supply point of departure for planning activities; process vs. product orientation; bottom-up vs. top-down approach; and laymen vs. expert knowledge. The concepts are not conflicting in the sense that the views that they indicate cannot be combined in the same planning process. On the contrary, in most cases, it is likely that both views are present in practice at the same time, or that they are combined into a compromise.

5.1.2 Communicative and instrumental rationality

As previously pointed out in the theory section, development in planning theory has since the 1980´s moved towards participatory approaches, i.e. communicative planning (see also Olsson, 2008). Theory in the fields of heritage, planning, place branding and ecosystem services correspondingly highlight the necessity of stake-

1 In article IV, we refer to these "two poles of the same aspect" as "pairs of opposition".

	Planning Rationale		
	Communicative		**Instrumental**
Internal Market	**Community**	**Aspect**	**Community**
	Demand ←	*Point of departure*	→ Supply
	Process ←	*Orientation*	→ Product
	Bottom-up ←	*Approach*	→ Top-down
	Laymen ←	*Knowledge*	→ Expert
External	**Visitors**	**Aspect**	**Visitors**
	Demand ←	*Point of departure*	→ Supply
	Process ←	*Orientation*	→ Product
	Bottom-up ←	*Approach*	→ Top-down
	Laymen ←	*Knowledge*	→ Expert

Figure 12. Conceptual framework based on opposite poles of the same aspect in planning according to communicative and instrumental rationale.

holder participation and interdisciplinary co-operations in order to address the challenges of the intricate complexity of planning (articles IV and V).

Besides stakeholder engagement, each field require interdisciplinary collaboration at multiple scales in their mapping and valuation of people's perception of a place (see e.g. Mason, 2008; Ash et al., 2010; Fernández-Cavia, 2011; Howie, 2003). It is argued, that only a nuanced collective and interdisciplinary understanding will position involved stakeholders best to develop strategies to tackle the problems at hand (Grant, 2014). According to Bryson & Crosby (1998 p. 191), "the political objectives of engaging the civil society in heritage related issues and historic landscape transformation processes can only be addressed if a further bottom-up approach is implemented into daily methodology." They argue, furthermore, that once a collective vision emerges, it can have a profound impact on subsequent decision-making.

Being a form of urban governance and a strategic response to challenges in the environment (Anholt, 2008), the aim of place branding is to create, provide and communicate collectively defined values (Ashworth & Voogd, 1990 p. 13), based on positive image-making (Kavaratzis, 2004). A successful place branding campaign is often defined as a truly interactive process amongst a multifaceted set of civil and official actors, in particular between the key elements of top-down and bottom-up approaches, strong leadership, private-public partnerships, and the engagement of communities. The place branding process is, however, simultaneously most often

presented as a series of interlinked, but distinguishable steps (Anholt, 2006; Kotler et al., 2002; Hankinson, 2004; Moilanen & Rainisto, 2009; Kavaratzis, 2009; Govers & Go, 2009; Karvelyte & Chiu, 2011). In conventional approaches to planning, in which such sequential planning strategies are prominent, the objectives are often pre-defined, followed by an approach to define and document the supply that is relevant for that objective, assess conditions and plan for interventions. In essence, these processes tend to adhere to an instrumental rational approach, which, according to Alexander (2000, p. 245) is "a logical way to determine the optimal available means to accomplish a given goal".

The ecosystem services approach is a field of research which is far from a universal or unified agreement concerning the wider relationship between services, functions, ecological structures and processes and human well-being. Besides provisioning, supporting and regulating services, the cultural ecosystem services (CES) that are provided by landscapes include heritage values, identity, spiritual services, aesthetic appreciation of natural and cultivated landscapes, recreation, and tourism (MA, 2005). Recent studies illustrate how participatory mapping approaches and participatory decision making processes are shown to be vital for appropriate governance of CES (Beichler, 2015; Paudyal et al., 2015). Similarly, article V highlights that for something to be considered a CES or not depends upon whether that service is considered as such by relevant stakeholders, and not merely by experts.

Despite the ideal holistic approach for decision making (Turner & Daily, 2008), an all-inclusive analysis is seldom applied due to focus on quantitative methods (Ash et al., 2010). CES, which includes issues of heritage, have generally been neglected by these initiatives, as CES are intangible, subjective, and difficult to evaluate (Chan et al., 2012; Daniel et al., 2012). In order to map cultural ecosystem services on larger scales, it has become necessary to artificially separate the different cultural services, for example separating heritage from identity (de Groot & Ramakrishnan, 2005). As an effect of difficulties in standardizing definitions and measurements of CES in decision making processes, assessment is largely limited to marketable services such as tourism (Hernández-Morcillo et al., 2013). For example, Zoderer et al. (2016) focus on identifying and mapping the potential supply of CES in the landscape as perceived by tourists. The supply in this case, refers to "the specific features of the landscape associated with cultural meanings and related to histories of human use" (ibid. p. 253). Eliasson et al. (2015) address local residents, but also in terms of what supply they value for their well-being.

An effect of the supply-oriented approach for mapping well-being amongst both residents and tourists is the product orientation to planning. Article V (p. 20) criticized the "seemingly linear analytical logic of the ecosystem services approach, viewed as something of a "production chain" linking ecological and biophysical structures and processes at the start and aspects of human well-being at the end".

Drawing on Haines-Young & Potschin (2009) and Fish (2011), there is a need to move away from well-being as something of a one-dimensional "black box" at the end of the line of an ecosystem service assessment. By adopting a more process-oriented approach, it is easier to understand how well-being maps back onto the services that landscape provides. Furthermore, adopting a process orientation-approach to planning enables a "more complex kind of thinking about organisations, reflecting the world as in flux, in perpetual motion, as continually in the process of "becoming" rather than as "things made" (Thorkildsen & Ekman, 2013, p. 150).

Thus, in dealing with complex multi-scalar governance issues such as heritage, tourism development, dynamic social change, and environmental sustainability involving a multitude of actors, an instrumental rationality is no longer adequate. Based on the reviews of the various fields of study, it is argued that in any type of assessment, when enforcing a strict instrumental rational approach to planning, there is an ever present risk of simplistic and reduced representations of associative links between heritage and image-making (article IV), and heritage and people´s well-being and associations with cultural landscapes (article V) at different spatial scales. In practice however, planning is a compromise between instrumental and communicative action, where communicative action has the potential to balance shortcomings in instrumental action, and the other way around (Sager, 1994; Harrison, 2002; Olsson, 2008).

5.1.3 Balancing internal and external markets

Ideally, place branding is a demand-oriented approach in which managers need to be attentive as to whose place it is, emphasizing the importance of understanding and positioning people of the place at the centre of activities (Kavaratzis, 2012). Residents are simultaneously stakeholders in place branding as an integrated part of place brands through their characteristics and behaviour; ambassadors for their place brand who grant credibility to any communicated message; and citizens and voters who are vital for the political legitimisation of place branding (Braun et al., 2013). The place brand "consumers", therefore, are not only the external markets in the sense of businesses, visitors and investors, but first and foremost the local population (Braun, 2008 p. 59; Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2008; Olsson & Berglund, 2009).

A popular belief, however, is that place branding has to do with promotion or selling, where the entire branding process is limited to external marketing through the design of new logos and the development of catchy slogans (Eurocities, 2010). This misconception, repeatedly criticized in the literature (Ashworth & Kavaratzis, 2009) have misled contemporary place branding practice (Kavaratzis, 2012). Despite the fact that activities such as graphic design, advertising and tourism development are, theoretically speaking, secondary aspects of such endeavours, the practice is most often associated with "selling" initiatives. A selling initiative, in terms of using the historic landscape for profile-raising motives, serves economic-oriented

instrumental purposes for attracting external markets rather than as an approach for community development.

In essence, a basic understanding of place branding includes a view where markets guide product development (i.e. a demand perspective), rather than a view where planners and marketers define the product for consumption, i.e. qualities that are expected to be attractive and, hence, worth developing for communicating a positive image and brand (i.e. a supply perspective) (see e.g. Kotler et al., 2008; Olsson & Berglund, 2009). Accordingly, expert-led decision-making focuses on the supply-side, whereas values-centred approaches are based on a laymen perspective and directed towards the demand-side.

Scholars in the ecosystem services discipline argue that there are major challenges for research and practice in regards to assessing CES, partly in order to address the power relations inherent in such assessments. Blicharska et al. (2017) stress the necessity to describe who the actual beneficiaries are, what the principal characteristics and associated benefits perceived by beneficiaries are, and who should be incorporated in the value assessment and why. Without doing so, decision-makers cannot prioritise policy development or implementation in relation to the differing needs of potentially competing beneficiaries.

5.1.4 Concluding remarks

In articles IV and V, conclusions are drawn that it is essential not to address the past as simply an object-centred manifestation in any type of planning practice. A traditional ontological construction of heritage, governed by a classical theoretical framework (Muñoz Viñas, 2005), might otherwise continue to have a dominant position when heritage is integrated within planning practice such as place branding or the ecosystem services approach. To avoid static and institutionalised representations of the past, heritage needs to be approached as being intertwined with discourse and discursive practices, constructed in contemporary society in conjunction with cultural, social and economic processes (Hewison, 1987; Graham et al., 2000; Smith, 2006). Only then can a further interdisciplinary approach take place, which is a prerequisite for an approach to planning in line with contemporary developments in heritage theory as well as in international policies in the field, i.e. a type of planning strategy that asks "what combined and long-term results do we want in the end?"

It is argued here that place branding and the ecosystem services approach, in practice, risk conforming to an authorized heritage discourse (Smith, 2006). Extreme forms of instrumental rational analyses mainly quantify the "supply" of CES (the ecosystem services approach) or the supply of historic assets to attract external markets (place branding). In these forms of expert-based analyses, a reducement of debates about how heritage is involved in the production of identity and power are obscured on behalf of notions of heritage as objects and to specific technical issues over management (Harvey, 2001 p. 230).

Figure 13. The inner courtyard of Cape Coast Castle.

5.2 Implementing heritage planning policy locally

This section of analysis examines ambitions and activities of the case studies and the way these ambitions correspond to public policy objectives. The following two sections present discursive cohesiveness, whereas the subsequent two sections presents gaps between practice and policy.

5.2.1 Cohesive discourses on national and local levels: The Cape Coast case

The 1979 UNESCO World Heritage designation of the forts and castles along the Guinean coast became a key starting point in an ambitious place branding strategy, designed to rearrange and reconceptualise the historic landscape of Ghana. In 1988 the Central Regional Coordinating Council established the Tourism Development Scheme for the Central Region, with the principal objective to serve as a regional entity to formulate policy and to coordinate multi-sectoral activities. These were required for developing the region into an internationally competitive tourism destination. The ambition was to address the problems of economic decline, unemployment, poverty and out-migration in the Central Region of Ghana. Following discussions with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) mission, the proposed tourism scheme was expanded into the Central Region Integrated Development Program (CERIDEP). In addition to tourism development, CERIDEP was designed to attract investments which were essential to support micro-enterprise development (Development Associates, 2001). In 1991 USAID and US/ICOMOS and Smithsonian Institution come to be important partners (Kreamer, 2004).

Figure 14. Cape Coast Castle (white building by the seashore) and Heritage House (white building with red tile roofing in the centre of the image) were restored during the international development program in Cape Coast 1991-2001.

CERIDEP was divided into Phase 1 (1991-1998) and Phase 11 (1998-2001). Phase I targeted the safeguarding and interpretation of national monuments as visitors' attractions. Phase II addressed the long-term protection and development of the historic communities in which the monuments stood (Haney, 2001).

During phase two, a Conservation and Tourism Development Plan for Cape Coast was produced (US/ICOMOS, 2000). Part-taking in the formulation of the plan was US/ICOMOS along with institutions such as Cape Coast Municipal Assembly and Ghana Museum and Monuments Board, along with academic researchers and community representatives (ibid. 2000 p. preamble; Article II). The plan presents a wide-ranging objective for heritage conservation and tourism development in Cape Coast in the form of a three-step approach (figure 17). Conservation, it proclaims, is first and foremost about people, which means that basic infrastructure such as proper standards of sanitation of conservation areas are to be regenerated along with historical buildings and sites. Second, conservation means tourism which involve returns to the communities on capital investments, ideally based a fair system of redistribution of tourism revenues which also takes into account the interest of the local communities. And third, conservation and the development of tourism are in combination a major way to promote international understanding and exchanges.

The general direction of this three-step approach resembles the general direction of national Ghanaian heritage policy. As shown in Article I, national policy strongly

Figure 15. "London Bridge" on Ashanti Road.

Figure 16. A fetish shrine on Intsin Street.

associate cultural heritage with economic development driven by the tourism industry, industrial activity and the attraction of foreign investment.

More specifically, national Ghanaian policies from 1995 onwards, address heritage and its relevance for development from socio-economic, cultural and tourism perspectives. In principle, these policies proclaim that activities should focus on three aspects, all related to a globalised heritage discourse. First, a priority is to establish a more representative and balanced World Heritage list. Second, as a result of the first priority, the necessity to deal with the challenges most African countries have in implementing the World Heritage Convention is stressed. Third, the promotional benefits of World Heritage sites and the management of other heritage assets are to be utilized for tourism development, and associated tourism-oriented activities should serve as means to stimulate and empower communities. Empowerment, in turn, includes first and foremost economic development where heritage is closely connected to business, as well as material and financial growth. Moreover, empowerment includes identity-building and social stability. Local communities are expected to benefit economically and socially from utilizing culture, creative industries and heritage in development initiatives, particularly through heritage tourism.

Besides the general direction of the three-step approach, some local activities undertaken also resonate with national policy objectives. As a result of the appreciated restoration of the World Heritage Cape Coast Castle during phase I (1991-1998), other structures within the city core of Cape Coast were restored during phase II (1998-2001). Amongst them were St. Marys Lodge on Royal Lane and Government House/Heritage House (US/ICOMOS, 2000, pp. 56-57). A small building grants programme was implemented, with first grants awarded to the Oguaa Traditional Council to help repair local religions Posuban shrines. The programme also financed a number of restorations of private historic houses within the newly defined historic

Activity	Focus
1. Conservation	Basic infrastructure
	Historical buildings and sites
2. Tourism	Economic returns to the community
3. Conservation + Tourism	Promote international understanding and exchanges

Figure 17. The three-step approach for conservation and tourism development in Cape Coast. Illustrated by the author, based on US/ICOMOS (2000, p. 11).

district (Haney, 2003 p. 126). These private historic houses had to fulfil certain pre-defined criteria in order for the owning families to receive the grants, such as being associated with an important historical personality or of architectural/historical interest.

The successful outcomes of these restorations inspired, in turn, local authorities to enact a historic preservation bye-law which addressed the issuance of certificates of approval (MACC, 2000). Approvals involved any material changes in the appearance of historic properties that would enhance the historical significance of the city, specifically aesthetic, educational, cultural and historical features (ibid. p. 1).

The bye-law and the restorations correspond with public policy objectives, which in regards to historical heritage, focus on enhanced protective measures for designated monuments and sites. In 2004, the National Commission of Culture (NCC) suggested additional legal protection for structures of historical or aesthetic importance. NCC also acknowledged that public and private buildings of historical significance ought to be protected from neglect or destruction (NCC, 2004 p. 13).

Neither the Conservation and Tourism Development Plan for Cape Coast nor the bye-law give reference, or explicitly link its content, to national policy or the legal framework. There is, therefore, a lack of intertextual connectivity between policy and practice in this multi-level governmental setting. One interpretation is that this illustrates a situation where conservation of historical structures as a means for tourism development has generally been accepted as a local political objective. The chosen approach to regenerate Cape Coast had a semblance of certainty. This certainty, in turn, enabled the network of representatives of international, national, regional and local groups to implement plans and permanent shortcuts in decision making and investment approaches.

Figure 18. Fröå mining village. Restored by the Fröå Mine Restoration Society from the 1980´s until present.

5.2.2 Cohesive discourses on national and local levels: The Jämtland/Fröå case

In Jämtland County, Sweden, the buildings and technology of a former copper mine in Fröå, Åre municipality fell into decay in the mid-1900s, and the last resident left in 1971. In 1983, school teacher Britta Hedros (1919–2009) began documenting the run-down buildings and formed the Fröå Mine Restoration Society. The Society quickly thereafter became well-acknowledged for their abilities to regenerate the old mining village. The main motive for restoration work was, and still is, a desire amongst members of the Society to maintain the existing character of the historical landscape for future generations to learn about past achievements at the site (article III).

Today, the efforts of the Society have generated three main results of interest in terms of implementing regional policy. *First*, the initiatives and management strategies by the Society align with the aims of heritage authorities. In principle, the way the historical landscape has been restored and managed mirrors the intension of the County Administrative Board who are responsible for the site being an Areas of National Interest for Conservation of the Built Environment. The dual objective of heritage authorities is here combined and realized: the historical and architectural significance of the site is safeguarded, while at the same time, cultural heritage management serve as a means for the development of a democratic, sustainable society.

Second, businesses increasingly want to link their activities to the site, a restaurant is well-established and various events take place all year round. Moreover, the restoration society argue that Åre municipality has through their efforts gained an attraction for tourism which supplements the ski slopes. In turn, tourism organizations have increasingly cooperated with the Society, assisting with signage and various activities.

Third, the social benefits of engaging oneself in activities at the site have, with time, become important motives as to why people become members of the Society and

Figure 19. A reconstructed pivot, originally built in 1859 to rotate wires from a waterwheel controlling the waterlevels in the mine.

continue to participate. Societal benefits include personal as well as collective well-being and self-esteem, which have inspired the group to take the necessary steps in terms of fundraising and finding partners to collaborate with. Moreover, the activities at the site have generated a sense of social belonging, in terms of people gathering and exchange experiences, and in terms of feeling needed and required because of their respective competences. Furthermore, the site generally satisfies a historical interest rather than sports or recreation, which otherwise dominate the area (see figure 20).

Based on the empirical material, Article III showed that regional policies include two major objectives related to issues of heritage. *First*, similar to Ghanaian national policy, historic landscapes are to be acknowledging as assets for tourism development, and heritage sites are to be integrated into strategies that aim to create a strong place brand. Embedded in this process of planning for new residential areas, business locations and visitor´s attractions, is the aim to integrate culture, creativity and heritage as factors for attractiveness as well as social and economic growth. This task includes the responsibility of not exploiting designated or otherwise recognised historic or cultural landscape values (CAB, 2008; Åre municipality, 2015). Holistic approaches in regards to management of the cultural landscape means that it should be utilized and made relevant for community development (Regional Council of Jämtland, 2014 p. 19).

Activity	Main Stakeholder	Benefits
Protection of historic properties and the cultural landscape	Local community members/the Fröå Mine Restoration Society	**The official heritage** The work of the restoration society aligns with the interest of heritage authorities.
		Tourism development Returns to the restoration society on capital investments. Advances place branding for Åre.
		Social inclusion and well-being Social relations, self-esteem and sense of belonging among community members.

Figure 20. The activities by the Fröå Mine Restoration Society benefit safeguarding of the official heritage, municipal tourism development as well as social inclusion and well-being.

Second, in line with the European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe, 2000), the County Administrative Board aim to implement bottom-up approaches in cultural landscape management, stating that "the human capital is our most important and crucial factor for successful management" (CAB, 2008, p. 22). Particularly emphasised is the need to encourage public engagement and support civil achievements in heritage related initiatives. The County Administrative Board note, however, some ambiguities in these aims. Ever since the protective instrument of an Area of National Interest for Conservation of the Built Environment was introduced in planning legislation four decades ago, the approach to planning, heritage and landscape has changed. Changes include shifting emphasis from individual areas of interest to comprehensive landscapes, from individual items to ensembles, from the physical cultural heritage to a wider definition of cultural heritage, and from expert opinions to local participation. In contrast, however, the legislative and regulatory structures have not kept up with these shifting perspectives. Instead, the Historic Environment Act (1988) is still object-centred and the various authorities responsible for cultural landscape management are divided into various sectors and policy areas. The County Administrative Board recognize the approach adopted in the European Landscape Convention as a way forward in order to shortcut these barriers (CAB, 2013 p. 26).

In conclusion, the ambiguities addressed by the County Administrative Board in terms of discrepancies between theory and practice, has throughout the years been navigated by the Fröå Mine Restoration Society. The main objectives of regional heritage policy and strategies in Jämtland County are in many respects met through the Society´s work in Fröå. Without referring to policy, the Society and their present partners have managed to combine issues such as heritage management, tourism development and social inclusiveness.

Figure 21-22. The small mine museum, operated by volunteers, displays some of the belongings of former residents and workers at Fröå (left). The flat rod system was restored during the 1990´s (right).

5.2.3 Gaps between practice and policy: the Cape Coast case

In Cape Coast, while the general direction and some local activities during CERIDEP phase II had resonance on national policy level and the legal framework, other ambitions and local implementation strategies did not. Some locally implemented activities exceeded policy objectives. Discrepancy is particularly evident in regards to the intention to address regeneration of the urban landscape in its totality including non-designated buildings, as well as associating heritage conservation not only with tourism development, but also with basic infrastructure and social commitment.

The intention to regenerate the urban landscape in its totality, including non-designated buildings, is most clearly pronounced in the Cape Coast conservation bye-law. It did not only address the issuance of certificates of approval, but aimed to safeguard the historical and cultural significance of the central areas as a whole by designating Cape Coast centre as a historic district (MACC, 2000). Moreover, the three-step strategy in the Tourism and Heritage Conservation Plan (US/ICOMOS, 2000) included the aim to regenerate buildings which were not designated monuments or tourism assets into the conservation agenda. The plan recognized two opportunities for successful regeneration. The first opportunity was to interpret and publish the history of several buildings, especially family houses, and their associations with important personalities in Ghanaian history. The second opportunity involved the prospect of owners of properties adjacent to buildings recently restored to be encouraged to repair, improve or redecorate their own properties, and so extend the benefits of conservation to whole groups of buildings (ibid. p. 60).

The bye-law and the Conservation and Tourism Development Plan for Cape Coast diverge from urban planning ideals in Ghanaian policy. In policy, representations of the past within built environments on larger scales are not taken into consideration. The 2012 Urban Policy Framework, formulated to promote a sustainable, spatially integrated and orderly development of urban settlements, does not include terms such as cultural heritage, conservation or historic built environments in its scope (GoG, 2012). Cultural, socio-economic and tourism policies, reversely, do indeed acknowledge the role of urban areas as dynamic components in national development and nation-building. However, notions such as landscape or urban environments are marginalized on behalf of "assets" such as individual monuments and sites (article I). The single policy that resonates with the bye-law is the 1995 Vision 2020 by the National Development and Planning Commission (NDPC, 1995). In this, historic towns are recognized as forms of heritage assets, and therefore in need of being listed or protected. Neither the NDPC nor the Ministry of Culture associate cultural heritage with local or regional development planning in subsequent policies. Instead, they focus on improved protective measures for designated monuments and sites, and do not combine this objective with other social needs or demands. The Ministry of Tourism mentioned historic areas in urban planning context for the first time in 2013, recommending preserving historic buildings outside the remit of the Ghana Museum and Monuments Board, where they form unified urban districts with heritage significance (MOT, 2013 p. 81).

The only planning instrument that could be applied as a point of departure in order to co-join heritage issues with local and regional development planning in Ghana, is the term "sensitive area traditionally occupied by cultural communities" in the Environmental Planning Act (EPA, 1999). However, this is hardly applicable to the heterogenous character of Cape Coast city centre.

In conclusion, the implemented strategy to address poverty alleviation through heritage conservation and tourism development in Cape Coast by the turn of the millennia, spatially and conceptually expanded the interpretation of a designated area of historical importance in Ghanaian context. Furthermore, the strategy aimed to associate heritage conservation activities with basic infrastructural improvements and social commitment. Defining or integrating cultural landscapes or groups of historic buildings in terms of coherent spaces in Ghanaian comprehensive development planning, outside of a tourism area, is a novel idea. The aim of the three-step strategy could not find support in national Ghanaian socio-economic and cultural policy and the legal framework applied by local urban planners. Turning the city core into a designated area could thus be interpreted as a strategy conforming to the general direction of national tourism policy. Here, community engagement, envi-

ronmental impact assessments and public–private partnerships are by policy makers called for when a tourism site is to be developed. Furthermore, the strategy resonated with global declarations and recommendations. As shown in Article I, these highlight the need to integrate cultural and historical heritage with comprehensive planning programmes (UNESCO, 2002), and to prevent the practice of heritage conservation in African cities remaining an isolated action (UNESCO, 2009). Furthermore, it aligned with previous international projects undertaken in Ghana, such as the Africa 2009, which focused on the relationship between immovable heritage and its relevant communities and overall environment (UNESCO, 2010).

5.2.4 Gaps between practice and policy: the Jämtland/Fröå case

In Article III, applied heritage planning amongst public officials in the county of Jämtland on municipal and county level was examined. The examination allows for contextualization of decisions made in regards to future management of the Fröå heritage site.

According to public officials, the main motive for heritage planning at the detailed planning level is to safeguard authentic characteristics of historic features, i.e. to stay true to the physical representations of a particular time period and not disrupt the existing cohesive character. Almost half of the respondents claim that whether people feel pleased and fulfilled in a historical environment depends on aesthetics, a term which is often used synonymously with character.

The main motive for heritage planning on comprehensive planning level is to find ways to make historic buildings or archaeological sites economically and socially relevant for the general public and decision-makers. In that sense, for the majority of public officials, heritage, including the historic environment, is considered a potential resource for development. While emphasising the importance to be pro-development, most of them simultaneously feel they need to exceedingly compromise historic, aesthetic and cultural values with other values inherent to destination-driven and urban development politics. For example, the ambitions to turn Åre into a year-round destination most often favour the interests of politicians, with consequences of the political aims to engage people in historic conservation activities for other types of communal benefits.

In terms of addressing contemporary policy demands on supporting and encouraging civil interest in heritage related planning issues, less than a third of the public official respondents have initiated or taken part in participatory activities. Respondents claim it is difficult to find both the time and the budget to initiate such processes, and they find it difficult to integrate this work into their daily routine.

It can be concluded that, the legal framework in Sweden address a narrower set of guiding principles than regional policy objectives of Jämtland. As a norm, public officials in the county of Jämtland with less heritage-oriented educational background

tend to adhere to a traditional approach to heritage planning more rigorously than others. It seems the narrower the definition of heritage that the respondents expressed, the more positive they are towards legislative measures. Simultaneously, it seems the broader the definition of heritage that the respondents expressed, the greater the frustration of not being able to adhere to a demand-driven point of departure or safeguard intangible values according to policy objectives and contemporary developments in heritage and conservation theory. Most public officials who have more of a heritage-oriented educational background withhold that there are difficulties implementing the regional policy aims of being pro-active and supportive of bottom-up activities.

5.2.5 Concluding remarks

The empirical material make clear, that neither people who has been taking part in the specific projects in Cape Coast and Jämtland/Fröå nor the documents studied give specific reference to policy. Basically, policy has not explicitly been guiding practice. Rather, specific circumstances, with time and through an enrolment of actors, have produced opportunities that in retrospect resulted in situations which largely align with policy objectives.

It is outside the scope of this thesis to micro analyse routines and styles of discussion, representation and language in each case. The communicative capability of influential individuals might have had a major impact in terms of management direction in both cases (see e.g. Healey, 1997 p. 275). However, it is sufficient to note that in these multi-level governance settings, specific constellations of stakeholders in both socio-cultural contexts have produced consensus-built strategies that managed to combine issues of heritage, tourism development and community development. In Cape Coast, phase II the CERIDEP even transcended policy aims. In Fröå, the work of the Fröå Mine Restoration Society transcended conventional county-wide applied heritage planning, where public officials normally has difficulties implementing policy objectives.

5.3 Value systems at work

This section of analysis focuses on strategies and activities undertaken in the Cape Coast case up until 2001 and in the Jämtland/Fröå case up until 2013. In each case, stakeholders with differing perspectives and objectives managed to work towards a common goal, a situation which is here referred to as a momentum. Developments went from strength to strength and matters of fact were settled in seemingly self-evident ways. Apart from the general "conservation enthusiasm" which benefited social inclusion and learning experiences, the future of the monuments and other historic buildings had been reasonably secured and revenues to tourism-related businesses had steadily increased.

The following analysis focuses more explicitly on examining the hidden socio-political processes which underpin how notions of a "win-win" (or "success") are constructed. In order to identify different co-existing perspectives during the momentums, the approach of discourse examination used by Oevermann & Mieg (2014) is adopted. Furthermore, the conceptual framework presented in section 5.1, is used to examine the various value systems amongst stakeholders and how these came to influence interpretations and strategies which are put at work in historic environments. The analysis is specifically directed towards investigating how internal markets vs. external markets and communicative rationality vs. instrumental rationality are balanced in practice.

5.3.1 Towards momentum: assimilation of discourses

The principle aim of phase I of CERIDEP (1991-1998), was to restore the Cape Coast World heritage forts and castles as visitors attractions (Haney, 2003). According to Hyland & Intsiful (2003, p. 2), it has since the preparatory period been clearly understood by all participants in the project that the significance and value of these monuments lay not in their architectural qualities and roles as examples of European military architecture in the tropics. Rather, they serve as major focal points for the continuing encounter between Africans and Europeans, and between indigenous West Africans and Africans of the diaspora.

International encounters and tourism development has, thus, been the main driver for change. Such an approach is inherent to what is referred to by Oevermann & Mieg (2014, p. 19) as the urban development discourse. In such a discourse, the aim is to achieve a prosperous and liveable city guided by economic and environmental values, alongside general principles for planning. Protected heritage sites can serve as an attractive and unique asset, and visions with charisma and a positive image are important in order to turn historic sites into a tourist destination (ibid. p. 20). The ambition amongst involved stakeholders in Cape Coast was to turn the castle into a tourist destination and a location for culture and creativity, hosting for example the Pan-African International Drama Festival PANAFEST (Hyland & Intsiful, 2003). Simultaneously, the management of designated monuments is

governed by the Ghana Museum and Monuments board. They are guided by a preservationist approach, in which the protection of the testimony of the past through restoration, reparation and minimal intervention is guided by values such as material authenticity and integrity (Oevermann & Mieg, 2014, p. 18). In regards to Cape Coast Castle, these discourses in combination were initially highly contested. There have since the 1990´s been disputes over how World Heritage Properties in Cape Coast are to be perceived and presented to the public due to the conflicting layers of meaning (see e.g. Richards, 2005). Such disputes include whether or not to accept preservation maintenance practice that prettify something for the benefit of tourism experience, or to leave the castle to mould and crumble away as it is a painful reminder of the evils of the slave trade (Hyland & Intsiful, 2003).

During phase II of CERIDEP, the entire built environment of central Cape Coast was addressed as opposed to only designated monuments. In this context, an assimilation of discourses on economic sustainability and protective measures for heritage came to frame the activities in a seemingly less confrontational manner. As shown in Article I, the two discourses of heritage conservation and urban development hardly ever connect in Ghanaian policy, but phase II of CERIDEP managed to assimilate the two. The historic environment came to be perceived as an asset in planning with the overarching objective to achieve sustainable development through urban regeneration. In the wording of Oevermann & Mieg (2014 p. 19-21) in order to address the challenges of integrating heritage as a means for development, concepts were renewed, objectives slightly shifted and assumptions and values were extended into more flexible versions. The bridging values guiding activities became less driven by concepts such as strict material authenticity and integrity, or merely economic and tourism development, and more driven by values such as bottom-up approaches, sensitivity towards character and accessibility.

Compared to the initial clashes of discourses in the Cape Coast case, the Jämtland/Fröå case shows a more linear evolution of management direction. The activities at Fröå were in the early 1980´s governed by an ambition to restore buildings and technology because of their representations of past achievements (see article III). The ambition was practically based on the traditional heritage conservation discourse, with a preservationist approach (Oevermann & Mieg, 2014, p.18). This approach was further reinforced through the enrolment of heritage authorities and the endorsement of an Area of National Interest for Conservation of the Built Environment in 1987, in which protective legislation aim to supervise significantly damaging effects of the historic character. Similar to initial ambitions in the Cape Coast case, activities were governed by a discourse grounded in the "story of threats"; i.e. the wish for local people, visitors and future generations to take part in a vanishing history. These ambitions mirror the authorized heritage discourse (Smith, 2006) and the wishes of established heritage authorities.

Figure 23. Authenticity in terms of original roofing has been negotiated in order to avoid future costs.

Figure 24 (below). Assimilation of discourses during the momentums in both case studies. Developed from Oevermann and Mieg (2014 p. 19).

Case	Initial ambition	Subsequent Strategy	Assimilation of discourses
Cape Coast	Sustainable economy and urban development *Values: economy, tourism*	To use the historic environment to reach the development goals	Heritage-led development *Values: accessibility, character, bottom-up, re-use, image*
Jämtland/ Fröå	Protect the historic landscape *Values: authenticity integrity, heritage values*	To broaden the site into a tourist destination	Development-led conservation *Values: accessibility, character, bottom-up, re-use, image*

In contrast to Cape Coast, the post-industrial heritage site of Fröå was a deserted place in need of new usage. As the site is located in the midst of a recreational and sports landscape, it became ever more influenced by the tourism infrastructures in its close vicinity. For the Fröå Mine Restoration Society, it became important to address transformations of a neglected historic milieu to one with future prospects. It also became necessary to find funding and to sustainably and efficiently re-use and adapt structures and buildings according to a limited financial plan. In order to successfully accomplish this task on voluntary basis, precise authenticity and integrity of building fabric came to be negotiated to focus more on sensitivity towards the comprehensive character of the cultural landscape; re-use and accessibility (see figure 23).

The two diverse planning projects became, with time, governed by the concept of development-led conservation (the Jämtland/Fröå case), and heritage-led development (the Cape Coast case), in which the sustainability and heritage issues are combined and assimilated (see figure 24). This resulted in a focus on the historical landscape as a resource, guided by values such as bottom-up engagement, accessibility, re-use and image-making (see e.g. Oevermann & Mieg, 2014 p. 18). In other words, the approach in terms of heritage planning in both case studies shifted from conservation in the narrow sense to that of conservation in a broader sense. It shifted from a preservationist approach towards a more inclusive and integrated approach. The Jämtland/Fröå case differs from the Cape Coast case in that the activities did not follow a traditional top-down strategy, rather, transformations processes were initiated and continued to be managed on individual/private basis.

5.3.3 Towards momentum: a balancing of interests

Drawing on the conceptual framework developed in the first part of analysis (section 5.1), it can be concluded that the strategy during phase I in of the CERIDEP the Cape Coast case was initially governed by an instrumental rationality. As such, the principal target was the external market, i.e. visitors. It could be argued, thus, that activities were driven by visitors'' demands in terms of desires to reunite with Ghanaian culture. Marketing in terms of understanding the needs of the local or visiting consumers i.e. the actual and potential beneficiaries, is, however, not known to have been performed. The demands and wishes for international exchange and tourism development amongst consumers could have been part of the basic outset, but the strategies to achieve such demands were governed by expert knowledge. Monuments of national and even global historical importance were identified as the product that would serve as resources in the endeavour to attract the external market. This (principal) supply point of departure generated a product-orientated course of action, i.e. the product was to be safeguarded rather than an eventual successful process. The resources, or the supply, were restored according to expert knowledge and a top-down decision-making process, in order to achieve the set goals of monuments restoration for tourism development (figure 25).

Phase II of the CERIDEP balanced between communicative and instrumental rationality differently. The general direction and objective of the project continued to focus on international exchange and tourism development. The external market was not addressed, but a similar approach in terms of "selling what we have" was adopted also in phase II. However, the internal market, i.e. local residents and business owners, were approached through participatory activities in order to anchor the project within the local community. Balancing a top-down/bottom-up strategy, recommendations in the Conservation and Tourism Development plan (US/ICOMOS, 2000) was based on information collected through inventories and activities, where community and opinion leaders expressed what was of importance to them and for the future of Cape Coast in terms of heritage and tourism development. The demands of the community were acknowledged and collected through community planning forums in which laypersons mapped significant resources, defined problems and posed solutions (see article II p. 280). The balancing of a bottom-up/top-down approach and the balancing of a product/process orientation resulted in community engagement. In turn, this contributed to a number of unanticipated and appreciated activities such as the planting of trees, theatre and arts projects and tourist guide training (Haney, 2001 pp. 121-123).

As depicted in figure 26, the planning rationale can, however, only partly be defined as a demand-centred strategy based on the wishes of the internal market. The objectives to conserve historic assets were established as a given and as a starting-point, framing a (predominantly) product-oriented procedure. The activities based

	Planning Rationale		
	Communicative		Instrumental
Internal Market	Community	Aspect	Community
	Demand ←	*Point of departure* →	Supply
	Process ←	*Orientation* →	Product
	Bottom-up ←	*Approach* →	Top-down
	Laymen ←	*Knowledge* →	Expert
External Market	Visitors	Aspect	Visitors
	Demand ←	*Point of departure* →	Supply
	Process ←	*Orientation* →	Product
	Bottom-up ←	*Approach* →	Top-down
	Laymen ←	*Knowledge* →	Expert

	Planning Rationale		
	Communicative		Instrumental
Internal Market	Community	Aspect	Community
	Demand ←	*Point of departure* →	Supply
	Process ←	*Orientation* →	Product
	Bottom-up ←	*Approach* →	Top-down
	Laymen ←	*Knowledge* →	Expert
External Market	Visitors	Aspect	Visitors
	Demand ←	*Point of departure* →	Supply
	Process ←	*Orientation* →	Product
	Bottom-up ←	*Approach* →	Top-down
	Laymen ←	*Knowledge* →	Expert

Figure 25. Phase I of the CERIDEP in Cape Coast (1991-1998) was mainly driven by instrumental rationality targeting an external market.
Figure 26. Phase II of the CERIDEP in Cape Coast (1998-2001) balanced communicative and instrumental rationality differently.

on process-orientation, bottom-up approach and laymen knowledge were performed as part of a more or less pre-defined political strategy to market Cape Coast and all its heritage assets (the supply) to external markets (i.e. visitors). Conservation of historical structures as a means for tourism development was generally accepted as a local political objective, which was also the outset for the planning strategy. Despite the bottom-up approach, access to participation in forums strongly influence who speaks what, where, when, why, and how, and who listens. Making people talk solemnly about the issue at hand make it difficult to redefine the issue, regardless if this was desirable or not (Bryan & Crosby, 1993 p. 184).

	Planning Rationale		
	Communicative		Instrumental
Internal Market	Community	Aspect	Community
	Demand ←	*Point of departure* →	Supply
	Process ←	*Orientation* →	Product
	Bottom-up ←	*Approach* →	Top-down
	Laymen ←	*Knowledge* →	Expert
External Market	Visitors	Aspect	Visitors
	Demand ←	*Point of departure* →	Supply
	Process ←	*Orientation* →	Product
	Bottom-up ←	*Approach* →	Top-down
	Laymen ←	*Knowledge* →	Expert

	Planning Rationale		
	Communicative		Instrumental
Internal Market	Community	Aspect	Community
	Demand ←	*Point of departure* →	Supply
	Process ←	*Orientation* →	Product
	Bottom-up ←	*Approach* →	Top-down
	Laymen ←	*Knowledge* →	Expert
External Market	Visitors	Aspect	Visitors
	Demand ←	*Point of departure* →	Supply
	Process ←	*Orientation* →	Product
	Bottom-up ←	*Approach* →	Top-down
	Laymen ←	*Knowledge* →	Expert

Figure 27. Initial management of Fröå mine, governed by local laymen according to a bottom-up approach.
Figure 28. Present management of Fröå mine is balanced between a communicative and instrumental rational in terms of the internal market.

The Jämtland/Fröå case, which is based on civil society engagement, cannot be examined as an institutionalised development planning project as that of Cape Coast. However, the initial approach by the Fröå Mine Restoration Society can nevertheless be said to have been governed predominantly according to an instrumental rationality. Members of the Society themselves along with local residents of Åre municipality as well as visitors, were to benefit from the supply of heritage resources of Fröå. This supply was identified and restored by laymen according to a bottom-up decision-making process, in order to achieve the set goals of monuments restoration. The initial ambitions were thus product-oriented, meaning that it was the product i.e. the cultural landscape and its structures, that was to be safeguarded primarily. The external market was not spoken to in terms of their demands on the site, but rather seen as an abstract group for which decisions were taken, hence a top-down approach towards visitors (figure 27).

With time, civil engagement spurred productive public-private collaborations which generated self-esteem and ever-growing ambition amongst participants. The local stakeholders became both producers and consumers of the historic site. The actual participation in the production of the site generates benefits that satisfy the stakeholders demand as an internal market (figure 28). The very process (people being engaged in various activities) became in focus just as much as the product (the site as a historic landmark). Heritage authorities were enrolled because of the regional and national importance of the cultural landscape. They rely on conservation legislation to safeguard the supply for the society at large, i.e. undefined internal and external markets. The aim to develop the cultural landscape in concord with tourism development enrolled place branding managers who, from an expert knowledge perspective, focus on attracting visitors, i.e. external markets by utilizing the supply, including the historic site as a pre-defined product.

5.3.4 Concluding remarks: nested and main goals

On more abstract levels of governance such as policy, and in general terms of agreement, different actors tend to quite easily agree. Tate notes (2013, p. 784) that from a plan-implementation perspective, a more certain investment context enhances the likelihood of success. As a component of consensus formation and, ultimately, plan implementation, efforts are made to translate actor needs in ways which will then accord with other, wider goals (ibid. p. 786). A prerequisite for the enrolment of various actors in the respective case studies was that various actors' self-interests were met directly or indirectly. Through an assimilation of discourses, different stakeholders´ agendas were not seen as contradictory, but rather easy to integrate with one another. The different interests are not opposed by definition. Each stakeholder group has been able to unite on a common goal although they might have had different expectations of what that goal entails. Stakeholders found common ground although they had different stakes in the place.

If we recognize the built environment as an instrument for development, it allows for claims of new scales through which actors can use the capacity of heritage planning to articulate relationships between and within places (for World Heritage contexts, see Jones et al., 2016). In the Cape Coast case, the instrumental benefits of heritage was desirable since they emphasise the needs of both local hosts and international guests, as they seem to desire what the other group has. Locals tend to want access to the resources and connections of the West, while heritage travellers want access to their ancestral membership (Clarke, 2006). In turn, such encounters, along with other types of tourism, are nested within the idea of economic returns to host communities.

The planning project in Cape Coast was in essence an international top-down aid-project governed by ideas of historic regeneration and economic development. The planning project enrolled actors into a consensus, embracing certain principles on heritage conservation. These principles were mainly based on acknowledging the benefits of regeneration, particularly conservation of historic structures, as a means for poverty alleviation through heritage tourism. This approach had stability in that the objective to conserve built heritage in order to attract tourists became a nested goal inside the larger goal of the plan, i.e. to implement an employment-node goal and to enhance the local economy. Ownership of the strategy emerged through a collaborative process, in which the principles of the planning project were sanctioned by leading officials and the local paramount Chief. The principles justified decisions such as initiating micro-loans for private house renovations, the start-up of the non-governmental Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust, and to enforce a spatial planning by-law for conservation areas (Article II).

The approach used by the Fröå mine Restoration Society in the Jämtland/Fröå case had stability in that the objective to attract tourists and maintain social community benefits, became a nested principle inside the larger principle of the plan, i.e. to conserve built heritage in order to provide knowledge about past achievements and ways of life. The planning and management project gradually managed to enrol a number of actors who could benefit from such endeavours. Regional and municipal heritage authorities supported the principles of safeguarding the historic site and the upkeep of an Area of National Interest for Conservation of the Built Environment. Simultaneously, brand managers of Åre came to increasingly integrate Fröå into the context of promoting Åre as a year-round destination. The identity of Fröå historic landscape has come to form an important piece of the puzzle for the tourism organizations, as a year-round destination. Members of the Society have remained active for a long time as a result of the social benefits. The significance of Fröå mine have come to be defined as the result of the multiple function of serving as contrasting atmosphere in relation to sport-oriented places and as an area for social and economic community development.

5.4 The unravelling of success and consequences of decisions made

During the momentums described in previous sections, the narrative of 'win-win' success for people with stakes in the place has been commonplace. Yet, in the Cape Coast case, when project funding ended and international consultants left in 2001, the momentum started to unravel. In the Jämtland/Fröå case, the momentum is presently coming to a halt, resulting from the fact that the Fröå mine restoration society does not attract new members, and the future of the site is uncertain.

In the following sections, these stages of post-momentum are scrutinized, whereby the full complexity of the case studies becomes evident. In particular, the intended and unintended impacts of decisions made up until 2001 for Cape Coast and 2013 in Fröå are examined. The end of the momentums is caused by shifts in governance, which make evident power relations and how notions of success may, or may not, be held accountable to complex local realities.

5.4.1 Shift in governance: reducing complexity

In Cape Coast, the fundamental basis for heritage planning has, throughout the period studied, been poverty alleviation and ways to solve this complex problem (article II). After the Central Region Integrated Development Program (CERIDEP) ended, local planning authorities were expected to continue implementing the consensus-built ambitions. However, the "conservation enthusiasm" in Cape Coast was never picked up by planning authorities, nor did local residents or business owners engage in activities that would further support direct community development. The newly established non-governmental Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust in Cape Coast came to focus on a fairly well-functioning Kakum Forest Reserve about 20 km north of Cape Coast, but slowly seized to manage the conservation areas within the city (Development Associates, 2001). Planning authorities argue that neither the objectives of the CERIDEP, nor the Conservation and Tourism development plan or the conservation bye-law had had a great effect on the local planning system.

As shown in Article II, the "heritage equals tourism" discourse has remained stable, in accordance with the legal framework. For example, the 2010 Medium-Term Plan for Cape Coast (MPU, 2010) emphasize tourism development as way to sustain historic places, and reversely, emphasise management of historic places as a way to develop the tourism industry. The plan proposes activities such as improving tourism and historical sites as well as identifying new ones and developing them to international standard (see article II p. 282). However, interviews with representatives at the Town and Country Planning department showed that continuing safeguarding of forts and colonial structures is perceived to refer to the "white man's heritage". These historical resources target mainly an external market, i.e. someone else than the local community. Thus, the discursive three-step approach to combine improvement of basic infrastructure for the benefit of the local community in conservation

Activity	Focus
1. Conservation	Basic infrastructure
	Historical buildings and sites
2. Tourism	Economic returns to the community
3. Conservation + Tourism	Promote international understanding and exchanges

Figure 29. Basic infrastructure is no longer a priority in the ambition to develop the tourism industry by means of heritage conservation.

areas, did not outlast the project. Neither did the ambition to rescale the historic resources of Cape Coast from isolated monuments to a comprehensive "historic district" (see figure 29).

In Fröå, the challenge for future management has more recently been revealed and different stakeholders have just begun understanding the problem at hand. The restoration society has asked the County Administrative Board for assistance in future management decisions (Article III and IV). In the near future, the elder generation who presently manage the site will no longer will be in charge of management, and the site will serve less of a civil and communal role. Future management challenges thus include assessing the relevance of the site and addressing diminishing communal interest in heritage conservation in this particular municipality.

In 2013, a regional museum report, appointed by the cultural environment department of the County Administrative Board of Jämtland, concluded that a cultural reserve can be an appropriate form of future management for Fröå mine. As such, additional protective measures, with the County Administrative Board or the Municipality as main governing authorities, would serve to educate about historic land-use and about the social organisation that historically upheld its function (Jamtli 2013 p. 39). Enacting a cultural reserve provides an opportunity to maintain the site active, but mainly aims to preserve the authenticity of the material fabric along with traditional activities that enables the understanding of historic life at the site. The existing historic landscape will, as a cultural reserve, remain beneficial for the tourism industry as well as the safeguarding of the official heritage.

The report does not include comments on supporting or encouraging public engagement in heritage related initiatives. The site´s significance is expressed differently in the report compared to how it is expressed by local stakeholders in the interviews. Local stakeholders perceive it as a site managed by a strategy combining preservation of official heritage; tourism development; and social inclusion and community well-being (see Figure 30).

Activity	Main Stakeholder	Benefits
Protection of historic properties and the cultural landscape	Åre Municipality or The County Administrative Board	**The official heritage** The work of the restoration society aligns with the interest of heritage authorities.
		Tourism development Returns to the restoration society on capital investments. Advances place branding for Åre.
		Social inclusion and well-being Social relations, self-esteem and sense of belonging among community members.

Figure 30. Future management proposals based on initial value assessments by the regional museum do not prioritise the third benefit of the hitherto successful management of Fröå mine, i.e. social inclusion and well-being.

5.4.2 Shifting planning rationale: back to conventional approaches

As shown in previous section 5.3.4, the chosen approach in Cape Coast during CERIDEP had stability in that the objective to conserve built heritage in order to attract tourists became a nested goal inside the larger goal of the plan, which was to implement an employment-node goal to enhance the local economy. In turn, the objective to conserve built heritage included addressing basic infrastructure which would directly benefit the local residents. After 2001, these nested and combined goals were (re)turned into conventional goals of separate planning authorities, i.e. official heritage authorities and urban planning. The social beneficial aims such as basic infrastructural improvements were not the focus area of concern, and thus difficult to sustain in the long run. Rather, in the endeavour to safeguard historic recourses or heritage assets for tourism development, positive social benefits of heritage conservation have come to be seen by heritage authorities and urban planners as mere bonuses.

In terms of current planning rationale in Cape Coast, interviews reveal that in terms of the forts and castles and other material colonial remains such as London Bridge associated with "the white man´s heritage", the external market, i.e. visitors, is a predominant target. The balancing of process/product orientation; bottom-up/top-down approach and laymen/expert knowledge which was a core outset during the CERIDEP has seized on behalf of a supply-oriented instrumental planning rationale. Certainly, the historic and knowledge aspects of the predefined supply of historic resources is also expected to benefit the internal market (local residents), although this is secondary objective.

The chosen approach in Fröå has had stability hitherto in that the objective to attract tourists have become a nested ambition inside the larger ambition, i.e. to con-

	Planning Rationale		
	Communicative		Instrumental
Internal Market	Community	Aspect	Community
	Demand ←	*Point of departure*	→ Supply
	Process ←	*Orientation*	→ Product
	Bottom-up ←	*Approach*	→ Top-down
	Laymen ←	*Knowledge*	→ Expert
External Market	Visitors	Aspect	Visitors
	Demand ←	*Point of departure*	→ Supply
	Process ←	*Orientation*	→ Product
	Bottom-up ←	*Approach*	→ Top-down
	Laymen ←	*Knowledge*	→ Expert

	Planning Rationale		
	Communicative		Instrumental
Internal Market	Community	Aspect	Community
	Demand ←	*Point of departure*	→ Supply
	Process ←	*Orientation*	→ Product
	Bottom-up ←	*Approach*	→ Top-down
	Laymen ←	*Knowledge*	→ Expert
External Market	Visitors	Aspect	Visitors
	Demand ←	*Point of departure*	→ Supply
	Process ←	*Orientation*	→ Product
	Bottom-up ←	*Approach*	→ Top-down
	Laymen ←	*Knowledge*	→ Expert

Figure 26 (repeated) and Figure 31. Illustrations of a shift in planning rationale. During the momentum in the Cape Coast case, communicative and instrumental rationale in terms of the internal market was fairly balanced. After 2001, heritage planning rationale tends to favour an instrumental rationality.

	Planning Rationale		
	Communicative		Instrumental
Internal Market	Community	Aspect	Community
	Demand ←	*Point of departure*	→ Supply
	Process ←	*Orientation*	→ Product
	Bottom-up ←	*Approach*	→ Top-down
	Laymen ←	*Knowledge*	→ Expert
External Market	Visitors	Aspect	Visitors
	Demand ←	*Point of departure*	→ Supply
	Process ←	*Orientation*	→ Product
	Bottom-up ←	*Approach*	→ Top-down
	Laymen ←	*Knowledge*	→ Expert

	Planning Rationale		
	Communicative		Instrumental
Internal Market	Community	Aspect	Community
	Demand ←	*Point of departure*	→ Supply
	Process ←	*Orientation*	→ Product
	Bottom-up ←	*Approach*	→ Top-down
	Laymen ←	*Knowledge*	→ Expert
External Market	Visitors	Aspect	Visitors
	Demand ←	*Point of departure*	→ Supply
	Process ←	*Orientation*	→ Product
	Bottom-up ←	*Approach*	→ Top-down
	Laymen ←	*Knowledge*	→ Expert

Figure 28 (repeated) and Figure 32. Illustrations of a shift in planning rationale. During the momentum in the Jämtland/Fröå case, management of Fröå mine was balanced between a communicative and instrumental rationale in terms of the internal market (left). In 2013, initial heritage planning rationale when assessing the qualities of Fröå favours a product-based planning orientation.

serve built heritage in order to provide knowledge about past achievements and ways of life. In turn, the combined success of heritage related tourism development has made way for community benefits in terms of individual and collective well-being. At present, the tourist aspects is such a powerful and self-evident driving factor for development in Jämtland heritage related planning, that external markets will be an equally targeted group as the local community in terms of knowledge and experiential values. The social benefits of heritage conservation, however, similar to the Cape Coast case, are seen by heritage authorities as having been mere bonuses up until now. In terms of planning rationale, therefore, the well balanced direction of communicative and instrumental rationality in terms of the internal market seems to be shifting into a predominantly instrumental rationale.

5.4.3 Institutional barriers for a continued processes

In both case studies, public official respondents claim that circumstances and factors beyond the individual's accountability and assigned responsibilities cause difficulties when trying to implement the wide-ranging and complex policy objectives associated with heritage in development planning.

Article II presents practical barriers for the CERIDEP to be implemented as a local planning strategy in Cape Coast, of which corruption and lack of national/regional long-term economic funding for further investments are major reasons. Lack of human resources and capacity building are other explanations for the stagnation, along with the experienced opinion that these types of international projects focus on activities on a short-term basis and that certain people inspires actions, and that the local enthusiasm decreases when these consultants leave. Respondents claim that these kinds of ambitions have a profound effect as long as they are governed by strong leadership and external funding.

Public officials responsible for historic planning in the county of Jämtland, also acknowledge difficulties sustaining a development-led conservation approach. Generally, many feel overrun and frustrated as the planning system is not adapted to the inherent complexity of such a task. Lack of time and limited economic resources, separate planning organisations, lack of human resources and the use of traditional methodologies are factors commonly cited. With specific regards to future management of Fröå, the unique mix and interdependencies of heritage, toursim and social interests and the overall management strategy is appreciated and acknowledged by heritage authorities. However, decisions for future management is, nonetheless, at least in its present initial stages, based on assessments following a methodology similar to the region-wide conventional route of practice, i.e. an instrumental rational approach to planning and a product-oriented methodology. According to interviews, heritage authorities do hold public engagement as an area of priority in theory. In practice, however, assessments governed by a heritage approach, i.e. addressing the way heritage relates to social well-being amongst community members, are very seldom used.

5.4.4 Discursive barriers for a continued processes

A powerful and energetically diffused discourse has the capacity to change what people think and what they do. It also has the capacity to maintain these changes. But plans may over time create losers who, representing diminished privileges or status, may work against them. Support for the plan may start to waver significantly and strategies may be subject to interpretive drifts where roles and relationships as manifested through a consensus become unfocused or about to unravel which put implementation at risk (Healey, 1996 p. 230). Besides the institutionalised barriers, there are discursive aspects that make evident the true complexity of the cases, which confront and undermine the planning directions as they were during the momentums.

Figure 33 and 34. A traditional mudbrick building in the Cape Coast centre (left). Like all cities, Cape Coast is an urban landscape with a mix of old and new (right). The prevailing urban planning discourse and place promotional efforts do not focus on traditional and site-specific architecture and building technique.

5.4.4.1 Image-making

Image making and public representation is a theoretical foundation for both place branding and heritage planning. Place branding aim to manage the image(s) and representations of a place, and a place brand is ultimately a set of associations in the mind of place consumers (both locals and visitors). For heritage planning, the emphasis is on managing a place´s image(s) or representations of the past, and heritage, in principle, is about the qualities a collective associate with the place and its history (article IV).

In Cape Coast, there is a clear expert desire amongst planners with some form of heritage oriented interest, to sustain traditional knowledge of handicraft, building techniques, the keeping of family houses and revitalising traditional African architecture. Interviews clearly indicated, however, that for official planners in general and regarding their assignments, there is an experienced contradiction between historical conservation and economic/business development, which are seen as inherently juxtaposed.

This prevailing discourse on 'architectural production' (Oevermann & Mieg, 2014 p. 20), guided by values such as design and aesthetics, allows for the physical space to be transformed into something new rather than to re-use existent forms in order to produce site-specific architecture. As shown in article II, traditional mudbrick buildings are increasingly being substituted by new constructions made up by easily accessed imported building materials, in line with a wish for Ghana to be seen as up to date with contemporary architecture and as a strong economy. The prevailing argument amongst Cape Coast planners is that the present physical space is in need of being transformed into something new and that contemporary iconic architecture is the most preferred presentation of a modern Ghana. In this sense, historical conservation as it was performed during the CERIDEP, is regarded a backward activity.

Fröå heritage site is, according to tourism organizations, an attraction in the comprehensive visitor´s experience of Åre, and forms an important part of the Åre brand as a year-round destination. There is, however, currently a sense of frustration among tourism operators as they recognize a lack of promotional reliability. Volunteers are hard to reach and visitors cannot always know what to expect at site as there are few recurring routines. A future change of protective legislation in the form of a cultural reserve is perceived as a positive step from a promotional image-making perspective, as it might provide a more formal counterpart in terms of representatives from the County Administrative Board or the municipality in the continuing efforts to bring tourists to the area. As a tourist site, it will most likely be governed by principles such as product-driven image-making and efficiency, as tourism operators expect a functioning visitor´s reception apparatus according to a standardized package with good signage, accessibility and certified guides as a quality assurance. The discursive understanding of image-making in terms of "selling a product" prevails, which obscures alternative ways of making the site relevant for the external market. The volunteers are excluded from the "product" rather than letting the processes and engagement of community members stand in focus, as it has been up until now.

5.4.2.2 Accessibility

A second discursive barrier in the Cape Coast case is an experienced contradiction between that of a tourist attraction and private heritage. The urban landscape designated as a historic district during the CERIDEP included a large number of private buildings, which together were to form a stock of tangible assets which were to be promoted and used as tourist attractions. Preconditions for home owner grants included that space within the private sphere was to be made accessible for tourists with interest in the history of Cape Coast. Other preconditions included that a room was to be available as accommodation in order for the family to be able to gain their own income after the approval of a home owner grant.

The ambitions to turn head of families into business owners had resonance during the project. Yet, for local residents, the significance of a private family house lies not in the architectural merit or the material characteristics. Rather, the site itself, the very ground the building has been constructed upon, has socio-cultural significance, with family roots connotations. These socio-cultural heritage values are perceived as private, compared to more open and public historic heritage values. In the context of the private sphere, tourism is often seen as intrusive. Accessibility to the historic district thus had positive connotations from the external market´s point of view, in that visitors have access to the local historic environment. From the internal market´s point of view, accessibility was met with suspicion. The various discursive interpretations of accessibility needed to have been dealt with initially in order not to obscure vital legitimising aspects of the project.

For the Fröå Mine Restoration Society, visitors' accessibility to the Fröå cultural landscape as a whole has long been a guiding value. However, interviews with members about preferred future management strategies indicated that maintaining the historic authenticity of the handful restored cabins was of higher importance than being able to use them as visitor's accommodation facilities. At present, some cabins are open for overnight accommodation, but the most preferred strategy amongst the Society is to limit the eventual material damage. A second alternative, which has been proposed by both brand managers and heritage authorities, is to densify the building stock with newly constructed cabins in order to accommodate more visitors to strengthen the financial situation. According to members of the Society, however, this would jeopardize the readability of the historical landscape. Similar to the Cape Coast case, albeit for different reasons, accessibility have positive connotations from the external market´s point of view, in that visitors ought to have access to the local historic environment. From the internal market´s point of view, additional accessibility is met with scepticism.

5.4.5 Heritage planners taking responsibility for complex realities?

The built environment of Cape Coast and Fröå are in different ways and to different degrees affected by constrains and possibilities of an official heritage designation. Jones et al., (2016 p. 252) demonstrates how a heritage designation process can be read as an element in a reordering of relations of geographical scales. As described in previous sections, this ordering is a process of inclusion, enrolling various actors on different levels of governance. The ordering is also a process of exclusion and can be both active (e.g. by excluding features that do fit in with the general direction of management) and passive (e.g. by failing to address local connections created through past and present practices).

In terms of acknowledging and managing complexity, Rittel & Webber (1973 p. 165) warn against trying to cure symptoms rather than acknowledging the intricate local realities at hand. The problem should be settled on as high level as possible. Due to this complexity, planners are ill-advised to transfer the solutions applied in one city directly to another, as policy is general while site-specific interventions are particular (ibid. p. 164).

From a traditional heritage perspective, the fact that heritage authorities have been able to integrate the forts and Castles of Cape Coast and the cultural landscape of Fröå into full scale protection management schemes must discursively be seen as positive takeovers. Reversely, it also has constraining effects. The designation level of World Heritage or an Area of National Interest for Conservation of the Built Environment limits the values that could have been recognized as significant in subsequent planning initiatives. De la Torre (2002 p. 6) notes that the higher the designation level, the narrower the values that are recognized as significant. Put it

differently, if complex sets of values are included, it is difficult to sustain strong and extensive protection.

It can be argued, that the internationally governed solutions to the problem of how to alleviate poverty in Ghana, has been an import of ideas which has not been contextually sensitive. Following (Nanda et al., 2001 p. 79) "the difference in historical and cultural background within a country or region require a flexibility of actions, which is incompatible with globalization tendencies. International charters do not sufficiently respect cultural diversity". A foreign approach to regenerate the historic urban environment in Cape Coast, as well as external and temporal leadership, are major reasons causing the interpretive drifts amongst local planning officials when the project ended. The institutional and discursive barriers indicate that the far-fetched strategy of heritage conservation as a means to promote tourism resulted in limited direct results and discursive questioning.

The lack of intertextuality between policy and practice, as seen in the Cape Coast case, show a lack of ambition to solve the problem at as high level as possible. Heritage related issues in Ghanaian public policy do not only include historic assets, but also social organisation, traditional beliefs and practices, systems of property ownership and inheritance, labour and decision-making patterns, and family relationships (article I). In the particular socio-economic context of Cape Coast, these are all crucial factors for the management of historic buildings, and particularly family houses. In article I, it is concluded that an impending challenge for policy-makers is to balance the focus on heritage sites as mainly outward-oriented marketable historic assets with inward-oriented objectives, such as to obtain social stability and pride of place. In national policy and in locally applied planning, heritage issues associated with community development in tourist areas, and heritage issues associated with community development in non-tourist areas, are solid in their isolation, governed by different authorities. The way different objectives are discursively and institutionally organised both in theory and practice has neither been thoroughly considered by policy makers nor by stakeholders taking part in the international development project.

Moreover, evident from both policy and practice in the Cape Coast case, heritage planning is understood as an inherently a positive thing. Omitting the dissonant aspects of heritage creates simplistic assumptions that utilizing it as a means to alleviate poverty is an achievable and straightforward activity. The examination of the post-momentum has shown the opposite. Interviews with representatives at Town and Country Planning in Cape Coast claim communication between planners and private house owners of historic buildings would generally be easier and more fruitful if emphasis shifted from the heritage/tourism discourse towards the more direct economic and ecological benefits of conservation (article II p. 286). Sustaining traditional building techniques and promoting pride in local craftsmanship, labour and

decision-making patterns would benefit a wider range of buildings including traditional mudbrick houses. A place branding processes promoting pride of place by recognizing site-specific architecture and ways in which private economy benefits from maintaining low-cost solutions is an alternative to present place promotional initiatives. However, there is a lack of attempt to bridge the discursive barrier between heritage protection and architectural production. Moreover, promoting other types of historic structures for image-making both for the internal and external market has not been a guiding principle for heritage planning in the Cape Coast case.

Agyei-Mensah (2006) show how the major drawback in tourism promotion in Cape Coast is caused by the lack of modern infrastructure services to support the existing tourist sites. He furthermore argues that there is a need for both public and private partnership in the provision of essential services such as good roads, water, hotel and restaurant services. Thus, it is argued in this thesis, that both tourism development and heritage planning could have been supported and governed by ambitions to first and foremost address basic infrastructure as a primary focus with more direct benefits for the internal market. There were attempts of such an approach in the CERIDEP, although the infrastructure to be cared for was limited to conservation areas, which caused other problems.

Socio-economic, cultural and tourism objectives are more intricately joined in Jämtland regional public policy than in national Ghanaian policies. However, public officials find it hard to implement these rather complex policy objectives, and the heritage authority at the County Administrative Board recognize the approach adopted in the European Landscape Convention as a way forward in order to shortcut the barriers, particularly in terms of not being able to support public engagement properly (CAB, 2013 p. 26). Yet, for Fröå, the decision by the same heritage authority to focus on historic knowledge and tourism values, rather than the social importance of present practices, indicate a non-contextually sensitive approach similar to that of the Cape Coast case.

From a heritage conservation perspective, if there would be enough public interest in financing a continuing management along the same line as hitherto, future management strategies would not need differ much from present strategies. At present, however, the required capital for maintaining the site under the care of the County Administrative Board or the municipality exceeds the county´s annual state funding for heritage management. Moreover, there is a lack of local interest amongst non-members of the Fröå Mine Restoration Society regarding the activities at Fröå. The restoration society has not managed to attract the younger generation to its activities, nor incorporated a set of activities that could make the site relevant for a wider set of communal groups. These are negative consequences that could be understood to supersede initial ambitions of heritage conservation, both socially and economically.

Along the reasoning of Ashworth (2011), it is argued here that what we see in Fröå is the "problems of success" (i.e. an abundance of protective designations) caused by activities framed by a classical approach to heritage management. As a guiding principle for a future process, the heritage authority at the County Administrative Board could very well have chosen a heritage approach associated with more contemporary theory, with the guiding questions "who pays" and "who gains"? This means they could have tried to apply the regional policy aim to understand and support alternative ways in which people might want to actively participate in development initiatives such as managing the cultural landscape. In such a demand-oriented point of departure, the value of historic knowledge and material authenticity could still be balanced and sustained. However, this alternative requires a different strategy in which the expert would adopt a more communicative approach becoming more of a facilitator for collaborations between different community sectors.

Concluding Discussion

The narratives presented in the prologue show how the wavering characteristics of heritage planning lead to results which themselves cause new opportunities and/or problems in terms of spatial and socio-cultural consequences. These consequences are, of course, difficult to fully anticipate. Having tried to make sense of heritage planning in theory and practice, a basic outset that permeates this thesis is that the built environment is subjected to multiple and conflicting representations of heritage values, and that different discourses point to different possible and suitable courses of action in terms of planning and management. These courses of action are infused not only by discourses, but by constant negotiations between the "way it ought to be", and actual possibilities of making (positive) change.

Whilst the analysis focused on factors that govern decision-making, the following discussion takes outset in the results of the analysis and focus on how heritage planners can better take control of these situations. This is, furthermore, done through the lens of heritage planning in development context being a highly complex, or "wicked" problem (e.g. Rittel & Webber, 1973; Kolko, 2012).

6.1 Making sense of complexities in heritage planning

The cases in this thesis illustrate situations where heritage is inextricably linked to the historic environment and with socio-economic interests such as local and regional development and the growth of the tourism industry. Utilizing heritage in

planning is regarded in both theory and practice as an important urban development strategy. In such situations, heritage planners, i.e. those with any kind of responsibility in regards to heritage or historic environments in planning contexts, are expected to be accountable for facilitating and negotiating different perspectives and challenges. However, heritage planning is no "blueprint", but rather includes multiple narrow and broad approaches which span both classical and contemporary theories of conservation.

Fields of research that focus on heritage and historic environments from place branding, planning and sustainability science perspectives acknowledge the necessity of a demand-centred point of departure, stakeholder participation and interdisciplinary co-operation. By cross-comparison between these different fields of study, this thesis has resulted in a conceptual framework, which serves to points out different steps in heritage planning processes and the constant shifting of direction in long-term planning projects. It particularly highlights the point of departure, orientation, approach and type of knowledge which is in focus over time.

The empirical material shows ambitions that essentially align with contemporary developments in conservation theory as well as with international policies in the field. An inclusive, interdisciplinary and values-based approach for managing historical environments can be an outset for planning initiatives (as seen during the momentum in the Cape Coast case), or be developed more or less spontaneously as a result of a combination of actors, circumstances and time (as seen during the momentum in the Jämtland/Fröå case).

The analysis shows, however, the difficulties of sustaining these ambitions over time. There is always potential for eroding initial planning support, as strategies may be altered or undermined by conflicting strategies arising from shifts in governance. Circumstances change and key stakeholders leave which changes the bases of power, by which entangled and complicated issues become obvious. Even in apparent win-win situations, contradictory accounts on what really is successful can emerge from divergent practices for prioritizing and interpreting outcomes in ways which best serve one's interests. In the analysis, these shifts are understood as turning points in the development process by which heritage professionals could have seized the opportunity to choose between different approaches and directions associated with different types of responsibilities.

Both case studies showed that by the time of these turning points, a broad approach to heritage planning shifted towards a more narrow approach. The developed conceptual framework reveal diverse and interwoven discursive laden and institutional constraints that hinder a continuing performance of heritage planning as a demand-centred, and as an inherently dissonant, activity.

6.2 Making sense of the challenges of heritage planning

Based on the turning points and the examined stages of post-momentums in the case studies, a number of heritage planning challenges have been exposed.

A first challenge is that even practitioners who work within the same field, have differing value-frames and perspectives. An approach to the treatment of individual monuments and sites according to classical theory of conservation has technical and scientific connotations, associated with "tame" problems. A contemporary heritage approach to planning, however, acknowledge the management of the historic environment as inherently dissonant, associated with "wicked" problems. The two ways of thinking have different ontological positioning, and are theoretically incompatible. Nonetheless, they still often co-exist in practice, even in one and the same long-term project, as those examined in this study. Negotiating between a narrow and a broad approach to heritage when solving the same problem over time may have several serious consequences in terms of planning direction, as well as trust and engagement amongst the involved stakeholders. In these situations, arguing only for inclusive methodologies is unsatisfactory if we are to fully acknowledge heritage in development planning as a truly complex task. It needs, for example, to be clarified whether a communicative approach and inclusive processes are engaged with to support expert knowledge in decision-making, or driven by ambitions to actually share responsibilities between experts and laymen in decision-making processes. Heritage planners need to reflect upon, and openly discuss and identify the focus of each assignment and who the actual beneficiaries are, as this cannot be taken for granted and can easily be misunderstood.

A second challenge is to combine ambitious ideas with practical realities, which in turn pose major challenges in terms of assessment methodology. The political context and administrative aspects of planning require a form of slowness, predictability and transparency, in order to be efficient and rational. These administrative aspects often lead simplification of reality, but are necessary for planning to move forward and to be instrumental in democratic collaborations in development processes. These aspects are not essentially driven by ideals but rather the results of previous ideals. The ambitions of previous generations and their value-frames have generated policy and legal frameworks that remain and linger, based on more traditional and "truth-based" discourses. Even if the discourse might be changing "on the ground", institutionalized aspects need to be constantly negotiated, posing consequences for the end result.

6.3 Heritage planning becoming more locally responsive

Following Nanda et al. (2001), rationality in the new era of contemporary conservation lies in the understanding of respecting cultural, economic, and ecological resources in totality, and not primarily in formalized decision methods. This is an ap-

proach which aims to integrate heritage in general sustainable development planning based on a demand-centred approach. Such rationality requires more than a system-based approach and cannot adhere to a rectilinear model of policy-implementation. The analysis of this study shows how the interdependencies of time, funding, legal frameworks, human resources etc., make such rationality difficult to sustain within existent planning structures. There is a lack of methodological opening to apply long-term responsibility including new forms of co-production. Although a bottom-up approach might be implemented, additional institutional and discursive barriers need to be acknowledged and hence new questions and new approaches need to be addressed by heritage planners.

Consequently, a methodological implication is that a continual evaluation of practices of place-governance is necessary, not least among involved stakeholders themselves, including heritage planners. The gap between theory and practice, and between what heritage planners claim they want to do and what they actually accomplish, show the need to transform the very framework of approaching these types of problems. This study thus supports Conklin & Christensen (2009), who argue that the most important and evasive part of the planning process is to actually understand the intricate problem at hand. This is based on the assertion that issues of heritage in development planning are always essentially unique and context-dependent. The actual problem at hand cannot be understood until a solution is formulated, as the information needed to understand the problem depends on one´s idea for solving it (Rittel & Webber, 1973 p. 161). The various explanations of a solution reflect the consigned interests, interpretations, intentions and worldviews of stakeholders. In turn, a solution that is offered exposes new aspects of the problem, requiring further adjustments to the potential solution (Grant, 2014; Kolko, 2012; Harvey & Perry, 2015). Thus, part of the art of dealing with the issue is the art of not knowing too early which type of solution to apply. Accordingly, assessment methodology needs to be based on articulation of potential problem solutions (Rittel & Webber, 1973 p. 164).

Based on the above, the demands in terms of societal interests need to be assessed in the early stages of a planning process. In the Cape Coast case, instead of centring on how the supply, i.e. pre-defined heritage assets can benefit community, the demands and needs of the present such as “functioning basic infrastructure” could have been the solution by which issues of heritage could have been assessed. In the Jämtland/Fröå case, instead of centring on how the supply, i.e. the cultural landscape is to be safeguarded, the demands and needs of the community could initially have been explored in order to understand what type of public role the cultural landscape of Fröå could potentially serve in the future.

Without addressing these demand driven issues, heritage planners address symptoms of problems which are actually broader and more general and hence more difficult to do something about. However, by addressing these symptoms, heritage is approached and taken responsibility for in ways which serve the interests of the heritage sector, first and foremost. The analysis shows, that during the turning points in the development process and shifts in governance, heritage planners did not choose to investigate how societal issues can benefit from heritage planning in these unique places. If we are to understand heritage in development planning as a societal issue and not an isolated activity, this type of responsibility in terms of stewardship, i.e. long-term management direction, has been less of a priority in the cases analysed.

Dealing with the type of heritage planning processes as those examined in this study, means to understand them as negotiations about value conflicts among different actors, and to address non-consensual policies. It also means to take advantage of the mixed voices that can benefit a sense of ownership and pride in the place which in turn benefits both heritage and tourism development in sustainable ways. Non-consensual discussions can be essential to lay the foundation for growth and development.

There are no criteria that tell when a solution to a heritage planning problem has been found, and there is no conclusive way to decide when to stop efforts to solve them. Heritage planners are liable for the consequences of the actions they generate well beyond the time of active partaking. Thus, following the words of Thorkildsen & Ekman (2013), to ensure sustainability and societal integration of heritage, and to prevent heritage planners from returning to the traditional “trenches”, there is a need for relationship-building processes, which include new professional constellations, that need to be reinvented and worked with again and again.

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3. Frantisek Makes. Investigation, restoration and conservation of Matthaeus Merian portraits. Göteborg 1996. ISBN 91-7346-290-X.

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6. Williams, Stephen L. Destructive preservation, A review of the effect of standard preservation practices on the future use of natural history collections. Göteborg 1999. ISBN 91-7346-358-2.

7. Freccero, Agneta, Fayum Portraits. Documentation and Scientific Analyses of Mummy Portraits Belonging to Natio- nalmuseum in Stockholm. Göteborg 2001. ISBN 91-7346-382-5.

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Articles

Article I

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Assets in the age of tourism: the development of heritage planning in Ghanaian policy

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ABSTRACT

Heritage planning in Ghana is mainly governed by the idea of sustainable pro-poor tourism, but is only marginally integrated with general planning programmes and fragmentally addressed by policy-makers. Motivated by the general lack of research on heritage policy in Ghana, this paper examines the role of heritage planning in national socio-economic, cultural and tourism policy and highlights various ambiguities in terms of concepts, objectives and approaches. The major findings show gaps between rational and communicative planning ideals, between informal management systems and wider democratic concerns, and between delimited and comprehensive planning perspectives. The central argument is that the lack of coherence among different development planning perspectives is an issue that future heritage policy-making needs to consider in order to balance tourism development with concerns such as social stability, community development and local pride of place.

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Cultural heritage; heritage tourism; sustainable development; Ghana; policy

Ghana, situated in West Africa on the Gulf of Guinea, is one of the fastest growing economies in Africa (USAID 2012). Since becoming the first Sub-Saharan African country to gain its independence from British colonial rule in 1957, successive Ghanaian governments have initiated policies, programmes and projects to accelerate the growth of the Ghanaian economy and raise the living standards of her people. In recent years, the potential of utilising historic environments for development has been receiving growing interest (Insoll 2008, 10), particularly as a means to position Ghana as a prime destination for heritage tourism (Addo 2011; Asamoah 2013).

Most of the official conservation efforts in Ghana are centred on the Ghanaian World Heritage forts and castles along the Guinean coast, particularly targeting African-American and European markets (Agyei-Mensah 2006; Breen 2007; Boswell and ÓKane 2011). In recent years, governed by the idea of sustainable pro-poor tourism, various organisations have focused on more holistic conservation initiatives, aiming at safeguarding and developing both the community and the historic built environment in which the tourism attractions are located, in places like Cape Coast (Haney 2003), Elmina (Arthur and Mensah 2006) and Beyin (Aria, Cristofano, and Maltese 2015).

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The present conservation activities have raised two concerns. One deals with the fact that most community-based conservation initiatives are short-term, project-based and often dependent on international funding and technical assistance provided by bilateral co-operation. The Ghanaian government has been criticised for its incapacity to integrate heritage issues with general planning and design and wide-ranging development goals. Gavua and Apoh (2011, 213) claim there is a disconnection between national policy-making, development planning and site conservation. Heritage professionals argue that Ghana is in need of a coherent heritage policy, in light of the continuous destruction of historic sites and other cultural property caused by large-scale public and private development (see e.g. Ghana News Agency 2012).

The other concern deals with the international influence in heritage legislation and policy-making all across Africa. Post-colonial critics argue that the legal framework of many African societies and the globalised heritage discourse in inter-governmental charters and conventions are an import of Euro-American cultural influence. Thus, the enduring links to former colonial powers have a strong impact on the way heritage is defined and managed in Africa, both regionally and locally (Byrne 2008; Ndoro 2008; Njoh 2009; Hammami 2012). The legislation and the implemented international charters and conventions in Sub-Saharan African countries tend to privilege experts at the expense of other relevant stakeholders and to emphasise western values over local, indigenous ones. As a result, indigenous people risk being alienated, and specific African and intangible values associated with local heritage and landscapes are often not prioritised (Ndoro 2001; Munjeri 2008; Jopela 2011).

Drawing on these issues, this paper examines the development of heritage planning in national Ghanaian policy between 1995 and 2013 from socio-economic, cultural and tourism perspectives. The aim was to identify and analyse main tendencies regarding notions, objectives and approaches for heritage planning, and to contribute to a discussion about challenges resulting from a lack of coherence between the three perspectives. The challenges identified and discussed are those between pre-defined and open-ended approaches, formal and informal planning and management structures, and delimited and comprehensive spatial perspectives.

Method

This study takes a discursive approach to the ideological production of heritage planning. Central to the analysis is the mapping of discursive formations, influenced by Foucault's (1972) understanding of discourse as changeable and re-constructed due to a complex set of institutional relationships (Winther Jørgensen, Phillips, and Torhell 2000). For the task of this paper, it is sufficient to acknowledge that dominant discourses work as systems of ideas, attitudes, opinions and practices, where written (and spoken) words are relational to a contextual frame. The present paper is limited to the study of official policy documents in which the ideologies that generate preconditions for heritage planning become readable.

This study focuses on national Ghanaian policy documents produced between 1995 and 2013. During these years, several policies and strategies addressing the issue of heritage planning have been enacted. Heritage planning refers in this context to the application of heritage conservation within the context of planning (Kalman 2014, 4).

Other uses of heritage (e.g. by museums) are not considered as they fall outside the scope of the paper. Published, official material has been analysed, omitting issues of policy procedures and the ways in which ideas have been debated. Similarly, the political administrations and their agendas at the time of publication are not included in this analysis.

Two sequential stages of research were implemented. First, a review was undertaken of several national Ghanaian policies, spanning from the introduction of a decentralised planning system in 1992 until 2015. This was done in order to identify which policies addressed heritage issues. The relevant policies and strategies were chosen through the use of the following keywords: heritage, cultural heritage, historical (resource + asset), monument (s), conservation and preservation. If any of these keywords were found in the various documents reviewed, they were selected for further analysis. Important for the analysis was the acknowledgement of the often interchangeable use of the terms 'heritage' and 'culture'. Following Prentice (1993, 165), 'heritage' is used in this paper as it implies an essentially past orientation, whereas 'cultural' includes the contemporary and the future, as well as the past, within its scope.

Ten relevant policy documents, presented in Table 1, were identified for further analysis. These documents span from 1995 to 2013, and identify the three governmental areas in which heritage planning is addressed in Ghana: socio-economic development, cultural development and tourism development. The National Development Planning Commission (NDPC)[1], the National Commission on Culture (NCC)[2] and the Ministry of Tourism (MOT)[3] are the key governmental bodies responsible for integrating heritage with the three respective political areas. Ten policies and strategies were used for analysis. Responsible governmental bodies are presented in the left column. The name of each policy document is presented in the right column.

Second, a discourse analysis of the 10 documents was conducted, focusing on notions of heritage, as well as objectives and approaches for heritage planning. The keywords from the previous step were again used. The relevant findings were systematised into tables in order to determine similarities, differences and gaps. Three dominant approaches in international debates on sustainable heritage planning served as inspiration for mapping specifically Ghanaian approaches. These approaches are (a) the involvement of local communities, (b) additional protective measures and management tools for the safeguarding

Table 1. National Ghanaian policies and strategies which consider heritage issues.

Political body	Year	Policy document
Socio-Economic Development NDPC	1995	Coordinated Programme of Economic and Social Development Policies *Vision 2020: The First Step: 1996-2000*
	2003	The Coordinated Programme for the Economic and Social Development of Ghana 2003-2012
	2006	Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS II) 2006–2009
	2010a	The Coordinated Programme of Economic and Social Development Policies *Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda* 2010–2016
	2010b	Medium-term National Development Policy Framework 2010–2013
Cultural Development NCC	2004	The Cultural Policy of Ghana. *For the Promotion of Unity in Diversity*
Tourism Development MOT	1995	The 15-Year Tourism Development Plan 1996–2010
	2006	National Tourism Policy, Seventh Draft 2006–2010
	2009	National Tourism Marketing Strategy 2009–2012
	2013	National Tourism Development Plan 2013–2027

of cultural heritage and (c) ways to increase public knowledge about cultural heritage and its potential for development.

The legal and governmental framework for heritage planning in Ghana

Ghana has formed part of the international heritage community for almost 50 years. Being the first country in Sub-Saharan Africa to form a National Committee of ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) in 1968, it ratified the 1972 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1975. Representing Outstanding Universal Value, the forts and castles of Volta, Greater Accra, Central and Western Regions, as well as the country's Asante traditional buildings, were inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1979 and 1980 respectively. The activities and normative instruments established by UNESCO and other international heritage organisations for the protection of cultural property have had far-reaching impact in Ghana. Conservation work is centred on the World Heritage sites, where the guidelines established by the ICOMOS are applied.

The presence of both foreign and national non-governmental organizations (NGOs), such as the Italian Ricerca e Cooperazione and the Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust have contributed to heritage planning, particularly in relation to tourism development. However, there is currently little public sector support for community-based initiatives and several of the foreign NGOs are no longer involved in tourism initiatives due to completed programmes or change of foreign political directions and provision of financial aid (MOT 2013, 258). Heritage planning in Ghana is thus becoming increasingly reliant on domestic policy.

Like many post-colonial countries, Ghana has a planning system inherited from the country's former colonial power, Great Britain. A decentralised planning system was introduced in 1992, spanning from national, regional and local level through the NDPC, ministries and sector agencies, the regional coordinating councils and the metro, municipal or district assemblies (Government of Ghana 1993). The 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana calls on the state to preserve and protect the nation's places and artefacts of historical interest. The central state agency responsible for inventory, listing, conservation and management of the nation's movable and immovable heritage is the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board, established in 1957. The immovable heritage includes the National Monuments and UNESCO World Heritage Properties and Sites in Ghana, supervised by the Monuments Division of Ghana Museums and Monuments Board. In addition, the Environmental Protection Agency commissions environmental impact assessments with regard to large-scale projects that affect the environment at large, including heritage sites. In order for an object or site to be formally recognised as a cultural or historical resource in physical planning contexts, it must be acknowledged as an *antiquity*, *object of archaeological interest* or *sensitive area*. The legal definitions of antiquities and objects of archaeological interest were adopted and incorporated into national law in the late 1960s, placing emphasis on indigenous origin, age (before 1900), and/or historical, artistic or scientific interest and/or relation to traditional customs (GoG 1969 NLCD 387). A sensitive area refers to sites with potential values – areas of unique historic, archaeological or scientific interests, or areas which are traditionally occupied by cultural communities (EPA 1999).

However, the custodians of Ghana's cultural heritage are the indigenous peoples and their leaders (Gavua and Apoh 2011, 212). Before colonial times, chiefs were responsible for the day-to-day administration of their people, who identified along ethnic lines. The 10 administrative regions of the country more or less reflect the ethnic and tribal diversity of Ghana. The five major ethnic groups are Akan (including the major tribes of the Asante, Fante, Akim and Kwau), Ewe, Guan and Ga-Adangbe in the southern and central areas, and Mole-Dagbane in the northern area. Indigenous African belief systems are centred on ancestral relations, and strong spiritual connections exist between properties, lands, groves or other natural or historic structures inherited from ancestors at personal, family, clan and community levels (Kankpeyeng and DeCorse 2004, 93–95). The chief of a traditional council is a political and social power centre in the area: he rules, and is 'ipso facto a microcosm of authority who at times rivals the central government in legitimacy, recognition, and loyalty' (Boafo-Arthur 2006, 152). Kankpeyeng, Insoll, and Maclean (2010) argue that communities and chieftain systems, particularly in rural areas, often show strong agency in conserving the local landscape. However, it is a challenge to mainstream the role of traditional councils in the process of heritage site management since they have been prohibited from engaging in active politics (Mahama 2009, 10). Munjeri (2008, 18) claims that cultural and natural heritage can only become sustainable if there is harmony between international law, domestic law and customary law. This is one of the many consolidating challenges for Ghanaian policy-makers.

Global perspectives: Ghanaian involvement in international heritage community initiatives

During the last two decades, debates and programmes on Sub-Saharan African heritage planning have predominantly been concerned with UNESCO World Heritage management and its role in helping to address poverty through tourism. An additional trend concerns increased self-governance in terms of local capacity building and community involvement in heritage planning and management. This is in turn connected with the call for Sub-Saharan African nation-states to give legal effect to traditional heritage management. In the following section, these major trends are presented in more detail.

In 1994, the World Heritage Centre and ICOMOS initiated the Global Strategy for a Representative and Credible World Heritage List,[4] which focused on adjusting the structural and qualitative barriers causing the low representation of African sites on the World Heritage List. It also aimed to assist African countries to identify, recognise and protect the newly adopted category of cultural landscapes integrated into the 1972 UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1992. 'Associative cultural landscapes' (category iii) was created specifically to give the freedom to think of 'landscapes of ideas', a concept which has been widely welcomed in regional expert meetings in Africa (Munjeri 2000). The operational guidelines of the Global Strategy aimed at developing new protection and management mechanisms suitable for African environments.

Contemporary ideas on evaluating the authenticity of a cultural property in its cultural context were emphasised in the Nara Document on Authenticity in 1994, which marks the turning point for the international heritage community to recognise a broader

understanding of cultural diversity (ICOMOS 1994). Classical conservation theories, characterised by their close adherence to 'truth' and guided by notions such as reversibility, universality and objectivity (Muñoz Viñas 2005, 65), were at the time highly influenced by western and non-western fields of knowledge such as conservation, critical heritage studies, philosophy, history, sociology, museology and economics. As a result, contemporary theories of conservation have increasingly come to argue that heritage should not be classified in terms of categories of objects, events or personalities, but rather understood as a process, an outcome and a consumable experience (Ashworth 1997) created in the present to serve contemporary needs (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000).

The idea of associative cultural landscapes was anchored in the West African context at the UNESCO Global Strategy Meeting for Western Africa, held in Benin in 1998, in which Ghana participated. At the meeting, participants recognised African heritage as essentially a living heritage that closely associates nature and culture, insisting that the expressions of living cultures within protected areas must not be hindered by rigid conservation measures (UNESCO 1998). The challenge is to find a balanced way of promoting the preservation and representation of Africa's material cultural heritage, as so far it is mainly natural sites which have been successfully registered on the World Heritage list. And although the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage was adopted in 2003, Ghana has yet to ratify it.

The notion of living heritage, however, remained in focus in the succeeding Africa 2009 programme[5] (1998–2009). Its main focus involved training and technical advice on the relationship between immovable heritage and its relevant communities and overall environment (UNESCO 2010). The guiding principles of the Africa 2009 programme marked a pragmatic shift from earlier international heritage planning initiatives. Instead of stationing non-African experts in Africa to implement policy directives, the focus was to increase African professional knowledge and skills in the conservation and management of heritage places in Sub-Saharan Africa. Furthermore, the objective was to strengthen the network of African cultural heritage professionals and the capacities of sub-Saharan training institutions to continue with capacity building for national institutions managing and conserving immovable heritage places. A number of activities took place in Ghana. Maintenance plans, site promotion, and research on traditional construction and conservation practices were performed on the Ashanti Traditional Buildings in Ghana, inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1980 (UNESCO 2010, 4). In northern Ghana, site and research projects included studies of traditional conservation practices in the cultural landscape of Tongo-Tenzuk, a sacred epicentre of the Talensi ethnic group (Kankpeyeng 2005), and on the Nankani tradition of decorated dwellings (Kwami and Taxil 2005). Recommendations for sustainable conservation at these two sites included community involvement in research and education, support for organised workforces and the preservation and transfer of traditional skills. Moreover, a thematic seminar on intangible aspects of sacred sites was held in Accra in 2008, highlighting the importance of intangible heritage in the construction of tangible heritage.[6]

Successive policies have continued to address World Heritage site management in Africa, increasingly shifting the focus toward community development and sustainable tourism. The 2002 Johannesburg Declaration on World Heritage in Africa and Sustainable

Development (UNESCO 2002) highlighted the need to integrate heritage protection with comprehensive planning programmes, to empower communities, and for traditional heritage management and knowledge systems to remain at the centre of World Heritage management through policy, legal and institutional reform. More recent recommendations, based on discussions at the International Conference 'Living with World Heritage in Africa' in South Africa (Johannesburg, 26–29 September 2012) and the Experts Meeting on World Heritage and Extractive Industries (Maropeng, Johannesburg, 23–25 May 2012),[7] include best practices for extractive industries (exploration for and extraction of minerals, oil and gas, as well as associated infrastructure) and for fostering World Heritage properties as cultural and eco-tourism destinations in order to improve the quality of local community livelihoods (UNESCO 2013). Although these emergent approaches are the focus areas for African heritage planning, the economic realities of the region have remained unstable. In light of continuous lack of national funding for World Heritage management, the inter-governmental African World Heritage Fund was initiated in 2006 by the African member states of UNESCO and the African Union.

A different approach was taken by a joint partnership between the World Heritage Centre, the France-UNESCO Cooperation Agreement team, the School of African Heritage, the École Africaine des Métiers de l'Architecture et de l'Urbanisme and the Municipal Development Programme in 2006. Instead of addressing capacity building amongst heritage practitioners, a guide focusing on cultural heritage and local development was designed for African local governments in order to make heritage management a component of economic and social development policy (UNESCO 2006, 26). With the objective of providing a tool for decision-making, it addressed the various stages in identifying, managing and safeguarding tangible and intangible heritage in cultural landscapes, cities, architecture, objects, archaeological sites and places of memory. Its heritage planning objectives were twofold. One objective was the maintenance of cultural and social values and social harmony, including recognition and respect for the differences between the cultural identities of different communities. The other objective was to acknowledge the economic potential in terms of multiple sources of income, job creation, more affordable products, and possible investments due to a positive image of the territory.

The notion of cultural landscapes, and the realisation of the need to develop new attitudes toward conservation and its integration within comprehensive planning, was manifested in the Zanzibar Recommendations on the Application of the Concept of the Historic Urban Landscape in the African Context (UNESCO 2009). Some of its major points include: urban development strategies to be based on cultural values; integrated planning with a strong focus on sustainable local development; human dignity and betterment of quality of life; updating and reinforcement of the legal framework; empowerment of local communities and local authorities and strengthening of their relationship with the national government; awareness and communication including all parts of the community; and the relationship between a historic city and its territory, the extended city. The Zanzibar Recommendations were adopted to prevent the practice of heritage conservation in African cities remaining an isolated action. It highlighted the need for urban landscapes to be progressively integrated with national, regional and local planning, environmental planning and impact assessments. However, Ghanaian representatives have not been actively taking part in this initiative.

Domestic discourse: developments in Ghanaian heritage planning policy

In the following section, the development of heritage planning in Ghanaian policy will be analysed, particularly regarding the way heritage is defined, the role of heritage planning in national development and the approaches for implementation.

Heritage: the concept

The various definitions of heritage in Ghanaian policy from 1995 to 2013 are presented in Table 2. Since 1995, when specified, the notion of heritage features both tangible and intangible aspects. Prior to the 1990s, the international heritage discourse, dominated by monuments and archaeological sites, is fairly equally coupled with acknowledgements of immaterial features such as the richness of Ghanaian festivals, ceremonies and traditions, and ways of life.

Two definitions stand out. First, the 2009 tourism strategy defines heritage in relative terms – as features from the past that Ghanaian people consider an important part of the present character of their society. In comparison, the other tourism policy documents group the various heritage definitions into categories of cultural, historic and natural attractions. Second, the 2010 socio-economic policy defines Ghana's chieftaincy institution as an important cultural heritage *in itself*, as a source of social stability and community development. This responds to post-critical views of the need to emphasise particular West African socio-political contexts and accentuate the role of traditional authorities in policy.

Cultural heritage is generally defined as a singular entity when categorised as an asset or resource. An asset or resource, in turn, implies an understanding of the uses of heritage in operative and marketable terms. While the 1995 socio-economic policy, for example, defines cultural heritage in terms of practices and relationships between people and the environment in which they live (which in turn is less accentuated in subsequent policy), the heritage assets or recourses in the same policy are the designated tangible monuments and structures or events. Moreover, material cultural heritage is spatially limited to monuments or sites. Historic towns and historic urban districts are only mentioned twice, by the NDPC in 1995 and by the MOT in 2013.

Heritage planning: the objectives

The general objectives for heritage planning in Ghanaian policy are shown in Table 3.

Eight of the 10 documents studied explicitly associate heritage planning with economic development. Economic development, in turn, refers to three aspects: the tourism industry, industrial activity and the attraction of foreign investment. The 2004 Cultural Policy asserts that heritage planning should be a tool to 'create wealth and alleviate poverty', whereby the NCC shall at all times collaborate with the MOT and its agencies in developing cultural events as tourist attractions.

Four of the 10 policy documents studied explicitly link heritage planning with what is here defined as well-being, in turn referring to three aspects: social stability and community development, identity and pride of place, as well as recreation and open spaces. It can be argued that economic development is in turn of major importance for the well-being of

Table 2. Chronological presentation of the notion of heritage as stated in the respective policy contexts (socio-economic development, cultural development and tourism development).

Category	Year	Heritage	Cultural heritage	Historical heritage	Natural heritage	Assets/resources
Socio-Economic Development NDPC	1995	n/a	Social organisation	n/a	n/a	Heritage Assets
			Traditional beliefs and practices			Historic towns
			Systems of property ownership and inheritance			Buildings of historical, religious or aesthetic importance
			Labour and decision-making patterns			Sites of scientific interest
			Marriage practices			Natural features of outstanding beauty
			Family relationships			Cultural and historical assets
			Languages			Castles and forts
			History and artefacts			Shrines, mausoleums
			Architectural buildings or structures			Royal residences
			Respect for elderly and rulers			Architecture
			Consensuses form of dispute settlement			Music, stories and books
			Religious and social traditional beliefs and norms			
			Community-based festivals and hospitality			
	2003	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	2006	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	2010	Ghana's chieftaincy inst.	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	2010	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Cultural Development NCC	2004	Crafts	n/a	n/a	Sacred forests and beliefs associated with them	Heritage Assets
		Rural communities				Works of exceptional aesthetic value
		Rare and monumental heritage objects				Traditional medicine
		Museums				Festivals and events
		Chiefly palaces				Religion
		Monuments				Crafts
		Cultural parks				Galleries and craft centres
						Museums
						Monuments
						Forest reserves
						National parks and recreational facilities

(*Continued*)

Table 2. Continued.

Category	Year	Heritage	Cultural heritage	Historical heritage	Natural heritage	Assets/resources
Tourism Development MOT	1995		A calendar of festivals rich in ancient traditions Artisan excellence in goldsmithing, woodcarving, pottery, fabrics, fine painting, herbal medicine, etc.	Monuments and world heritage Forts and castles	Pristine tropical beaches Unique ecological and landscape systems featuring tropical rainforests, national parks, inland lakes and rivers	UNESCO designated World Heritage Sites Traditional architecture Cultural traditions The Slave Routes
	2006	n/a	Festivals Crafts Arts, music and dance Architecture Traditional shrines Beliefs and practices Ghanaian cuisine Traditional village life	Over 30 forts and castles Slave markets Defence walls Museums Monuments Mosques Churches Mission stations Architectural sites n/a	Flora and fauna Beaches Lakes Rivers Waterfalls Scenic landscape Estuaries Forests Wetlands Wildlife areas n/a	n/a n/a
	2009	The history, traditions and qualities that a country or society has had for many years and that are considered an important part of its character.	n/a			
	2013		Intangible cultural attractions Festivals and funerals Traditional crafts Contemporary arts Music and dance Various regional cultural beliefs and practices	Forts and castles Properties on the UNESCO tentative list Traditional buildings and architectural styles Mosques, churches and shrines	National parks Resource reserves Wildlife sanctuaries Coastal wetland reserves Beaches Lakes and rivers Waterfalls Scenic beauty	Tourism resources World Heritage Sites Other traditional architecture Extensive protected areas Cultural traditions and the accessibility for tourists to engage with them Heritage-related resources Historic urban districts Archaeological sites The Slave Routes

Note: If no notion of heritage was stated, the box is marked not available (n/a).

Table 3. Chronological presentation of objectives for heritage planning as stated in the respective policy contexts (socio-economic development, cultural development and tourism development).

Category	Year	Aspect A Economic development: Heritage as a positive dimension in relation to other industries	Aspect B Well-being: Heritage as a positive dimension in relation to the community
Socio-economic Development NDPC	1995	The positive elements of cultural beliefs (cultural heritage) and their manifestations in traditional festivals […] can be used: - In the economic fields of tourism - For industrial activity - For the attraction of foreign investment The rehabilitation of historic buildings is a strategy to attract tourism.	n/a
	2003	n/a	n/a
	2006	Historical, cultural and archaeological sites attract regional and international tourists (including African-Americans interested in Ghana's history with respect to slavery).	n/a
	2010a	n/a	Ghana's chieftaincy institution remains an important traditional heritage, and has served as an important source of social stability and community development.
	2010b	[There is a] need to preserve historic and cultural heritage for the promotion of tourism.	Develop recreational facilities and promote cultural heritage and nature conservation in both urban and rural areas to address the challenges posed by the lack of open spaces.
Cultural Development NCC	2004	To enhance Ghanaian cultural life and develop cultural programmes to contribute to […] material progress through heritage preservation, conservation, promotion and the use of traditional modern arts and crafts to create wealth and alleviate poverty. Ghana shall […] recognise tourism as a means by which the wealth of cultural products and values are shared with the rest of the world towards the promotion of our common humanity and global understanding.	To respect, preserve, harness and use cultural heritage and resources means to develop a united, vibrant and prosperous national community with a distinctive African identity and personality and a collective confidence and pride of place. To make the people of Ghana aware of the contemporary relevance of their traditions and cultural heritage and assist local communities to mobilise their cultural resources for human and material development To create awareness of the traditional values and generate pride and respect for the nation's heritage.
Tourism Development MOT	1995	Support Ghana's historic and cultural heritage […] to expand leisure tourism to redistribute income and encourage participation of small and micro enterprises in the industry.	n/a
	2006	Ghana is to be developed as an internationally competitive and high quality destination where the tourism industry, besides producing macro-economic benefits, explicitly contributes to poverty reduction and conservation of the country's cultural, historical and environmental heritage.	n/a
	2009	Strong cultural and heritage tourism products	n/a
	2013	By marketing Ghana as a competitive tourist destination, new high-value options in the leisure market, culture, and heritage and	Promote domestic tourism to encourage Ghanaians to appreciate and preserve their

(*Continued*)

Table 3. Continued.

Category	Year	Aspect A Economic development: Heritage as a positive dimension in relation to other industries	Aspect B Well-being: Heritage as a positive dimension in relation to the community
		eco-tourism products will be developed, while enhancing the attractiveness of the existing products. Promote sustainable and responsible tourism in such a way as to preserve historical, cultural and natural heritage.	national heritage and create wealth in their communities.

Note: If no objective was stated, the box is marked as not available (n/a).

a community. However, the division is made to draw attention to the discursive distinctions on the direct and indirect effects of heritage planning in Ghanaian policy.

A change of content over time is not really apparent. Consistently, socio-economic and tourism policies are quite explicit in terms of the economic benefits generated by heritage. Ghana's Cultural Policy provides a comprehensive approach to heritage planning as a means for both economic and social benefits, as it is guided by a more holistic approach to culture.

Achieving the objectives: national approaches to heritage planning

The largest number of implementation strategies intended to address the general heritage planning objectives are found in tourism policy documents. The MOT has mainly focused on the ambition to improve existing products and develop new ones, including attractions that deserve to be included in the directory of World Heritage Sites (e.g. MOT/DR 2006, 25; MOT 2009, 16; MOT 2013, 144). Another major concern is community participation. Throughout the time period studied, sustainable tourism development signifies the need to balance commercial exploitation and protection of historical and cultural heritage attractions 'with sensitivity and dignity' (MOT/DR 2006, 21). Requirements are local community engagement in planning and decision-making, as well as the formation of public–private partnerships. The most recent tourism policy advocates that sustainable heritage planning can only be achieved if developed with the acceptance and participation of traditional rulers and the local community (MOT 2013, 94). Additional protective measures include the necessity to conduct environmental impact assessments whenever a tourism site is to be developed (MOT/DR 2006, 25), and the establishment of environmental protection systems on cultural heritage assets (MOT 2013, 271). In 2013, heritage planning in urban environments were addressed for the first time, and the recommendations include preservation of historic buildings outside the remit of the GMMB where they form unified urban districts with heritage significance (MOT 2013, 81). The Ministry of Culture is to facilitate consultants to prepare management and conservation plans such as a strategic and comprehensive Tourism Master Plan for Sekondi town as a whole, including the conservation of heritage buildings and townscapes. In addition, heritage and conservation expertise is recommended for inclusion in the completion of a general Tourism Master Plan (MOT 2013, 301–305).

Socio-economic policies only marginally address heritage planning. When they do, the focus is on increasing protective measures for designated monuments and sites, including

the establishment of criteria for the classification of buildings and locations of importance to national heritage (NDPC 1995, 5.4.3), and encouraging the use of science and technology for the management, preservation and maintenance of the country's public buildings, including historic buildings and sites (NDPC 2010b, 214). Regarding community participation, no straightforward heritage planning principle can be detected. In its effort to advance a sustainable culture-centred paradigm for development, a key policy intervention of 2003 was to undertake socio-cultural impact assessments (including the study of cultural norms, traditions and value systems) before and after any major development intervention (NDPC 2003, 87). Doing a 'study' can easily be interpreted as a top-down approach, and successive enunciations shifted focus toward community participation, although only advised in relation to environmental and natural resource management (NDPC 2010b, 200). In the planning of recreational infrastructure, the NDPC is to ensure the involvement of land owners and the local community as stakeholders in the design of urban plans and in the management of protected areas (73).

The 2004 Cultural Policy of Ghana recognises the pivotal and leadership role of chiefs and traditional organisations in heritage preservation and cultural transformations. Moreover, it specifies a number of institutions, organisations and civil society groups that are all to participate in the implementation of policies and programmes (NCC 2004, 13; 17). The NCC is to support these stakeholders in order to preserve their cultural identity and enhance their capacity to participate in and support community development (17, 42), for example in balancing industrialisation with rural development, with the aim of preserving the residents' dignity and heritage (42). However, the major focus is on legislation and protective measures. Planning control is to be exercised in matters threatening structures and sites of historical importance, and legislation preventing alteration to structures or facades of private buildings of historical importance (37). Legislation should further protect and preserve tangible and intangible assets, including rare and monumental heritage objects (11, 18), and the rights of indigenous owners of cultural heritage (18, 37). The Cultural Policy furthermore stresses the need to adapt new development design to place-specific characteristics. Architects, planners and designers are to incorporate indigenous ideas and aesthetics in the design of settlements and public buildings, reflecting the cultural values and historical experiences of the Ghanaian people (19).

The tourism policy documents focus on heritage planning in Ghana's tourism zones, where cultural assets are to be used as tools for specific reasons and with pre-defined target groups. In contrast, socio-economic and cultural policy documents highlight the need to increase public awareness of both the economic and social potential of cultural heritage. The NDPC stresses the relevance of educational institutions in promoting and developing the use of Ghanaian languages and the practices of Ghanaian cultural heritage (NDPC 1995, 5.5.8), and the need for traditional authorities to document their culture and history in order to strengthen the regulatory and institutional framework for the development of national culture (NDPC 2010a, 8.2.12; 2010b, 60). The National Commission of Culture focuses on the importance of identifying sacred forests and other heritage sites of Ghana, and collects, collates and stores indigenous beliefs and practices associated with them (NCC 2004, 9.5.1), as well as the necessary research that should be conducted on the various traditional and customary rules and laws of Ghana (17). Chiefs, community elders, scholars, artistic groups, etc. are moreover encouraged to engage in dialogue with

all Ghanaians to disseminate information and promote understanding of Ghana's heritage and cultural practices in order to stimulate public interest in them and assist in the process of conserving and developing them (NCC 2004, 6.3.1).

Discussion

The policy documents studied here have been produced over a period of almost 20 years, during different political administrations. Formulations have been based on multilateral agreements, influenced by networks of international establishments and discourses. Organisations such as the World Bank, the IMF and the UNDP have been participating in the production of policies and strategies throughout the time period studied. Moreover, the analysis result shows that cultural planning in Ghanaian policy is quite fragmental in scope, and different governmental policies deal with different types of heritage, approaching implementation differently. These factors render the understanding of the national discourse on heritage planning complex and multifaceted.

The general tendency however, is the shift in objectives from nation building to the development of the heritage tourism industry. From the time when Kwame Nkrumah, President of an independent Ghana, sustained his political ideology of a unitary state centred on the motto of 'Unity in Diversity', the recognition of Ghanaian heritage has been central to a nationalist political agenda (Kankpeyeng and DeCorse 2004, 94). The National Museum has since then thematically displayed ethnic groups illustrating Ghana's varied cultural heritage, which along with national monuments and diaspora-related events serve as means of creating a uniform national and pan-African cultural identity (95).

Current Ghanaian initiatives tend to align more with two major trends for Sub-Saharan African heritage planning and management in general (Timothy and Nyaupane 2009, 10). One trend is to create a more representative and balanced World Heritage list and develop a strategy to deal with the challenges that most African countries have in implementing the World Heritage Convention. Another trend relates to the promotional benefits of World Heritage sites, and the agenda to incorporate heritage tourism as an important tool for poverty alleviation and community economic development. As shown in the analysis, heritage planning in Ghanaian policy documents is first and foremost associated with economic development, and particularly the tourism industry. The most recent Ghanaian tourism policy of 2013 accordingly claims that natural and cultural heritage resources are to be 'further developed and properly packaged and marketed' (MOT 2013, 7).

I argue here that this objective relegates the second major objective in Ghanaian policy, which is to maintain and improve cultural and social values and social harmony, and the safeguarding of diverse expressions of Ghanaian culture. The two objectives seem to run parallel without ever actually connecting. This can be explained by the fact that the policy documents studied are paradigmatically different, whereby heritage planning ends up in different governmental contexts. The consequences of this lack of coherence between different development planning perspectives will be discussed in the next sections, focusing on the tensions between pre-defined and open-ended approaches, formal and informal planning and management structures, and delimited and comprehensive spatial perspectives.

The tension between pre-defined and open-ended approaches for sustainable heritage planning

There is a discrepancy between theory and practice concerning the very understanding of cultural heritage and its management in Ghanaian policy, as well as between Ghanaian policy content and Ghanaian standpoints in various African heritage planning initiatives. Contemporary theory defines heritage as a negotiable complex phenomenon, and as the everyday relationship people have with the past in the present (Harrison 2013, 5). Notions such as 'landscapes of ideas' and 'living heritage' were discussed in the 1990s and applied in the Africa 2009 programme, and cultural heritage was indeed exemplified as 'ways of life' in the 1995 socio-economic policy by the NDPC. Since then, Ghanaian policy defines heritage in more traditional terms. Although paying equal attention to material and immaterial aspects, the notion of cultural heritage is rather fixed and referred to in definite articles, most often in accordance with the legislation. And although a key requirement in Ghanaian policy is giving power to the local communities in development issues, the understanding of heritage planning as an activity of negotiation is less accentuated. Heritage-related public participation is mainly called for when the development objective is pre-defined as beneficial for tourism development. This is particularly problematic, as heritage is simultaneously perceived as intrinsically constructive for development. Pre-defined notions and objectives might have consequences for the approaches to engage people in negotiations.

Research shows how negotiation is particularly important in issues involving the forts and castles of Ghana and the environments in which they are situated, as they are highly contested heritage places (see e.g. Macgonagle 2006). Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) note that dissonance is at all times inherent to heritage, particularly in commodification processes and in the creation of place products where the content of messages may, for some, lead to disinheritance. Addo (2012, 198) exemplifies these issues by showing how popular diaspora-related events such as Panafest are indeed significant to Ghana's tourism industry, while the experiential economic, political and ethnocentric controversies surrounding the events, along with commodification and commercialisation, tends to overshadow their cultural significance as remembrance of the slave trade.

People's relationship with heritage becomes even more complex, as the well-being of local residents might not be dependent on community involvement *per definition*, as the 'community' might refer to the community of stakeholders rather than a residentially based community (Hughes 2008). And additional tensions may arise when certain members of the community feel the need to promote the conservation of a town's heritage resources while other groups benefit from different types of development initiatives (for a Ghanaian example, see e.g. Swanepoel 2010, 406). In order to understand and address these complex factors, Chirikure et al. (2010, 41) notes that it is the local situation that should determine the nature of participation and/or levels of engagement needed in every situation.

A problematic concern is that many professionals pay lip service to the whole concept of participation because of the difference between the interests of local communities and those of experts (Chirikure et al. 2010). And post-colonial critics argue that heritage planning and management in Africa do privilege experts at the expense of other relevant

stakeholders (see e.g. Jopela 2011). It can be argued though, that this is not a problem specific to Africa. The issue is more generally related to the power systems that shape ideas of what the conservation and planning system should protect, and the factors that constitute legitimate conservation actions while other values are left aside (see e.g. Smith 2006). Cultural heritage management is worldwide being criticised for being an expert activity, based on 'objective, universal and measurable sets of intrinsic criteria' (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996, 9), embedded in the notion of planning as an instrumental and rational activity (Allmendinger 2002). Ghanaian policy adheres to rational planning principles, which is indeed a legacy of colonialism. In that sense, the critique raised in this paper regarding the non-African cultural influence is confirmed, particularly in regards to the challenges of integrating immaterial aspects and initiating well-functioning community participation processes in heritage planning.

The tension between formal and informal planning and management systems

Another discrepancy is related to the formal decision-making planning system and the various ways in which traditional authorities are recognised in policy. First, the analysis results show that, on the one hand, the traditional authorities are considered the most essential stakeholders in heritage planning, given a formal recognition as active agents in heritage planning. Heritage is informed, governed and protected by them, and they represent the communities in which they live. On the other hand, although the Chieftaincy Institution has long been a locally grounded agency for places of memory in Ghana, it does not have access to formal decision-making.

Second, the ill-defined role in local governance becomes even more complicated when the Chieftaincy Institution, along with its regulatory and institutional framework, is regarded as heritage in itself (NDPC 2010a), consequently having a discursive status of official heritage.

On the one hand, acknowledged in policy as an independent formal stakeholder, it is reasonable that the chieftaincy institution is to sustain and govern itself and its interest. The self-governance entails the freedom to adjust and negotiate the heritage and traditions within the very institution. On the other hand, acknowledged in policy as cultural heritage, it is reasonable that the independence might be restrained, as the institution per definition should be safeguarded. The safeguarding of the very institution might in turn hinder a 'living heritage'.

And third, the policy acknowledgement of traditional authorities as the most essential stakeholders does not correspond to democratic concerns such as increased public participation. Ghana's Cultural Policy claims it is necessity to eliminate traditional customs and usages that are outmoded and socially harmful (NCC 2004, 4.1.3; 9.2.6). Grindal (2003, 53) and Swanepoel (2010, 407) have shown how intergenerational conflicts between elders and the youth affects community development, where the younger generation at times see their elders as obstructive and possibly motivated by ill will, whereas the chiefs and elders see themselves as acting for the good of the community. In order to represent both traditional and contemporary uses of a community's heritage, the capability of the chieftaincy institution to negotiate contemporary values, conservation and development with society at large, particularly women and youth, is an emergent democratic concern.

The tension between delimited and comprehensive spatial perspectives

There is a third discrepancy between theory and practice in regards to heritage planning in tourism areas as well as outside the remit of designated tourism areas. The recognition in international standards such as the 2002 UNESCO Johannesburg Declaration and the 2009 Zanzibar Recommendation concerning the ambition to integrate heritage planning with comprehensive planning is not the focus of Ghanaian heritage policy. The terminology used in African programmes of immovable cultural heritage covering everything from monuments, buildings and sites to human settlements and cultural landscapes with their related intangible aspects is less accentuated in Ghanaian policy.

The need to include effective protection and sustainable utilisation of historical resources in land-use planning, as well as the need for conservation of heritage buildings and the townscape for Sekondi town have been acknowledged in tourism policy documents (MOT 2006, 23; 2013:x). Awareness of the importance and need to preserve historic and cultural heritages in urban planning has been stated (NDPC 2010b, 214) with no further specification. In socio-economic policy, conservation activities are largely detached from urban planning, only relevant for protected or recreation areas. When specified, heritage planning initiatives are within the context of development projects for tourism and the production of a tourism master plan, and capacity building on heritage planning initiatives are centred on achieving sustainable tourism within designated tourism areas.

Turok (2015) notes that there is an emergence of national urban policies in Africa. However, the tendency to disconnect heritage planning from general planning policy is confirmed by the recently enacted Ghanaian National Urban Policy Framework (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development 2012), which does not even mention cultural heritage, conservation or planning of the historic built environment. Considering issues of increasing urbanisation and uncontrolled physical planning in the larger cities around the country, further studies are required regarding the potential marginalising effects posed by the tourism-dominated discourse identified in this paper, particularly in relation to urban planning.

Bridging the gap

Heritage planning in Ghanaian national policy is framed by the challenges caused by the rational planning ideal with pre-defined objectives set against informal management structures and cultural politics, in which more qualitative claims are made. The overall tendency is that heritage planning in Ghanaian policy is tourism-oriented, and motivated by financial growth. It is moreover essentially project-based, detached from general development and urban planning policy. Heritage tourism has many advantages, and as Lowenthal (2000, 22) notes, without heritage tourism many sites and artefact would be less able to fend off undesirable development and other pressures. However, when too narrowly defined and mainly activated for specific purposes, heritage risks being relegated to advisory boards, separated from the main governing legal structure and the general planning system.

Failure to synchronise the diverse approaches presented in different policies risks a conservation of strategies that are not coherent with the possible overlapping objectives. For example, the highly criticised unnatural divide between nature and culture in the African

context (Ndoro 2001, 21) is constantly being reproduced in national tourism policy. The content is aimed to strictly meet the political objectives of heritage tourism development, resulting in 'assets' and 'resources' being categorised into cultural, historic or natural attractions.

An impending challenge for policy-makers is to balance the present focus on heritage sites as mainly outward-oriented marketable assets with the objectives of Ghana's Cultural Policy, which is to obtain social stability, community development, identity and pride of place through heritage planning. These public benefits would possibility be addressed more applicably in national policy if a greater interchange between tourism, culture and socio-economic perspectives on heritage planning would be prioritised.

Notes

1. The NDPC has statutory responsibility under the 1992 Constitution for preparing the main comprehensive strategic action plans, incorporating cross sectorial strategies prepared by other ministries, sector agencies, commissions or boards.
2. The Ghana Commission on Culture (NCC), founded in 1990, is the main governmental body responsible for monitoring and implementing cultural policies, with a supervisory role over Ghana Museum and Monuments Board (GMMB).
3. The MOT was established in 1993 to formulate policies and plan for the development and promotion of domestic, regional and international tourism. The ministry has had four name changes since its creation, but is in this paper throughout referred to as MOT.
4. http://whc.unesco.org/en/globalstrategy, accessed on 21 June 2015.
5. Implemented by a partnership composed of the African cultural heritage organisations, the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, ICCROM, CRAterre-ENSAG, the School of African Heritage (EPA) and the Centre for Heritage in Africa (CHDA).
6. Africa 2009: Intangible Aspects of Sacred Heritage Sites, Accra, Ghana, 8–12 September 2008. Organised by ICCROM (Africa 2009 Programme) in collaboration with CHDA (Centre for Heritage Development in Africa) and the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board GMMB.
7. The events were part of a seven-month programme for the African region marking the fortieth anniversary of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention, themed 'World Heritage and Sustainable Development: The Role of Local Communities'.

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Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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Article II

Susanne Fredholm. ”Negotiating a Dominant Heritage Discourse. Sustainable Urban Planning in Cape Coast, Ghana.

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Negotiating a dominant heritage discourse. Sustainable urban planning in Cape Coast, Ghana

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Abstract

Purpose – With specific focus on sustainable development of the built environment in Cape Coast, Ghana, the purpose of this paper is to examine practical and conceptual barriers for local planning authorities advancing international outreach programmes based on a global discourse on heritage and heritage management.

Design/methodology/approach – A discourse analysis was conducted on documents and programmes produced by international organisations and local planning authorities since 2000. Further qualitative data collection methods included 25 semi-structured interviews, literature and media review and on-site observations.

Findings – The study shows that the dominant global discourse on heritage management being interconnected with tourism development is adopted by local planning authorities. However, the requirements to advance initiated urban redevelopment projects are neither adapted to the economic realities nor institutional capabilities of the local planning system. Instead of adjusting specific Ghanaian notions of heritage or local forms of heritage organisations, negotiating the discourse is potentially a more sustainable approach.

Practical implications – The findings reveal important implications necessary to address from sustainable development perspective. The study can help practitioners to develop strategies based on local African planning contexts rather than western discourses on best practice.

Originality/value – This study discusses the impact of an Authorised Heritage Discourse on local planning of the built environment, and the need to rescale and broaden the scope of such discourses to other levels than the dominating national/global.

Keywords Cultural heritage, Urban planning, Ghana, Discourse analysis, World Heritage, Sustainable urban development, Urban rehabilitation, Urban redevelopment

Paper type Research paper

Introduction

This paper studies how local forms of heritage management adapt, adjust and negotiate a dominating global discourse on cultural heritage, with specific focus on sustainable development of the built environment in Cape Coast, Ghana.

The tourism industry in Ghana is vital in strategies to achieve national development and economic recovery. Cape Coast, the capital of Central Region 155 km west of Accra, is one of the main urban centres for heritage tourism. The castles and forts along the Guinean coast were appointed UNESCO World Heritage Sites in 1979. Based on the prospect of benefiting from this nomination as a way to attract tourism, interest in the conservation of Cape Coast's built heritage started in the 1980's. Planning authorities of the Central Region initiated an integrated development programme "to conserve the natural, historic and cultural assets of the region, and stimulate the region's economy by developing industries based on these assets, with tourism as the lead sector" (Dembowski *et al.*, 2001, p. 9). A two-phase project, lasting 1991-2001, was developed by various Ghanaian agencies[1] along with an international consortium [2] through funding by the Government of Ghana, the United Nations Development

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Program and United States Agency for International Development. Phase I addressed the formation of Kakum National Park and conservation on three key World Heritage Sites: Cape Coast Castle, St George's Castle and Fort St. Jago (Elmina). Phase II (1998-2001) addressed activities supervised by United States Committee of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (US/ICOMOS), aiming at acknowledging and developing the rich cultural heritage in the historic core of Cape Coast. During phase II, a strategic development plan was produced, combining issues of heritage conservation and tourism activities (US/ICOMOS, 2000). In turn, the revitalisation of some historic buildings inspired local authorities to enact a preservation bye-law that would safeguard the historical and cultural significance of Cape Coast (MACC, 2000).

On the one hand, the investments and activities during the two-phase projects are – from economic, tourism and architectural perspectives – reported to be fairly successful. The future of the monuments are reasonably secure and revenues to tourism-related businesses have steadily increased (Hyland and Intsiful, 2003; Addo, 2011; Asamoah, 2013). On the other hand, Cape Coast planning authorities indicate that neither the strategic development plan nor the bye-law has had a great effect on the local planning system[3].

The aim of this paper is to further investigate this apparent contradiction and to discuss the complications arising when practices and standards of a dominating heritage discourse are seen in relation to other notions of heritage and alternative ways to manage the historic built environment in Cape Coast.

Development planning and heritage management in Ghana

Ghana became the first sub-Saharan African country to gain its independence from British Colonial Rule in 1957, and has since adopted a decentralised planning system influenced by the British colonial model. The Cape Coast Municipal Assembly is the main administrative political body charged with the responsibility of overall development of the municipality. Local urban and rural development planning is mainly undertaken by Town and Country Planning and the Lands Commission, attending to physical and spatial planning of new residential or industrial areas.

Management of cultural heritage intangibles and tangibles in Ghana is broken down into different sectors. The main body for the protection and promotion of intangible heritage and cultural life is the National Commission on Culture, with Centres for National Culture located in each region, including Cape Coast. The legal custodian of Ghana's cultural heritage is Ghana Museum and Monuments Board (GMMB), with the monuments and sites division primarily responsible for the protection, conservation and management of all listed national monuments and World Heritage properties and sites. Complementing the work of the GMMB is the Environmental Protection Agency, commissioning environmental impact assessments (EIA) with regard to large-scale projects affecting the environment at large, including cultural heritage sites. An EIA must include cultural heritage analysis if the area of concern is of potential tourist value, of unique historic, archaeological or scientific interest, or traditionally occupied by cultural communities.

The state-based legal systems have in most African countries marginalised what Mumma (2004) refers to as community-based legal systems (p. 43). The institution of chieftaincy is recognised in the Constitution of Ghana but not given a clear function in the governance of the country. It is considered to be the repository of history and traditional ways, serving as the bond between the dead, the living and the yet unborn (Owusu-Mensah, 2013, p. 32). Although barred from active party politics, the Houses of

Chiefs play a pivotal advisory role in the national government, and the traditional councils are in many ways the *de-facto* custodians of the indigenous traditions, customs and society of Ghana. Chiefs and queen mothers are often incorporated in the planning, location and management of international projects, as they are "an intermediary who contributes to the influx of external resources from the development sector to a locality, where he/she plays a significant political role or where he is trying to establish political standing" (Bierschenk and Olivier de Sardan, 2002, p. 2). Traditional authority is moreover linked to land ownership as 80 per cent of the land is under customary (non-state sector) ownership (Mahama and Baffour, 2009, p. 28). Development planning is therefore dependent on cooperation between state-based and community-based authorities.

The heritage of Cape Coast: shared resource or contested space?

Ever since visits of the descendants of people subjected to the transatlantic slave trade started in the 1980's as a form of reclamation of African identity (Bruner, 1996), some of the main foundations of the tourism industry in Ghana are the World Heritage European-built forts and castles and their diaspora-related events (Mowatt and Chancellor, 2011). Research from postcolonial and critical heritage perspectives have drawn attention to the renovations and exhibitions in Cape Coast Castle, due to the conflicting messages these portray to different groups of people (Kreamer, 2004; Richards, 2005; Macgonagle, 2006; Schramm, 2010). This research centres on Cape Coast Castle being a place of dissonant (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996) and "dark" heritage. It also focuses on the reconstruction of history and the production of contested terrain, in the sense that African American concerns of desired experiential effects often conflict with a Ghanaian wish to reclaim history. Controversies arise concerning the very object and practices of remembrance and forgetting. Slave forts, being contested spaces of heritage, are thus closely bound up with issues of ownership and power relations.

Although drawing on previous research on the dissonance of the World Heritage Sites in terms of representation of history and identity, the present paper shifts focus to the urban built environment of Cape Coast and enquiries of sustainable planning and management of local cultural heritage.

The use of the term urban built environment in this paper is understood in contrast to the term historic town, which is often used to attract external capital and investment within the framework of tourism development. This is one of the defining features of contemporary urban development, not least in Africa and Ghana (Agyei-Mensah, 2006). The global redefinition of cultural heritage as an economic resource came to be increasingly accepted during the 1990's as an integrated perspective on heritage management. Conservation groups and development organisations together with political ambition came to form a new trans-national industry, supporting the "harvesting" of the economic value of heritage resources (see, e.g. Silberman, 2012; Peacock and Rizzo, 2008; Graham, 2010). The endeavour of using heritage as a driver of economic opportunities is associated with understanding historic urban features as cultural capital and as the stock of cultural value embodied in an asset (Throsby, 2009, p. 15). The contemporary labelling of Cape Coast as a historic town means its buildings and sites endowed with cultural significance forms a stock of tangible cultural capital assets to be marketed. The "bricks and mortar of Ghana's tourism industry" is the European Heritage, local traditional institutions and diaspora-related festivities (Addo, 2011). The colonial structures thus coexist with a range of indigenous heritages now being subsumed in the same processes of heritage management.

The 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions proves a shift towards changes in conservation assessment and site management, acknowledging the need to integrate local heritage values into dominant conservation systems. This change in recognising intangible expressions has also generated a growing interest into non-western concepts of heritage authenticity derived from cultural and experiential constructs. Such alternative views on authenticity often place focus on commemorating, recognising and valuing heritage places through daily activities in people's lives (Andrews and Buggey, 2008). However, many sites still run the risk of local values being subsumed in a larger, often fabric-based discourse, resulting in a need for revisions of existing management plans (see, e.g. Le Morne Cultural Landscape, Mauritius (Bakker and Odendaal, 2008).

As with Cape Coast Castle, when various forms of conservation plans are produced, a dissonance can occur between the constructed space by heritage authorities to that of lived space (see, e.g. Lefebvre, 1991). When revenue generation becomes a primary objective of urban development, and outside visitors the target, a distancing of the local population and mistrust of the motives for investment can result (Eisinger, 2000). Whilst the economic realm cannot be wholly separated from heritage, counter-hegemonic expressions (Robertson, 2012) and ways of life can run counter to the dominating discourse and development objectives, as these expressions are often a sense of inheritance that does not seek to attract an audience (p. 2). In this paper, some respondents do indeed speak about heritage in terms of material authenticity. However, the vast majority perceive heritage as a category of practice rather than a category of material objects. Drawing on Boswell and O'Kane (2011), this fact makes it relevant to discuss alternative engagement with heritage and its management in a Ghanaian context.

Method

Field research

The field research in Cape Coast included a pilot study in January 2012 and major field work between December 2012 and February 2013. The empirical data were gathered through a review of documents, literature and media, on-site observations and face-to-face interviews.

The review aimed at exploring how ideas about heritage are being constructed and technologies have been played out, and how recent planning projects and programmes have been undertaken and produced in Cape Coast since 2000. The review revealed: key actors, representative professional bodies and programmes; key principles of intervention (if mentioned); and standards for conservation advocated by the main actors involved.

Following these results, a number of respondents were selected for face-to-face interviews according to the criteria presented in Table I. Respondents were often qualified for more than one criteria. The respondents represented local and regional

Table I. Criteria for selection of respondents (left), and number of selected respondents to each criteria (right)

Took part in Phase II of the regeneration project 1998-2001	7
Representing the state-based planning system	10
Representing the traditional authorities	1
Working at the detailed planning level	7
Working at the comprehensive planning level	7
Experience of architectural preservation and/or planning of historic environments in Cape Coast	10

councils as well as community-based authorities and academic institutions, and are involved in urban planning at the municipal level. While some interviews were conducted during the pilot study, most of the face-to-face interviews were conducted during the main field work. Basic information on the demographics of the informants is presented in Table II. Due to the diversity of the respondents, the interviews were scheduled through e-mail, phone or on-site contact.

The project idea was presented to the respondents prior to the interviews. While this has in some cases influenced the spontaneous response of the respondents, some complementary questions were streamlined during the interviews. In total, 25 semi-structured interviews were conducted in English, lasting about 1-2 hours. Most interviews took place at the respondents' working site during office hours. One interview was conducted via Skype and one whilst walking through Cape Coast city centre. The respondents were informed that their identity would remain anonymous; no personal identifiers were collected. The respondents were calm and relaxed during the interview process and freely shared positive and critical reflections.

On the one hand, respondents represent a governing authority, working within the system that has adopted and exercises a dominant discourse. On the other hand, as this paper demonstrates, the respondents – in their reflections on practice – demonstrate a critical distance to the same discourse. The interviews therefore opened up for critical analysis of Ghanaian heritage conservation practice.

The questions asked during the interviews were structured around particular themes relating to local procedures for conservation and planning, cultural and heritage meanings, views on internationally funded projects as well as recent local construction projects and management of existing cultural resources. Notes were transcribed after the interviews. Using the inductive approach, the original questions were grouped into eighteen categories in an excel spreadsheet where the answers were inserted. Frequent and exclusive accounts for each category could then be analysed, presented in this paper as practical and conceptual barriers for the sustainable continuation of urban redevelopment projects.

The use of discursive analysis

In the present paper, heritage is understood not as an objective fact but rather as a social and cultural construct that is likely to change over time, where the power to make the interpretation is a privileged one held within dominant social groups. Narratives, objects and practices help define and control what Smith (2006) has termed the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD). The AHD, defined and used by experts, controls fundamental questions about why material objects from the past should be considered valuable and extend this to what should be protected and to how that protection should take place.

Table II. Basic demographics of the respondents, 25 in total

Age				*Sex*	
30-40	40-50	50-60	60-70	Female	Male
6	7	10	2	5	20

Line of work when interviews were conducted				
Heritage Conservation	Spatial planning Town/region	Research/consultancy Planning/architecture	Central region Development projects	Local politics
5	7	8	4	1

Ghanaian investments in the tourism industry followed political structural adjustments policies with emphasis on private investment and trade liberalisation in the 1980s (Agyei-Mensah, 2006, p. 706). In this, a vast number of international, national, regional and local agencies came to perceive the development of built and natural heritage as a necessary means to increase economic income. Today, the close connection between heritage management and tourism development in Ghana is firmly recognised (see, e.g. Boswell and O'Kane, 2011; Koutra, 2007; Arthur and Mensah, 2006). Consequently, the use-value of heritage in relation to economic incentives of the tourism industry has become the force that works to develop the local AHD encompassing specific narratives, objects and practices, underpinning the ideological reference of conservation practices in Cape Coast. In this paper, the dominating tourism-focused perspective of the mainstream manifestations of heritage is referred to as the heritage/tourism discourse.

Understanding how the heritage/tourism discourse has come to be manifested in Cape Coast requires exploring planning initiatives conforming to this idea since the restoration of Cape Coast Castle in 1998. The first part of the analysis identifies the narratives, objects and practices shaping the hegemonic discourse. Since the AHD in this paper is understood in contrast to divergent ideas about heritage and heritage management, the second part of the analysis is based on interviews and explores the practical reasons for a gradual shift of interest in conservation issues 2000-2013. This is followed by conceptual discrepancies between the authorised form of heritage management and counter-hegemonic expressions and approaches.

Values in the built environment of Cape Coast. The dominating discourse and counter-hegemonic expressions

This section presents the basis for the heritage-tourism discourse and the way Cape Coast is referred to as a historic town of national and global significance. Fundamental to this discussion is the designation of the Ghanaian forts and castles as UNESCO World heritage sites based on criterion (VI):

> The Castles and Forts of Ghana shaped not only Ghana's history but that of the world over four centuries as the focus of first the gold trade and then the slave trade. They are a significant and emotive symbol of European-African encounters and of the starting point of the African Diaspora.

Cape Coast Castle, Fort Victoria, Fort William, Fort Royal (ruin) and Fort McCarthy (ruin), located in Cape Coast, are thus given national and global significance, encompassing a broad range of stakeholders. The GMMB has not produced specific key principles for intervention. Rather, the constituents for conservation practice are announced in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention, along with successive guiding documents produced by UNESCO and ICOMOS. The understanding of Cape Coast Castle as being of global significance is thus combined with an international, integrated approach to heritage management, not least evident in phase II of the Central Region Natural Resources Conservation and Historic Preservation 1998-2001.

Following the restoration of Cape Coast Castle, interest in conserving the built heritage continued but shifted focus to buildings within the historic core of Cape Coast (Haney, 2003). The interest was steered by international, regional and local experts who came to develop a form of "conservation enthusiasm" which spurred a number of activities and engaged a vast span of actors for a couple of years. The main objective was to strengthen the capacity of the newly established non-profit Ghana Heritage Conservation

Trust (GHCT) to conserve the region's natural and cultural resources. It also called for activities to sustain the preservation of the historic districts and structures within Cape Coast and Elmina, to promote outreach to communities and advocacy for growth through tourism, community relations and tour guide training (Dembowski *et al.*, 2001, p. 16).

US/ICOMOS sponsored, hosted and organised a design and planning workshop together with Ghanaian and international experts in the field of heritage conservation, and produced the *Conservation and Tourism Development Plan for Cape Coast* (US/ICOMOS, 2000). The motive was to assist the local governmental and traditional authorities to define a plan to control and maintain ownership of resources and the monetary and culturally benefits they generate. Final recommendations were based on information collected through inventories and activities, where community and opinion leaders expressed what was of importance to them and for the future of Cape Coast in terms of heritage and tourism development[4]. Finally, a small building grants programme was implemented, with first grants awarded to the Oguaa Traditional Council to help repair local religions Posuban shrines. The programme also financed a number of restorations of private historic houses within the newly defined historic district (Haney, 2003, p. 126).

In the *Conservation and Tourism Development Plan for Cape Coast* (US/ICOMOS, 2000), the political ambition to combine heritage conservation and tourism development is apparent:

> The importance of heritage conservation [needs to be acknowledged by the Cape Coast Community] and your engagement in making it a focal point for the development of tourism and of the region (Preamble).
>
> Conservation is finally tourism and tourism will represent a substantial contribution to community development in the future (p. 11).

In this, the plan refers to a broad range of "heritage assets" spanning from religious shrines to monumental public houses. The architectural heritage of Cape Coast is defined as:

> […] rich and diverse, ranging from the national monuments of Cape Coast and Elmina Castles and the forts that are World Heritage Properties, to substantial private houses, civic and religions buildings, extensive neighbourhoods of traditional vernacular housing and structures, such as Posuban shrines, that embody the cultural traditions of the citizens and public spaces, large and small that are treasured and well used (p. 57).

Existing cultural patterns of Cape Coast are mentioned as valuable as they are historic resources worthy of protection in and of themselves (p. 56). However, material heritage is predominant to that of lived space, which means that aesthetic, historical and architectural issues dominate the discourse on value. This can be understood in relation to the legal framework and the fact that architectural heritage along with pan-African-related places and events dominate what is protected by heritage authorities. The major policy instrument used is listing, and the Ghanaian legal framework supports the protection of antiquities and/or objects of archaeological interest, definitions adopted and incorporated into national law in the late 1960's. The law places emphasis on indigenous origin, age (before 1900), and/or historical, artistic or scientific interest and/or related to traditional customs (NLCD 387).

An important activity during the regeneration project was the rehabilitation of the former Government House, which subsequently became the focal point of visitor services in Cape Coast (Haney, 2003, p. 120). At the time of opening and as a symbol of

the successful restoration and adaptive reuse, the building was commissioned Heritage House (p. 119). Combining "heritage" and "house" in reference to a public, restored building in a Ghanaian context is conceptually logic, drawing on the restoration of Cape Coast Castle. Contemporary cultural heritage management in Ghana has been successful in maintaining and revitalising material heritage backed by legislation and international principles of conservation. The commissioning of Heritage House further suggests a form of key principle of intervention in an urban planning context, framed by the notion of authenticity:

> Authenticity is paramount in conservation efforts and the authentic representation of Cape Coast's history should be everyone's goal (US/ICOMOS, 2000, p. 56).

In turn, authenticity is, according to the US/ICOMOS plan, related to scientific methods of identification, recordation, analysis and protection of historic and cultural resources, in order for a building to be restored to its original state. Cape Coast Castle served as a model of effective intervention to restore an underused public building to its former pre-eminence in the town, along with buildings like St. Marys Lodge on Royal Lane and Heritage House (pp. 56-57). Absence of monitoring and control of building activities by the Cape Coast Municipal Assembly was claimed to be one of the major concerns threatening the historic core of Cape Coast (p. 59).

Drawing on the "conservation enthusiasm" at the time, the Cape Coast Municipal Assembly produced the Cape Coast Historic Preservation Bye-Law (MACC, 2000). It designated the Cape Coast historic district and addressed the issuance of Certificates of Approval for any material changes in the appearance of historic properties. Through heritage management, the purpose of the bye-law was to ensure that Cape Coast was to become not only a tourist centre, but also a destination for Africans of the diaspora who want to know more about their roots (pp. 1-2). The introduction states:

> A growing number of visitors come from far and near for the purpose of enjoying the aesthetic, educational, cultural and historical features of the city. By visiting Cape Coast, Africans of the Diaspora may come back to their roots, identify themselves with their kinsfolk, and experience first-hand the culture of their ancestors.

The bye-law states the built environment also serves other economic benefits besides the economic incentive of tourism development. Conservation of built heritage means to: stabilise and improve property values; protect and enhance the city's attractions to residents, tourists and visitors; serve as a support and stimulus to business and industry and as major source of revenues; and to strengthen the economy of the city (p. 2).

In line with the US/ICOMOS plan, the bye-law emphasises aesthetic, historical, cultural and architectural value and significance as important sets of values to preserve. In regards to authenticity and responsibility, it states:

> Areas and places of historical significance are being seriously endangered by repairs and construction of inferior quality and appearance, and by alternations that are incompatible with their preservation and enjoyment (p. 1).

In sum, the activities, programmes and documents established around the turn of the millennia formed part of a financially and discursively comprehensive and influential programme in terms of why, what and how heritage should be managed. They are connected to the idea of heritage management as an active agent of change, legitimatising the dominating heritage/tourism discourse. The outreach programmes not only succeeded in protecting what at the time was pointed out to be valuable

aspects in the historic environment. They also managed to form coalitions of local. They were also successful in forming coalitions of local actors within the community by communicating ideas of conservation. The heritage/tourism formed in the 1980s and strengthened, strengthened by the activities and documents presented above has had a major influence on the 2010 Medium-Term Plan for Cape Coast (MPU, 2010), which replicate the vocabulary of the 2000 US/ICOMOS plan. When adressing the historic values of Cape Coast, three out of seven approaches to sustainable development of Cape Coast target tourism development as an approach to sustain historic places. These include improving old tourism/historical sites as well as identifying new ones and develop them to international standard, and developing Fosu Lagoon into a first class tourist site and entertainment centre[5].

Practical barriers and the decline of the conservation enthusiasm

The majority of respondents in this present study indicate that the activities by the turn of the millennia were generally appreciated because of the renovations that took place. A number of them particularly mentioned Heritage House as a good example. A few chosen families also received home owner grants in the form of building material to renovate their family houses, which are now in better shape.

Positive results of the activities are also the economic revenues springing from tourists visiting Kakum Nature Reserve, which is the responsibility of GHCT. In addition, a positive outcome was the enthusiasm, sense of empowerment and awareness of values in the built environment felt by participants at the time. As a contrast to the general sense of disappointment in the lack of governmental development initiatives, a few respondents stated that internationally funded and consultancy-driven conservation projects "are better than nothing".

Nevertheless, the majority of the respondents claim this kind of projects focus on activities on a short-term basis. Comments like "It's academic work only", "Every project has a person that inspires actions, but the enthusiasm dies when that person leaves" underscore that the ambitions end shortly after the funding runs out. Four thematic explanations were given to the lack of long-term local commitment to heritage conservation as opposed to what was anticipated in the early 2000s.

First, the most commonly stated reason is the lack of national/regional long-term economic funding. In addition, private economy plays a part. Although renovations were successfully completed with the use of a small grants programme during the generation project, a number of those private houses are after only a decade in need of additional repairs. However, due to complexities of property ownership according to a matrilineal inheritance, renovations and initiating family business plans are challenging. The rightful owners of the house can be multiple, and so decisions on renovations or other economic issues must be dealt with collectively with limited financial means, which often proves unsuccessful.

Second, respondents identify political reasons, as there are hesitations to make political decisions in times of elections, for fear of making the wrong financial decisions. This is connected to issues spanning from political decision making being closely tied to various family fractions down to individual politicians and chiefs feeling "apprehensive of new ideas".

Third, the decreasing enthusiasm is also due to institutional aspects. Respondents argue that corruption on most societal levels is the foremost reason to the stagnation of these types of comprehensive investments. Other reasons are ad hoc meetings, lack of programmes and insufficient follow-ups. The respondents claim there is an absence of

long-term management plans as well as lack of long-standing systems with clear regulatory schemes of responsibilities. In turn, this is related to human resource and capacity building. When asked about the implementation of the Cape Coast Preservation Bye-law, it proved never to have been used in urban planning decisions. The discrepancy between ambitious initiatives and implementation is illustrated by the following quotation:

> Even if we set up a board to make sure these projects continue, meetings are not held. The bye-law might be gazetted, but then assigning responsibilities is forgotten, due to the fact that the people tasked to do it are not interested, and they don't have the knowledge. And politicians don't have the knowledge either.

The majority of the respondents are of the opinion that communication and cooperation needs to improve, lack of open archives and access to information must be addressed, decisions needs to be affirmed by the directly responsible body of government, and operating too sectorally only leads to unsustainable and short-term decisions.

Fourth, respondents said there is a clear expert desire to sustain traditional knowledge of handicraft, building techniques, the keeping of family houses and revitalising traditional African architecture. However, new constructions and renovations are undertaken with easily accessed imported materials associated with contemporary western architecture. Thus, the residents of Cape Coast does not generally adhere to notions of heritage management as a means for development, but rather as an obstacle in relation to their demands on improving the physical environment.

On the one hand, the respondent's opinions and the current Fosu Lagoon redevelopment project along with the 2010 Medium-Term Plan for Cape Coast, indicate that the heritage/tourism discourse has been influential in the formulation of planning documents the last decade. On the other hand as the practical barriers indicated above, conservation of historic "assets" as part of a comprehensive development model is yet to be adapted to pragmatic actualities. Furthermore, while Fosu Lagoon, the forts and castles and other objects, districts and activities work in harmony with the heritage/tourism discourse, other features or districts are less adaptable. The current redevelopment of Kotokuraba market in the city centre of Cape Coast, indicates a complete amendment of the "conservation enthusiasm". Partly financed by the Chinese government, a new area has been cleared for a new indoor market to be built adjacent to the present location (*Central Press Newspaper*, 2012). The present market has been appointed a site of interest for tourism routes and significant for the social and cultural heritage of the town (US/ICOMOS, p. 38). However, respondents claim recent local environmental impact analysis and community meetings have resulted in no local authority stakeholder claiming it to be of value in its present location, neither due to its traditional set up, its historical significance nor as a tourist attraction.

Conceptual barrier I: A global appropriation of the local built environment. Respondents who had experience working with regeneration activities emphasised the need to address the built environment as potentially historically significant in planning situations. Colonial as well as contemporary monuments were said to be of importance for a contextual understanding of the history of Cape Coast, although older structures were considered to be of priority for conservation.

Respondents who participated in the US/ICOMOS activities affirm the most important historical monuments in Cape Coast cannot be looked at in isolation, but need to be managed in relation to overarching socio-political factors and systems. However, the idea of cultural heritage being linked to the built environment varied, particularly regarding

the spatial extent of what is of value. While almost everyone mentioned "historic monuments", none asserted "the historic district" as communal cultural heritage, which is the vocabulary used in the US/ICOMOS plan and the bye-law.

The majority of respondents confirmed the heritage/tourism discourse to be dominant in Cape Coast. Places associated with people in diaspora are considered of value and sites like Cape Coast Castle and the Forts, Fetish Shrines, Kakum National Reserve and Assin Manso (Slave creek) are places frequently mentioned as important heritage sites. However, dissonance can be detected in the following statement:

> The fort Victoria for example is not the heritage of Cape Coasters. It is the heritage of the British. In my view, it is not of much value in its present state and I think it ought to be put into better use.

Other respondents claimed the diaspora and other international tourists seem to be much more aware of historical places such as the forts, "London Bridge", the Kotokuraba market and the Fosu Lagoon than people living and working there. This indicates the complex notion of built cultural heritage having been appropriated by a global realm rather than by the local inhabitants. As with the slave forts, the built environment with its tourism attractions becomes an issue of ownership and power relations with possible consequences to planning authorities.

Conceptual barrier II: The development of family-bound heritage into business. While the monuments are considered to be of global significance, respondents argue that local values are directed towards that of family name, religious events and long-time acclaimed places. When asked what the public notion of cultural heritage might be, the strong majority of respondents consider it to be family oriented, where ancestral links and an appreciation of the way forefathers lived including traditions and festivals are of uppermost importance. Several respondents gave comments like "Cultural heritage tells us where we come from" and "It doesn't have to be a family house, but a place of some sort". Cultural heritage is thus closely associated with notions of identity and place, where the material should be housing immaterial aspects. As one respondent stated "People feel proud to be associated with history, and most people here in Cape Coast are related to prominent people. The family name lives on, and families must restore the buildings to maintain or enhance the family status". This is also further pointed out by other respondents claiming that "Heritage normally is anything that has some historical significance; people remind themselves of something, it's something emotional. Certain buildings that have some stories behind them can be heritage; in order to preserve that story you need to preserve the building".

The lack of emphasis on fabric-based authenticity and architectural significance is noticeable, as are other conceptual dissonances in relation to the heritage/tourism discourse. Respondents at GMMB and GHCT affirm there is a lack of public motivation for additional reparations or long-term commitment to economic strategies in cooperation with national and/or non-profit organisations. Family houses are traditionally open for the extended family to visit on travels, funerals and traditional events. In contrast, the dominating heritage/tourism discourse is based on a notion of "shared heritage", incorporating additional stakeholders. US/ICOMOS (2000) propose the history of family houses and their associations with important personalities in Ghanaian history need to be published and interpreted for visitors and that research into the architectural history of the older buildings should be pursued systematically (p. 59). In addition, GHCT promote public-private sector initiatives in order to continue the small grants

programme to renovate family houses, in which private business plans are proposed based on renting out rooms to travellers.

As can be noted from these accounts, the constructed space created by the dominating heritage/tourism discourse poses some social and spatial concerns. To improve the physical condition of the historic town, and for the sake of the local socio-economic strategy and modern tourism industry, the conceptual logic is that private heritage in some way transforms into public heritage. However, a general local perception of "sightseeing" is that it is intrusive, and the uneasiness to give public access to certain religious/historic symbols of a family house needs to be understood and respected if strategies for conservation are to be sustainable.

Discussion

Despite the positive dimensions of outreach programmes, urban redevelopment projects backed by international aid organisations have been criticised as they are rarely integrated into overarching local systems of heritage management in Ghana (Kankpeyeng and DeCorse, 2004). The results in this paper indicate this to be the case in Cape Coast as well. International organisations initiated standards that sustain an authorised discourse on heritage being associated with "assets" of the historic town entwined with the tourism industry. This dominating discourse, grounded in the economic capitalist system, causes both practical and conceptual complications that challenge the long-term commitment amongst local planning authorities. This in turn provokes questions about whose interests are captured and who benefits from the process of heritage conservation and planning.

Are we to view the dominating heritage/tourism discourse to have created new space for a western approach to heritage management while existing local systems of governance and alternative views of the necessity for conservation, are marginalised? Maybe so. Tourism is becoming an important source of foreign capital, and there might be many benefits coming with institutionalised heritage planning. Nonetheless, the case study showed that recent development projects in Cape Coast generate mixed feelings amongst local planning authorities. Respondents associated management of cultural heritage to family heads, the traditional authorities and fetish priests, where Centre for National Culture and the Traditional Councils are the main institutionalised bodies. Respondents were generally not as certain as to who were officially responsible for the management of the built environment in relation to tourism in general, unless it had to do with national monuments or World Heritage Sites where the Ghana Tourist Board and GMMB are the main national bodies. This makes evident the fact that postcolonial Ghana is at the beginning of tourism as a mass phenomenon, an industry with a particular strategy not only to commodify heritage but inevitably the spaces in which people live.

International agencies like US/ICOMOS are aware of the necessity to incorporate Houses of Chiefs in the planning, location and management of international projects, and representatives took active part in conservation planning more than a decade ago. Despite this fact, one representative now expressed a sense of disappointment about constrains within the local planning system to adhere to such projects. However, the disappointment is grounded in a willingness to live up to expectations that are perhaps unrealistic. It might be the discourse on how to manage the built environment that needs to be altered and negotiated, not the other way around. Altering the discourse requires a rescaling of the notions of heritage to other levels than the national/global.

In Ghana, the chieftaincy institutions serve as important cultural heritage *per se* as important sources of social stability and community development. Parallel with state-based planning they perform local practices and act as an independent form of organisation with its own methods and approaches. Respondents at Town and Country Planning, the GMMB and Environmental Protection Agency consider traditional leaders as natural partners in planning negotiations due to issues of land ownership. But also because Ghanaian heritage is considered part of everyday existence, which traditional authorities are responsible for in dialogue with state-based planning authorities. The tourism aspect of heritage aside, traditional systems of heritage management are regularly addressed. But as with family houses, conservation according to the heritage/tourism discourse can be regarded as a barrier, particularly when the object is considered business rather than as cultural practice and lived space. Existing forms of organisations in Ghana might better leave certain aspects of the built environment out of comprehensive development planning and the constructed space based on the historic town as an asset. This might in fact better address heritage as lived space in planning context, if that is what is desired. Moreover, this would better address alternative perspectives of authenticity where cultural lineage exceeds fabric-based perceptions.

A sustainable conservation strategy better adjusted to heritage as lived space would also require a broadening of the scope of the built environment not to conform into the heritage/tourism discourse, but to include environmental and private economic perspectives as well. During the major restoration projects in the 1990s, craftworks and training of traditional craftsmanship was initiated, but currently the skilled workers mainly perform restorations on the structures held in care by GMMB. Today, respondents at Town and Country Planning claim maintenance of buildings in general would be easier to address on a daily basis if emphasis shifted from heritage/tourism to perspectives on ecology and sustainable local economy. A sustainable conservation strategy where private houses are well-kept for the sake of family names can benefit from traditional knowledge as it is used to construct financially viable houses providing good indoor climate using inexpensive, local materials.

The recent international shift in emphasis towards a broader understanding of local values as well as alternative definitions of authenticity in management plans needs to recognise local institutional and economic realities. The African contribution to the UNESCO Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscape (HUL), the Zanzibar Recommendation (UNESCO, 2009), acknowledges a series of challenges, opportunities and tools corresponding to the barriers identified by respondents in this paper; the need for good practices, capacity building, training, research and communication regarding issues pertaining to urban landscape in an African context. It also recognises that urban conservation is not limited to building preservation but a component of environmental policies, and focuses amongst others on ecologically sound restoration, as well as participatory urban planning and management. Previous outreach programmes in Cape Coast were indeed community based when management programmes were formulated. However, a sustainable conservation management plan needs to be continually revised and improved upon as planning is continuous in a dynamic area such as Cape Coast. Emphasising particularly African contexts, the approach such as the Zanzibar Recommendation can possibly serve as alternative to existing practices of conservation. Taking into account the practical and conceptual barriers of the current dominating heritage/tourism discourse, it can potentially serve as a springboard for future heritage planning amongst Cape Coast local authorities.

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Notes

1. Central Regional Coordinating Council, the Central Regional Development Commission (CEDECOM), Game and Wildlife Division (now Wildlife Division of the Forestry Commission), the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board and the Ghana Tourist Board.
2. The Consortium consisted of Conservation International, the US Chapter of the International Committee on Monuments and Sites (US/ICOMOS), the University of Minnesota Tourism Centre, the Smithsonian Institution and the Debt for Development Foundation.
3. Initial studies in 2012 involved informal meetings with planning authorities at GMMB and Town and Country Planning, Cape Coast.
4. The collective came to define the historic district and other non-contiguous sites to be included in the plan, made suggestion about protective legislation, waterfront development, green space and public park development, definition of parking areas, particularly tour bus parking, alighting and boarding areas, development of artisan markets, made a wish list of priority tourist services in the town and a wish list of priority restoration projects in the town (US/ICOMOS, 2000).
5. The Fosu Lagoon project is a strategy apt in the heritage/tourism discourse. Interest in revitalising Fosu Lagoon, located in the western part of Cape Coast, was initiated in the 1990s. The World Bank, International Development Association, Global Environment Facility and Bundesstadt Bonn are supporting the Government of Ghana and Cape Coast Metropolitan Assembly to develop the lagoon and its environment.

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Article III

Susanne Fredholm, Ingegärd Eliasson, Igor Knez, "Conservation of historical landscapes: what signifies "successful" management?", *Landscape Research*, Accepted, 2017.

III

Conservation of historical landscapes: what signifies "successful" management?

Susanne Fredholm, Ingegärd Eliasson, Igor Knez

Abstract

This paper focuses on the management of an industrial heritage site in Sweden, which local stakeholders and heritage planners have claimed to be successful. This status of excellence is investigated in relation to the general, county-wide applied heritage planning. The results show that key factors for successful management of the industrial heritage site are not related only to conservation work, but also to personal engagement, sense of responsibility, and well-being among participants. However, heritage planners generally lack methods to address immaterial values and socio-economic benefits of engaging in heritage activities, resulting in a separation between physical and communal aspects of heritage planning. The results highlight the issue of professional legitimacy and the challenges for heritage planners to address regional policy objectives, such as finding ways to utilize historic landscapes in destination-driven strategies and to simultaneously support civil engagement in heritage related issues.

Keywords: *Historical landscapes; Bottom-up engagement; Conservation*

Introduction

This study focuses on the management of an industrial heritage site in Sweden, which local stakeholders and heritage planners have claimed to be successful. In order to investigate this status of excellence in relation to applied heritage planning of the county in general, we examined how various stakeholders define values of the historical landscape, motives for their engagement, and the outcome of present work processes. Based on our findings, we discuss how various stakeholders´ agendas influence the current site values and the emergent methodological challenges for heritage professionals when managing historical landscapes. The following sections introduce previous research relevant for our study.

Values of historical landscapes

In heritage planning, cultural historical values such as age, monumentality, and aesthetics have traditionally been emphasized, and form part of what Smith (2006) has termed an authorized heritage discourse (AHD). The AHD is institutionalized in the state cultural agencies and places importance on the role of professional experts, who are appointed to protect heritage values in the built environment. In

recent years, however, there has been a broadening of the scope of cultural heritage from outstanding to representative historical places (Council of Europe, 2000), from tangible to intangible conceptualizations of heritage (UNESCO, 2003), and from universal values to cultural diversity (UNESCO, 2005). Moreover, the economic and social use values of cultural heritage, which includes historical landscapes, have received particular attention even beyond the heritage sector (Kalman, 2014).

The economic contributions of cultural heritage are evidenced in the attraction of investment and creation of jobs, and associated with city center revitalization and accompanying market-oriented opportunities for tourism (Throsby, 2010). Conservation of cultural heritage assets is considered economic investments when places are provided a unique identity, as they aspire to compete in regional and global arenas for attracting tourists, investors, companies, or new residents (Ashworth & Kavaratzis, 2010).

The social contributions of culture in general are suggested to relate to well-being, expression, resilience, and identity (UNESCO, 2012). The social contributions of cultural heritage in particular include development of local communities through civic governance, social inclusiveness, rootedness, and quality of life (Tweed & Sutherland, 2007; Council of Europe, 2000; Low, 2004). According to Clark (2006), heritage projects can help people learn new skills and improve their social networks, and can also bring different generations together. They can also spur creativity, critical knowledge, a sense of place, empathy, trust, respect, and recognition (Axelsson et al., 2013).

According to Braaksma et al. (2015), people engaged in landscape-related activities ascribe different values to historical landscapes which results in different modes of meaning making. In the spatial threat mode, the usefulness of historical landscape artefacts is often used as an argument to raise support for a specific land use and design. In the aesthetic mode, the beauty of the landscape and historical landscape artefacts is considered to be worth preserving (Braaksma et al., 2015 p. 74). The same type of historical landscape artefacts are essential components of the cultural-spatial aspects explained by Stobbelaar and Pedroli (2011). These aspects are manifested through characteristic distinguishable features perceived by everyone and considered typical of the area. These are the predominant aspects taken into consideration in the planning of historical landscapes, characteristic of the AHD.

However, there are other forms of engagement and landscape identities that are less prominent in planning. In the socially belonging mode people focus on connecting with and contributing to society (Braaksma et al., 2015 p. 74). This is similar to the cultural-existential landscape identity associated with the formation of a group identity, achieved through communal activities (Stobbelaar & Pedroli, 2011, p. 328). Similarly, Daniel et al. (2012) notes that landscape features are often associated with the identity of an individual, a community, or a society and provide settings for communal interactions important to cultural ties. Eliasson et al. (2015) show that people develop emotional and cognitive bonds to their favorite sites in the landscape in which they reside, meaning that these locations are part of their personal and collective memory and their life story (Knez, 2014).

The European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe, 2000) highlights the need to better take into account personal and communal identity aspects in planning in equal measures as those posed by spatial threats or aesthetic considerations. Recent research also emphasizes the fact that people place high importance on landscapes and that the cultural benefits of ecosystem services and of landscape-identifications may enhance well-being (MA, 2005), which needs to be better understood and fed back into policy (Tengberg et al., 2012).

Integrated planning of historical landscapes

The notion of heritage is constantly changing and re-evaluated with time, and interpreted in different – and sometimes conflicting – ways by various stakeholders (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Harvey, 2001). Consequently, conservation decision making is expected, in theory, to more effectively integrate non-expert values and experiences. Decisions should be based on a consultative process with new communication techniques and new forms of partnerships (Nanda et al., 2001; De la Torre, 2002; Parkinson et al., 2016). Ashworth (2011) notes, however, that in practice, current approaches to heritage work in parallel trajectories with more traditional ideas of preservation and conservation. While a heritage approach poses questions about negative or positive impact and the costs and benefits of financing the task of maintaining elements of a past into the present, this is not the focus of preservation and conservation. The gap between these perspectives may have consequences in historical landscape planning, if not understood and approached appropriately (Ashworth, 2011, p. 16).

In order to integrate and manage the multitude of actors and perspectives, and to appropriately evaluate the significance of the past in the present, it is arguably necessary to identify and understand the discourses and interactions that govern transformation processes of historical landscapes. Focusing on management of industrial heritage sites, Oevermann and Mieg (2014) argue that the balance between protection and change depends on the priority assigned to different values of three discourses: heritage conservation, urban development, and architectural production. They say that the guiding values of heritage conservation are usually authenticity and integrity, while the guiding values of urban development are development and economic revenue and the guiding values of architectural production include design and aesthetics. To find common ground between them, the authors claim that an assimilation of discourses is necessary, along with a shift in guiding values, such as

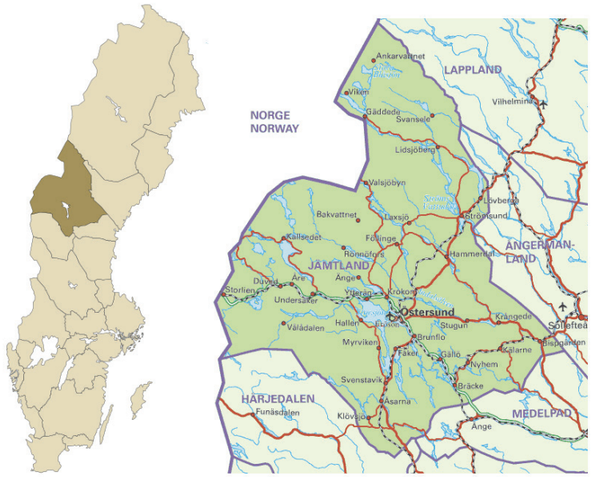

Figure 1: Sweden, and the County of Jämtland. Fröå is located 11 km northwest of Åre.

bottom-up processes, sensitivity, re-use, and accessibility (Oevermann and Mieg, 2014 p. 24).

Baillie (2007) notes than an over-emphasis on preserving aesthetic and historic values of tangible heritage alone is not tenable in a 'living heritage site', as it comes in conflict with other important associations of the local community. Rypkema (2007) similarly notes, that the strengthening and direct development of communities, taking advantage of existing structures and their functionality, is still to a large extent secondary to attracting investments, tourists, and residents through the marketing of heritage assets in rather traditional terms. The expert-led planning structures, which form the AHD, remain prone to marginalizing value-centered approaches that would benefit wider democratic concerns and stimulate the individual and collective well-being of the local community (Olsson, 2008; Fredholm, 2015).

It is clear from the review of literature that a major challenge is to integrate contemporary theories and value-centred methodologies into existent decision-making processes. In the following we will illustrate and discuss this challenge by examining perceived values, motives for engagement and work processes by people engaged in site-specific and countywide heritage planning and management.

Case Study and Methods

Case study area

The study was carried out in Jämtland County, located in the mid-western part of Sweden (Figure 1). The county is to the surface the third largest county in Sweden but the population is only 127,000 of which a third live in the city of Östersund.

Figure 2: Fröå Mine, around 1880. Unknown photographer/Jamtli photographic collection.

The village of Åre, located in the mountainous western part of the county, hosts only 2,000 year-round residents. Yet being one of Scandinavia's leading ski resorts, resulting from the dominating political ambition to attract tourism-related businesses (Brouder, 2014), Åre municipality attracts one million guest nights per year (Jämtland Härjedalen Turism, 2015).

The management of Fröå industrial heritage site, situated on the east slope of Åre Mountain, 11 km from Åre village, was pointed out in several interviews with public official respondents as successful in terms of cooperation between volunteers and authorities, and as a site for both nature and heritage conservation.

Fröå copper mine was an active industrial site 1744–1919 and hosted 600 people at its peak of production. The miners lived in cottages owned by the mining company and each household cultivated 3-4 acres of land and kept cows and goats (Hedros, 2014).

Since 1984, the 100 hectare property is owned by the Municipality of Åre and managed by Fröå Mine Restoration Society, which coordinates and undertakes restoration and reconstruction work at the site. The Society has over 100 supporting members, most of who have family roots in the area but do not live nearby. The presence of volunteers fluctuates over the year, but about 20 people are active during the busy summer season.

The proximity to Åre village has turned Fröå into a tourist attraction. People come to explore the small history museum, take part in guided walks and midsummer celebrations, and enjoy the spectacular surroundings while visiting restaurant Bergstugan, leased by the restoration society since 2007.

Figure 3. Summer guests at Fröå. Photo: Åre Destination

The future management of Fröå is currently being discussed as the members of the restoration society are aging and memberships are decreasing. At present, the County Administrative Board are examining the possibility to endorse further protective regulation for the area in order to ensure sustainable future management. One option is for the County Administrative Board to decide whether the area should be classified as a cultural reserve and then be protected as such in accordance with the Swedish Environmental Code. If the County Administrative Board issues such a decision, they or the municipality will act as administrators and be responsible for the maintenance of the site.

Managing historical landscapes: the Swedish planning system

In this paper, heritage planning is defined as the application of heritage conservation in the context of planning (Kalman, 2014). The Swedish National Heritage Board, under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture, serves as Sweden's central administrative agency in the area of cultural heritage and the built historical environment. Assignments include ensuring that the cultural value of buildings and landscapes is preserved, utilized, and developed, and watching over the interests of the cultural heritage and cultural environment in community planning and construction.

The County Administrative Board represents the government regionally, coordinating state activities in the county. Responsibilities include the heritage listing process and administration of grants and subsidies for conservation of buildings, and granting of permission to change listed buildings, churches, and cemeteries. They furthermore advise on and review municipal planning as well as support documentation for community planning, based mainly on the Historic Environment Act and the Environmental Code.

Applied heritage planning is undertaken by the 290 Swedish municipalities in accordance with a municipal planning monopoly governed by the Planning and Building Act. The two main planning instruments are the comprehensive plan, which is compulsory but not legally binding, and the detailed development plan, which implements the intentions of the comprehensive plan and is legally binding. Both are adopted by the municipal councils following a process of public consultation.

The civil society plays an important role in public consultation and elsewhere. In this analysis, we focus on a group that promote a shared interest, such as preservation of their local history.

Policy and website review

Six recently published policy documents were chosen for analysis, produced by Åre municipality, the County Administrative Board (CAB) and the Regional Council of Jämtland. The political ambitions in terms of the relevance of historical landscapes for society could then be outlined, to which public officials engaged in historical landscape and heritage planning are accountable.

In addition, we conducted a minor review of how Fröå Mine is presented on the websites of five actors: Åre Destination, Visit Åre, Jämtland Härjedalen Tourism, Fröå Restoration Society, and Bergstugan Restaurant[1].

Interviews

Public official respondents with a formal assignment directly related to historical landscape management and heritage planning were identified through semi-formal meetings with expert groups in six municipalities and at the County Administrative Board. Prior to the face-to-face interviews, each of which lasted 1.5 hours on average, the public official respondents were asked to select a plan or project that exemplified specific projects in which aspects of heritage had been or should have been involved. The interviews centered on these plans or projects in order to concretize daily decision making and general tendencies in heritage planning (Eliasson et al., 2015). The main questions asked are listed in Table 1.

The site-specific respondents were identified in consultation with public official respondents and then contacted using the information found on the Fröå mine restoration society´s website. In order to get more elaborate and detailed answers including

1 Åre Destination http://www.are360.com/en/Actors/Sevardheter/Froa-Gruva/
Visit Åre http://www2.visitare.com/sv/se-gora/a395345/froa_gruva_395345/detaljer
Jämtland Härjedalen Turism http://jamtland.se/index.php/en/component/zoo/item/30447
Fröå Restoration Society http://www.froagruva.se/
Bergstugan Restaurant http://www.bergstuganfroa.se/

Table 1. Interview instrument.

Pre-defined Themes	Interview questions		
	All respondents Total: 29	**Public official respondents Total: 21**	**Site-specific respondents Total: 8**
Historic Landscape Features and Values	- What aspects of historical landscapes are regularly addressed in your work?	- What aspects do you feel are often left aside in your daily work?	- What are the main characteristics of the site? • What do you personally value about the site?
Motives for Engagement	- What are the main motives for safeguarding valued aspects of landscapes or landscape-related activities?		- Why did you start engaging, and continue to engage, in the site?
Working Process	- What general work methods are applied? - What partners do you collaborate with, and what are the benefits thereof? - How would you define "successful" landscape planning procedures?	- What other societal interests affect your work/engagement in the planning/managing of landscapes? - What methodological improvements are necessary in order to advance daily practices?	- What are your concerns regarding the future management of Fröå? - If the Fröå site becomes a cultural reserve, what is your opinion about it and why?

concrete examples the interview questions (Table 1) were sent out to the site-specific respondents two weeks prior to the interview. Four interviews were conducted face-to-face, and four by phone.

All respondents were first asked to specify their educational and professional background as well as their current work assignments or volunteer contributions. The site-specific respondents were asked to answer the interview questions (Table 1) in relation to the management of Fröå industrial heritage site specifically, whereas the public official respondents were asked to answer at a more general level.

Results

We report the results in three sections titled The Historical Landscape: Characteristics and Values, Motives for Engagement, and Work processes – present and future principles.

The historical landscape: characteristics and values

Fröå copper mine fell into decay in the mid-1900s and the last resident left in 1971. In 1983, school teacher Britta Hedros (1919–2009) began documenting the run-down buildings and formed the Fröå Mine Restoration Society. Voluntary work and a wide range of financial contributions, in total 40 million SEK, have made it possible to reconstruct a 190 meter long flat rod system, a waterwheel, and a water

Figure 4. Reconstructed flat rod system and pivot originally built in 1859.

channel. The restoration society has focused on giving new life to the historical landscape, retaining traditional pastures and restoring and reconstructing buildings and technology.

Motivated by a historical interest and the potential of the site, Hedros fostered a desire for conservation not only among volunteers but also among the general public, experts, and policymakers. Because of the material remains of the copper mining industry 1744–1881 and 1912–1919, the mine was appointed an Area of National Interest for Conservation of the Built Environment in 1987. Since then, the County Administrative Board is responsible for protecting historical structures because of their listed authentic testimony of the past.

Apart from the emphasis on the historical significance and conservation of material fabric, the continuous development of the facilities at Fröå has added content to its function. Site-specific respondents argue that Fröå is part of a system of places integrated into a full-scale recreational landscape, as it is located along popular ski tracks and hiking trails. According to some site-specific respondents, the historical aspects of the site are secondary. Instead, they perceive the site as a recreation and business area suitable for financially viable activities.

In 2013, the County Administrative Board commissioned the regional museum to write a report on cultural heritage values of the site, which would support decisions on the future management of the industrial heritage site (Jamtli, 2013). The museum's report states that the unique combination of mining and agriculture has had a great influence on the landscape, yielding high cultural heritage values and a history worth safeguarding. It concludes that an appropriate management option would be

to designate it a cultural reserve and additional protective measures would serve to educate about historical land-use and about the social organization that historically upheld its function (Jamtli, 2013 p. 40). The museum report harmonizes with the results of interviews with public officials, which show that almost all respondents claim that there is a focus on hard values in planning issues, such as the safeguarding of historical buildings and churches in line with protective legislation. Immaterial values and the social benefits of civil engagement in heritage related activities are only occasionally addressed in their daily work.

Motives for engagement

For some of the site-specific respondents, more precisely those engaged in restoration, the main significance of the site lies in the educational value of its historical features. According to one respondent, "It is impossible to grasp and tell the whole story, but Fröå has so much of historical interest that it is important to let visitors know about it." The motive is to restore buildings and technology as representations of past achievements, to maintain the existing character of the historical landscape, and to educate people about it.

Analyzed more in depth, the motive for their engagement in restoration is rooted in a sense of obligation and some of them argue that it is their duty to get involved since they have expertise that could be useful: "I participated from the start because I felt it was needed." They also express motives related to individual and collective well-being and place identity: "I liked being part of the group and knew many who attended in the initial stages; it quickly became a form of community." An additional motive expressed in interviews is the lack of institutional commitment: "If we don't do it, who will?" Respondents also express responsibility to the people who lived there in the past, for whom "we have a historical responsibility." When young, one respondent met the last residents of Fröå, and the others visited the place once or a few times as children and currently live fairly close by. One respondent became a member for other reasons, but still adopted the sense of collective responsibility: "I'm not really interested in the place itself. I had to become interested, otherwise I could not spend time with my partner, who is very much involved."

Besides the social motives for engagement, the restoration society has operated alongside tourism development of the area ever since the start driven by educational motives. In 1974, the regional museum conducted a study confirming that Fröå was a popular destination for daytrips (Jamtli, 2013). Today, all site-specific respondents generally agree that this historical landscape continues to be a visitor's attraction. Businesses increasingly want to link their activities to the site, and respondents argue: "It is a plus for Åre municipality, which (…) so to speak (…) through our efforts has `gained´ a tourist attraction apart from the ski slopes." In turn, tourism organizations have increasingly cooperated with the restoration society, assisting with signage and various activities, in order to provide guests with the best possible experience.

The motives expressed by the restoration society and the cooperation between them and tourism organizations align with regional policy objectives. Embedded in the process of planning for business locations and visitor´s attractions, the political aim is to integrate culture, creativity, and heritage as factors for attractiveness, for social cohesion and a competitive regional identity as well as social and economic growth (CAB, 2008, 2014; Åre Municipality, 2014; Regional Council 2014a, 2014b).

At present, members of the restoration society provide visitors with guided tours in the former mining area. A number of people have worked on voluntary basis for more than 20 years, shaping the visitor´s experience according to their own personal knowledge and interest. Guided tours include information not only about past activities and historical structures at the site, but also more personal accounts of current daily activities as well as accounts on more recent restoration work. The same type of information is also provided on the restoration society´s website.

The County Administrative Board have emphasized the need to make the Areas of National Interest for Conservation of the Built Environment more known to the public and to highlight the people who make good efforts in managing these historical landscapes (CAB, 2013, p.11). Nonetheless, the websites of tourism organizations in Åre and the Bergstugan restaurant present the Fröå mine in a more formal manner, with no information about recent restoration work or the people behind the management. According to our interviews, the industrial heritage site is an attraction in the comprehensive visitor´s experience of Åre, and forms an important part of the Åre brand as a year-round destination. The site is an important piece of the puzzle, and from a destination-management perspective, the significance of the site lies in its contrast to sports-oriented places and activities. The interviews indicate, however, frustration among tourism operators as they recognize a lack of promotional reliability as volunteers are hard to reach and visitors cannot always know what to expect at site as there are few recurring routines. In line with regional strategies (CAB, 2008, p. 26), our results show that the tourism operators expect a functioning visitor´s reception apparatus according to a standardized package with good signage, accessibility and certified guides as a quality assurance.

Results from interviews with the public official respondents show that at the comprehensive planning level, the main motive is to find ways to make the hard values of historical landscapes economically and socially relevant in order for politicians to acknowledge their benefits for society. A majority of the public official respondents argue that it is important for them to be pro-development, in the sense that historical landscapes are to be considered resources for development. They perceive such development, however, to be targeting mainly external interests. Most public official

respondents accordingly feel they need to compromise what they identify to be of value in historical landscapes, and experience a lack of control particularly in relation to destination-driven politics. Correspondingly, public policy identifies it as an important methodological challenge to bridge conflicts of interest, particularly between the safeguarding of cultural historic values in light of nature preservation and tourism development (Regional council of Jämtland, 2014b p. 39; Åre Municipality, 2014; CAB 2008).

A consequence of the focus on tourism development is that very few public official respondents argued that the motives for conservation activities are to stimulate individual and collective well-being, to provide opportunities for the public to feel at ease and satisfied in their living/working environment, or to address issues of local identity. Only a minor share mentioned the social benefits that conservation activities can generate to the local population. According to one respondent, "sometimes we tend to forget the potential of the historical environment as simply a nice place to live or work in."

At the detailed planning level, the main motive for public officials is to safeguard authentic characteristics of landscape features. The argument is that it is important to stay true to the physical representations of a particular time period and not disrupt the existing cohesive character. In this context, a majority of respondents use the terms character and aesthetics as one and the same. Almost half of the respondents claim that whether people feel pleased and fulfilled in a historical environment depends on aesthetics. One respondent went as far as to say that "everything, ultimately, is about aesthetics." The result thus show, that the motive for public officials to engage in historical landscape planning and management is to safeguard certain physical features of historical landscapes as opposed to the values ascribed to them by subjects.

Work processes: present and future principles

According to site-specific respondents, the process of safeguarding the values of the Fröå industrial heritage site involves factors such as finding a broad spectrum of collaboration partners and the unconventional approach for a heritage restoration society to apply for non-heritage-based grants in addition to the standard subsidies. The most important factor, however, has been the combination of individual competence and engagement along with an ever growing confidence as a group which has continuously driven the process forward. In the words of one member of the restoration society, "Success breeds success. The restoration society has been acknowledged by officials and media because of our collective efforts in finding solutions within reasonable financial limits. We use the various competences within the group to our best advantage, and the municipality and County Administrative Board trust us."

In light of a changing management framework, most of the site-specific respondents involved in restoration work express that the best alternative for new management would be the formation of a cultural reserve under the control of County Administrative Board or the municipality. However, although the historical features of the site would then "be in safe hands," they express a concern that the social aspects of being engaged in Fröå would diminish in importance if "someone other than us" were to be in charge and "make decisions over our heads."

According to the site specific respondents, conservation and related activities have spurred a sense of group belonging (a type of collective identity that is based on collective experiences shared by the group) and individual self-esteem because of the appreciation of one´s capabilities and experiences. In the museum report on the present values and future management of the Fröå industrial heritage site (Jamtli, 2013), the engagement of the restoration society members and the social benefits thereof are not receiving due attention. Instead focus is on minimal intervention of physical remnants of the past and their intangible associations. Thus, the museum report is analogous to what public official respondents in general define as their main methodological approach to heritage management in comprehensive and detailed planning contexts. In these contexts, traditional management principles such as safeguarding the existing character of historical landscapes rely on inventories, registers, and legislation that are supportive of protective assignments. These are perceived by the majority of public official respondents as rational and effective instruments for the objective of heritage planning.

At the same time, however, the public official respondents report an increase in public interest and political awareness regarding heritage and historical environment-related issues. They are aware that public participatory activities are increasingly encouraged in both theory and practice. In line with the European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe, 2000), the County Administrative Board aims to implement bottom-up approaches as the human capital is said to be the most important and crucial factor for successful management. The need to support and encourage public engagement and achievements in heritage-related initiatives is particularly emphasized (CAB, 2008 p. 22).

However, less than a third of the public official respondents have initiated or taken part in participatory activities. As a rule, local stakeholders´ perceptions of the values of landscapes often emerge only when in conflict with other interests. One respondent notes that "Neighbors to the development site made it obvious to me how important the local history was to people living there; however, it is difficult to argue against development interests based on only a few people's perceptions." In addition, some public official respondents claim it is difficult to find both the time and the budget to initiate participatory processes, and they find it difficult to integrate this work into their daily routine. As established bottom-up approaches are lacking, they argue that participatory activities and successful management in terms of collaborations between experts and civil society are basically dependent on the interests and energy of individual public officials.

Discussion

Initially, we highlighted research showing that historical landscape management is governed by decisions made according to different perspectives and objectives that affect approaches and strategies (e.g. Oevermann & Mieg, 2014; Braaksma et al., 2015; Ashworth, 2011; Stobbelaar and Pedroli, 2011). In the following, the results of the case study are discussed in order to shed further understanding on the meaning of "successful" management of historical landscapes. Lastly, we will highlight some consequential and emergent methodological challenges for heritage professionals.

Key factors for successful management

The results of our study show that the public officials generally focus on objects such as built structures in the planning and management of the historical landscape (see also Eliasson et al., 2015). In particular, detailed planning is directed by "truth"-based and threat-incentive activities in which the integrity and authenticity of tangible features are understood as a testimony of the past that should be protected and treated with minimal intervention (see also Oevermann and Mieg, 2014 p. 18). The beauty of the landscape and historical landscape artefacts are also considered to be worth preserving. In line with the authorized heritage discourse (Smith, 2006), a rational response for public officials in this context is to measure successful management by how well the use of the Planning and Building Act prevents significant damage to aesthetically pleasing features or the historical fabric.

At comprehensive planning level, a majority of the public official respondents argue that local politicians do not sympathize with heritage conservation unless it is contextualized in economic terms or proven to be directly beneficial as a resource for the tourism industry or residential developments. A rational response for public officials in this context is to measure successful management by how well they manage to integrate historical structures or sites into a favourable touristic or otherwise commercially viable context without jeopardizing listed or otherwise acknowledged heritage values.

Site-specific respondents who have been involved in the management of the Fröå industrial heritage site have also had an approach to safeguard the material fabric and historical context of the site. Their strategy, however, have been to engage a broad spectrum of partners for cooperation and funding beyond traditional disciplinary and institutional boundaries. They have taken advantage of the fact that the industrial heritage site is situated in the midst of a recreational sports region which attracts a variety of people, which in turn stimulates tourism and business opportunities. Moreover, the restoration society is characterized by personal engagement and a sense of responsibility for the site, as well as by place-related identity and well-being. Members of the restoration society focus on connecting with and contributing to society in what Braaksma et al. (2015) refer to as a socially belonging mode of meaning construction. The practices of educating about local history and monument protection, but also of partaking in activities only marginally related to the historical landscape per se, stem from a desire to make a meaningful contribution to the community, knowing that other people appreciate their efforts. In line with previous research indicating the meaning of places for personal and collective memories and people's life stories (Knez, 2014), these cultural-existential aspects (Stobbelaar & Pedroli, 2011) serve as a glue that is both a result of and results in successful management of the Fröå industrial heritage site.

The successful status of the management of the industrial heritage site is a result of the restoration society's work process, which mirrors public policy objectives of safeguarding historical characteristics while simultaneously creating added value in terms of economic and social benefits for society at large.

Heritage planning: emergent challenges

Our interviews show that the present work of the restoration society is well noted, appreciated, and encouraged by the tourism organizations and the County Administrative Board. However, in light of impending management changes and the eventual shift in responsibilities from volunteers to either the County Administrative board or Åre municipality, differing core values and normative understandings of both conservation and development among representatives of heritage authorities and tourism organizations become evident.

The aim for county-wide heritage planning as defined by public officials to safeguard an existing character and aesthetically pleasing features in the environment is inherent to a top-down perspective. Property owners, developers and other stakeholders "are to be made aware" of the cultural and aesthetic values in the historical landscape. However, in the context of resource-driven policy to turn Åre into a year-round destination, public officials feel discouraged as the preservation approach (Ashworth, 2011) seem to be insufficient and unable to generate politically desirable effects. They argue that there is no adequate method to withstand "competing interests", which include socio-economic political demands on housing, business, and tourism development. They perceive the situation as a clash between the discourses of protection and development (see also Oevermann and Mieg, 2014).

The sense of a lack of control among public officials respondents when faced with other societal interests indicate an instrumental rational planning position where heritage values are perceived as being compromised on behalf of several opposite interests. An alternative approach would be to accept the complexity of the task, and engage in communicative processes where diverse interests and objectives merge to potentially create added values (see e.g. Olsson, 2008; De la Torre, 2002). Without doing so, the public officials come into conflict with their own political aims of safeguarding historical landscape features and at the same time be pro-active and bottom-up engaging.

The discussed museum report (Jamtli, 2013) showed quite evidently, how heritage authorities focus on the values of historical objects, rather than highlighting the variety of values associated with the Fröå industrial heritage site, or the connection between historical features and contemporary demands. The separation between the physical content and the social aspects of managing historical landscapes highlights the issue of professional legitimacy and the emergent challenges for heritage authorities. Heritage authorities have been able to integrate Fröå mine into a full-scale protection management scheme (an Area of National Interest for Conservation of the Built Environment and possibly a cultural reserve). From a heritage conservation perspective, these achievements may very well be considered positive. From an urban development perspective, however, these strategies may very well be understood to be serving the purpose of conservation experts rather than those of local stakeholders who express additional values to be of importance.

Similarly, a future management change for Fröå that will make it a cultural reserve is perceived by tourism operators as a positive step, as it might provide a more formal counterpart in terms of representatives from the County Administrative Board or the municipality. As a tourist site, it will most likely be governed by principles such as product-driven image-making and efficiency and incentives to professionalize guiding activities. Professionalism in terms of trained guides could marginalize volunteers which would result in reduced civil society engagement in heritage-related issues, which is contrary to one of the policy goals for heritage management in Jämtland County.

Drawing on what was perceived as successful management of the Fröå industrial heritage site, the major challenge is to redefine and address the different policy objectives not as inherently conflicting but as essentially complementary. Currently, public officials focus on conservation of the material authenticity and seem to lack methods for integrating immaterial heritage values and social and economic benefits into their daily practices. The political objectives of engaging civil society in heritage-related issues and historical landscape transformation processes can only be attained if inclusive processes are implemented in day-to-day working methods. To be truly pro-active, a reconceptualization of the notion of heritage resource is necessary in order to include social aspects of heritage management and to reconsider for whom management of historical landscapes is beneficial.

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Article IV

Susanne Fredholm, Krister Olsson. (In review) Managing the Image of the Place and the Past. Contemporary Views on Place Branding and Built Heritage Management, *Journal of Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*.

IV

Managing the Image of the Place and the Past. Contemporary views on Place Branding and Heritage Management

Susanne Fredholm, Krister Olsson

Abstract

This article is concerned with the practice of local and regional development and planning from a place branding and heritage management perspective. The aim is to highlight similar theoretical underpinnings in place branding and heritage management literature, and, through a case study of a historical site – the Fröå mine in Åre, Sweden – to shed light on how these theoretical perspectives are balanced in practice. In theory, image making and the inclusion of the public are core foundations for both place branding and heritage management; whereas various factors identified through the case study indicate that practice do not recognise these core values. In conclusion, we argue that the two fields of study have quite a lot to learn from each other, particularly perceiving heritage as a socio-cultural construct, as well as recognizing a particular site from internal market demand and laymen perspectives.

Keywords: Place Branding; Heritage Management; Image-Making; Inclusive Processes; Sweden.

Introduction

Both place branding and heritage management activities have become increasingly common features in contemporary urban and regional development, and thus integrated in urban and regional planning and wider economic policies. In particular, both fields of practice perceive the built environment and its associated heritage values as resources for community development and for attracting investments, new inhabitants and visitors. An increasing amalgamation of place branding and heritage management in practice has made us attentive to similarities in theoretical perspectives and corresponding tendencies between the two fields of study.

Branding is often associated with aims to make a destination stand out in the global tourism market (Ooi, 2011). However, compared to the term "destination", "place" is a wider concept. Place branding is therefore not only related to tourism activities nor limited to projecting and communicating a certain image to external markets. Previously defined as place marketing (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990; 1994; Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2015; Vuignier, 2016), place branding theory holds that all encounters with the city (or any other geographical entity) comes about through per-

ceptions and images, and all actions happening within the city, or everything a city does, communicates messages about the city´s image, also amongst local residents (Vermeulen, 2002; Graham, 2002; Kavaratzis, 2004). From this perspective, one purpose of place branding is to address the internal market, i.e. the local residents, in order to promote pride in residing in the area and to create a sense of belonging and ownership (Howie, 2003; Fernández-Cavia, 2011).

Heritage management is here defined in terms of a professional collaborative process to manage conservation and change of tangible and intangible cultural heritage in urban and regional planning and development (see also Ashworth, 2011). The traditional ontological construction of heritage is "scarceness, pastness and aesthetics" (Waterton and Watson, 2015, 26), which under a long period of time have had a governing position in heritage management (Muñoz Viñas, 2005). However, in the last few decades shifts in theory suggest that the primary purpose of heritage management in development context is not to contribute to the safeguarding of the material remains, but the significance of buildings or places through a values-based approach (e.g. ICOMOS, 1999; De la Torre, 2002). Such an approach assesses the totality of tangible and intangible values (i.e. a set of positive characteristics or qualities) that various stakeholders and laymen groups with legitimate interest attribute to the building or place.

Both fields of study share common theoretical underpinnings in terms of inclusive processes when managing and developing the built environment. Nevertheless, this resemblance in theory seems not to be acknowledged in the literature, and, moreover, to be utilized for the benefit of practice.

Aim and Method

The article is concerned with the practice of local and regional development and planning from a place branding and heritage management perspective. Moreover, it focuses on the theoretical intersection between place branding and heritage management, in relation to general planning theory. The aim is to highlight similar theoretical underpinnings in place branding and heritage management literature, and, through a case study of a historical site – the Fröå mine in Åre, Sweden – to shed light on how these theoretical perspectives are balanced in practice. As we argue that place branding and heritage management are special forms of local and regional planning, we also highlight how the theoretical similarities between the two fields of study relate to general planning theory. Thus, the article contributes to highlighting corresponding tendencies between the three bodies of literature. In essence, the goal is to contribute to and influence theoretical thinking in place branding and heritage management, as well as to inspire development of practice concerning management of the built environment.

Table 1. Interview instrument.

Respondents: Total (8)	**Interview Dates**
Civil society: Volunteers of Fröå Mine Restoration Society (5)	4-5/11 and 3/12 2015
Åre municipality: Environmental strategist (1)	5/11 2015
Härjedalen/Jämtland Tourism: Coordinator for destination development (1)	10/12 2015
County Administrative Board: Cultural environment department (1)	10/12 2015

Themes	**Questions**
Historic Landscape Features and Values	- What are the main characteristics of the site? - What do you personally value about the site?
Motives for Engagement	- Why did you start engaging, and continue to engage, in the site?
Working Process	- What are your concerns regarding the future management of Fröå? - If the Fröå site becomes a cultural reserve, what is your opinion about it and why?

To fulfil this aim, place branding and heritage management and the relation to general planning theory, are described and discussed based on theoretical reasoning in the literature, resulting in a tentative analytical framework – a matrix – for linking theory and practice. The framework is based on an integrative literature study, i.e. "a form of research that reviews, critiques, and synthesizes literature on a topic in an integrated way such that new frameworks and perspectives on the topic is generated" (Torraco, 2005, 356).

The literature study highlights a number of concepts that are central to the understanding of contemporary theory of place branding, heritage management and planning. The analytical framework structures these concepts as "pairs of opposition". The pairs indicate opposite views on particular features in theory and practice, for example bottom-up vs. top-down approach; laymen vs. expert knowledge. However, the concepts should not be understood as contradictory in the sense that the views that they indicate cannot be combined in the same analysis. On the contrary, in most cases, it is likely that both views are present in practice at the same time, or that they are combined into a compromise.

The practice is represented by a case study of the management and branding of a historical site – the Fröå mine – in Åre municipality in the county of Jämtland in the mid-western part of Sweden. The case represents a situation where the built heritage is actuated in attractiveness-driven planning, previously examined by Fredholm et al. (2017). Case studies are a common method in planning research and an effective approach in order to generate new knowledge of complex and context dependent issues (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

The empirical findings are based on studies of planning documents by Åre Municipality, the County Administrative Board and the Regional Board, and in particular in-depth interviews with key-actors. Interviews were conducted with representatives of the Fröå mine restoration society, representatives from the municipality, the County Administrative Board and a regional tourism organisation (Table 1).

In the next section we discuss what place branding and heritage management actually is, from a theoretical point of view, and their relation to planning theory. The theoretical discussion results in the analytical framework – a matrix – including the core concepts that are weighted against each other in practice. In the following section, we present the empirical case in short. Thereafter, the empirical findings are analysed with a starting point in the analytical framework. The article ends with a discussion and concluding remarks.

Theoretical perspectives: Corresponding tendencies

Towards balancing internal and external markets

Place branding is in this article understood as a complex and vigorous process aiming to uncover and define a unique identity or image that can form the basis of communication about the needs of a place between concerned markets, and administrators and marketers (Kavaratzis, 2004; Warnaby, 2009; Anholt, 2006; Karvelyte and Chiu, 2011).

In such a continuous process, stakeholders are vital for the sustainability of a place brand and its management (Warnaby, 2009; Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Hanna and Rowley, 2011; Lucarelli, 2012; Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013; Braun et al, 2013). Researchers often criticize place branding practitioners for leaving internal markets, i.e. local residents, aside in the branding process, which leads to brands that communicate only tacit connections to and simplistic understanding of the sense of the place to be promoted to external markets, i.e. visitors (Campelo et al, 2013). Understanding branding processes as negotiations about value conflicts among different actors (e.g. heritage values vs. economic values), Baker (2012) argue that it is the conflicting voices of different stakeholder groups that are ideally to contribute to the place brand.

Kavaratzis (2012) holds that implications for practice involves a new role for brand managers to be more of initiators, facilitators and moderators of the dialogue between various stakeholder groups over the meaning of the place brand; current investment in promotion should be redirected into investment in meaningful, two-way communication; and the analytical part of the place branding process should be actively open at all times. Zenker and Erfgen (2014) propose a process including defining a shared vision for the place including core place elements; implementing a structure and guidelines for participation; and supporting residents in their own place branding projects.

According to the reasoning above, the components of a place branding process are not to be understood as a linear process of managerial decision making, but rather as interrelated, influence-relational and context dependent process, a continuous process rather than an once and for all project. It should be open to changes, allowing for new angles and ideas and that the reflection of each activity may lead to reformulations (Hanna and Rowley, 2011; Jernsand and Kraff, 2015).

Contemporary theory of heritage management holds that heritage is not to be understood ontologically as material things, but rather intertwined with discourse and discursive practices, constructed in contemporary society in conjunction with cultural, social and economic processes (Hewison, 1987; Graham et al, 2000; Smith, 2006). A selective set of historical places, material artefacts, mythologies, memories and traditions become resources for the present (Graham, 2002). Heritage is, in this sense, contributory in communicating local identity, i.e. an image of place grounded in the past.

As a result of heritage management being a selective activity, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) introduced the concept of heritage dissonance, meaning that heritage management becomes an issue of power struggles between groups of "consumers" such as tourists (i.e. external markets) on the one hand, and the "community", the local residents (i.e. internal markets) on the other. The commodification of places brings situations where "processes of selection might thus be discerned that have criteria drawn more from the imperatives of effective marketing than genuine engagements with the past" (Waterton and Watson, 2013, 549).

Today, the inclusion of a broad spectrum of stakeholders to balance competing interests is acknowledged in most sustainable conservation decision-making sequences and that social aspects and internal market demand is to be brought up in the early stages of the process. Value-based approaches have been developed, including a series of publications by ICOMOS Australia and the Getty Conservation Institute (e.g. ICOMOS, 1999; De la Torre, 2002), which aim to assure equity, avoiding only addressing values belonging to the group with the most power (de la Torre et al, 2005). Consequently, values should be identified by a collective, i.e. the markets concerned, and not by scholars and conservation experts in the initial stages of a process, which results in the expert becoming more of a facilitator than a project manager (see also Mason, 2008).

In essence, a basic understanding of marketing, or branding, includes a view where markets guide product development (i.e. a demand perspective), rather than a view where planners and marketers define the product for consumption, i.e. qualities that are expected to be attractive and, hence, worth developing for communicating a positive image and brand (i.e. a supply perspective) (see e.g. Kotler et al, 2008; Olsson and Berglund, 2009). Accordingly expert-led decision-making in heritage manage-

ment focuses on the supply-side, whereas values-centred approaches are based on a laymen perspective and directed towards the demand-side.

Timothy and Boyd (2006) argue that while heritage tourism has been extensively researched, the majority of this research focuses on the 'supply' side of the industry, with emphasis on interpretation, resource management, support services, conservation and presentation of heritage sites. Poria et al (2003; 2011) argue that the research on 'demand' for heritage resources (i.e. motives, expectations and behaviour of visitors) has only begun scratching the surface. Instead of being passive vessels, visitors are started to be acknowledged as important co-creators of heritage, just as much as the managers and professionals who define and regulate it (Franklin, 2003). Likewise, the same reasoning can be applied to internal markets, i.e. local residents are important co-creators of heritage. Thus, the 'demand' for heritage resources by all relevant markets needs to be assessed, acknowledged and integrated in urban and regional planning.

Towards balancing communicative and instrumental rationality

Since the 1980´s, development in planning theory has moved towards participatory approaches, i.e. communicative or collaborative planning (Olsson, 2008). Thus, the inclusive approaches evident in place branding and heritage management theory coincides with a larger and general communicative turn in planning theory (see e.g. Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones, 2002). The communicative rational ideal is process-oriented and encourages the inclusion of all affected parties in the decision-making process. In the well-rounded communicative process, the planning ends are identified through a dialogue between many different stakeholders or interests (see e.g Sager, 1994; Healey, 1997; Brand and Gaffikin, 2007).

Nevertheless, a common notion of planning in practice, among planners as well as laymen, is that it is, or should be, an instrumental rational activity based on expert judgements, and a product-oriented process in which the ends are identified before the process (Olsson, 2008; Strömgren, 2007). In theory, the instrumental rational process of planning is described as a number of distinct stages, including definition of problems and/or goals; identification of alternative ways of solving the problem; choice of the best alternative; implementation, and, monitoring of effects (Taylor, 1998).

In practice, however, planning in general (including place branding and heritage management) can often be described as a compromise between instrumental and communicative action, where communicative action has the potential to balance shortcomings in instrumental action, and the other way around (Sager, 1994; Harrison, 2002; Olsson, 2008).

It is often difficult to strike a balance between the two approaches. Given the complex interdependencies among actors in place branding practice, many scholars define a successful place branding campaign as a truly interactive process between top-down and bottom-up approaches, in particular the key elements of strong leadership, private-public partnerships, and the engagement of communities. However, despite the complexities, or perhaps because of it, the place branding process is most often presented as a series of interlinked, but distinguishable steps (Anholt, 2006; Kotler et al, 2002; Hankinson, 2004; Moilanen and Rainisto, 2009; Kavaratzis, 2009; Govers and Go, 2009; Karvelyte and Chiu, 2011). In essence, these processes tend to adhere to an instrumental rational approach.

Accordingly, despite the values-based approaches described above, pre-defined goals still holds a dominant position in sequential planning strategies for cultural heritage (see e.g. Rojas (2012). Heritage management adheres to an instrumental rational ideal in which management of historic objects and places is, an "experts-only zone", mainly an issue for archaeologists, art historians and architects (Muñoz Viñas, 2005).

Moreover, it should also be noted that the communicative, or collaborative, ideal has been widely discussed and criticised for not considering power relations in planning practice (see e.g. Brand and Gaffikin, 2007). For example, values-centred and demand-oriented approaches in heritage management practice show some weakness, including the lack of terms for stakeholder involvement, and that the power tends to remain in the hands of the conservation professionals who often act as managing authority in the entire planning and implementation process (Poulios, 2010). Likewise, a similar unequal distribution of power between experts and laymen can be often found in place branding practice as well as in planning in general (Kavaratzis, 2012). The unequal distribution of power is particularly true for sites representing national or universal values. De la Torre et al (2005, 6) note that "in general the higher the designation level, the narrower the values that are recognized as significant." Moreover, de la Torre et al (2005, 7) argue that a value-based approach in practice foremost results in a "privileged relationship with the managing agencies" for those groups that first were involved with a particular site when its significance were recognised. These groups are often named "principal stakeholders" (de la Torre, 2005, 7), or "insiders" and are differentiated from the other groups, the "outsiders" (Mason and Avrami, 2002, 22–23). Thus, it is here acknowledged that power relations can have a substantial impact on decisions in and outcomes of place branding and heritage management activities.

	Communicative Rationality	Instrumental Rationality
Internal Markets	COMMUNITY *Demand* *Process orientation* *Bottom-up* *Laymen*	COMMUNITY *Supply* *Product orientation* *Top-down* *Experts*
External Markets	VISITORS *Demand* *Process orientation* *Bottom-up* *Laymen*	VISITORS *Supply* *Product orientation* *Top-down* *Experts*

Figure 1: Matrix for analysis of place branding and heritage management initiatives

Figure 2: The location of County of Jämtland in Sweden (left), and Åre Village (right).

Analytical framework

In the literature both fields of study – place branding and heritage management – are trying to move away from an instrumental rational planning ideal, i.e. an activity based on expert judgements and pre-defined goals. Instead, a communicative approach is ideally put forward, where the present significance of a place through value-assessment are expected to contribute to a broader knowledge base, and the anchoring of planning directions among (all) stakeholders. Hence, normative literature argues for public participation, and that stakeholders should go well beyond that of customers/consumers. This shift, towards a participatory place branding and heritage management, means that the interest also has moved from external markets (e.g. visitors) towards internal markets (e.g. local residents).

Based on the reasoning in previous sections, we have identified a number of (seemingly) conflicting concepts, i.e. pairs of opposition, which ideally need to be weighted or balanced (in a well-reasoned way) against each other in place branding and heritage management practice. The conflicting concepts include: demand vs. supply, process orientation vs. product orientation; bottom-up approach vs. top-down approach; laymen vs. expert knowledge. These pairs of opposition are of the same type, i.e. they are categories that express qualities that correspond with each other. Thus, they can be labelled under the same headings, in this case communicative rationality and instrumental rationality. Furthermore, the conflicting concepts of internal markets vs. external markets (and community vs. visitors), which are of a different kind, can be added to the equation, in such way that the concepts listed under communicative and instrumental rationality respectively can be placed under internal markets, as well as under external markets. In conclusion, our tentative analytical framework is summarised in a matrix as shown in figure 1.

Case study: Management of Fröå Mine in Åre, Sweden

We have performed a case study of a historical site – Fröå mine – in Åre Municipality, in order to scrutinize the theoretical reasoning, and, to further the understanding of the interdependency between place branding and heritage management.

Åre is located in Jämtland, a sparsely populated county in the mid-western part of Sweden (see figure 2). Åre Village hosts no more than 2000 permanent residents, but being one of Scandinavia's leading ski-resorts, the municipality provides one million beds per year (Jämtland Härjedalen Turism, 2015, p.35). The dominating regional political ambition is to attract tourism-related businesses (Brouder, 2014). Åreföretagarna AB is responsible for marketing and branding, and work towards the vision that Åre will be Europe's most attractive year-round destination by 2020. The largest owners of Åreföretagarna AB are SkiStar AB and Holiday Club along with 69 other partners including Åre Municipality. The vision is divided into four goals that emphasize the value of experiences, environmental responsibility, an attractive living environment and a welcoming attitude to destination guests.

Figure 3: The case study site Fröå mine. Photo: Åre Destination (left); author (right).

The goals are to various degrees analogous with local governmental objectives. As the hospitality industry is the municipality's main livelihood, objectives include developing attractive and sustainable community structures, and to preserve and develop a fast-changing cultural landscape (Åre Municipality, 2015). The cultural landscape holds cultural, social and environmental potentials highlighted from a living and public health perspective in line with the European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe, 2000). It also holds financial potentials in terms of business opportunities, tourism and new residential developments. Regional attractiveness is dependent on the engagement of civil society, non-profit organizations and companies in creative activities. Challenges include mediating between sometimes incompatible goals of safeguarding the natural and cultural landscapes while developing the tourism industry. Challenges also include ways to extend negotiations about heritage management, and how to make people actively participate in development initiatives (Åre Municipality, 2015; County Administrative Board, 2008; Regional Board, 2014).

Fröå Mine, 11 km from Åre Village, is one of the more popular historic sites to visit when in Åre, particularly during the summer. Fröå was mined during three periods 1746-1919. In 1983, school teacher Britta Hedros formed a restoration society which started reconstructing and restoring the old buildings and machinery (Hedros, 2014). The site was designated an Area of National Interest for Conservation of the Built Environment in 1987 under the care of County Administrative Board. They are according to the Environmental Code responsible for watching over the site in order to safeguard and avoid significantly damaging effects on historic structures because of their listed authentic testimony of the past.

We use Fröå as a case, in which ideas of place branding and heritage management co-exist, in order to illustrate how different stakeholders´ agenda (brand managers, heritage authorities and laymen) have influenced the management principles up to now, but, also, to form a basis for a discussion about future management potentials. Based on the theoretical framework the analysis is directed towards investigating how internal markets vs. external markets and communicative rationality vs. instrumental rationality are balanced in practice. Hence, first we discuss how the relation between internal and external markets is revealed, and, thereafter, we focus on how the two forms of rationality are manifested in practice.

Analysis: Examining present and future management principles

Internal and external markets

The results of restorations and current management of the historic site is considered by local and regional heritage authorities, brand managers and the restoration society with its partners (e.g. the restaurant lease holder), to be successful (Fredholm et al., 2017). Successful is a merit involving different perceptions of the same place, corresponding to different perspectives of place branding and heritage management.

First, the merit is a logical consequence of the social grouping of the restoration society and its supportive partners. The site has attracted a broad range of individuals, not only those interested in restoration (i.e. the insiders) but those who regard Fröå Mine as a social centre (i.e. the outsiders) where they engage themselves in various activities which is dependent of and spurs a communal bond and sense of individual well-being. Personal engagement has spurred fruitful public-private collaborations which has generated self-esteem and ever-growing ambition amongst participants. Thus, the local stakeholders are both producers and consumers of the historic site. It could be said that the actual participation in the production of the site generates benefits that satisfies the stakeholders demand as an internal market.

Second, the merit, i.e. the understanding of a successful management process, is also a logical consequence of the statutory aim of safeguarding the legibility and values of historical structures and sites, and to generate knowledge about past achievements and traditional building techniques for the society at large, or 'the man on the street', i.e. a target group that is not specifically defined, but diffuse and unclear. The site is effectively maintained in accordance with the ramifications of the County Administrative Board due to the site being an Area of National Interest for Conservation of the Built Environment. Heritage authorities rely on conservation legislation focusing on the physical structures of the historic site, i.e. the supply is safeguarded for the society at large, both on internal and external markets that are not defined at all.

Third, the merit is a logical consequence of the regional aim to develop the cultural landscape in concord with tourism development. In the endeavour to turn Åre into a year-round destination, places, traditions and events with historic connotations have

increasingly come to be recognized by tourism managers as a popular supplementary feature besides sports and recreation activities. Restorations at Fröå have provided business opportunities in terms of a restaurant and minor lodging accommodations. The site is moreover located in the midst of a recreational landscape along ski tracks and hiking trails, perfect for a day-out to explore historic facets of Åre. Tourism development aims to attract visitors, i.e. external markets based on an understanding that focus on the supply-side of branding, including the historic site as a pre-defined product.

Communicative and Instrumental Rationality

Members of Fröå Mine Restoration Society are coming of age, and the County Administrative Board has started examining possibilities of turning the historic site into a cultural reserve, according to the Environmental Code, in which the economic and managerial responsibility for the site would go to either them or the municipality. As a first step of examination, the significance of the site was assessed by the regional museum (Jamtli, 2013). The report emphasises material historic remains, guided by an instrumental rational approach letting expert-led knowledge guide decision-making about future management principles, focusing on how to safeguard the "product". A product-driven emphasis has been the focus of heritage authorities ever since the dilapidated buildings of the former copper mine was being inventoried and media, public officials and residents of the municipality started acknowledging the historic values of this site, bringing about protective legislative actions.

The process that upholds the product is acknowledged, but secondary, as it is not the prime task for regional heritage authorities to safeguard activities (respondents in Fredholm et al, 2017). The report did not assess the social benefits of engagement or sense of place amongst the internal market, i.e. the laymen in the restoration society. Encouraging local participation is not a goal in itself but rather contributory to the aim of conservation, which, according to a supply oriented perspective, is to safeguard historic features and knowledge values to a non-specified external market.

The supply side of the historic site and what it can offer to the general external market is also the focus of place brand managers. They have increasingly started to cooperate with the restoration society providing essential help to support the site as a visitor's attraction. Product-driven web-based promotional information has been undertaken. The information provided about the site is product-driven, in the sense that it is the material remains of past achievements, guided walks, the magnificent location and the opportunity to dine that is being promoted. Brand managers argue that future plans of turning the site into a more efficient tourist site is a priority. In such a process, present volunteer work i.e. laymen knowledge about both historic and present use of the site would necessarily be replaced by professional guides. The presumed expectations of the external market guide the selection of what type of

	Communicative Rationality	**Instrumental Rationality**
Internal Markets	*Restoration society, and its members, benefits from the restoration process.*	*Restoration society satisfies the interests of heritage authorities, as well as brand and tourism managers.* *Heritage authorities provide expert based knowledge values to non-specified target groups.*
External Markets	*All involved parties lack approaches that include e.g. visitors from a demand perspective.*	*Restoration society satisfies the interests of heritage authorities, as well as brand and tourism managers.* *Heritage authorities provide expert based knowledge values to non-specified target groups.* *Brand and tourism managers utilize historical values in order to attract visitors.*

Figure 4: Analysis of the case study in conclusion.

historic sites to be incorporated into the branding of Åre. The restoration society is in essence only contributory to the aim of place branding to provide visitors with a product, similar to the way the restoration society is contributory to the ambitions of heritage authorities.

In conclusion, the case study shows that the merit of "highly successful", which has hitherto been prevailing at Fröå, draws on a notion of a dynamic public-private cooperation and win-win solutions between the involved parties; the restoration society with its partners, heritage authorities and brand and tourism managers. Over time, Fröå has transformed from a functioning industrial production site to a ruin, into a site for conservation suitable for tourists, framed by the activities of laymen. The presently mutual discursive notion is that conservation creates historic values, and that historic values eventually mean tourism. However, although the parties involved share a common desire to preserve the site, the motives for doing so slightly diverge, see figure 4. The restoration society place emphasis on conservation activities, providing a product that satisfies both heritage authorities, and brand and tourism managers, that target at internal as well as external markets. However, at the same time the members of the society benefit themselves from the process in doing

so as an internal market. The heritage authorities place emphasis on the provision of expert based knowledge values for internal and external market benefits, although the markets are not defined in any clear way. Brand and tourism managers place emphasis on historic values as a pre-defined product and means for attracting external markets. In particular, the case study shows that the branding efforts of the particular site tend to focus on what heritage is rather than what it does. It can also be noted that all involved parties exclude external markets from a communicative rational approach, e.g. they lack analysis of the demand from visitors. Moreover, only the restoration society satisfies internal markets from a communicative rational perspective, however only indirectly.

Discussion: Theoretical perspectives on the continuation of "successful management"

Fröå Mine Restoration Society presently cannot find replacements to the declining number of members, which will affect the abovementioned balanced situation between the three major stakeholder groups: laymen, heritage authorities and Åre brand managers. When the laymen group is out of the equation, a communicative rationality based on an internal market perspective will no longer be the driving force of management. In order for Fröå to continue to be a community-led facility, a challenge for both brand managers and heritage authorities is to re-define the role of the site. In the following discussion, corresponding theoretical perspectives of place branding and heritage management will highlight some possible ways forward.

As described above, the museum report (Jamtli, 2013) forms part of a decision-making process in which experts assume that the prime interest of 'the man on the street' is to support the product (the site as a historic landmark) rather than the process (people engaged in various activities). In this regard, the designation level of an Area of National Interest for Conservation of the Built Environment limits the values that could have been recognized as significant. Members involved in the preservation of tangible heritage elements are considered the principal stakeholders by heritage authorities. In such instrumental rational approach, the "outsiders", in Mason and Avrami´s wording (2002), who are members of the restoration society but have minor interest in restoration and rather engage themselves in other type of volunteer work, is not given the chance to express themselves equally. Their arguments for participating in activities at the site are not given equal weight and their contribution and the outcome thereof thus risk not being fully understood. From a theoretical perspective, brand managers face similar challenges. Initially, no place branding of Fröå was necessary. Now that promotional activities is increasing, but no real place branding efforts are made (including i.e. communicative planning measures), the significance of the place is narrowed down not to focus on the local community but on external visitors.

Using place branding terms, the situation mirrors how authorities define the product for consumption instead of letting the markets guide product development. In heritage management terms, a values-centred approach would ideally define the historic site and its values from below rather than from top-down perspectives.

The political nature of place branding and heritage management makes it important to recognize the power struggles that weak and powerful stakeholders actually engage in, in order to truly capture the significance and image of the place. The community at large might indeed have an interest in the product rather than the process, but due to other motives than those of heritage authorities or brand managers. The participatory approach to place branding and heritage management suggests seeing these struggles as creative tensions that can be utilized to bring forward different perspectives, different brand/heritage meanings, and, thus, actually bring the place brand or heritage significance closer to the pragmatic realities of the place. Facilitating true participatory place branding or heritage management requires pre-existing perspectives to be contextually scrutinized.

Given that heritage management activities hitherto has contributed to the well-being of people in the present, an alternative image-making of the place could be that of a multi-faceted and sustainable present-past relationship. The regional aim to make people actively participate in development initiatives such as managing the cultural landscape could very well guide the process. In such a process, the perspective on the value of historic knowledge could still be sustained. It would however, require a different strategy in which the expert (brand manager and/or heritage authorities) would adopt a more communicative approach becoming more of facilitator for collaborations between different community sectors. According to theoretical perspectives of place branding and heritage management, bottom-up approaches should develop pro-active decisions. In such a process, laymen knowledge would complement expert knowledge in the same way the historic site of Fröå has been managed up till now.

Concluding remarks

Theoretical implications

In the article we have highlighted similarities and complementary theoretical underpinnings in place branding and heritage management. Image making and public representation is the very core theoretical foundation for both place branding and heritage management. The idea surrounding the core of place branding, to manage the image(s) and representations of a place, is also at the core of heritage management with the alteration that the emphasis is on managing a place´s image(s) or representations of the past. A place brand is ultimately a set of associations in the mind of place consumers. Likewise, it can be argued that heritage, in principle, is about the qualities a collective associates with the place and its history.

Managerial implications

We have, furthermore, discussed how the theoretical views are considered in practice. We argue that the two fields of study have a lot to learn from each other. Heritage management theory and place branding theory suggest similar approaches to use the same type of objects (historic buildings and sites) for similar objectives (community development through communication/using the past in the present) through similar approaches (inclusive processes). For example, heritage management can provide a deeper understanding on what 'heritage' as a socio-cultural construct is all about, while place branding can contribute with a view for how to appreciate a particular site from internal market demand and laymen perspectives. Recent research within both fields of study has highlighted the risk of simplifying living places by a narrow image-making process of either the place or the past. Brand and heritage meanings are socially constructed and culturally dependent, and, thus place brand formation and heritage management needs to be an interactive process of identity construction through a dialogue between all stakeholders concerned. Both heritage management and place branding in practice would benefit from considering a demand-approach, turning towards the internal market first and foremost, as theory implies. This mutual learning potential is especially true when heritage management and place branding practice is so clearly entwined as in our case study.

In conclusion, perceiving heritage as a category of practice, rather than a category of material objects, makes it relevant to discuss alternative engagement with heritage and its management. In particular, it includes a shift from an instrumental rational approach (i.e. top-down, expert-led, supply and product orientation) towards a communicative rational approach (i.e. bottom-up, inclusive, demand and process orientation). This means, in particular, alternative ways of perceiving the values of the built environment in the initial stages of a planning and decision making process, when the planning ends first are envisioned. In this, finding the interface between these multiple values and acknowledging the power struggles between various stakeholders and conceptual approaches is of importance.

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Article V

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Cultural ecosystem services provided by landscapes: Assessment of heritage values and identity

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to provide a conceptual analysis of cultural ecosystem services and how they are linked to the concepts of landscape, heritage and identity. It discusses how these cultural ecosystem services can be assessed and integrated into spatial and physical planning. The paper presents two case studies to shed light on the assessment process. A case study from Sweden combines an analysis of ecosystem services with methods for documenting cultural heritage values in landscapes. A second case study from the Arafura–Timor Seas combines an analysis of cultural ecosystem services with methods for assessment of priority environmental concerns at the seascape scale.

We demonstrate that the methods from cultural heritage conservation provide tools for the analysis of historical values as well as historical drivers of change in landscapes that can add time-depth to more spatially focused ecosystem assessments. We propose that methods for valuation of cultural heritage and identity in landscapes are integrated into assessments of ecosystem services to inform policy making and physical and spatial planning for sustainable management of ecosystems and landscapes. This could also provide an approach for bringing about integrated implementation of conventions and instruments from the environmental and cultural heritage fields, respectively.

1. Introduction

One of the main messages in the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MA) related to cultural and amenity services is that human cultures, knowledge systems, religions, heritage values, social interactions and the linked amenity services always have been influenced and shaped by the nature of the ecosystems and ecosystem conditions in which culture is based. At the same time, people have always influenced and shaped the environment to enhance the availability of certain valued services. MA recognises that it is artificial to separate these services or their combined influence on human well-being, but identifies six categories of cultural and amenity services provided by ecosystems and landscapes in order to facilitate valuation (MA, 2005).

Heritage values and cultural identity are two of the six categories of cultural ecosystem services recognised by the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, the others being: spiritual services (sacred, religious, or other forms of spiritual inspiration derived from ecosystems); inspiration (use of natural motives or artefacts in art, folklore, etc.); aesthetic appreciation of natural and cultivated landscapes; and, recreation and tourism (MA, 2005).

The Millennium Ecosystem Assessment states that the importance of cultural services and values is not currently recognised in landscape planning and management and that these fields could benefit from a better understanding of the way in which societies manipulate ecosystems and then relate that to cultural, spiritual and religious belief systems. MA also states that the ecosystem approach implicitly recognises the importance of a socio-ecological system approach, and that policy formulations should empower local people to participate in managing natural resources as part of a cultural landscape, integrating local knowledge and institutions (MA, 2005).

For terrestrial ecosystems, the most important direct drivers of change in ecosystem services in the past 50 years have been land-use and land cover changes. Landscape-scale approaches to reducing loss of ecosystem services and biodiversity have therefore become increasingly important (Sanderson et al., 2002). Sweden and other European countries have for example introduced specific forms of payments for the maintenance of grasslands with high cultural and natural heritage values (Hasund, 2009). However, local and traditional knowledge is often underutilized in decision-making about landscape and ecosystem management, which may contribute to loss of heritage values and cultural landscapes (Wu and Petriello, 2011).

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Numerous international initiatives are focusing on restoring provisioning ecosystem services in areas affected by land-use changes and biodiversity loss to ensure food and water security, e.g., programmes on support to combat land degradation in North-western China, Central Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, Middle East and North Africa (GEF, 2009; Tengberg and Torheim, 2007). There is also a growing interest in regulating ecosystem services related to climate change, such as carbon sequestration in different types of ecosystems, including opportunities to protect carbon stocks in tropical forests, e.g. Reduction of Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation (REDD) (Miles and Kapos, 2008). However, cultural ecosystem services have generally been neglected by these initiatives due to the need for different scientific competencies and methods, including a historical perspective in the analysis.

A recent literature review and bibliometric analysis concluded that cultural ecosystem services have been assessed only marginally and therefore propose to link ecosystem services research with cultural landscape research to fill the knowledge gaps (Schaich et al, 2010). According to this view, the ecosystem services and cultural landscape research communities share a common interest in the demands people place on, and benefits derived from ecosystems and landscapes. Moreover, cultural landscapes are at the interface between nature and culture, tangible and intangible heritage, biological and cultural diversity. Gee and Burkhard (2010) also showed that the concepts of landscape (seascape, in their study) and place provided a useful conceptual bridge linking ecosystem functioning outcomes and cultural values in the ecosystem.

An overview of past efforts to value and protect ecosystem services concluded that more research is needed on developing non-monetary methods for valuing cultural ecosystem services and incorporating these into easy-to-use tools (Daily et al, 2009). An exclusive focus on the economic valuation of ecosystem outputs may indeed run the danger of narrowing the debate and hinder the development and application of the idea (Potschin and Haines-Young, 2011). In Sweden, the National Heritage Board has recently analysed opportunities of monetary and non-monetary valuation of cultural services but further empirical studies are needed (Soutukorva and Söderqvist, 2008). However, there have also been suggestions to remove cultural ecosystem services from the framework altogether (Fisher et al., 2009), while recognizing cultural and amenity values and benefits resulting from the other services.

The specific concept of ecosystem services is mainly based on natural science paradigms, which make it difficult to apply the concept in safeguarding of cultural ecosystem services. This is evident in published literature on ecosystem services that show a strong bias of studies carried out by researchers with the base in natural science and economics. One example is the MA publication (MA, 2005), which devotes two per cent of its total pages to cultural ecosystem services, and the assessment of The Economics of Ecosystems and Biodiversity (TEEB, 2010), which provides detailed economic analysis of ecosystem services, but no discussion of their intangible cultural values. One reason for this could be that the MA was designed to respond to government requests for information received through the multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs) and conventions—the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD), the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands, and the Convention on Migratory Species (CMS)—which are generally perceived to be the responsibility of the environment sector alone. MA focuses on the linkages between ecosystems and human well-being. The four main ecosystem services, provisioning, regulating, cultural and supporting services are interrelated in the MA concept, but, the literature shows clear tendencies of separating these categories in specialised research fields.

As defined by MA, cultural ecosystem services are one of the four main service categories. However, cultural services cannot be treated independently and depend on provisioning, regulating and supporting services, at the same time as the expression of cultural ecosystems services influences the way ecosystems are viewed and managed (MA, 2005). Interdisciplinary approaches are therefore needed to improve the understanding of cultural ecosystem services that takes into account the dynamic nature of human–environment interactions and possible synergies and trade-offs between cultural, supporting, provisioning and regulating ecosystem services.

It has been pointed out that conservation perspectives and heritage planning and management need to be better incorporated within regular planning processes, rather than operating on their own as isolated phenomena. This implies close cooperation with relevant sectors of society, such as social, ecological and physical planning (Engelbrektsson, 2008). As the Ecosystem Services Approach (e.g. Turner and Daily, 2008) is becoming a key tool in environmental decision making, there is a need for the discipline of conservation of cultural heritage to engage and influence the ecosystem services discourse. Existing international instrument for the conservation and management of cultural heritage includes the UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage from 1972 that provides for the protection of the world's cultural and natural heritage places and the identification and nomination of cultural and natural properties of outstanding universal value. Furthermore, UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001), UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH; 2003) and UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005) reveal an increased recognition of the importance of intangible heritage and cultural diversity within conservation and heritage preservation. These conventions aim at supporting conservation efforts, ownership, protective legal frameworks, and issues related to authenticity and how global initiatives can be implemented at a local level, where most ICH is located. The more recent European Landscape Convention (ELC), established by the Council of Europe in 2000, covers all landscapes and promotes the integration of landscapes in cultural, environmental, agricultural, social and economic policies, using a participatory approach (Jones and Stenseke, 2011). This further emphasises the need for methods and tools for integrated assessment of cultural and ecological values in the landscape to ensure informed policy making.

Against this background, this paper aims to:

1. Provide a conceptual analysis of cultural ecosystem services, especially how they are linked to the concepts of landscape, heritage and identity.
2. Discuss how these cultural ecosystem services can be assessed and integrated into spatial and physical planning.
3. Shed light on the assessment process through two case studies
   - South-western Sweden—identification of cultural ecosystem services through the use of established methods for documenting cultural heritage values in landscapes; and
   - Arafura–Timor Seas—combines an analysis of ecosystem services, including cultural ecosystem services, with established methods for assessment of priority environmental concerns, their impacts on human well-being and drivers at the landscape/seascape scale.
4. Provide some recommendations on the way forward with respect to integration of cultural heritage values and identity in ecosystem services assessments that form the basis for conservation planning and implementation, as well as policy making.

2. Conceptual analysis of cultural ecosystem services

We discuss below concepts central to the understanding of Cultural Ecosystem Services (CES) with special focus on two of the

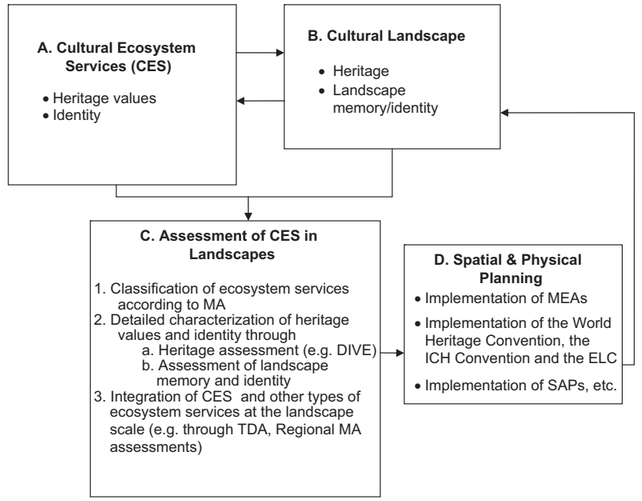

Fig. 1. Conceptual model of the linkages between Cultural Ecosystem Services and Cultural Landscape research.

MA categories: heritage values and identity. In Fig. 1, we attempt to link CES from an MA perspective to related concepts used in cultural landscape research following the approach proposed by Schaich et al. (2010). We also propose steps for assessing CES in landscapes to ensure their integration in spatial and physical planning.

2.1. Landscapes

Landscapes can be observed from many points of view. Within the Anglophone world, landscape is primarily understood as a visual feature, whereas the older Nordic concept *landskap* has a more complex meaning, including many different kinds of interactions between people and place. Within the natural sciences "landscape" commonly refers to the landforms of a region in the aggregate or to the land surface and its associated habitats at scales of hectares to many square kilometres. According to this perspective, a landscape is a spatially heterogeneous area and three important landscape characteristics to consider are structure, function and change (Turner, 1989). Landscape research conducted within the humanities and the social sciences tend to instead approach the subject from the perspective of the people who use, perceive, transform, debate and define landscapes. Landscape can be understood as an arena where conflicting interests meet, but also as sites of importance for people's individual (Knez, 2006, in press) and collective (Lewicka, 2008) memories and identifications. Thus, physical places and landscapes comprise not only physical and spatial parameters but also psychological, social, historical and religious connotations (e.g. Graumann, 2002; Knez et al., 2009). Within contemporary landscape research, there is a clear focus on the complex and ever-changing character of landscapes, and the resulting challenges related to protection and conservation of landscapes (e.g. Jorgensen and Keenan, 2011; Saltzman et al., 2011).

For this paper, we adopt the definition of landscape provided by the ELC that defines landscape as an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors. It includes land, inland water and marine areas. It concerns landscapes that might be considered outstanding as well as everyday or degraded landscapes. The ELC does not explicitly refer to ecosystem services, but advocates a cross-disciplinary approach that identifies, describes and assesses the territory as a whole (and no longer just identify places to be protected) and include and combine several approaches simultaneously, linking ecological, archaeological, historical, cultural, perceptive and economic approaches to support sustainable development of landscapes. In line with the MEAs, the ELC also adopts a participatory approach.

2.2. Cultural heritage and identity

Within the ecosystem services approach, cultural heritage values and identity are important aspects of cultural and amenity services as a whole, implying the non-material benefits people obtain from ecosystems through: spiritual enrichment; cognitive, emotional and social development; reflection; recreation; and, aesthetic experiences (MA, 2005).

Cultural heritage values is put forth within the MA as an important factor to consider within ecosystem management due to the fact that many societies place high value on the maintenance of either historically important landscapes (cultural landscapes) or culturally significant species. MA refers to heritage values mainly as special or historic features within a landscape that remind us of our collective and individual roots, providing a sense of continuity and understanding of our place in our natural and cultural environment. Heritage is thus conceptualised as landscape-related "memories" from past cultural ties, mainly expressed through characteristics within cultural landscapes (MA, 2005).

Within contemporary theory of conservation, cultural heritage is a broad and complex term, revealed in a global context by the evolving, more inclusive and integrated interpretation of the heritage concept within the World Heritage Convention in the last 30 years (Jokilehto and Cameron, 2008). Heritage can be understood as physical objects or places, something that has been passed on from generation to generation. But heritage also incorporates various practices and

intangible aspects such as language or cultural behaviour in a broader sense. This also incorporates ways to go about conserving things and choices we make about what to remember and what to forget, often in the light of a potential threat and in relation to future generations (Harrison, 2010). Cultural heritage is thus not only what former generations built up but also the way it is interpreted, valued and managed by contemporary society in our everyday life. Historical artefacts and the way practices are connected to historic features within landscapes are considered as heritage because we attribute values to them (Muñoz Viñas, 2005). Cultural heritage is therefore not static but is constantly changing and re-evaluated, interpreted in various ways by different actors.

By cultural identity, the MA refers to the current cultural linkage between humans and their environment (MA, 2005). Cultural diversity is dependent on a diversity of contemporary landscapes, generating place specific languages and traditional knowledge systems. Within contemporary psychology, cultural identity refers to the individual's sense of self as related to a range of social and interpersonal links and roles. According to Triandis (1994), culture is to society what memory is to individuals. In other words, culture includes traditions that tell *what has worked* in the past. It also encompasses the way people have learned to look at their environment and themselves, indicating a linkage between humans and their landscape. We stay *alive* by anchoring our existence to places, as pointed out by Casey (1993). A place and a landscape related memory has also been shown to comprise both personal (Taylor, 2010; Knez, 2006, in press) and collective information (Lewicka, 2008).

In the context of ecosystem services, we suggest a definition of cultural heritage as being features within landscapes significant in some way to the present, including not only historical objects or landscape features (cultural and natural) but also intangible aspects such as stories, knowledge systems and traditions, implying that an inclusive approach is crucial for sustainable management of landscapes. Both tangible and intangible heritage within the landscape help to maintain meanings and a sense of collective identity, emphasising the intimate linkage between cultural heritage and identity.

Within the ecosystem frame of reference, it is acknowledged that there is an artificial separation of the different cultural and amenity services. From above it is clear that the meaning/definition of cultural heritage as used in conservation/cultural landscape research stresses that "cultural heritage values" and "cultural identity" and several other CES categories defined by MA (such as spiritual and recreational values) are interrelated and overlapping. However, despite the conceptual and operational difficulties of breaking down different values into typologies as seen both within the MA and the cultural heritage concept, there is a need to facilitate assessment and integration of different values in planning and management of both cultural heritage and ecosystems. Fig. 1 illustrates the reciprocal links between the concepts of heritage values and identity as used by the ecosystem service research community and the concepts of heritage, landscape memory and identity as used by the cultural landscape research community. Based on the discussion above and on the proposal by Schaich et al (2010) to fill the knowledge gap on CES by linking ecosystem services research with cultural landscape research that has a long tradition in investigating non-material landscape values, we are henceforth treating the concepts in Boxes A and B (Fig. 1) as interchangeable.

3. Assessment of cultural ecosystem services

3.1. Ecosystem services approaches

There is a growing consensus that there is a need to assess the value of non-marketable goods and services from ecosystems to balance the values from production related activities (Price, 2008; Vejre et al., 2010). The challenge with assessing cultural ecosystem services is their intangibility and non-use values, which often renders them difficult to classify and measure. Chan et al. (2011) use a spatial ecosystem services framework, which has similarities with the landscape approach. However, they recognize that it is not possible to map one service to one benefit for cultural services, as spiritual, inspiration and place values are not products of single experiences, but products of all manner of experiences associated with ecosystems. They therefore recommend more inclusive valuation approaches and integration with biophysical and economic service models.

The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) has recently published an Ecosystem and Human Wellbeing Assessment Manual (Ash et al., 2010). The purpose of the Manual is to guide ecosystem assessments by presenting "best practice" experiences. The target audience for the Manual is assessment practioners involved in designing and carrying out environmental or developmental assessments following the MA approach. The Manual mainly recommends quantitative methods and indicators for assessing ecosystem services and their trade-offs, which potentially is a problem for integration of cultural ecosystem services into the assessments. This can be illustrated by the presentation in the Manual of some indicators and possible proxies for the cultural ecosystem services assessed in MA-type assessment that for example include area of landscape in attractive condition and visitor opinion polls and number of visits to beauty spots (Scholes et al., 2010). However, an assessment of cultural ecosystem services also needs to include a historical perspective as well as the differing perspectives and perceptions of different groups of stakeholders that are not easily translated into quantitative indicators.

3.2. Assessing cultural heritage: methods and approaches within conservation

In recent years, the field of heritage preservation has started to develop more integrated approaches to site management and planning that provide clearer guidance for decisions related to physical planning and the sustainable development of landscapes. A values-based approach is most often favoured, which uses systematic analysis of the values and significance attributed to cultural resources and also places great importance on the consultation of stakeholders. Environmental economics research deals with heritage as a public good where intangibles are seen as transformative economical assets, adding economical values to assessments strategies (De la Torre, 2002; Navrud and Ready, 2002).

While it is officially endorsed only in Australia, the Burra Charter (Walker and Marquis-Kyle, 2004) is an adaptable model for site management also in other parts of the world because the planning process it advocates requires the integration of local cultural values. The main principles and procedures are based on the recognition of cultural significance, the associations between places and people, the importance of the meaning of places to people and the need to respect the co-existence of various cultural values, involving conflicts of interests and the co-management of cultural and natural significance of the same place. The distinction between the cultural and natural values is often separated for management purposes, but has proven inseparable especially within the context of indigenous/aboriginal issues. The approach thus has similarities both with the concept of cultural landscape management and the MA notion that ecosystems provides cultural ecosystem services together with more production oriented services, such as food and water, as well as climate and water regulation.

Contextual and integrated approaches to site management developed in Scandinavia are also based on the need to understand the entire landscape rather than separate fragments. The four-step DIVE-analysis (Describe, Interpret, Valuate and Enable) addresses some of the challenges which are encountered when viewing historic and cultural environments as both qualitative and functional resources (Riksantikvaren, 2009). The analysis focuses on urban and semi-urban heritage qualities as development assets, and uses terms and techniques such as time/space matrices, historic legibility, heritage integrity, and capacity for change. By means of the analysis one clarifies which social, economic, cultural and physical features have been and are important for the area's development, which physical traits have played and play a key functional and symbolic role, and which are of secondary importance. Time-depth and legibility are two concepts important within the DIVE analysis. Time-depth refers to assessment of the historical period that has most influenced the site/landscape—the older the period, the larger the time-depth. Legibility consists of the remnants and structures from historical periods that are found at the site/in the landscape. Legibility is used to describe the time-depth as well as for anchoring proposed changes in the present landscape.

It is characteristic for integrated site analysis, such as the Burra Charter or DIVE, to take into consideration the drivers of change through time, the tangible and intangible cultural qualities of the site and the way this is experienced and managed by stakeholders. These values-based methodologies derive from developments within heritage management aiming at addressing the policy-driven aspects of inclusive approaches and a broader perception of heritage.

Simultaneously there is a growing body of epistemological critique concerning the use and concept of heritage as well as the contemporary heritage planning practice, still seen as an expert-led activity concerned mainly with tangible aspects (Olsson, 2008). Heritage is separate from history (Lowenthal, 1985), and is often created in a process of categorisation (Carman, 2002). "Creating" heritage in that sense is a dynamic process that involves both an institutionalised, top-down planning process creating official heritage, and the bottom-up relationship between people, objects, places and memories creating unofficial forms of heritage usually at a local level (Harrison, 2010). Consequently, all places (landscape/seascape) have various meanings and significance depending on different perspectives. Places always have plural heritages, involving an inherent conflict concerning who defines and has the right to the official representation (Ashworth et al, 2007). The two processes of official and unofficial heritage processes and the relationship between them have given rise to critical heritage studies as an interdisciplinary field of research. Of particular interest is the somewhat uncritical, common-sense understanding of what heritage entails, often referred to as the Authorised Heritage Discourse (Smith, 2006). Results indicate that there is a need for a systematic analysis of possible, non-intended negative cultural effects of contemporary values-based integrated planning and management approaches such as the Burra Charter (Waterton et al., 2006).

Assessing cultural aspects of ecosystem services, in this case heritage and identity, certainly involves the risk of simplistic representations of what well-being may be for various stakeholders at different spatial scales, and this needs to be taken into consideration when developing interdisciplinary methods linked to the ecosystem services approach.

3.3. Integration of different types of ecosystem services in assessment and planning processes

For regional-level assessments, the UNEP Ecosystem and Human Wellbeing Assessment Manual (Ash et al., 2010) provides guidance on how to link assessment scales and how to bridge knowledge systems and enable integration of indicators of different types of ecosystem services based on scientific as well as local and traditional knowledge. However, as discussed above, it does not provide much guidance on methods for collecting information on cultural ecosystem services related to cultural heritage values and identity. Our conceptual framework (Fig. 1) proposes ways of improving the integration of these CES into the overall assessment approach and this will also be further explored in the first case study presented below.

An earlier methodology for regional-level assessment, also developed by UNEP, is the Transboundary Diagnostic Analysis (TDA). A TDA is a widely-used tool within International Waters Projects funded by the financial mechanism of the MEAs—the Global Environment Facility (GEF)—used to assess priority environmental concerns in shared Large Marine Ecosystems (LMEs) and seascapes. The TDA is discussed here because of its spatial scale and applicability in seascapes, which is the marine equivalent of landscapes as defined in i.e. the ELC. The TDA uses the best available verified scientific information to examine the state of the environment, and the root causes/drivers for its degradation. It focuses on transboundary problems and identifies information gaps, policy distortions and institutional deficiencies (Sherman. et al., 2009). The TDA provides the technical and scientific basis for the logical development of a Strategic Action Programme (SAP) that is based on a reasoned, holistic and multi-sectoral consideration of the problems associated with the state of and threats to transboundary water systems and resources (Pernetta and Bewers, 2012). A TDA is also a valuable process for multilateral exchanges of perspectives and stakeholder consultation as a precursor to the eventual formulation of a SAP. The applicability of the TDA approach to conduct integrated assessment of ecosystem services is tested in the second case study.

4. Case studies

This section presents two case studies that intend to highlight how identification of CES can be integrated into existing methods for documenting cultural heritage values in landscapes (e.g. DIVE) as well as methods for ecosystem-based assessment and management of larger landscapes/seascapes (e.g. TDA/SAP).

4.1. Glommen landscape—county of Halland, SW, Sweden

The first case study was conducted in two parts, focusing on *Glommen*, situated in the county of Halland in south-western Sweden, Fig. 2. *Glommen*, a former fishing village dating back to the late 19th century, is today a fast growing residential area due to its vicinity to both the sea and urban areas.

The initial assessment was done as part of a master thesis at the Department of Conservation, University of Gothenburg, with the purpose of documenting cultural heritage values of an area within *Glommen* using the DIVE methodology. The case study area, called *Långaveka*, consists of ten properties along a road structure dating back to the early 1800s surrounded by pastures, agricultural fields and a Natura 2000[1] nature conservation area. *Långaveka* was at the time subjected to a new local development

[1] Natura 2000 is an EU wide network of nature protection areas. The aim of the network is to assure the long-term survival of Europe's most valuable and threatened species and habitats. Natura 2000 is not a system of strict nature reserves where all human activities are excluded. Whereas the network will certainly include nature reserves most of the land is likely to continue to be privately owned and the emphasis will be on ensuring that future management is sustainable, both ecologically and economically. The establishment of this network of protected areas also fulfills a Community obligation under the CBD.

Fig. 2. Space-time matrix showing an overview of *Glommen* and the case study area, *Långaveka*.

plan involving 35 new properties to be built on former agricultural fields currently used for pasture (Karlsson, 2008). *Långaveka* had no official conservation status although the physical plan for the area acknowledges it's built up structures as characteristic for *Glommen* as a whole. Thus, using the terminology of the European Landscape Convention, the case study area would be characterized as an everyday landscape.

The DIVE methodology propose a time/scale matrix as an initial state of reference for further discussions with relevant stakeholders about aspects of the cultural heritage that needs to be addressed within future developments. The time-scale matrix is used not only to organize collected data, but also to analyse how societal changes have affected the structures and functions (landscape and local level) and expressions (detailed/object level) at the site. Aerial photographs, historic and contemporary maps, historical records, semi-structured interviews with key informants (living in the area, part of the local historic society and working within the planning department of the municipality) and quantitative inventories of the built environment were systemised and analysed within the matrix (Karlsson, 2008). The aim was to put historical features and contemporary values of the site in its societal context, to highlight qualities and identify resources for future development, and to draw attention to the cultural heritage values of the area, identified by stakeholders and expert analysis.

As a second step of analysis, the cultural values model (Stephenson, 2008) also used by Gee and Burkhard (2010) was used to further examine *Långaveka*, since it provides an integrated conceptual framework for understanding the potential range of values present within a landscape. It assumes that culturally valued aspects of a landscape comprise relationships, practices and forms, embedded within temporality. Cultural values within a landscape are thus often identified as tangible and intangible, implying some value aspects as time related (often identified by those with longer experience of a particular landscape). The term *surface value* are the perceptual response to the directly perceived forms, relationships and practices, while *embedded value* arise out of an awareness of past forms, practices and relationships, i.e., heritage.

The time/scale matrix was re-used (Table 1), summarizing the historical legibility of the area (results of direct and indirect drivers of change through time still visible today). Based on the collected and systemised data, surface and embedded values including possible ecosystem services within the cultural landscape were identified. The incorporation of cultural ecosystem services within the matrix was done by re-analysing the original material through triangulation of information using the original case study and expert analysis by experts from the fields of conservation of cultural heritage and environmental conservation, respectively.

The result from the first part of the study showed that the area has retained the character from the 1870s despite extensive exploitation of adjacent areas. This was mainly due to the intact ownership of land and continuous use and appreciation of functions and aesthetics of the landscape and the built environment. At first, the nature conservation area proved not only to have important natural values such as birdlife, intrinsic aesthetic values and recreation possibilities, but was also considered valuable because it functioned as the visual connection to the sea and the lighthouse, an important landmark of cultural heritage value. The remaining agricultural field currently used for pasture was not in the first stages of analysis identified by immediate stakeholders as an important part of the cultural heritage of the area, although it had contemporary use-value. However, when addressing the area as a landscape and looking at the development of *Glommen* as a whole, the open fields proved to have a more noticeable position, as an important supportive component to the legibility of historical features of the area, giving the site its distinctive character.

The DIVE methodology promotes a landscape approach to identifying and assessing cultural heritage values. The case study attempts to demonstrate how the DIVE method and its time/scale

Table 1
Time/scale matrix summarizing the historical legibility of the area (A) with identified surface/embedded values as well as ecosystem services on different scales (B).

A **Drivers of change**	**Landscape (*Glommen* as a whole)**	**Local (case study area)**	**Detailed/object (within case study area)**
1965–2007 Economic shift: Continued housing developments inland. Increasing land-use chance on former agricultural land. Regulations concerning natural environments within *Glommen* have been passed, but no official regulation of cultural heritage exists.	**Legibility** *Glommen* as a whole constitutes a growing residential area with extensive housing developments. Rapid development creating homogeneous character within new areas, architecturally distinct from previous built up areas.	**Legibility** Former agricultural land within case study area develops into grazing land for horses.	**Legibility** House expansions. One building is demolished.
1925–1965 Economy less dependent on agricultural land and fishing industry. Population growth Increased traffic with new roads.	**Legibility** Housing developments inland towards north and west of new major road with distinct homogenous architecture.	**Legibility** Traffic diversion leaves the case study area fairly unexploited. The architectural and structural main character of the place is left unaltered.	**Legibility** The mill turns into living area with necessary alterations. A few new houses built up. Barns reused as garages.
1800–1925 Development of economy based on small scale agriculture and fishing industry.	**Legibility** Farmhouses inland and traditional architecture along the harbour.	**Legibility** Cluster of houses along the most important road leading from inland towards the coast, still intact with open surrounding landscape.	**Legibility** The road structure, adjacent traditional farmhouses and a mill, stone walls marking properties.
B	**Surface values** Built environment with architectural and environmental diversity, with extensive contemporary housing developments alongside preserved historical and natural features. **Embedded values and ES** Economy connected with fishing industry still part of the identity of *Glommen* as a whole. The diversity of aesthetic expressions and the clearly distinguishable identities within the area stimulates inspiration considering time-depth and historical information within the landscape as a whole. Gradual alteration of the natural ecosystems from a near pristine ecosystems along the coast providing habitat for biodiversity as well as supporting and regulating ecosystem services into agricultural land, residential areas, etc. with loss of supporting and regulating ecosystem services and increase in provisioning and cultural ecosystem services. The current diversity within the community consisting of both green and built up areas are vital for the well-being of residents and visitors reflected in the use of the case study area for recreational walks and increasing house prices, and maintain regulating and supporting ecosystem services related to climate, water, pollination, etc.	**Surface values** Due to absence of physical planning, the case study area develops slowly, creating a heterogeneous character when compared to newly constructed areas. The case study area thus remains architecturally and structurally distinct from adjacent development areas, being part of a cultural landscape with heterogeneous historical features, managed by immediate stakeholders. The use value of the area used for keeping horses also serves as a structural precondition for understanding the development of the area. **Embedded values and ES** The clear historic legibility relates to a sense of place identified by immediate stakeholders, associated with traditional knowledge systems relating to former economies and features within the cultural landscape. Green open spaces provide regulating ecosystem services related to pollination and biodiversity.	**Surface values** Historical features from the period 1800–1925 are most characteristic within the case study area. Buildings with traditional architecture, stone walls marking limits of properties, intact integral road system etc. are visible and understood within case study area. New features or house expansions are integrated within an architectural tradition with maintained characteristics considering scale, colour, placement etc. **Embedded values** The consistent architectural traditions are part of an appreciation for characteristic building traditions within the community with strong links to the local landscape. Vivid memories and stories told about former uses and functions.

matrix can be used to identify ecosystem services relating to cultural heritage information. The central idea of an ecosystem services approach is for assessments to be inter- and transdisciplinary, where no individual component should be looked at in isolation. There is a seemingly linear analytical logic of the ecosystem services approach, viewed as something of a "production chain" linking ecological and biophysical structures and processes at the start and aspects of human well-being at the end, by Potschin and Heines-Young referred to as "the cascade analogy" (Potschin and Haines-Young, 2011) adapted by De Groot et al. (2010). However, valuation is not the final outcome of an assessment. Rather, value should be seen as one of the essential elements that should be considered in any full analysis of an ecosystem service. The value people place on natural surroundings can be triggered and connected to the ecosystem in many different ways. To move away from well-being as something of a one-dimensional "Black box" (see Fig. 4) at the end of the line of an ecosystem service assessment (Fish, 2011), there is a need to understand how well-being maps back onto the services that nature provides. Through the identification of what people value as cultural heritage on a landscape scale, significant biophysical processes and structures can be recognised and problematised (Potschin and Haines-Young, 2011). After extensive land use changes as shown in the matrix, the open space have diminished and serve different, but still important purposes today.

Fig. 3. Map over the Arafura and Timor Seas region, showing provinces in Indonesia and State boundaries.

The matrix presented in Table 1 only constitutes part of the initial steps of the DIVE method, but using our conceptual framework (Fig. 1), it nevertheless illustrates how cultural ecosystem services can be identified using an analysis of cultural landscapes and place-specific analysis of cultural heritage. Heritage within the case study area are to a great extent dependent on, as well as a result of, the symbiosis with the historical development of its natural surroundings, agricultural development, and the built up environment still visible and used within the area. The case study thus illustrates that the DIVE methodology can provide a tool for identifying CES within an everyday landscape. The concepts used within the field of conservation of cultural heritage, describing material and immaterial heritage values associated with the cultural landscape, could thus serve as a springboard for further research on heritage values within the ecosystem services concept. The subsequent step would be to better integrate the analysis of CES's (cultural heritage values and identity) with other types of ecosystem services to inform physical planning at the landscape scale, which is a challenge that will be explored in the next case study. Furthermore, in-depth analysis of cultural identity, which can be linked to individual landscape memory, also requires the integration of methods from the field of psychology amongst others.

4.2. Arafura–Timor seascape, southeast Asia

The second case study comes from Arafura and Timor Seas (ATS) that are linking the Indian and Pacific Oceans and playing an important role in global ocean circulation (De Deckker et al., 2003), Fig. 3. At the regional scale, the ecosystems of both seas are important players economically and ecologically for the four littoral nations bordering the ATS: Australia, Indonesia, Timor Leste and Papua New Guinea. The case study is drawn from an international programme for the Coral Triangle in Southeast Asia, and a project under the programme entitled Arafura and Timor Seas Ecosystem Action Programme (ATSEA) that are funded by the Global Environment Facility, the financial mechanism of the MEAs (ATSEA, 2012; Tengberg and Cabanban, in press; Zavadsky et al., 2011).

The TDA[2] methodology used for the ATSEA programme follows GEF International Waters best practice guidance,[3] which has been combined with the ecosystem services framework developed by the MA that links environmental degradation to loss of ecosystem services and impacts on human well-being. The methodology thus consists of the following steps:

1. Identification and initial prioritisation of transboundary problems.
2. Gathering and interpreting information on impacts on ecosystem services and human well-being of each problem.
3. Causal-chain analysis based on the MA framework that identifies direct and indirect drivers of loss of ecosystem services.
4. Completion of an analysis of institutions, laws, policies and projected investments.

[2] Transboundary Diagnostic Analysis.
[3] http://iwlearn.net/.

The priority environmental concerns, which were identified, include (Alongi, 2011)

1. Unsustainable fisheries and decline and loss of living coastal and marine resources.
2. Modification, degradation and loss of coastal and marine habitats.
3. Marine and land-based pollution (e.g. marine debris, sediments, oil spills).
4. Decline and loss of biodiversity and key marine species.
5. Impacts of climate change.

As part of the TDA, a Causal Chain Analysis (CCA) was conducted to identify the direct and indirect drivers of the priority transboundary problems and their impacts in the Arafura and Timor seas. The participants in all the TDA meetings held in Indonesia, Timor-Leste and Australia are listed in Annex 2 in the TDA report (ATSEA, 2012). The CCA was developed in two participatory workshops with experts from the four participating countries with backgrounds in fisheries, environmental conservation, social anthropology, law and law and planning. The CCA sessions of these workshops were led by the lead author of this paper, who also revised the GEF TDA methodology to better integrate the ecosystem services concept, a need that was recently identified in a global review of the concept of large marine ecosystems and its institutional relevance for ecosystem-based management and development (Tengberg and Andreasson, 2012).

Australian experts were drawn from: the Australian Institute of Marine Science; Charles Darwin University; Australian Fisheries Management Authority; Northern Territory Government; Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities.; Northern Territory Fisheries Department of Resources; and Australia National University. Indonesian experts were from: Centre for Fisheries Management and Fish Conservation; Centre for Marine and Coastal Resources Research and Development; Bogor Institute of Agriculture; Indonesian Institute of Sciences; University of Pattimura; University of Padjadjaran; University of Fisheries; University of Indonesia; Indonesian Tuna Fisheries Association; and Coral Triangle Centre. Timor Leste participated with five experts from the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. Papua New Guinea only participated in the second workshop with three experts from the National Fisheries Authority, as they were not yet a full member of the ATSEA programme. The CCA was also informed by the already completed biophysical, socio-economic and governance assessments for the ATS (Alongi, 2011; Ariadno, 2011; Stacey et al., 2011). Finally, the completed TDA and CCA were validated by the Regional Scientific Committee of the ATS project before being officially endorsed by the Project Board comprised of official government representatives and the United Nations.

The CCA methodology developed for the Arafura and Timor seas TDA was based on a combination of the approach used by the Global International Waters Assessment, the Orange-Senqu TDA and the MA (GIWA, 2002; MA, 2005; ORASECOM, 2008). The methodology aims to link the sectors and drivers of transboundary problems with the impacts of the problem on ecosystem services and human well-being. The advantage of this approach is that it aids in the identification of well-targeted interventions that can address both institutional and technical solutions to the problems.

The causal-chain analysis for Priority Environmental Concern 2 is presented in Fig. 4. Decline and loss of biodiversity and key marine species have serious impacts on the functioning of the overall ATS ecosystem and the services it can provide. Impacts include

- Negative impacts on provisioning ecosystem services include loss of food production from key coastal and marine habitats, loss of access to timber from mangroves for housing, fuel and boats, reduced income and loss of genetic resource.
- Negative impacts on cultural ecosystem services include loss of cultural identity associated with certain habitats, including ability to carry out cultural and spiritual practices, such as burials in mangroves, loss of tourism and recreational opportunities, loss of educational opportunities, decline in local ecological knowledge, skills and technology pertaining to habitat management, and loss of opportunities for social and cultural capital (e.g. women gathering/ harvesting together).
- Loss of regulating ecosystem services include loss of hydrodynamic barriers and protection from erosion from storm surges by mangrove swamps, loss of connectivity among habitats, decline in coastal water quality, decline in freshwater quality from groundwater salinization, as well as reduction in carbon sequestration in mangroves and sea grass beds.
- Impacts on supporting ecosystem services include loss of nursery function of habitats, alteration of nutrient cycling, reduction in primary and secondary production, increase in acidsulfate soils, and change to microclimates.

The loss of these ecosystem services also have negative impacts on human well-being in terms of loss of access to safe food and water, and traditional medicine, which affects health. It also leads to loss of livelihood opportunities and increased vulnerability of coastal communities, as well as reduced social security caused by break down of social systems and cultural norms. Direct drivers in the Mining/ Energy and Transportation sectors that need to be addressed include oil spills and pollution, mining in sensitive areas, and development of infrastructure, such as ports and roads. In the capture fisheries sector, destructive fishing, practices involving bottom trawling, dynamite and cyanide fishing, etc. are key problems coupled with overharvesting and market demand for marine species. Indirect drivers that need to be addressed include lack of regulations and enforcement as well as safety standards, market demand, overlapping mandates between sectors, local development and lack of best practice.

This case study clearly demonstrates the central role of cultural ecosystem services in an overall assessment of ecosystem services at the landscape/seascape scale (Fig. 1, C.1). The great number of CES that are being lost due to environmental degradation as identified in the participatory workshops demonstrate in itself the significance of this category of ecosystem services and the need to take CES into consideration in trade off analysis of different ecosystem services. However, there are still considerable challenges involved in quantifying CES and further qualitative assessments need to be undertaken. According to our conceptual framework the loss of cultural identity associated with the loss of certain habitats, such as mangroves, could for example benefit from place-based assessment of CES using tools from the field of cultural heritage studies and psychology (Fig. 1, C.2). In the case of Australia, where 70% of the remote northern coastline is owned by indigenous people that account for around 25% of the total population in the Australian part of the ATS region, the Burra Charter could become linked to the assessment of CES, just as in the case of the DIVE method in the first case study. In the ATS region, co-management of cultural and natural significance of the same place is of paramount importance and the preservation of cultural heritage goes hand-in-hand with implementation of the MEAs, such as the CBD and the Ramsar convention (Fig. 1, D).

The analysis of ecosystem services undertaken for the ATS region will be used is currently being used to formulate a Strategic Action Programme for the seascape that will address threats to all types of

a

OVERARCHING DRIVERS
Population growth, economic growth and rising demand for fish and seafood, climate change

SECTORS:

INDIRECT DRIVERS

Capture fisheries	Agriculture/ Aquaculture	Mining/Energy	Transportation	Tourism
Lack of regulatory framework and enforcement	Government policy promoting increased production (food and income generation)	Lack of regulations and enforcement (national and international level)	Regulatory systems and safety standards	Economic affluence
Lack of livelihood alternatives	Land use planning inadequate/poor regulatory enforcement	Energy and materials market demand	Market demand/macro-economics (population growth)	Intrinsic values (cultural, spiritual, etc.)
Income	Land/sea tenure	Technology	Mobility/migration	Government revenues/ employment
Poverty	Governance arrangements (different across countries)	Overlapping mandates for responsibility /decisions	Military	Government regulations/ incentives
Access to markets	Cash income in exchange for ownership	Desire for government tax/revenues and job creation (economic benefit)	Local development	Services (population growth)
Cash economy		Lack of best practice	Government economic policy	
Technology (nets, boats)		Conflict of interest	Lack of alternative infrastructure	
		Noise		

SECTORS:

Direct drivers

Capture fisheries	Agriculture/ Aquaculture	Mining/Energy	Transportation	Tourism
Bottom trawling	Coastal development	Oil spills	Ports	Infrastructure (transport, accommodation)
IUU fishing : Poaching, Dynamite fishing, Cyanide fishing, and other destructive fishing practices	Pollution	Mining in sensitive habitats	Dredging	Rubbish/pollution
Overfishing / overcapacity/overharvesting	Deforestation, land clearing	Fuel wood	Noise	Unsustainable growth
	Lack of good practices in agriculture	Pollution from transportation (shipping, ports)	Spills/pollution	Disturbance of biota
		Pollution from chemicals, tailings	Groundings	

Fig. 4. (a) Causal chain analysis for modification, degradation and loss of coastal and marine habitats in the ATSEA; (b) Causal chain analysis for modification, degradation and loss of coastal and marine habitats (continued).

b

IMPACTS ON ECOSYSTEM SERVICES

Provisioning	Cultural	Regulating	Supporting
Loss of food production	Loss of ability to carry out cultural and spiritual practices (e.g burials in mangroves)	Loss of protection from erosion + storm surges (mangroves)	Loss of nursery function of habitats
Loss of access to timber from mangroves (housing, fuel, boats)	Loss of tourism and recreational opportunities	Loss of connectivity among habitats	Alteration of nutrient cycling
Loss of material for handicrafts (shells, coral, timber/fibre)	Loss of cultural identity associated with certain habitats	Decline in coastal water quality	Primary and secondary production (plants) reduced
Loss of income	Loss of educational opportunities	Decline in fresh water quality from groundwater salinization	Increase in acidsulfate soils
Depletion of genetic resources	Decline in local ecological knowledge and skills and technology (habitats and species)	Loss of carbon sequestration (mangroves, seagrass)	Change in microclimates
	Loss opportunities for social and cultural capital	Loss of hydrodynamics barriers (waves)	

IMPACTS ON HUMAN WELL-BEING

Traditional medicine
Secure livelihoods
Health
Increased vulnerability for communities in coastal areas
Biotechnology/bioactive
Nutrition and water (drinking) and loss of food diversity
Social security (social systems and cultural)
Education and learning

Fig. 4. (*continued*)

ecosystem services important for environmental sustainability and human well-being, including CES. This clearly demonstrates that in situations when it is not possible to undertake a quantitative assessment of ecosystem services due to constraints such as the intangibility of many CES, policy relevant recommendations can still be made based on qualitative assessments and trade-off analysis made by stakeholder groups representing different perspectives.

4.3. Discussion of case study results

In spite of differences of scale (local and regional), type of landscape (cultural landscape and seascape) and methods from different disciplinary perspectives (DIVE and TDA) the case studies presented above provide some general lessons. Starting at the local level, analyses of cultural heritage still often emphasise architectural and material aspects of the environment, although new participatory methods are developing rapidly within the cultural heritage sector to capture local perceptions and values. CES and equivalent terms of intangible values used within the field of conservation of cultural heritage, could serve to address embedded values for further analysis using existing tools for assessment of cultural heritage values, such as DIVE, as demonstrated in the *Glommen* case study. DIVE or other value-based assessment methods could potentially also be applied in the Arafura and Timor seas region. The ecosystem services framework developed by the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment also highlights other types of ecosystem services generated by contemporary landscapes, which adds to the understanding of interlinkages between CES and other ecosystem services and nature.

At the regional level, the subsequent step would be to better integrate the analysis of CES—cultural heritage values and identity—with other types of ecosystem services to enable trade-off analysis to inform physical planning at the landscape scale. The ATS case study provides an approach for integrated assessment of ecosystem services allowing identification of different types of ecosystem services, even when quantitative information is not available. It could also become a useful tool for linking the loss of ecosystem services to driving factors in key sectors. On the other hand, the DIVE method as well as similar methods from cultural heritage conservation, provide tools for the analysis of historical drivers of change in landscapes important to understand when devising management and conservation strategies at the landscape scale. This would add time-depth to the more spatially focused TDA approach and the MA-type assessments discussed in the UNEP Ecosystem and Human Wellbeing Assessment Manual.

5. Concluding discussion

There is a need to bridge the gap between the ecosystem services approach promoted in recent years by international

organizations in the implementation of the MEAs (i.e. CBD and UNCCD), and cultural landscape and heritage research promoted by the World Heritage and ICH Conventions, and the ELC. For example, the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency, sees opportunities to handle some of the issues related to the implementation of the ELC in its work to meet the environmental targets linked to inter alia the implementation of the CBD. But it also emphasises the risk that this approach may make it more difficult to reach the environmental targets due to additional requirements (SNH, 2011). This kind of attitude risks creating a parallel path for the implementation of cultural landscape and heritage related conventions that is separate from that of the environmental conventions, despite the expressed need to work across disciplines and to link nature conservation with cultural heritage preservation and to integrate information on cultural ecosystem services with that related to provisioning, regulating and supporting services.

Both sides have much to learn from the other. The so far quite simplified notion of cultural ecosystem services among the ecological research community could be enriched by many decades of research on cultural landscapes and their heritage values adding a historical perspective to the analysis of ecosystem services and the design of management and conservation strategies. Cultural landscape research could, on the other hand, benefit from a practical tool for analysis of different values and their trade-offs at the landscape scale based on the ecosystem services framework and the four types of ecosystem services it distinguishes among—provisioning, regulating, cultural and supporting ecosystem services.

There is a need to move away from the sectoral approach to management and preservation of cultural heritage and link it to conservation of landscapes and ecosystems, also ensuring harmonised implementation of relevant international instruments, such as the ELC and CBD as well as other relevant action plans and conventions. This paper identifies possible ways for enhancing collaboration and integration across disciplines in conservation of cultural heritage and nature, but further efforts are needed to bridge the gap between different approaches and scientific traditions. It is also recognised that there is a need to gather evidence of how values of heritage can be better understood and related into economic terms and systems, which could be accomplished through a number of case studies in different settings and planning situations (Engelbrektsson, 2008). It is at the same time essential to acknowledge the critical heritage discourse in order not to simplify or generalise neither heritage nor environmental issues. One major challenge concerning both conservation of heritage and ecosystem services is describing the exact spatial extent of a particular service and who should be incorporated in the value assessment and why. It is our intention to gather further evidence from new case studies on how to assess and integrate the tangible and intangible values of cultural heritage in ecosystem services assessments and to link this to conservation planning policy making related to sustainable development and management of landscapes.

We conclude that

- The ecosystem services approach provides a useful tool for bringing different disciplines together to identify the heritage values of a landscape/seascape from different perspectives.
- Our study confirms previous results showing that the concept of cultural ecosystem services can be combined with cultural landscape research.
- We propose that established methods for valuation of cultural heritage and identity in landscapes are integrated into assessments of ecosystem services to inform policy making and physical and spatial planning for sustainable management of ecosystems and the environment. Temporal and spatial drivers of change need to be integrated into the analysis of CES.
- Combining methods as suggested in our conceptual framework can provide an approach for integrated implementation of international conventions and instruments from both the environmental and cultural heritage fields, such as the CBD, the UNCCD and the World Heritage and ICH Conventions as well as the European Landscape Convention. This is becoming even more urgent given the global challenges of adapting to climate change and rapid land-use change.

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