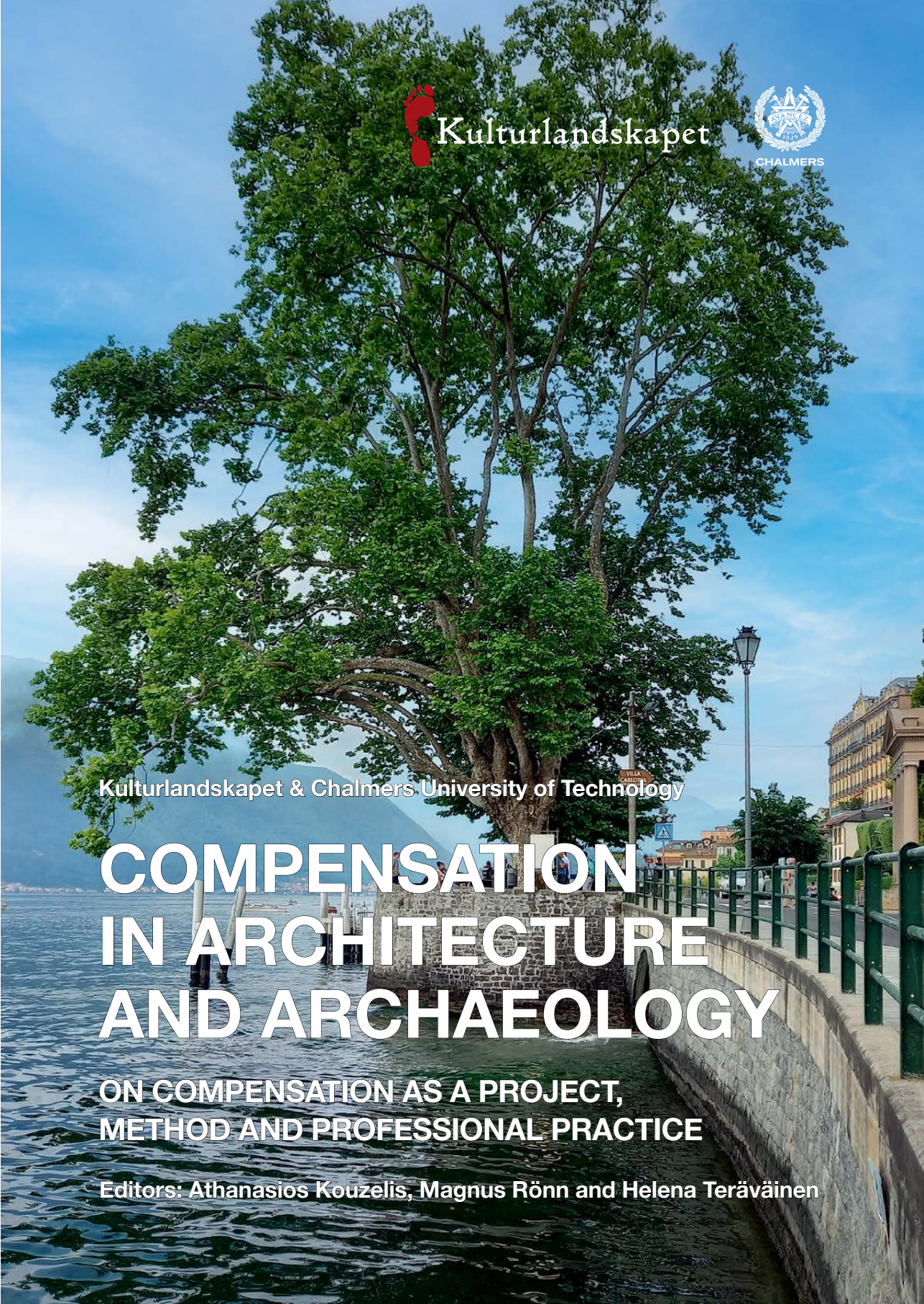
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COMPENSATION IN ARCHITECTURE AND ARCHAEOLOGY
ON COMPENSATION AS A PROJECT, METHOD AND PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE
Editors: Athanasios Kouzelis, Magnus Rönn and Helena Teräväinen

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INTRODUCTION

Athanasios Kouzelis, Magnus Rönn and Helena Teräväinen

This book aims to present a series of research articles discussing professional, methodological and theoretical aspects of compensation as a key concept in architecture and archaeology. Compensation is a concept that must be understood in its context for making sense. This statement is a fundamental starting point for the authors' contributions to this publication. Compensation may appear as outspoken demands as well as actions hidden in the design of projects, specified measures in planning processes and actions embedded in the transformation of areas with cultural values and architectural qualities. Thus, compensation can be expressed in several different ways depending on the context. The book presents a continuation of research activities on the key concept presented in a session called *Compensation in Architecture and Archaeology – On Compensation as a Concept, Method and Professional Practice* at the conference Widening Horizons, in connection with the EAA's annual meeting in Kiel, September 2021. The book presents a selection of seven contributions from the session. The articles have all been peer-reviewed after the conference, commented on and finally approved by the editors.

We start the discussion by looking back at history. A very early written conception of compensation can be found in the Code of Hammurabi.[1] This is a Babylonian legal text with 288 specific rules composed around 1755–1750 BC. Rule 232 demands compensation for ill-constructed buildings: *"If it ruin goods, he shall make compensation for all that has been ruined, and inasmuch as he did not construct properly this house which he built and it fell, he shall re-erect the house from his own means."*[2] Furthermore in 233: *"If a builder builds a house for someone, even though he has not yet completed it; if then the walls seem toppling, the builder must make the walls solid from his own means."*[3] Hammurabi's Code is the first known rule in establishing the concept of civil damages, whereby one must pay compensation for deficiency or destruction – a significant understanding of ethics and duty that has survived to our day. compensatory thinking is therefore a part of civilization and represents an idea of responsibility in the society, beyond individual and private interests.

Throughout history, the concept of compensation has in principle both a legal and an ethical purpose. As a concept, compensation was one of the important virtues in ancient Greek philosophy because of its association with moral education and behaviour. The concept provided the overall direction for how to restore improper behaviour by cultivating the virtues. In ancient times, the degree of compensation was determined as a means for the commonwealth, general welfare or public benefit in a society (Jokilehto, 1986). For instance, the accomplishment of a purpose leading to public benefits, such as the widening of a public road, imposed on public authorities a reasonable compensation for the deprivation of the property of the citizen affected.

By entering the Italian Renaissance and the establishment of the *"romantic restoration"*, although destruction and abuse of ancient monuments and sites had been continued, a mindset was gradually growing up that all historical objects of the Roman Empire should be carefully preserved as nostalgic remains of the past. In fact, this idea founded the compensatory attitude of the Italian Renaissance toward ancient monuments and their treatment. Ancient sculptures, triumphal arches, memorial columns, other monuments and works of art were preserved, protected, as well as restored and completed, in order to give them new actuality, new functions and new life, as a part and reference of present society.[2]

This approach was further developed in other European countries, where the maturing of historic consciousness developed after the events of the French Revolution. The desire for preserving and restoring heritage and cultural monuments became a widespread movement, especially in relation to mediaeval structures, so that the work had to be done more precisely by applying initial investigations of the history, architecture and material of the monuments. This kind of restoration was conducted by Sir George Gilbert Scott in England and Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc in France (Choay, 2007). Until the 19th century, the notion of cultural heritage was limited to antique and medieval buildings but due to the destructions of wars, awareness grew about the value of old buildings including vernacular architecture.

The history of architecture, as well as archaeological excavation, testifies to the use of compensation after the destruction of buildings and facilities with the aim, not only of restoration, but also of improving their construction and function. It is no coincidence that even in difficult economic circumstances the application of compensation had the potential to reconstruct values and

ideals. One example is the rebuilding of Dublin's city centre after the disaster of the May 1916 Easter Rising. Harold Kalman (2017) presents two well-known cases of destruction and reconstruction in Poland and Bosnia-Herzegovina: the old city in Warszawa and the bridge in Mostar. The 427-year-old Stari Most Bridge plunged into the waters of the Neretva River gorge in 1993. The destruction of the bridge was an attack on the cultural identity of Mostar. The city, encouraged by UNESCO and the international community was determined to restore the tangible evidence of their collective memory. In centuries past, Mostar had been a model of multi-cultural tolerance shared by Muslims, Christians and Jews. Only a decade after the attack, the bridge was rebuilt, and the adjacent Old City of Mostar restored. The reconstituted bridge and city were considered so important to global civilization that they were appointed by UNESCO as World Heritage Sites for their *"outstanding universal value"*.

There were several attacks against cultural property during the Second World War. One example is the destruction of the historic part of Warsaw in Poland. The old marketplace was surrounded by narrow stone and brick buildings. The city centre suffered during the German invasion in 1939, and, after the Warsaw Uprising in 1944, the retreating German Army almost destroyed the rest of the buildings. Before the war, the faculty of Warsaw Technical University had documented much of its architectural heritage. After the liberation, Polish authorities insisted on reconstructing the city core as an act of national pride. Everything was done to connect the present with the past, and UNESCO inscribed the Historic Centre of Warsaw on the World Heritage List, praising it as an outstanding example of a near-total reconstruction. The bridge in Mostar and the old city of Warsaw both fell victim to deliberate attacks for being symbols of social, cultural and national identity. Kalman (2017) notes that the destructions triggered international, strong reactions, many of them highly emotional. The responses from citizens, professionals and authorities represent a variety of methods of compensation, from retribution, intervention, prevention, documentation to reconstruction, commemoration and reconciliation.

COMPENSATION IN A CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT

Compensation comes from the Latin word *compensare*. The concept is used in the sense of compensating, indemnifying, balancing, settling, restoring and reaching a balance, etc. Their meanings have in common that there must be some sort of deficiency, lack, loss or damage that must be replaced.

Compensation for impact on heritage values due to development can, from this point of view, correspond to measures that aim to redress insufficiencies in spatial planning, recreate lost heritage values and/or repair damages on listed buildings with architectural qualities.

In the course of the history of culture, buildings and settlements are assigned meanings, which go beyond their purely physical substance. Damage and destruction have been met by reconstruction and restoration as testimonies to the value of compensation, and as a measure of the need to maintain and define the identity of cultural heritage.

Compensation as contemporary practice makes sense for professionals when sites are transformed and where important cultural values and architectural qualities are rearranged; so far, everybody can agree. How compensation for negative impact should be conducted, and the means used, are however highly contested issues in planning processes. There are different views on value and quality, depending on which professions engage in the transformation of land and environments. One controversial issue is whether cultural heritage values and architectural qualities are unique, fixed to a specific plot, or if they are mobile and can be redesigned at another site and in another form. Compensation and authenticity represent conflicting perspectives in this context. Architects, architectural conservators and archaeologists have different approaches to compensation as a key concept, method and professional practice. The contributions in the proceedings highlight some of these differences.

Tom Davies (2020) has consulted the Merriam-Webster dictionary on ideas connected to compensatory thinking. There are some differences in the understanding of compensation in Europe. *Mitigation* seems to be a more common concept than compensation when the transformation of heritage is addressed in England, as opposed to Sweden. Davies describes compensation as supplying something equivalent and to offsetting an error, defect or undesired effect. Synonyms for compensation in this sense may also include *"payment"* and *"remuneration"*. *"Mitigate"* in the Merriam-Webster dictionary means to become less harsh or hostile and to make things less severe or painful, offering alternatives such as alleviate (guilt), mollify (calm-down) and extenuate (excuse). The Merriam-Webster dictionary thus presents two contrasting meanings of the word compensate; the first is a monetary or financial compensation and the second a measure to restore injury, harm and loss.

In the Nordic countries, there are some differences between Sweden and Finland when it comes to compensation in the law and as a professional practice. In Finland, legislation on compensation is not concerned with the lost or threatened cultural heritage values in the built environment; only a couple of cases exist about compensation in the natural environment. Usually, compensatory issues have been managed more from the landowner's viewpoint, as for example when the implementation of local planning prevents the accustomed use of land. In Finland, the main means to conserve built cultural heritage is the town plan, which can require preservation or at least deny demolitions. Planning officers and cultural heritage administrators are struggling on different planning levels with owners and politicians, trying to conserve the cultural heritage values and to adjust new building projects in the environment.

In Sweden, compared to Finland, there seems to be a stronger distinction between compensation as measures and actions in a planning process on the one hand and, on the other hand, financial compensation by demands for protection from authorities. These two understandings of compensation appear in the transformation of areas with cultural values and architectural qualities and depend on the type of involved interests. If a property owner is affected by a decision of a public agency, then it is regarded as a *"single interest"* that should be compensated by monetary means, according to the *Planning and Building Act* and the *Historic Environment Act*. A typical example is when a property owner is prohibited from demolishing a building through a detailed development plan that requires its preservation, because of its heritage value and architectural qualities, or by listing historical buildings for protection. In such a case, the public decision-maker may be obliged to compensate the property owner financially. Contrary to *"single interest", "public interest"* represents the common good. If the transformation of a site may damage heritage values or risks the loss of architectural qualities considered to be of interest for citizens and a common utility to the community, then the developer is held responsible for compensation. In this case, the demand for restoration is not a question of monetary compensation, but rather an issue of replacing lost values and adding qualities to the affected site. This calls for compensatory measures in detailed development plans, even if the key actors may use other words for describing their problem-solving actions. The actual outcome is compensation for transforming the environment and getting access to the site for exploitation. Being able to complete a planning assignment with an approved detailed plan is seen as a sign of professionalism

in planning departments. At the same time, the developer gains easier access to the site by providing compensatory measures in the planning phase.

Compensatory measures may also depend on the need for approval from governmental agencies according to the *Environmental Code* or the developer's willingness to get access to the site by *voluntary agreements*. The planning departments in the city of Gothenburg prefer compensatory actions in detailed development plans through voluntary agreements.[4] The city has published guidelines to support compensatory action. A closer examination of compensation as public interest and common utility for citizens shows two perspectives. First, we have a top-down strategy for the implementation of compensatory regulations, defined by the law and executed through public authorities and governmental agencies. Secondly, there is a bottom-up approach in the planning process driven by companies, professionals and planners at municipalities. The top-down perspective is typical for *ecological compensation* promoted in national guidelines by governmental agencies, such as The Swedish Environmental Protection Agency and County Administrative Boards. *Cultural heritage compensation* represents a bottom-up strategy, developed as a professional practice in planning processes to produce an approved, detailed development plan for alterations.

There are no guidelines from governmental agencies when it comes to cultural heritage compensation. In Sweden, the national agency for cultural heritage has no clear opinions on this matter. They hesitate about whether losses of cultural values can be restored, and they provide no guidelines. The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning in Sweden, as well as the County Administrative Boards, only promote ecological compensation on their homepages. Cultural heritage compensation is made invisible on a national and a regional level by governmental agencies, which is a disturbing fact.

The existence of values and qualities is acknowledged in practice by compensatory measures in planning. The actions presuppose that there is justified criticism of the exploitation that cannot be ignored by the city's and municipality's planning departments. Consequently, compensation is embedded with conflicting standpoints – dislike, demand for changes and alternative solutions to obtaining approvals. This is the case, even if heritage values and architectural qualities basically are seen as something positive. A detailed development plan containing cultural heritage compensation can therefore combine exploitation with preservation.

If power is in balance, the final and detailed development plan will probably have a certain number of desirable characteristics, depending on the key actors that are responsible for cultural heritage. It seems appealing from an ethical point of view to safeguard properties and keep values and qualities that otherwise would have been lost through the exploitation. In this perspective, compensatory measures in the transformation of sites can be seen simultaneously as an attractive way of securing access to plots by developers and as a way to re-create qualities and add values to the area. Cultural heritage compensation represents a new paradigm in the transformation of sites with an old history. In this planning paradigm, the developer should compensate for damage and loss due to public interest and the common good. Cultural values and architectural qualities are resources of society that need to be taken care of.

COMPENSATORY MEASURES AS WICKED PROBLEMS

The challenge in transformation lies in seeing the future in the planning documents and finding out how identified heritage values and architectural qualities should be safeguarded in a proper way. Planning has a future-oriented context and is accompanied by a lack of certainty. Designing cultural heritage compensation may therefore be seen as a *"wicked problem"* in the transformation of built environments, filled with uncertainty about the outcome (Rittel &Webber, 1973). Anders Larsson (2020) notes that the mitigation hierarchy in the environmental code (avoid, minimize, restore and compensate) is a strategy that might operate for *ecological compensation* if there is an obvious link between damage and measure. However, this is not the case for exploitation in areas with cultural heritage values. The mitigation hierarchy as an overall strategy for compensation must be criticized. The mitigation hierarchy favours tangible properties and clearly defined damage to nature, at the expense of aspects of intangible heritage, such as narratives and memories.

In the fields of archaeology and architecture, the mitigation hierarchy has several limitations when it comes to compensation for alterations. In these cases, there is seldom a clear connection between compensatory measures, identified cultural values and architectural qualities of the site, reported impact in terms of a positive or a negative outcome and the actual damage because of the exploitation. In addition, historical buildings and architectural design can be described differently by professionals. Values and qualities are not isolated facts in the built environment. Instead, they produce various meanings in societies. The concepts have a floating character and a signifi-

cant scope for interpretation in processes of transformation. Archaeologists, antiquarians and architects understand, interpret and apply concepts for cultural value and architectural quality differently, based on their specialized competencies, education and professional traditions.

The impact of developments on cultural values and architectural qualities is part of a power play in planning that makes the reporting vary. Developers and hired consultants have an interest in the described positive effects of the transformation and exaggerate the potential benefit to citizens and the environment. Negative consequences are downsized or made invisible to minimize criticism from key actors. The approval of the detailed development plan is one of the main objectives of the planning department. How has the alteration been evaluated? How has exploitation been balanced with cultural value and architectural quality in the area? The effect of demolition and new buildings does not stop at the plot boundaries. The cityscape is also changing beyond the actual site. The tangible cultural heritage is a focus in this kind of transformation. Frank Matero (2006) states that every attempt to position compensation within the larger conservation discourse must acknowledge the three basic constructs of cultural artefacts: form, fabric and function. They all are tied together; however, depending on the situation, professionals can choose several compensatory strategies that either privilege one of the three categories or balance them in search of a whole. This may give a kind of direction for compensatory measures when the tangible cultural heritage is subject to alteration.

The idea of *"wicked problems"* challenges every analysis attempting to find the best compensatory measures to restore cultural heritage values and architectural qualities. The mitigation hierarchy is not suitable as the foundation for heritage compensation. A more creative approach needs to be developed. Horst Rittel and Melvin Webber (1973) describe wicked problems as ill-defined issues that have unique causes and solutions. For this reason, there is (1) no definitive formulation of a wicked problem; (2) solutions to wicked problems are not true-or-false, but good-or-bad, right-or-wrong; (3) a generally accepted test of a solution to a wicked problem is missing; (4) the solution is a 'one-shot operation'; (5) solutions do not have a set of well-described set of permissible steps that may be incorporated into the plan; (6) every wicked problem is essentially unique; (7) they can be considered as a symptom of another problem; (8) they can be explained in numerous ways; and (9) the choice of explanation determines the nature of the problem's resolution.

In a detailed development plan proposal, there are usually several possible compensatory actions that may be considered as appropriate responses to the damage to a site. This is a wicked problem. Since there are many different solutions to compensating for negative effects, the planned proposal will be marked by uncertainty. This represents a fundamentally unfixed point that will remain in an architectural and planning project until it has been implemented. We can be convinced, but do not know for sure, that the proposed compensatory measure improves, protects and safeguards heritage values and architectural qualities in a future-oriented planning process.

CONFERENCE PAPERS

The peer-reviewed contributions from the 2021 session on compensation in the conference *Widening Horizons*, are divided into two sections. The first section contains four contributions that discuss compensatory thinking in planning processes.

Helena Teräväinen opens the discussion with a contribution called *"Discussion on Authenticity and the Identity of a Place: How to apply the compensatory method and resolve interpretations on cultural heritage in a case study."* She presents a critical case of how an old canteen building, in a historically important industrial site in the city of Lapua in Finland, has been managed in the transformation of the area. In the revitalization of the Old Paukku site, compensation proved to be an unspoken practice in the planning process. The first town plan from 1994 for re-using Old Paukku indicated the importance of the cultural heritage and the need for conservation. However, no individual buildings on the site were identified until the alteration plan in 2009, after the cultural heritage values were very clearly recognized to be significant at the national level. In the article, the fate of the canteen building at the site is used as an informative case. Two concepts – compensation and authenticity – are at the centre of the study, representing conflicting interests in the transformation of Old Paukku. Teräväinen asks whether it is possible to compensate authenticity, partly or completely. Can one historical building be replaced by another building, without the loss of cultural values and architectural qualities of the site?

Two buildings, both a hundred years old, are set to compete at Old Paukku. In 2020, the town planning office in Lapua presented a revised plan for the industrial site. The museum authorities accepted to replace the canteen building with a wooden school. The Canteen would lose its authenticity because it

needed renovation. The Canteen was regarded as being in a bad condition and too many parts had to be replaced. The lost identity of place is not discussed by the museum and the town planning office. In this case, Teräväinen finds compensatory thinking to be an inappropriate practice. Moving another old building into Old Paukku as a replacement for the canteen building, as presented in the planning document, is not satisfactory compensation according to international thinking on authenticity. The loss of identity, expressed as a cultural value and architectural quality, is not compensated by moving an old wooden school building onto the site in place of the Canteen.

"Architecture and Compensation: Renewal and Expansion of the City Library in Gothenburg through a Detailed Development Plan" by Magnus Rönn is the second contribution. He examines the 2008 expansion of the City Library of Gothenburg. It is a combined planning and architectural project in the centre of the city, in an area of national heritage interest assigned by the Swedish National Heritage Board. The architectural project was a parallel commission, with four architectural firms designing a new space for the City Library on the site. The planning project was to produce a detailed development plan that made it possible for the builder to implement the winning proposal. This was the main purpose. Preservation and exploitation are two obvious interests in the transformation and that need to be coordinated in the planning and architectural projects. In his contribution, Rönn shows how the City Planning Office used compensatory thinking in a problem-solving manner to implement the winning design from the parallel commission.

The transformation of the area of national heritage gained approval from the County Administrative Board. Critique was rejected. For the City Planning Office, the rebuilding and expansion of the City Library became an approved renewal of cultural values and architectural qualities of the urban space. The loss of this typical example of modernist architecture, well integrated into the surroundings, was compensated by four measures, which made the alteration acceptable: 1) Architectural qualities in the original interior were restored; 2) Two sculptures that were removed because of the expansion were given new placements, one close to the extended library and the other in a park in the city centre; 3) The plan description was completed during planning processes with new knowledge about the cultural values of the site, including qualities in the architecture and urban design; 4) The planning regulations provided regulations protecting the new design, indoors as well as outdoors. These compensatory measures thus made the transformation possible.

"Heritage Compensation in Changing Environments: The Case of the West Link Infrastructure Project, Gothenburg" by Maitri Dore is the third contribution to the book. In this study, Gothenburg is also a geographical context for the discussion. The West Link is a huge infrastructural project in the city run by the Swedish Transport Administration, a governmental agency, and has a strong impact on the acknowledged cultural heritage in the city of Gothenburg. Dore wants to understand how compensation is expressed when cultural heritage is facing this large urban development in Gothenburg. She uses the West Link train tunnel to characterize compensation as storytelling, through actions in the planning process by two public actors: The City's cultural administration and the Swedish Transport Administration. These actors understand compensation differently in connection to affected sites; however, they both propose storytelling as a response to the negative impact on cultural heritage, caused by the large infrastructure project.

Swedish Transport Administration prefer the word *"strengthening"* instead of *"compensation"*, when describing their measures. It sounds more positive. The compensatory proposal in the infrastructure project is to link nine sites along the West Link route, highlighting the narratives of the city's 400-year-history through archaeological remains, technology and exhibition displays. The City's cultural administration argues for a wide-ranging action for storytelling, not fixed to the sites. Dore concludes that compensation for cultural heritage damage can take the form of storytelling, expressed by exposing archaeological elements from the construction sites, combined with architecture, art and digital methods. This approach to compensation needs to be further developed. The West Link case raises theoretical and methodological questions. In the end, Dore finds cultural heritage compensation fruitful, as it throws into focus the nature of alteration in cultural environments, when projects are inserted into them, and the need to assess this change in a critical manner.

"Save what can be saved and tell the story: Balancing damage to industrial heritage by architectural interpretation" by Urban Nilsson is the fourth contribution. He uses an assignment to investigate and discuss compensation as a professional practice. A historically important industrial site – Lövholmen – was going to be developed and renewed in the assignment. Lövholmen is a large industrial area, close to the city of Stockholm, owned by private companies. The industrial remains on the site are from 1889 to the 1940s. The transformation of the site involved the preservation of those strategic

parts with cultural values by adding new qualities. Compensation in this case operates between the preservation of physical remains on the site and interpretative storytelling through architecture, design and art.

Seeing the industrial site as a physical document became a starting point for a group of consultants in the development of compensatory measures – a new layer of interpretation of the environment. The consultants wanted to make visitors, landowners and end-users comprehend the history of the site and the role its companies have played in a regional, national and international context. In this case, design ideas and design elements have been assessed in the assignment, according to Nilsson, as a method of compensation for the visualization and interpretation of cultural values and architectural qualities. The compensatory actions in this planning process are summarized in terms of: (a) identifying heritage values and qualities at the site; (b) investigating possibilities and conflicting interests; as well as (c) adding new perspectives, stories and art to the site. The relations between the objectives for transformation identified damage, need for protection and demand for reconstruction of values and quality; these are changing simultaneously in the assignment. The planning process has also been time-consuming; compensatory measures were developed as a multidisciplinary response in a creative process to the impact on the cultural environment at the site. However, the actual outcome is still uncertain.

The second section includes three contributions discussing compensation in archaeology, landscape architecture and resource management.

Susanna Bortolotto, Nelly Cattaneo and Serena Massa present an article called *"Heritage values and contemporary cultural landscape in Adulis"*. This is the fifth contribution. The site of Adulis is in Eritrea on the shore of the Red Sea, connected to ancient, international maritime and regional terrestrial routes. The geographic position made it possible for Adulis to become a flourishing port on the Horn of Africa between the 3rd century BC and the 7th century AD. Since 2011, an ongoing, international Eritrean-Italian archaeological research project has aimed at the rediscovery, study and valorisation of the archaeological remains of the ancient town, with the intention to create an archaeological park. This has been done through attention to the local agronomic knowledge on the site, a strategic asset in planning the park for sustainable development.

One critical question put forward by Bortolotto, Cattaneo and Massa in the article focusses on mitigation/compensatory measures that may prevent the loss of cultural values triggered by a change in a cultural environment. Starting from the term heritage and the understanding of local cultural values, the authors approach the concept of compensation. Mitigation is addressed as a process of restoring damages to values and loss of qualities in a specific area of transformation. In this case, the development of an Archaeological Park in Adulis, a site of international interest for researchers as well as worldwide travellers because of its cultural heritage and therefore threatened by a tourism-based economy. Cultural values at the site have been identified through attitudes and characteristics involved in the archaeological project and the different meanings that Adulis has in the local community. The western *"authorized"* discourse on heritage values proved to be a limitation that needed to be overcome. The long-term research activity and the collaboration with the local parties became a primary contribution in promoting appropriate compensatory measures.

"The Open-Air Archaeological Museum as a model for cultural compensation" by Athanasios Kouzelis is the sixth contribution. The aim of the article is to show a specific approach in which citizens gain accessibility to historical sites. The archaeological heritage is a material record of human activities that provides knowledge of the past, interpreted in a contemporary context for a future-oriented understanding. From this point of view, Kouzelis finds the open-air museum may be both a tool, a model and a space for exhibition, providing knowledge of the past and cultural novelty. The recording of data concerning perceptions of archaeological heritage can operate as a strategy for the utilization of historical ideas embedded in architectural qualities and cultural values. Among the cases from Greek antiquity in the article, there are marketplaces, stadiums, theatres, palaestras, gymnasiums, processional streets and cemeteries. These monuments are accessible values for citizens in the environment in which they belong and for the functions which they historically create.

Kouzelis concludes that management of the preservation and regeneration of archaeological sites is important for the development of the compensatory process. It inspires and provides a framework for approaches to architectural and design praxis as a source of cultural compensation. Research on such management may focus on the utility of the invested resources in which losses in the architectural and cultural heritage are met. The open-air museum

has an outdoor archaeological site allowing access to the space, in contrast to the closed form of a museum. However, it is not just a matter of giving proper examples of cultural heritage compensation. The function of compensation is interwoven with utility and common good. According to Kouzelis, it serves to correct damage or loss to cultural property of the people, promoting through its restoration the cultivation of values in conjunction with their future feasibility.

"Narratives of fish, trade and coastal communities: Use and resource management as a tool for heritage and environment compensation", by Tom Davies and Anja Standal, is the final and seventh contribution in the book. The authors investigate the intrinsic relationship between the tangible and intangible in cultural heritage. The research findings are based on two case studies of Norwegian coastal localities. The two investigations discuss the UNESCO World Heritage Site of the Vega Archipelago and the village of Ytre-Standal, Hjørundfjorden, both in Northwest Norway. The study of the Vega Archipelago focusses on the natural and cultural heritage. The examination of Ytre-Standal village looks at the parameters for exploitation of resources, as a foundation for developing cultural compensation and resource management.

Davies and Standal show in the two cases how intangible heritage is closely linked to living conditions, and that the environment in a coastal location can be considered to comprise cultural records of tacit knowledge. The heritage management at Vega demonstrates the difficulties of going beyond stabilization and consolidation. The authors address how both cultural data and tacit knowledge need to be repeated and allowed to evolve in the context of resource management. The case of Ytre-Standal suggests that there is information available in local sources. This kind of resource can be read as tacit knowledge, of importance to both resource management and the development of compensation. Davies and Standal see the aim of compensation to *"provide a better understanding of cultural heritage in the communities"*. Compensation may also be used to inform about the impact, and to give input to the management of its sustainable future. At the end of the article, the author proposes a strategy for combining value-sets from biodiversity and cultural heritage, with guidance from Norwegian legislation and global objectives. The aim of the approach is to support the ongoing work to appoint Vega as an outstanding cultural landscape.

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NOTES

1 See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Code_of_Hammurabi

2 See: https://avalon.law.yale.edu/ancient/hamframe.asp

3 Ibid.

4 https://goteborg.se/wps/wcm/connect/a97a8afc-ed01-4f23-b26b-2e6ee1e203b9/OPA_Kompatgarder_natur_rekreation.pdf?MOD=AJPERES

DISCUSSIONS ON THE AUTHENTICITY AND THE IDENTITY OF A PLACE:
How to apply the compensatory method and resolve interpretations on cultural heritage in a case study

Helena Teräväinen

ABSTRACT

Old Paukku in Lapua, Finland, is a former cartridge factory, which was transformed into a cultural centre in the 1990's. In the beginning, the cultural heritage of the industrial buildings was not recognized, but later it was listed on a national level of heritage (RKY 2009)[1]. In 2020, the town started again to revise the plan of Old Paukku, to cancel the conservation regulations and then to demolish the only wooden building in the area, the Canteen. The planning documents show a suggestion that another city-owned wooden building from the schoolyard be pulled down and then to replace the Canteen.

According to the negotiation notes from planning meetings, the provincial museum, representing the Finnish Heritage Agency, seemed to accept that the Canteen be demolished; in consequence of its poor condition. Removing the other building from its original place was not seen as crucial and the museum appears satisfied: "*…at least one of those endangered buildings could be saved*".[2] It is difficult to imagine who now would use and pay the renovation for the replacement (compensating) building, because the town's cultural division have not found any use for the Canteen in two decades.

The aim of this paper is to investigate place, authenticity and compensatory thinking (Grahn Danielson, Rönn & Swedberg 2015, Rönn 2018, 2020) in the planning context. Cultural heritage in the environment has both tangible and intangible elements, and so it should be understood together with place and identity, and not only by counting the amount of new components used in the renovation.

KEYWORDS

Authenticity, Compensation, Cultural Heritage, Old Paukku, Planning

INTRODUCTION & THE BACKGROUND

The case of the Canteen building in Old Paukku is a suitable choice to be investigated for how the compensatory method could be applied if an original building is demolished and another building relocated there instead. As background, the earlier case study of Old Paukku in Lapua is briefly explained, even though it has been already under scrutiny several times.[3] But even if the place belongs to important cultural heritage environments, it is a lively, developing cultural and entrepreneurial centre, which can be threaten by permutations. The case of Old Paukku, how it was rebuilt and then re-spoken, is still a fruitful example to study further.

Lapua is a comparatively small town in South Ostrobothnia, Finland. The Ministry of Defence established a cartridge factory in the quiet countryside almost one hundred years ago (1923), and this industrial employer was very important during the next decades. In the early 1990s, the factory owner was a semi-private company, which wanted to get rid of the old downtown industrial buildings. To keep the employment situation at a sufficient level, the municipality decided to buy the area and to build a new building for the company elsewhere in the city. The factory site had been closed to others than employees and everything had been very secret; all the drawings were incomplete and nothing was found in the town's building permission archives. In the first inventory, the buildings were sorted into three categories based on their cultural heritage value, which included industrial and building history, architectonic values and features important to the identity of place. The current conditions of the buildings were also sorted into different categories.

At the time, the Paukku area was not listed as a national nor as a regional heritage, and was not even mentioned in the study of Finnish industrial sites.[4] The cultural heritage evaluation was done by the city architect, who later was responsible for the alteration plan and the whole renovation project. Knowing all the consequences, it was important to keep in mind the identity values, which could be lost if the buildings were destroyed, but it was also clear that the buildings could not be saved without useful purposes. The economic situation of the municipality was rather weak and the economic recession dominated in the country. The evaluation included a kind of unspoken compensatory method hidden in the process, and several buildings, mostly unheated warehouses, were categorised as not valuable. In the evaluation were approximately 30 buildings of different ages: the oldest parts from the 1910s and the latest from the 1980s. In the first town plan

of 1994, the importance of cultural heritage was indicated only by marking the area to be protected, with no mention of the separate buildings. Not until in the second town plan in 2009 were nine buildings marked (Sr-2)[5] to be conserved, but over the years, many disagreements about them have arisen. The technical division of the municipality has several times tried to obtain a demolition permit for the canteen building (Sr-1)[6], using excuses of tax assessment and real estate.

The reuse design process started in 1994 and the first conservation attempts were already included in the first revision plan. Later, at the beginning of the century when the regional plan was composed, the cultural heritage values were very clearly recognized as significant at the national level. The national level evaluation was done by the NBA (National Board of Antiquities) and the Ministry of Environment together and confirmed by the National Land Use Targets (RKY 2009)[7].

In 2020, the Lapua town authorities started again to revise the plan of the Old Paukku area; the aim was to cancel the conservation regulation and demolish at least one of the old buildings. Lapua had tried earlier to get an dispensatory permit to dismantle the so called Ruokala (Canteen), but it was denied by the regional state administration. Even though the planning power in Finland is totally delegated to the municipal level, dispensatory permits to dismantle a protected building are under the regional and state administration's control, and those usually demand an open, planning alteration process instead of dispensatory permits.

The latest planning revision attempt actually contains two wooden buildings protected by planning regulations, but the city has, regardless, totally neglected their maintenance. In 2019, the planning revision started in the cultural centre block, but during the planning negotiations between the municipality and the state administration in 2020, an idea arose to replace Old Paukku's Canteen by removing another wooden building, so called Puukoulu (Wooden school, 1927), from the schoolyard into the cultural centre. Consequently, the two buildings are situated in different areas and even the planning regulations are not exactly the same. However, in the on-going revision processes, they are both now included each in their own delimited plan.

Also, the wooden school building has been for several years under a demolition threat, but because it is a part of the school block with several buildings

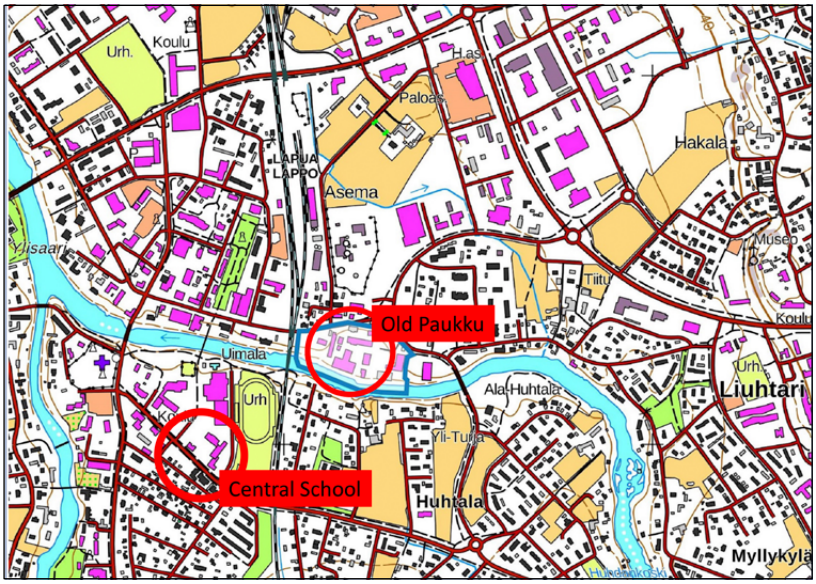

Figure 1. The places of the case study (locations) marked with a read circle on the guide map of Lapua (https://lapua.karttatiimi.fi)

from different eras, it is historically representative and accordingly worthy to be an important conservation area in regional inventories. The planning regulations concerning the school building are not as strict as the regulations in the Old Paukku area. Both buildings have been empty and out of use for two decades, and the condition has already been investigated in several reports.

Negotiations according to the Land Use and Building Act were organised in September 2020 among the municipal and state authorities. Planning is conducted by a consultancy together with the town planning engineer. At the national level, significant cultural heritage is covered by substantial conservation aims and regulations in the current town plan (2009), and hence the Finnish Heritage Agency (the former National Board of Antiquities) has been also involved. However, it has authorized the museum of South Ostrobothnia to act on the regional and local level. The municipality owns the buildings in Old Paukku, but the neglected Canteen is in a poor condition and they are pursuing its demolition. The argument they are using is that because of the bad condition of the building, most of it should be renewed and so it would not be the same building anymore. The head of the provincial museum seems to agree (according to the notes) that the authenticity of the building would disappear in renovations, and it would be better to replace it. The fact that

the other building would be removed from its original place seems not be crucial; on the contrary, the provincial museum seemed to be satisfied: "*at least one of those endangered buildings could be saved*"[8]. Because the town and the cultural division have not found any use for the Canteen building in two decades, it is confusing to think who would use (and pay) for the replacement (the compensatory building)?

The display for public inspection of the planning revision was to be held in October 2020, but the open meeting was cancelled because of Covid 19; no news on further progress is available. However, in the summer of 2021, the other planning revision for the wooden school building was started; in the planning draft it was to be dismantled and moved away (to another place, meaning the Old Paukku area).

OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH

The Aim of the Paper

The aim of this paper is to investigate how the protected canteen building is discussed in the rezoning process of Old Paukku. It is suggested that the canteen is replaced by another demolition-threatened building, the so called Wooden School, also with historical values. The study applies a critical review of compensatory thinking to building demolitions and/or displacements. The tangible and intangible heritage values of built cultural environment and authenticity have different interpretations among the participants, and even among the different professionals**.** In this paper, compensation is discussed as seen as an alteration.

The research questions deal with the relation between authenticity and cultural heritage compensation in the planning process. How are the historical building values and architectural qualities seen: can they be movable or are they always attached to the original site? Is it possible to compensate authenticity, completely or partially? How do the key actors in this case legitimize and motivate the transfer of objects from the site?

The next section (Theory) will reflect on some important concepts of phenomenological thinking in architecture, socio-cultural and human geographic literature, which have become quite central in cultural heritage and planning research. The identity of the place and the collective memory were already processed during the preservative planning and renovation of Old Paukku.

The concept of authenticity will be scrutinized and defined through heritage and museum studies. This part is written based on UNESCO World Heritage statements and declarations, searching for the use and definition from those documents, because the museum administration obviously is using the concepts differently than planners and human geographers.

The two viewpoints – renovation and preservation vs authenticity and heritage – are then set in the same research framework using compensatory thinking. This is done in a critical context. Compensation can be used as a tool to restore lost values, secure existing qualities at a site or misused and then become part of the destruction of authenticity in planning processes. Cultural heritage compensation has thus both negative and positive meanings. The context is important for the outcome as well as the evaluation of compensation. In this case, the plans for alterations have been slowing down, the conclusions are therefore findings on a theoretical level and expressed as arguments by key actors for a solution with several contradictions.

Research Method

The research method selected here is case study research and the aim is to deal with it rigorously and critically. The case of Old Paukku offers a lot of background knowledge, because the context has been the subject of thoroughly studied research during the time before the current town plan was validated in 2009. The context of the case study in this paper is still almost the same, only the time period is different and the development and changes in the built environment are advancing. The case study is the preferred method in situations like the one investigated in this paper, because the main research questions are *How?* and *Why?* and the researcher has little or no control over behavioural events. The focus is on a contemporary (as opposed to an entirely historical) phenomenon, in its real-world context (Yin 1989/2014[9]).

A case can be an individual: a group, or a class, or an office, it can be an institution, a factory or another building waiting for reuse, like Old Paukku before and now its Canteen building. A case can also be a large-scale community, like an industry, a profession or a town. The case study research can also manage multiple cases in the same context, but it is not necessary. A case study investigates the subject to answer research questions that may in the beginning be fairly loose and which seek a range of different kinds of evidence, discoverable in the case's context. No one kind or source of evidence is sufficient or sufficiently valid on its own. The use of multiple sources of

evidence, each with its strengths and weaknesses, is a key characteristic of case study research. Another characteristic is that in the beginning there are no a priori theoretical notions, whether derived from the literature or not, because until the data is there and the context understood, it is impossible to know what theories or explanations would work best or make the most sense (Gilham 2000[10]).

A case study is basically an in-depth study of a particular situation, it delves into the cases profoundly and conducts research from different viewpoints (Shuttleworth 2008[11]).

The aim of case study research is to describe the phenomena and make new perceptions, but not as much to generalize or to find typical features. Usually, this research method is said not to be generalizable, but on the other hand, the highly recognized researcher Bent Flyvbjerg[12] states that opinion to be one of the five misunderstandings about case study research (2006). He argues that it is also possible to generalize on the basis of an individual case and that, therefore, the case study can also contribute to scientific development.

The author had a more active role earlier on in the case, as she worked as the city architect during the reuse process of Old Paukku. Now, in the topical case of the Canteen, she has a different position as a citizen who is chairing a cultural society, which has almost two decades defended the conservation of the Canteen in the planning process. Being an actor in the case does not make anybody unable to function, quite the contrary, in this way a case study reminds of action study; one can say the actor's or participant's knowledge is very useful and can reveal issues with so called inside-knowledge. As said previously, in this ongoing case, the author cannot achieve any insider-information, instead everything is based on official documents and open discussions.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES

The place's phenomenology in architecture

As different viewpoints on cultural heritage values and authenticity arose in the case, the key concepts need to be clarified to shape the theoretical background for the research. First, the standpoint of the architect during the renovation and reuse process of Old Paukku in 1990s will be looked at. At the time, no documents or decisions from NBA nor any regional level inventories existed: the old factory area was unknown as any kind of cultural heritage, it

was not listed or documented, it was just an almost empty cartridge factory from the 1920s. The responsible planner and architect had to first start with registering and documenting the buildings. The next attempt was to unveil the meanings and historical values of the place by shaping *the identity of the place,* using socio-cultural literature and phenomenological human geography. The term *place* has been essential in geography since the 1970s, after the humanistic critique in geography arose in the late 1960s. *Place* gained prominence in phenomenological research, architecture and geography through Relph's[13] work on *sense of place* and *placelessness* and Tuan's[14] work on positive affective ties to place described as *topophilia*. Relph and Tuan used the terms *insideness* and *outsideness* to describe people's feelings of being part of a place. Tuan separated between *sense of place* and r*ootedness*, where sense of place is described as a feeling of being home.

The concept of identity has been described in changing ways, from the sense of place or essence of place, or *the spirit of place*, also known as *Genius Loci*[15]. These are all features of the character or personality. Obviously, the spirit of the place includes the topography and impressions, economic and social activities and some special substance deriving from past events and present consequences. But the spirit of place is different from the summary of all those, and it can survive regardless of constitutive changes around the elements of identity. For example, the metamorphosis from industrial functions into culture does not inevitably change the identity of the place and, if it does, to some extent – not totally. The identity remains if anything essential and is not demolished. The basic and substantial things are possible to define discursively or culturally, and so they can become apparent in different ways.[16]

Place is a very pivotal concept in urban planning. It is easy to use many kinds of specific information connected to the site: geographic information systems (GIS) or geospatial information systems are sets of tools that capture, store, analyse, manage and present data that are linked to location(s). But still the location is not enough to define place; an integration of elements of nature and culture also involve place. Urban planning research was, at the turn of the century, going through a so-called cultural turn, and culture was defined as a kind of net of currents, where the meanings, narratives and discourses could come into existence, moving and attaching occasionally to their sites.

When places are emerging or becoming (or discovered or revealed), new historical and cultural elements are added, and old ones disappear. The

meanings connected to places underlie man's acts, which in turn give character to a place. A place is not just the *where* of something; it is the location plus everything that occupies that location, seen as an integrated and meaningful phenomenon. In the meanings are the inner cores and substance of the identity of place: people connect their own experiences of life, memories or stories they heard from history and other narratives. Every place has an identity; only in some cases it is more recognizable or easier to distinguish. The identity of place is not easy to demolish or waste, but it is changing and evolving all the time. Even though the human experience substantially constitutes the identity, it does not entirely belong to people but is also a property of the place itself.[17]

The concepts of place and the identity of place are hence not tangible or only managed materially. The important meanings of place, for example in Old Paukku, were actually gathered from both the history of the buildings from different decades and also from functions and stories of the factory, both from the massive wartime workload as well as from its catastrophe of peacetime. The idea of the reuse project was not to make a museal or restoration site, but instead a new library and other cultural activities were brought into the old industrial buildings; the space and its dimensions still remained the same. The functions were totally different, but the identity of the place stayed the same. A very important role seems to be played by the outside spaces: there are two large and at least five smaller open squares, which are surrounded by buildings of different scales. The atmosphere is very compact and has a kind of urbanity that is not very usual in Finnish countryside towns.

In this way, the identity of the place, the spirit of the old factory, survived without any rules of cultural heritage given by the state level, which was then the National Board of Antiquities. After many years, Old Paukku was listed on the regional level and later (2009) on the national level as an important cultural heritage; after that, the town plan had to be changed to include the preservation regulations. Except for the Canteen, all other protected buildings at the site are renovated and in use.

Scrutinizing the Authenticity

The conservator (the officeholder) of the South Ostrobothnia Museum has presented in negotiations an expert opinion about the Canteen in Old Paukku and its authenticity. According to the statement, the canteen building is so badly damaged that its authenticity would be lost in restoration, because

many old parts should be replaced. The loss would be inevitable, even if using the same kind of materials and similar, old construction techniques. Accordingly, the existing canteen building (1923) should not be refurbished but instead demolished – and then another wooden building from a different environment should be moved to replace the canteen. The proposal from the Museum is staggering, from the point of the identity and collective memory of place. The intended replacement building is still situated on the courtyard of the central primary school and the town plan there is also in the alteration process. The school centre has regional level, value-status of a cultural heritage environment and thence the municipality has not succeeded in dismantling the wooden school building.

What does it mean to be less authentic? How is authenticity defined – with which kind of difference is the concept used in different discourses and/or in different disciplines?

Authenticity is an essential element in defining, assessing and monitoring cultural heritage. First, the concept will be elucidated through the regulation on World Heritage and then approached on national and local levels. Even though authenticity is difficult to translate – it is actually a word which does not exist in every language – it is possible to describe it in other words: being true or genuine. In the following text, the concept of *authenticity* will be exposed from the international charters and conferences, even though the case of the two wooden buildings in Lapua concerns the cultural heritage on the national and regional level. A UNESCO evaluation is of course very strict and regimented, but to read the resolutions through the years reveals a useful aid to better understand the fundamental distinctions, the development of the concept and the use of it.

From Venice Charter 1964 to Nara Conference 1994

Since introduced in 1964 in the Preamble of the Venice Charter, without a definition, the term *authenticity* has generated multiple debates in the conservation field. The conservation-related document stated that reconstruction of heritage sites is not allowed, only the reassembly of the originals is permissible. It was important at the time to recognize the common responsibility to safeguard historic monuments for future generations, in the full richness of their authenticity. The Nara Conference on Authenticity 1994[18] was organized as a direct result of the extreme difficulty for practitioners to interpret this blurred, still undefined concept. Participants attempted to

define specific criteria to evaluate the authenticity of cultural heritage, for the first time taking into consideration cultural diversity. However, in the Nara conference, the experts gave particular attention to exploring the diversity of cultures in the world and the many expressions of this diversity, ranging from monuments and sites through cultural landscapes to intangible heritage. So, the decision was that the concept and application of authenticity, as it relates to cultural heritage, is rooted in specific cultural contexts and should be considered accordingly.

Since Nara 1994, reflections on authenticity are said to have faded away in the academic sphere, but the development and discussions are still ongoing in different fields of expertise. In her paper in Kyoto (2019), Stephanie Auffret[19] writes how important the definition of the term authenticity is and how it has a strong idea of truthfulness attached. However, authentic is defined in different ways: as being *authoritative* or *duly authorized*; as being in accordance with fact, as being *true in substance*; as being what it professes in *origin* or *authorship*; as being *genuine;* and regarding works of art, *authentic* is often understood as original, as opposed to a fake or copy. But still there is a certain vagueness: for instance, the same piece can either be a fake or a copy; it depends entirely on what it is pretending to be: when presented as a known copy of a known object, it is an honest copy; if presented as an original piece from an earlier time, this same object becomes a fake. It is very restricting if in conservation *authenticity* is connected only to the time of the creation when original refers to the moment when the object was made as *authentic*. According to Auffret, the distinction forces a much more complex interpretation of the object, embracing all parts of its life, versus an idyllic original state valued above any subsequent natural aging or alteration.(Auffret 2019).

Authenticity and Post-Authenticity

In the Kyoto Conference, Markus Walz (2019) combines different approaches of theoretical museology and suggests three perspectives for authenticity, from which different conservation strategies are derived.[20] If authenticity is to be an 'objective' quality, it should be provable again and again, by different scientists with comparable results. The German discourse concerning authenticity differentiates 1) *authentification* (Authentifizierung), when an authority declares the authenticity of an asset after its examination and 2) *authentisation* (Authentisierung) – a socio-cultural process of ascribing authenticity.[21] These two concepts of the process seem to also reflect the different ways of thinking in Finland.[22]

Sofia Labadi[23] has defined (2010) different ways of using *authenticity* and national interpretations of international definitions of the concept:

a) Authenticity as 'original'
Authenticity is most often understood by its etymological meaning, which is what is 'original as opposed to counterfeit' (Jokilehto. 1999a: 296[24]). This understanding of authenticity as 'original' and as 'having been frozen in time' is likely to have been a direct result of its definition in the Operational Guidelines as related to four degrees of authenticity: material, workmanship, design and setting.

b) Authenticity as a changing process
Authenticity as a dynamic process is reflecting the different changes that have affect sites over their history.

c) Authenticity, restoration and reconstruction
Mixes different epochs, but which 'never really exists in the form in which it is presented'.

Labadi (2010) argues that the postmodern and post-structuralist dimensions of authenticity in World Heritage may have arrived at a concept that could be more accurately termed 'post-authenticity'.

Relative Authenticities
Pamela Jerome writes (2008) how the Nara Conference (1994) already reaffirmed the concept of *progressive authenticities* and recognized the legitimacy of layered authenticity, evoking successive adaptations of historic places over time. Authenticity of tradition was recognized as valuable as a type of intangible heritage. A certain flexibility defining authenticity was recommended. Jerome cites David Lowenthal's[25] Criteria of Authenticity in the Oslo Conference 1991: *"authenticity is in practice never absolute, always relative"*[26].

However, being relative does not mean the concept of authenticity remains unclear. Jukka Jokilehto (1999a, 1999b) explains how the World Heritage Convention, in collaboration with the World Heritage Centre, has provided one of the most detailed explanations of the four dimensions of authenticity[27]. Indeed, according to this publication, any necessary treatment should respect: a) the original materials, b) workmanship, c) design and d) setting of the property.

The 1994 Bergen[28] preparatory workshop before the Nara meeting had proposed to broaden the references: 1) design/form, 2) material/substance, 3) technique/tradition, 4) aim/intention – function, 5) context/setting – spirit. The Nara document on authenticity (1995) clearly pointed out that the list could also include other internal and external factors (Larsen, 1995). In practice, each heritage resource has its specificity and context and, therefore, it has to be assessed recognizing its own terms and its context.

The 2005 version of the UNESCO Operational Guidelines[29] introduced the notion of 'integrity'[30] in relation to cultural heritage and related it to that of authenticity in the title of section II.E*: 'Integrity and/or authenticity'*. Paragraph 88 defines integrity as a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the natural and/or cultural heritage and its attributes. Examining the conditions of integrity therefore requires assessing the extent to which the property:

a) includes all elements necessary to express its outstanding universal value
b) is of adequate size to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes which convey the property's significance
c) suffers from adverse effects of development.

The notion of integrity is of course more important when deciding about *outstanding universal value* in the context of World Heritage. However, when thinking compensation or *replacement* in the context of planning and preservation actions on national and regional (local) levels, *integrity* is perhaps more important than *authenticity* in the evaluation process.

Charles Guignon, who was a well-known philosopher for his expertise on Martin Heidegger and existentialism, explained the ordinary, the existentialist and the virtue-ethical senses of the word *authenticity.* The term *authentic* in ordinary usage suggests the idea of being original or faithful to an original, and its application implies being true to what someone (or something) truly is. It is important to see, however, that the philosopher who put this technical term on the map in existentialism, Martin Heidegger, used the word to refer to the human capacity to be fully human, not to being true to one's unique, inner nature. Authenticity might also be thought of as a virtue, and interesting questions arise whether such a virtue should be regarded primarily as a personal or as a social virtue (Guignon, 2008).

Ruminating (reflecting) on Heidegger probably does not help to compare the different viewpoints in the case of this paper, nor bring about tools for compensation of the heritage values in it. However, this is important from the point of view of the author being the architect and planner in the original reuse process of Old Paukku and because the author's previous research on cultural heritage discourse and the identity of place has been based on socio-cultural structuralism and human geography, strongly labelled by phenomenological writers.[31]

The meanings of places may be rooted in physical settings, objects and activities, but they are not a property of them, rather they are a property of human intentions and experiences. The meaning of people, culture and society is extremely important. Identity of place is not only the product of its main components, but it is socially structured.[32] One place can have many different identities to one person – and the image of place varies with the intentions, personalities and circumstances of those who are experiencing it. On the other hand, individual images have been and are being constantly socialised through the use of common language, symbols and experiences.

The author has earlier (2006) argued that Old Paukku (Old Factory) was, already before the renovations, a place with its own identity and that after the reuse process, the cultural centre is a place with new meanings; but still, it has its own special identity. The process of culture, when people are using the cultural centre, the library, art and music school and many museums, opened the place for people and made them accept the place, earlier closed to them, to be meaningful and significant for them and their own identity.

Place-based and interest-based communities[33] may well coincide geographically, for example in places where many inhabitants used to work in the same industry, such as was the case in early industries and e.g., mining villages. We may add a third theme to the locality: that of attachment – as communities of place or interest may not automatically have a sense of shared identity. People construct their communities symbolically, making it a resource and repository of meaning and a referent of their identity. Therefore, communities are best approached as 'communities of meaning': community plays a crucial symbolic role in generating people's sense of belonging and identity.[34]

Places are localised – they are parts of larger areas and focus on a system of localisation. But a place is just not the *where* of something; it is the location

plus everything that occupies that location, seen as an integrated and meaningful phenomenon. A place is a centre of actions and intentions, it is *"a focus where we experience the meaningful events of our existence"*.[35] [36]

USING THE COMPENSATORY METHOD TO RESOLVE PLANNING DISAGREEMENT

The aim here is to use compensatory thinking as a tool to compare various expert opinions, and then perhaps to negotiate using the shared concepts.[37] In this case, it is also important to understand the different ways of using the concept of authenticity. Compensation has recently been introduced as a method or negotiation tool in planning processes with endangered cultural heritage in the built environment in several research processes and papers in Sweden, by Benjamin Grahn Danielson, Magnus Rönn and Stig Swedberg.

Compensation seems to be a concept as controversial as authenticity, each with divergent meanings. However, the aim of this paper is to apply critical compensatory thinking to the case of two parallel planning projects, concerning the two old wooden buildings. Both planning alterations are still starting, the first administrative negotiations and announcements have occurred, but no public presentations or participatory arrangements have been done. The difficult questions of the two wooden buildings – that is to say: to repair, to demolish and to replace another building by the other one – are actually not discussed openly in public. The alteration process is presumably becoming complicated and may last for many years. Usually, at the end of complicated planning processes, the final decisions of the appeals are made according to administrative law or in the Supreme Administrative Court.

Following Grahn Danielson, Rönn and Swedberg the first point is to solve, what kind of measures and actions are used in planning as expressions for heritage-compensation. There has to exist: (a) a planning mission that (b) contains an exploitation of land that (c) has or risks having a negative effect on the cultural environment in the area and that (d) leads to revisions of the detailed development planning proposals, new planning regulations or changed design of the new buildings. The condition for compensation by this definition is that there is critique against how heritage and cultural environments are treated in the planning process. Additionally, the objections have to have an impact and lead to changes to be interpreted as examples of cultural environment compensation. The point of this definition is that there is an empirical answer to the question if planning and design of detailed

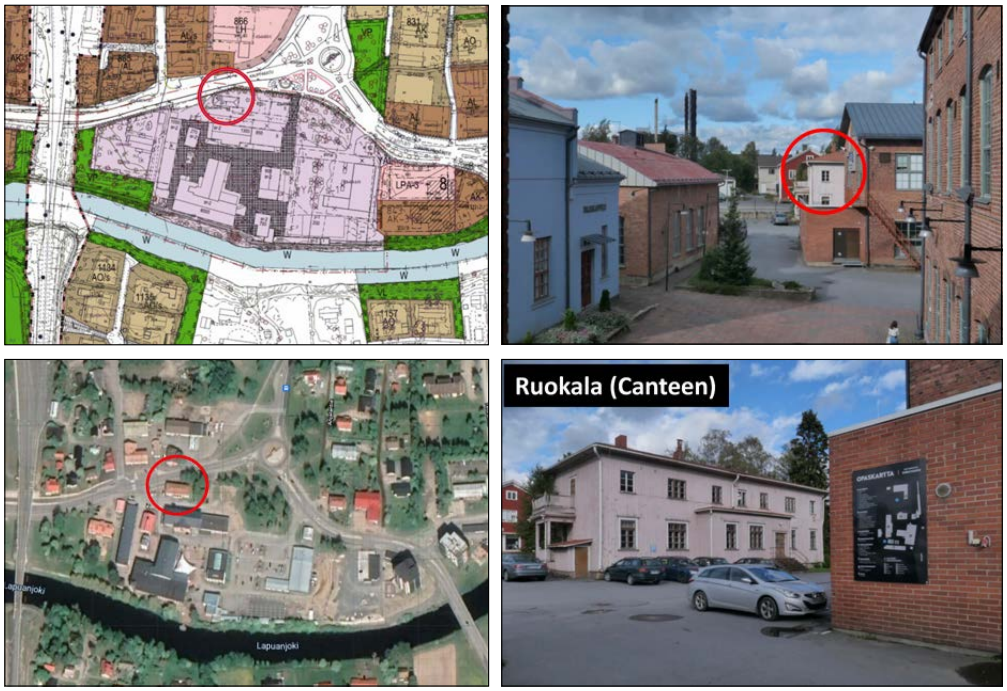

Figure 2. Old Paukku Culture Center and Canteen. The town plan of today (before the alteration) above in the left corner is from the official site https://lapua.fi/wpcontent/uploads/2020/09/VANHAPAUKKU_kaavakartta_22062009_hyvaksytty.pdf Aerial photograph: Maanmittauslaitos https://lapua.karttatiimi.fi/# Photographs (right) from Old Paukku by Helena Teräväinen 2021.

development plans contain compensation or not. Compensatory thinking is highlighted in detailed development plans as solutions to problems, demands and suggestions of measures that aim to reconstruct cultural values of the site. The difficulty lies in the interpretation of the changes and their compensatory function in the specific case.

In accepted detailed development plans, the compensatory measures are embedded in documents such as descriptions, illustrations, maps and regulations, and they are not visible in revisions during the detailed planning process. This is a hidden form of compensation that becomes visible through investigation of the planning processes, from mission to accepted, detailed development plans. According to Rönn and Grahn Danielson, compensation must be understood in its context.

The planning processes described in this paper are retarded as already written above. So, the cases are still open: the critical investigation in this paper

Figure 3. Lapua School Center and its Wooden school. The town plan today (before the alteration which would allow to dismantle Wooden school) above in the left corner, from the official town plan as well as The aerial photograph (Maanmittauslaitos) from https://lapua.karttatiimi.fi/# Photographs (right) by Helena Teräväinen 2021.

can offer a forum to discuss theoretically the possibilities of compensatory thinking and measures, before the actual process will start again. The two plans and their context are presented in the pictures Fig.2 and Fig.3.

The solutions that follow the planned alterations are usually not harsh in the first phase: the planning documents can indicate the preservation of the building in different ways – or they can show the possibility to demolish when there are no conservation decrees at all. The alteration plan in Old Paukku presents the situation where the Canteen has disappeared and the Wooden School from the school centre has been moved to the Old Paukku area, albeit situated differently. If this would come about, the streetscapes and the closed atmosphere of the courtyard of Old Paukku would change greatly (Fig.4.).

The particular question here is how the municipality aims to bind these two different planned alterations together – only because it owns the two old, wooden buildings, but which have been left empty and without any use. The

Figure 4. The plan alteration proposal (left) where Canteen doesn't exist anymore, there is the wooden old school building located in different position. A drawing sketch on the right. The red dots point the new location for the old school building. The plan and the sketch are from the official planning documents (21.10.2020) (https://lapua.fi/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Luonnos_Vanha_Paukku_ak_2_vaihe.pdf https://lapua.fi/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Selostus_Vanha_Paukku_AK_2_22102020.pdf

Figure 5. School Center. The up-to-day planning map on the left, where the old wooden school is shown with a separate area and square meters. On the right the plan alteration proposal in the school quarter doesn't show any preservation marks for any of the school buildings. The building area covers almost the whole quarter, only a narrow planting strip around. The maps are from the official site: https://lapua.fi/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Selostus_Keskuskoulun_alue_ak.pdf https://lapua.fi/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Luonnos_Keskuskoulun_ak_22062021_.pdf

technical division of the city has totally neglected the maintenance of both buildings during the last two decades. Several attempts to get the permission for dismantling the buildings have been made, but because both are valuable examples of cultural heritage, the attempts have not succeeded. The city has started the planned alterations because it is the only possibility to change the regulations and then to get rid of the unused buildings. The buildings are located in the public lock area and, perhaps for administrative reasons, the

city has never wanted to sell them for any private owners' or associations' use. The idea to replace the Canteen with the old school building is not moreover realistic, because there has not been any attempt to find a new use or investment for the solution.

Critical analysis using the compensatory method

The next sections clarify how the compensatory thinking model could be used as a critical analysis method for this case. In the compensatory model, the same kind of values are estimated both on-site and off-site. Also, different kind of values are scrutinized both on-site and off-site.

Sustainable development values should also be included in this evaluation; today, in all negotiations, mitigation for climate change should be included as well. Preserving old wooden housing always reduces the carbon footprint compared to new housing solutions, according to the report by Satu Huuhka et al. in 2021.[38] Based on several case studies, they argue how complete renovation is more effective than demolition followed by new buildings, as a means to reduce emissions in the next few decades; this will be crucial in terms of the fight against climate change and the adaptation to it. When and if the steering instruments concerning low-carbon building include measures to encourage renovation instead of demolition, it will also be useful in the cultural environment, where the evaluation of heritage values is seen from many viewpoints. This should prevent indefinite arguments on the worthless condition of buildings that are impossible to repair.

The question can also be resolved using different decodings of authenticity. Labadi (2010) stated: a) authenticity as 'original', b) authenticity as a changing process or c) authenticity in restoration and reconstruction. Accordingly, authenticity should not be interpretated only as a calculation of the original items, as the South Ostrobotnia Museum seems to do in its dictum, but processual changes in the restoration should also be accepted. According to the Bergen meeting and the Nara document, the references for authenticity were broadened. Thus, design or form, material and substance, technique and tradition, as well as the aim (intention/ function) and also the context (setting and spirit) are important components for authenticity. This gives more possibilities to emphasize the meaning of place and to connect identity to the social and cultural history of place. The traditional form, the material and the traditional techniques also strengthen authenticity.

Thus, the starting point is the current situation, when both old wooden buildings are situated in their original place and protected in the town plan. Although the status of the canteen building in Old Paukku is more sensitive, because the place is listed as a national cultural heritage site and also because, according to the town plan, it cannot be dismantled. Next, how the compensation of the Canteen with the Wooden School impacts on different values will be more closely examined. Values are here divided into two categories: on-site-values and off-site-values.

On-site-values

Both buildings are important for the townscape, in their current situation along the street, as they protect the courtyard and belong to the street views. The compensating building in Old Paukku is presented at a right-angled position to the original building. The Canteen and Latomäki building on the other side of the street constitute a pair and are important landmarks on the street. The compensating situation is explained as giving space to a small square. The loss of street views etc. cannot be compensated through that, instead the replacement has negative impacts.

The buildings have different kinds of heritage values: tangible values, as the material and the way of construction are different, even though both have timber cladding. Both were built a hundred years ago, while the building on the schoolyard has a logged frame, the Canteen has a wooden framed structure, which was then a new kind of construction. So, the compensation would erase built heritage values. The compensatory building would even negatively affect on-site-values. They are heavy, intangible values connected with the history of the places and their activities. The industrial history in Old Paukku and the educational history in the school centre both belong to a greater combination, both are areas with a distinct use. The history is also an important factor for the identity of the place: the use, the memory, as well as the topography and impressions, economic and social activities; some special substance relating to past events and present consequences are connected to a certain location.

Off-site-values

It is of course possible to document and conserve the history and construction of both buildings, even though the buildings would be moved from their original places. Collecting memories with photographs and through storytelling are ways to conserve the history, even though the buildings would

disappear. But if we are seriously concerned about climate change mitigation, both buildings should stay on their current sites and be repaired, because an existing wooden building is always a usable carbon store. So accordingly, using compensation and repairing only one of the buildings would not have as positive a result as the preservation of both buildings.

Economical values should be calculated for usage, and not only by considering the renovation costs without their possible benefits. This is very difficult, because the municipality, the owner of both buildings, does not have any plans or any information about the future use of the building. The municipality has expressed no intentions for the use of the suggested compensatory building in Old Paukku either. It is very difficult to imagine how the wooden school building would be more useful in Old Paukku than the Canteen building.

According to the museum authorities, the weightiest reason for the compensation of replacing the Canteen by the wooden school, has been the loss of authenticity of materials. The Canteen is evaluated to be in such bad condition that too many parts of it would have to be replaced, so that almost the whole building would have to be reconstructed and thus be almost new. But as already explained above, authenticity should be defined also by other factors, not only materially, and it is also possible to achieve this by using traditional techniques and considering the aim and the context, in other words the identity of place. By moving another building from a different place into Old Paukku to compensate for the Canteen, there will be a more significant loss of authenticity values, because the building type, the construction and the use will not be authentic anymore. Compensation would have a huge negative impact on place.

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

The conclusion has been made according to known information and by reflecting mostly on the Old Paukku planning alteration. The loss would be also of course serious for the school centre if the old wooden building would be removed. Both planning processes are still in progress and, despite the timing, they are not actually connected officially; even if the old wooden school building would be moved, there are no further agreements on its new location. The alteration process was announced publicly to start in February 2019, but nothing else has developed since October 2020, when the public request for opinions was published and the first official negotiations took place. If the plan for Old Paukku would cancel the protection of the Canteen,

the place would probably be empty anyway in the future, and without any compensation. The town plan without cultural heritage conservation would then only shape and mark the possibilities, not force compensation or anything else.

Obviously, historical building values and even architectural qualities could be movable in certain cases, but here it is very difficult to approve, because *"the moved building"* would be a replacement for another, more important – at least more strongly protected – because it is part of a cultural heritage area, appraised at the national level. Thus, it is clear that *"the compensation"* here would not be sufficient. It is very difficult to see the solution presented in the planning documents act satisfactorily.

It is very difficult to understand the key actors in this case. The regional museum has expressed being satisfied when at least one of those threatened two buildings would be saved. This statement has come apparently in a situation when the municipal officials first have stated both buildings to be without any use and, after several years without any maintenance, in a very bad state. The political decisions have already several times been very harsh, and obviously the local politicians do not appreciate the value and the meaning of built cultural heritage. Even though Old Paukku is a cultural environment, listed as national level heritage since 2009, the maintenance of the Canteen building has been totally neglected and no plans for the future reuse have been made.

If compensation is executed here as presented in the planning documents, it would become part of the destruction of authenticity in the planning process and harm the identity of place in Old Paukku. Compensatory thinking can be expressed in very different ways in urban design when cultural heritage values and architectural quality are at stake. In this case, authenticity and compensation represent conflicting interests in the planning processes of the alteration of an industrial site with an important history.

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19 Considerations on the Preservation of the Authenticity of Cultural Heritage: A Conservator's Journey

By Stephanie Auffret, Ph.D., Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles, USA© 2019 J. Paul Getty Trust

(Papers from the ICOM-CC and ICOFOM session at the 25th General Conference held in Kyoto, 4 September 2019.)

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ARCHITECTURE AND COMPENSATION:
Renewal and expansion of the City Library in Gothenburg

Magnus Rönn

ABSTRACT

The paper deals with renewal and preservation in a combined architectural and detailed development planning project, including cultural values and architectural qualities. The focus is on how compensatory actions, cultural values and architectural qualities are expressed in the expansion of the City Library in Gothenburg. In this case, the detailed development plan regulates both land-use and architectural design.

The specific goal is to produce knowledge on how key players practise compensation and understand heritage values and architectural qualities. From a selection of 39 contemporary, detailed development plans, one plan has been chosen for investigation in this paper. The motive behind this selection is that the expansion provides both an interesting background to quality issues and raises important questions concerning the renewal of a public building at a site of great value for citizens.

The detailed development plan can be understood both as a product and a process. Seen as a product, compensatory measures are embedded in the plan as fixed regulations to support renewal as well as to safeguard values and architectural qualities. These regulations concern both land-use and architectural design. Compensatory thinking as part of the planning process is expressed through changes based on comments from key-actors, starting with the design of the expansion of library, and is continued in the transformation to make the renewal possible through the detailed development plan.

KEYWORDS

Architecture, Design, Compensation, Value, Quality, Detailed development plan

INTRODUCTION

This article examines the 2008 expansion of the City Library of Gothenburg. It is a combined planning and architectural project that is reviewed in a case-study.[1] The architectural project of 2008 is a parallel commission of four architectural firms. The background is that the library required new space for its activities. The planning project aimed to produce a detailed development plan that made it possible for the builder to construct the winning proposal in the parallel commission. Preservation and exploitation were two clear interests that needed to be coordinated in the planning and architectural project. How the City Planning Office chose to make visible and weigh competing interests against each other is one reason for the choice of the case-study.

The purpose of the article is twofold. Partly the intention is to understand how cultural values and architectural qualities are presented and treated in detailed development plans; partly the intent is to examine which forms of cultural compensation can be found in the expansion of the City Library of Gothenburg and its planning and architectural project. The question is how compensatory measures are expressed when valuable aspects of the cultural environment are to be secured. The focus lies on how planning, architecture, cultural environment and compensation appear in the planning and design of the selected detailed development plan.

The City Library is located at Götaplatsen, which is an important urban space in Gothenburg. The expansion of the City Library is not only a local concern. This is an area of national heritage interest that is designated as valuable by the Swedish National Heritage Board. The parallel commission of 2008, therefore, took place at a sensitive point. The County Administration is charged with reviewing detailed development plans in areas of national heritage interest and are to reject plan proposals that risk causing considerable damage. The power over the land in areas of national heritage interest is shared by the Municipality and government agencies responsible for the cultural environment.

The City Planning Office in Gothenburg is responsible for the planning and design of detailed development plans at the request of the politicians in the Building Committee. The plan aims to make the site accessible for exploitation. The implementation of the plan is a subordinate goal for the City Planning Office. Detailed development plans are designed with consideration to the limitations that follow provisions in laws, authorities' regulations,

municipal policy and objections from key players in plan-projects. Compensation appears, in this perspective, as a method to remove obstacles and solve problems in planning processes (Rönn and Benjamin Grahn, 2020).

The study of the City Library is part of a research project that is executed with the support of the National Heritage Board's R&D Grant. The research project examines exploitations in areas of national heritage interest (Rönn, 2019). From a selection of 39 contemporary detailed development plans in Gothenburg, 8 cases have been the objects of study. The research project examines planning projects from the mission statements through to an approved, detailed development plan. This article is based on the experiences from one of these cases: the rebuilding and expansion of the City Library in Gothenburg. The practical benefit from the research project is in presentations of how key players change, renew, damage, defend and protect cultural environments in planning and architectural projects. The academic use is in the identification of compensatory thinking in detailed development plans. A first step is to define and highlight expressions of compensation in planning and architectural projects. The academic contribution includes methodological findings and knowledge development about culture environmental compensation in planning processes.

Cultural environment compensation has appeared in several different ways in Gothenburg when areas of national heritage interest have been renewed. So, for example, compensation can occur in planning as an answer to political regulation documents and can manifest as regulations in detailed development plans. Further, compensation can be seen as revisions of plan proposals or measures that aim to recreate cultural values and architectural qualities lost due to demolishment and rebuilding. Compensation may also be actions to minimise damage to national heritage sites, protect values, preserve qualities and support new properties of the cultural environment. Aesthetic programs that are developed to control the design of new buildings with consideration for the location and its qualities can also contain compensatory functions – unspoken and shown in illustrations as well as in written design guidelines. The concept should, therefore, be interpreted and understood in its specific context.

Starting points

In Sweden, the Planning and Building Act (Plan och bygglagen, PBL) and the Environmental Code (Miljöbalken, MB), demand that municipalities take

consideration of heritage interests in their planning. Detailed development plans that risk damage to national interests are to be rejected by the County Administration, which is responsible for monitoring national interests in the planning processes. It is the National Heritage Board that appoints areas of national heritage interest and affirms designated cultural values and properties of the environment. The County Administration is to review detailed development plans with a starting point in the National Heritage Board's descriptions of national heritage interests (PBL, Ch 3. §10). What, in the actual case, is considerable damage to the cultural environment based on the national heritage description depends on the extent and focus of the exploitation. There are no general answers – the assessment of plan-projects must arise from the effect on the location with a basis in the presented architectural project.

The cultural environment is a collective good in PBL and MB. It means that cultural heritage is viewed as a collective good for citizens. For this reason, areas "*that have a value from a public point of view because of their natural values or cultural values or with regard to outdoor life… [should] as far as possible be protected against measures that can considerably damage the natural or cultural environment*" (MB, Ch3 §6). Permission can be combined with an obligation for developers "*to execute or fund … specific measures to compensate the intrusion into public interests that the operation causes*" (MB Ch. 16 §9). The view of the cultural environment as a public resource in society is also a part of the Culture Heritage Act (Kulturmiljölagen, KML). The introductory regulation in the law is aimed at individual citizens, builders and authorities: "*The responsibility for the cultural environment is shared by everyone. Individuals, as well as authorities, are to show respect and care for the cultural environment. Those who plan or execute a project are to ascertain that damage to the cultural environment is avoided or limited*" (KML, §1).

MB has a similar damage-hierarchy. Exploitations of valuable natural and cultural environments shall at first hand be avoided, secondarily be limited and thirdly be compensated (Naturvårdsverket, 2016:22). This damage-hierarchy represents, however, a scientific approach constructed on the assumption that environments can be delimited to measurable properties, which seldom fits in developments that affect cultural values and architectural qualities. Nor are there any unambiguous correlations between value, damage and compensation. Negative as well as positive impacts of architectural projects are judgments that vary with consideration to assignments,

participants, resources and roles in the planning. Instead, compensatory measures manifest in planning as answers to critical viewpoints to the plan proposal from key players. The compensatory thinking is part of a negotiation culture within municipalities that aims to remove obstacles for planned developments, make the most of cultural values and to control the design of new built environments to achieve architectural qualities. Compensation is no unambiguous concept in this context but has both negative and positive consequences.

There are two regulatory documents in the municipality of Gothenburg that mention compensation. The first is the policy of 2008 called The Compensatory Measures for Nature and Recreation (*Kompensationsåtgärderna för natur och rekreation).* Compensation in this policy means *"measures that are taken in connection to exploitation to compensate (replace) a lost value or function"* (2008:9). The second document is the Comprehensive Plan of Gothenburg (Översiktsplan för Göteborg, ÖP) of 2009, which specifies how the land is to be used, developed and preserved in the long run in the municipality. According to the ÖP of 2009, compensation should be practised in exploitations in Gothenburg. "*Removed nature, culture and recreational values are (to be) compensated*" (ÖP, Part 1:96) and the municipality shall "*develop and use methods of compensatory measures for natural, cultural and recreational values in planning*" (ÖP, Part 1:96). The City Planning Office shall actively apply *"usage regulations, protection regulations, demolishment prohibitions and compensatory measures for built environments of cultural, historical value in the development or elaboration of the Comprehensive Plan and detailed development plans"* (ÖP, Part 1:97).

Criteria for cultural environment compensation

This article assumes that cultural environment compensation is a concept in the planning and development of detailed development plans, which can be defined with support from four main criteria. If these main criteria are met, the detailed development plan contains compensation. According to this definition, it is required that (a) the City Planning Office receives a planning undertaking, which (b) aims for development that (c) has, or risks having, negative effects on the cultural environment in the planning area, which (d) leads to revisions of the plan proposal, new plan regulations or changed design of the architectural project. The prerequisite for compensation is that there is some critique that needs to be reviewed by the City Planning Office for the detailed development plan to be approved. The criteria are based

on both the use of language in reports and actions in planning processes conducted by key actors. It is not a question of what is true or false. Nor is the definition an issue of what is right or wrong language use, but concerns whether the criteria clarify what cultural environment compensation is as a concept and if they are be considered appropriate for its purposes, enlightening, fruitful, or misleading and confusing.

The difficulty in applying the concept lies in the interpretation of compensatory intentions, measures and functions. In the chosen detailed development plan, the compensatory thinking can be seen as embedded in the plan and implementation description. There is an *"invisible"* form of cultural environment compensation, which is hidden in the detailed development plan. Helena Teräväinen (2020) uses the word *"unspoken"* for this practice. A methodological insight is therefore that the compensatory thinking needs to be made visible through the study of planning as a process, from assignment to the approved, detailed development plan. The planning material and statements from key players show to what extent changes to the plan proposal has a compensatory background and function. The context and intentions convey knowledge of cultural environment compensation in plan-projects.

Detailed development plans
The planning and design of detailed development plans is regulated in PBL. The detailed development plan is, in contrast to the Comprehensive Plan of the municipality, a binding document that only allows for minor deviations. The detailed development plan as a document consists of three parts:

- *The Plan Description:* There is to be a plan description that describes the preconditions, aims and considerations behind the proposal. The plan description lies as a foundation for the design of the detailed development plan with regard to interests and consequences (PBL, Ch. 4. § 33).
- *Implementation Description:* There is to be a description that describes how the detailed development plan is to be implemented (PBL, Ch. 4, § 31). The concrete execution is then regulated in specific agreements between the municipality and the builder.
- *Zoning Diagram with Plan Regulations:* There is to be a diagram of the area with regulations that denote the purpose of the land and the conditions for exploitation. The zoning diagram regulations show how the land may be used and built (PBL, Ch. 4, § 30).

A crucial aspect of the communication of knowledge in the planning proposals is the presentation of the architectural project, enabled by the detailed development plan. A limited selection of illustrations of the built environment is included in the planning proposals as a foundation for assessments of how cultural values and architectural qualities are affected by the exploitation of the site. An essential requirement is therefore that the drawings and photomontages give a true visual impression and highlight crucial aspects of the future environment.

Typical of the contemporary, detailed development plans in Gothenburg as examined in the research project and which contain exploitations in areas of national heritage interest, is that consultants are hired to investigate natural and cultural values. New knowledge is added to the detailed development plans during the planning process. The key players ask for a more informative view of the planning proposal. The investigations by consultants are used as planning material. In the ÖP of Gothenburg 2009, it is also mentioned that changes of cultural environments require knowledge, increased awareness and *"clear prioritising of cultural, historical and architectural values"* (ÖP, part 1:95). The brief national heritage descriptions of The National Heritage Board have to be supplemented with historical information to become meaningful planning material in plan-projects.

External consultants produced the historical planning material for the expansion of the City Library during the period 2004-2008. The planning material was compiled by the City Planning Office's historian and had three specific functions in the architectural and plan-project. Firstly, planning materials were used to identify, describe and protect cultural values and architectural qualities. Secondly, planning materials served as a foundation for the design of plan regulations in the detailed development plan and thirdly to transfer qualities to the architectural project through an aesthetic program. It is three functions of historical planning materials that, to a varying degree, exist in the 8 detailed development plans from Gothenburg with exploitations of national heritage interests that are part of the research project (Rönn, 2019).

Method

The expansion of the Gothenburg City Library is a case-study. It is a planning and architectural project that is examined with case-study methodology. Behind the choice of research strategy, there are two considerations. The case-study methodology is firstly appropriate for examinations of complex

design and plan processes. The second reason is the proximity to practice. Professional competence in architecture and urban design is developed through the experience of practical cases. The cases generate a repertoire of examples that in an adapted form are reused in new assignments.

Linda Groat (2002) emphasises that the case-study as a research strategy aims to examine phenomena in their natural context. Flyvbjerg (2006) defends the case-study as a scientific method for knowledge production with strong arguments. He emphasises that the case-study methodology as a research strategy is useful both to develop theories, test hypotheses and present instructive narratives based on empirical evidence.

Selection and data collection

This case description is the result of a literature review, archival studies, close reading of documents, site visits and discussions at seminars and workshops. From a selection of 39 contemporary, detailed development plans in Gothenburg that contain exploitation in areas of national heritage interest, one case has been chosen for an in-depth analysis. The motive for studying the expansion of the City Library is that the case has given rise to questions about renewal and cultural, environmental compensation.

Data of plan-projects have been collected from the archives of the City Planning Office. The appeals have been obtained from the County Administration. The architectural project is based on the collection and analysis of four types of data: (a) program, competition proposals and the jury report from the architectural competition for a new library in Gothenburg from 1960-61; (b) program, proposals and the assessment statements from the parallel commission of 2006; (c) the review in the Swedish journal *Arkitektur,* following the grand opening of the rebuilt and expanded City Library. Complementary data about the library as an architectural project is based on a literature search; and (d) site visits and photo documentation have been used to compare architectural drawings with the built environment.

Aims and research questions

The expansion of the City Library of Gothenburg occured in an area of national heritage interest. The aim is to highlight the treatment of cultural values and architectural qualities in the planning and architectural project, including to identify and make visible how compensatory thinking is expressed in the renewal of the City Library.

The research questions are about architecture, cultural environment and compensation. How are cultural values and architectural qualities, identified in the planning and architectural project, treated? How do the key players refer to the national heritage interest? How is compensatory thinking expressed in the case? What types of compensatory measures exist in the planning and design of the detailed development plan?

CASE DESCRIPTION

The city library and its urban context

In the program for *Culturally and Historically Valuable Built Environments (Kulturhistoriskt värdefull bebyggelse)* of 1999, Götaplatsen with its surroundings is described as the most important area of Gothenburg. The urban space is the result of an architectural competition occurring in 1916-18. The space has been renewed with public cultural institutions in three stages. The first stage contains the art hall and art museum with connecting stairs in 1923. The second stage is completion of the city theatre and concert hall in 1935. The third stage is the City Library which was built in 1967 after an architectural competition was held in 1960-61. Not until six years after a winner had been selected in 1961 was a reworked version of the winning proposal constructed. The project mission was, however, not given to the first-prize winner but to the author of the proposal in second place, who were architects from Gothenburg. In 1967, Lund and Valentin Arkitekter presented the new library in the Swedish journal *Arkitektur* and stated that the office was given the assignment after a repeated competition. But an organiser should only arrange a repetition of a competition if the jury fails to select a winner. In the public competition of 1960-61, organised by the city, the jury awarded a clear first-prize winner: two students from Stockholm, Granström & Östberg.

The architectural competition for a new library at Götaplatsen was announced as an open competition in 1960, approved by the architects' association. The competition resulted in 86 design proposals, which were presented anonymously; only the competition administrator who received the proposals knew the names of the authors behind the designs. The demand for anonymity is a way for the profession to assure equal and just conditions in architectural competitions. The idea is that the best proposal shall be selected as winner, irrespective of the author's background, reputation and status. Only after the competition has been decided are the jury members allowed to know who had been awarded the first prize. During the judging full anonymity applies. A design proposal can only be presented to the jury in a manner that

does not reveal who has submitted the competition entry. The anonymity in architectural competitions is regulated by the competition rules, which in paragraph 8 has been given the following wording:

> *Full anonymity must be maintained during the assessment of the proposals. Each proposal should be given a motto. A sealed opaque envelope containing a slip with the name of the author should be attached. Each proposal must be presented in such a way that the author remains anonymous* (Competition rules, 2016).

Jury and judging criteria

In the Gothenburg competition of 1960-61, a jury of six members was given the task to rank the proposals. Two members represented the library in the premises: Arne Berggren and Helge Nyberg. The other four members had competency within architecture, planning and urban design: Kristian von Sydow, Karl Olov *"Koj"* Jonsson, Lars Ågren and Sven Silow. The jury structured their jury report in two main areas, based on the criteria of the competition program, which was the basis for the examination of the proposals:

- *The Library's Exterior Situation:* the disposition of the competition area, adaptation to the terrain and surrounding built environment.
- *The Interior Organisation of the Library:* accessibility and clarity, the grouping and inner design of the premises.

First prize and second prize

In 1961, the jury decided on the winner of the competition. First prize of 10.000 SEK went to a proposal with the motto *"Gabriella"* for its good organisation of the library's premises and the ability to develop the project, with regard to interior and exterior design. The authors of the winning design proposal were Tommy Granström and Erik Östberg, two students from the School of Architecture at the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm. Their proposal had a modernist architectural expression and was given the following assessment by the jury in their report from the competition:

> *The library building has a well-collected volume, which in the floors effortlessly connects to the surrounding buildings and the terrain. The building's height is somewhat over-dimensioned, considering the rising rhythm of the location. The proposal, however, has partially succeeded in compensating for this drawback by keeping the annexe*

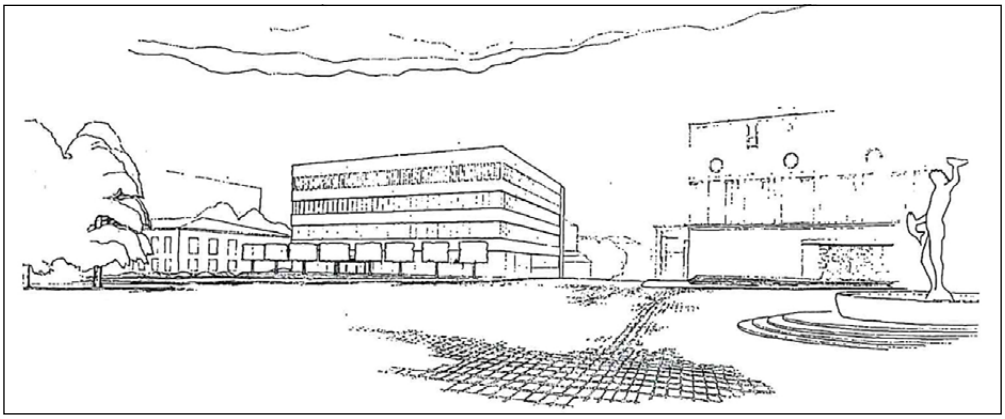

Figure 1. Winning design. Perspective for proposal by Tommy Granström and Erik Östberg awarded first prize in the public competition for a new library in Gothenburg 1960-61. The flat roof is together with the horizontal window bands typical in expression for a functionalistic form language. Source: SARs tävlingsblad.

> *to the hotel low. The exterior design is powerful in that the somewhat heavy manner, which is characteristic of the location, and the material choice – gold brick – is suitable. The organisation of the library is thoroughly analysed and particularly well planned. The building is organised as an atrium building of four floors with different rooms grouped around a large and beautiful hall, which creates good clarity and makes the premises easily accessible. The lift and stair connections are good and function well. The required reserve spaces for administration are not presented. The library's two lowest service floors are particularly meritoriously planned with good suggestions for an effective and economical organization. The proposal is possible to develop. The proposal has been cost calculated.* (SAR:s Tävlingsblad 4, 1961:108)

In second place in the competition with 7.000 SEK as financial compensation, the jury placed a design proposal under the motto *"Fullbokat"* (fully booked). This proposal was developed by the architects Rune Lund and Alf Valentin, in cooperation with interior designers Sture Björnlund and Lennart Tropp, domiciled in Gothenburg. The jury gave the following comment to this competition proposal:

> *The library building has an elucidated plan shape and a low height, which gives the building a, for its context, rather too unassuming volume. The exterior design is, if you disregard some minor details,*

essentially good. The facade design is full of character but somewhat stiff. The building's plan arrangement is good and the rooms are placed well in regard to each other. The open planning with large floor platforms makes it possible for not only flexibility but it is also personnel conserving. The building's dark core demands artificial lighting even during clear days. The reserve spaces are throughout easy to use both as rental spaces and for the expansion of the library, not least through how they are located on every floor. The expedition has an unpleasant location underneath the main stairs. The actual book floor has been given a generous and well collected solution, as has hall 5 with adjoining spaces in the subterrain floor. The café has been given an unsuitable location on the subterrain floor together with an under illuminated reserve space, which is interpreted as an exhibition space with passage to the city theatre – a hardly realistic thought. The proposal shows a suitable plan for the administrative department. (SAR:s Tävlingsblad 4, 1961:110)

Parallel commission

In 2006, a parallel commission for new premises for the City Library of Gothenburg was organized by the City Planning Office. Four well known architect offices were invited: Lund & Valentin Arkitekter, Malmström & Edström Arkitektkontor, White Arkitekter and Erséus Arkitekter/WSP Sverige. Parallel commissions are similar to an invited competition, with some decisive differences. There are no requirements for anonymity, no need for approval from Swedish Architects nor are there jury members appointed. In parallel commissions, the architectural offices may develop their proposals in an open dialogue with the organizer. Swedish Architects views parallel commissions as a suitable form for investigating design questions, develop projects and for choosing an architect for an assignment.

The parallel commission had significance for the outcome of the architectural competition of 1960-61 and the City Library's renewal in 2006. It had an impact on the invitation from the City Planning Office to the four architect offices as well as on how the library was described in the supporting background materials. Ola Nylander described the decision by the city to assign the project mission to Lund & Valentin Arkitekter instead of Gransström & Östberg as a scandal, in a newspaper article in 2008. The decision was contrary to the fundamental idea of the competition. There was a clear winner. The assignment should therefore have been given to the students who

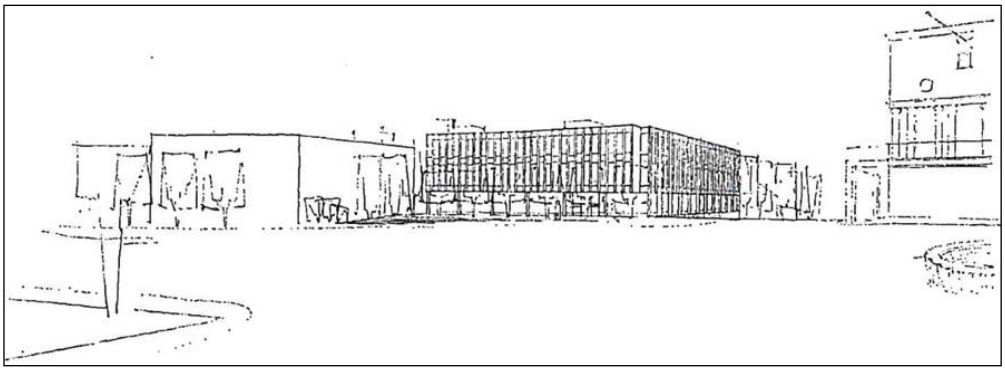

Figure 2. Perspective of the proposal in second place in the competition by Rune Lund, Alf Valentin, Sture Björklund and Lennart Tropp. The vertical design language of the facade deviates from the surroundings. The architecture seeks a contrastive effect. The vertical design language of the facade reoccurs in the winner in the parallel commission for rebuilding and expansion of the City Library. Source: SARs tävlingsblad.

had the copyright of the winning proposal in the architectural competition. The criticism by Lund & Valentin Arkitekter of the winning proposal in the parallel commission of 2006, Nylander appears foremost as an expression of a bad loser. A substantial part of the critique was that the expansion, with its new glazed facade and design with a vertical expression, had a foreign design language. A closer review reveals similarities in architectural expressions in the facade between the proposal in second place in the architectural competition 1960-61 and the winner in the 2006 parallel commission.

The explanation for why the City Planning Office invited Lund & Valentin Arkitekter to the parallel commission can both be found in that the office was allowed to complete the design of the winning competition proposal of 1960-61 and in the ethical rules that had been adopted by Swedish Architects.[2] Point 10 in these rules has the following wording: *"The architect shall respect the copyright and other immaterial rights. An architect who is offered to complete, develop, or change another architect's creation shall before the undertaking personally inform them"*. Point 11 is also relevant in this context: *"An architect who has worked on another's creation shall name the original copyright holder when papers that describe the creation are presented"*. However, Granström & Östberg, authors of the winning proposal in the competition of 1960-61, are made invisible and were not mentioned, neither in the parallel commission nor in the historical planning material. This may also be seen as a scandal according to ethical rules.

The brief

The program for the parallel commission was developed by the City Planning Office, the Culture Administration and an estate manager in Gothenburg for public business (lokalsekretariatet). The purpose of the assignment was described as twofold in the program: Firstly, the City Planning Office requested an architectural renewal of the City Library as a building to supply the operations needed for space. Secondly the parallel commission were to generate material for a new, detailed development plan that allows for an expansion of the City Library.

Figure 3. The City Library of 1967 by Lund & Valentin Arkitekter. Source: The proposal for a new detailed plan of 2008, City Planning Office, City of Gothenburg.

The invited architectural offices were encouraged to show *"ideas of how the meeting between Avenyn, Götaplatsen and connected city spaces can be designed"* (Program för parallella uppdrag, 2006:4). The aim of the renewal was that the building *"shall become an independent individual with a strong expression"*, which related to the surroundings (ibid. 2006:4). In the program, it was mentioned that the City Library is a part of an area of national heritage interest. *"The neighbourhoods around Avenyn and Götaplatsen are part of a larger area around Vasastaden with surroundings that are classified as of national heritage interest according to Ch. 3 6§ in the Swedish Environmental*

Code. This has to be taken into account" (ibid, 2006:6). But there were no specified directions or demands that describe how these requirements for the cultural environment were to be met and expressed in the renewal of the City Library.

Assessment criteria and assessment process

The proposals in the parallel commission were evaluated as a library project and as urban design, respectively. The library as an establishment included assessment criteria such as functionality, flexibility, work environment, accessibility and user friendliness, as well as aesthetics and design. The library as a city building was to be judged with regard to architectural qualities, cityscape, adaptation to surrounding built environment and to cultural, historical values. These are value loaded criteria, typical for architecture competitions, and which were used in the parallel commission.

For the ranking of the proposals in the parallel commission, a judging group and a task group of experts were responsible. The judging group comprised four politicians and four senior officials from the city.[3] There is accordingly a strong political representation in the choice of a winner. The politicians in the judging group, who were assumed to represent the interest of the citizens, came from the Cultural Committee and the Building Board. The senior officials in the judging group were the Library Director, the Project Manager at the Real Estate Manger as well as the Planning Chief and an architect from the City Planning Office. In the task group, there were only officials from the City Library (library director and coordinator), Real Estate Manager (project manager) and the City Planning Office (plan chief, plan architect and architect).[4]

Selecting winner

The judging group and the task group met nine times to review the proposals for the rebuilding and expansion of the City Library. The task group had a coordination meeting with the architects' offices and ranked the submissions. Two of the design teams, Malmström & Edström Arkitektkontor and Erséus Arkitekter/WSP, presented especially interesting proposals and were requested to adapt their solutions with consideration to the program. After a renewed comparison of the architectural proposals, the judging group recommended the design solution from Erséus/WSP for implementation (Figure 4). The reason to go forward with their solution was phrased like this:

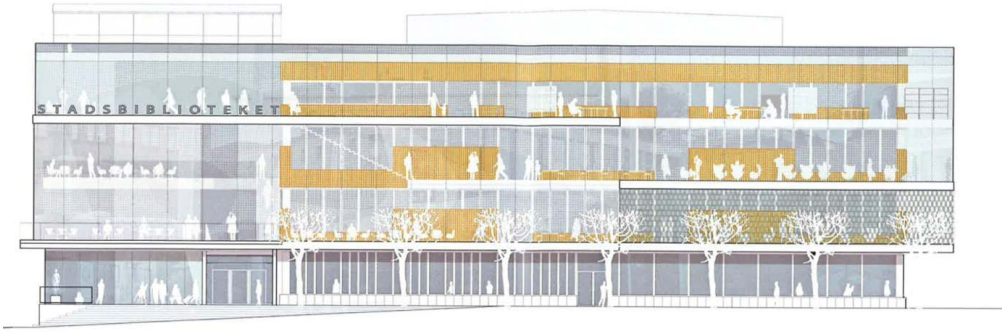

Figure 4. Winning design. The facade towards Avenyn in the proposal by Erséus Arkitekter and WSP in the parallel commission. The vertical expression is clearer in the adapted proposal for the facade that was built in 2014. Source: Erséus Arkitekter and WSP..

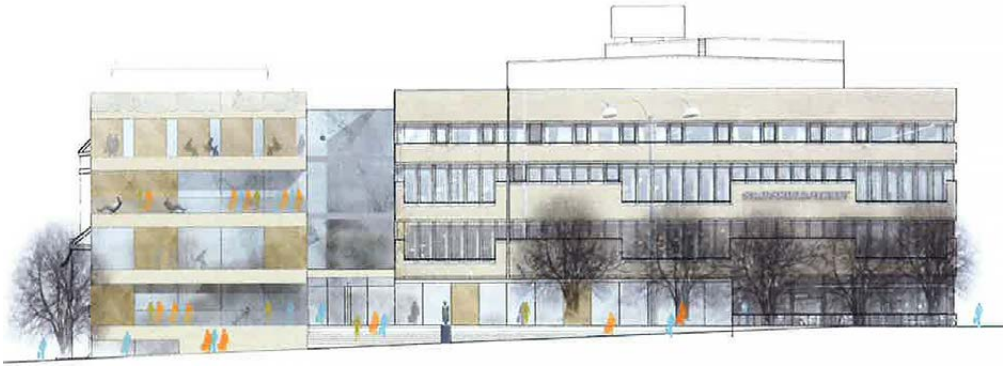

Figure 5. The competing proposal in the final ranking by Malmström & Edström Arkitekter. Their solution is a new building on one side of the library. Source: Malmström & Edström Arkitekter.

> *The judging group is of the view that the proposal's overarching approach to the assignment – to create a whole building – is the proposal's large advantage and, taken together, this can vitalize both Götaplatsen and the establishment. The interior of the proposal is well arranged and flexible, which gives great opportunities to create a functional and appealing library. In the continued undertaking, the design of the facades must be further studied to manage the insulation and simultaneously not hide the bricks of the existing building. In a continued adaptation, the context with the rest of the buildings at Götaplatsen should also be given particular attention. Altogether, the judging group considers that the proposal from Erséus Arkitekter AB/ WSP Sverige AB combines in an exemplary way an exciting, modern and innovative exterior with a well organised, flexible and functional interior.* (Utlåtande parallella uppdrag 2007:19)

The judging group was not unanimous in its decision. The competing proposal by Malmström & Edström Arkitekter was given good reviews (Figure 5).[5] A majority of the judging group found, however, that the solution with an expanded facade from Erséus/WSP was the best. As a foundation for the continued adaptation of the proposal, the City Planning Office developed an aesthetic program together with Erséus Arkitekter, the builder (Higab) and the City Library. To strengthen the steering function of the aesthetic program, the City Planning Office had the intention to let the document become an attachment to the detailed development plan. Additionally, the detailed development plan was to be given a clause that gave the aesthetic program the same legal status as the other regulations of the zoning diagram (Gestaltningsprogram 2008-11-18). The aesthetic program contained general advice and starting points. The ambition was to *"create a modern, open and attractive meeting place with a strong presence in the urban space"* (ibid, 2008:2). The renewal was to create a volume that corresponded to the surrounding built environment. The new facade of glass was to cause the building to be perceived as transparent. The inner life of the library was to be invited out into the urban space and to contribute to a safer and more ebullient environment. The design of the facade and the material choices was to connect to Götaplatsen's brick characteristics and be specially studied in the project. Additionally, the interior of the building was to be *"freed from recent additions and regain its original elegance and purity with open flexible floors. Great emphasis is put on preserving, recreating and renewing the interior qualities of the building in a conscious interaction between old and new"* (Ibid: 2008:5).

Old and new facade

The tension between new and old was a main theme in the renewal of the City Library. Daniel Koch (2008) notes that the judging group viewed preservation in the winning proposal by Erséus Arkitekter/WSP as a matter of keeping the existing brick facade by adding a glass expansion, a solution the judging group in their evaluation perceived as a way to create understanding for the history of the building. According to Koch, it is a simplified interpretation of the thematic. The architecture embodies the relationship between new and old as a cultural, historical border between outside and inside. Visitors who walk through the addition to the exterior and arrive at the interior, original parts of the library pass a clear border, a physical marker where two very different environments meet. However, this border can only be experienced distinctly at the corridor in the ground floors and the exten-

Figure 6, 7 and 8. The original facade seen from inside. To the left, the brick façade seen in the corridor at the ground floor. In the middle the café in the extension at the second floor seen from the third floor. To the right, stairs to the third floor. Photography: Magnus Rönn, 2020.

sion at second and third floors – not in the entrance on the ground floor (see figure 6, 7 and 8).

The plan process

In November of 2007, SBK presented a detailed development plan that aimed to make the planned renewal of the City Library at Götaplatsen in the heart of Gothenburg possible (Detaljplan 2008-11-18). The aim was to support rebuilding and expansion of the City Library in three directions. The City Planning Office stated in the detailed development plan that the area is both part of the national heritage interest and falls under the municipality's program for the preservation of culturally and historically valuable built environments. In the national heritage interest description, Götaplatsen with cultural institutions is treated as an expression of the national heritage interest in part of city called the inner city of Gothenburg (*Göteborgs innerstad*). The description of the national heritage interest by the National Heritage Board is brief and does not give any guidance for the renewal. To gain a clearer idea of the area's cultural values and architectural qualities, the City Planning Office put together historical planning material, based on student work and consultant enquiries by Metelius, a cultural company, and White Arkitektkontor.

Review statements

According to the City Planning Office's report, the actors considering the proposed legislation were mainly positive toward the detailed development plan. The Cultural Administration wanted cultural values and architectural

qualities to be taken care of in a clearer way. The other municipal authorities and companies approved the detailed development plan, except for one municipal administration (SDN centrum), who thought that the plan proposal had too many negative consequences for the park in the area (Samrådsredogörelse 2008-11-18). The County Administration informed that it refrained from reviewing the detailed development plan. The authorities saw no risk for considerable damage to the national heritage interest (Yttrande 2009-01-26). The objections to the rebuilding and expansion of the City Library came mainly from residents in the area and private individuals. The most interesting critique was formulated by Rune Lund (2009-01-08, 2009-07-20), one of the architects who was given the assignment to adapt the winning proposal of the architectural competition in 1960-61, in a letter to the Building Committee and in an appeal to the County Administration. According to Lund, the solution with a new outwardly moved facade in glass and vertical lines contradicts the fundamental design idea in the original proposal. A complementary critique is that the detailed development plan accepts the rebuilding's negative effects on the national heritage interest at the site, at least as they are described and understood by professionals in the historical investigations. However, the students behind the winning design in the competition 1960-61 were still made invisible by all the key players actors in the consultation. The opinions from the review resulted in a few minor revisions of administrative character to the plan description by the City Planning Office. The design, protection and cautionary regulation in the detailed development plan was to be adjusted. Additionally, the historical planning material and the aesthetic program was to be updated. The Real Estate Office was given the assignment to follow up the executional description in the detailed development plan, with consideration to the revisions by the City Planning Office.

Planning material

In the detailed development plan of 2009 for rebuilding and expanding the City Library, an updated version of the historical planning material was included as an attachment. However, the students behind the winning design in the competition 1960-61 were still put in the shadows by all the key players. The Culture Administration noted with approval that the detailed development plan had been given an increased cultural-historical description and that the aesthetic program had been revised with consideration to the remarks of the Cultural Administration. To make the existing brick facade visible was a step in the right direction. The Cultural Administration was also

pleased with the new protection regulations for the furnishings (Yttrande 2009-02-05). The historical planning material included an extended presentation of the City Library's culture historical, architectural and experiential qualities of urban space. Initially it was pointed out that Götaplatsen is the result of an architectural competition held in 1916-1918, which was executed successively to become a monumental urban space according to the city plan of 1921 by Lilienberg. The buildings refer to each other. The plan form generates an experience of wholeness. The interplay in the urban space is conveyed by the buildings scale, volume, consistent roof lines, facades in yellow brick and retracted windows. According to the planning material, the City Library represents a new type of public business at Götaplatsen with a vernacular character. Aside from carrels and books in open halls, the citizens have since 1967 had access to an exhibition hall, an auditorium, a newspaper room with a café and a space where they can listen to music.

The design of the City Library of 1967 is attributed to Lund & Valentin Arkitekter in the historical planning material. The building has a functionalist style of architecture, typical for the period, with horizontal bands of windows and a flat roof. At street level, the library meets visitors with large windows. The department store is seen as an inspirational source for the architectural design. The interior is characterised by open, bright and perspicuous floors grouped around a glass-roofed well. A large part of the furnishing, surfaces and artistic decorations remain in original condition, despite an extensive reconstruction at the start of the 1990s following floor plans by Lund & Valentin Arkitekter. The historical planning material describes the City Library as a well-preserved building, both with regard to exterior and interior, with high architectural qualities and cultural values. The interior is attributed with a particular cultural and historical value, which tells of a new direction for libraries and a new system for reshelving in flexible floors (Planbeskrivning 2009-06-16, bilaga 1).

Detailed development plan

In the detailed development plan from 2009, the City Planning Office argued that the expansion created the most suitable use of the plot from a public point of view, considering the conditions of the location and requirements of the City Library. From the plan description, it is clear that there were two sculptures in the area that portrayed Karin Boye and J. A. Wadman, two poets. Both statues had to be moved because of the rebuilding and expansion of the City Library. The Municipality's group for public art was given the

assignment to place the sculptures in connection with the execution of the plan. The detailed development plan's consequences for the City Library's cultural values and architectural qualities were presented in terms of *negative effects* and *positive effects* respectively (Detaljplan 2019-06-16). For an in-depth analysis, the historical planning material was referred to.

The detailed development plan's negative effects on the City Library's exterior; the City Planning Office saw losses of architectural qualities in the urban space:

- A well preserved and pedagogical example of a skilful arrangement of a genuine late-modernistic expression in a monumental space formation defined by the classic design of the 1920s disappears in its entirety.
- Existing brick facing in form of the street facade disappears partially through the expansion.

As positive effects, the reconstruction of interior qualities as well as regulations for the perseveration and protection of modifications in the detailed development plan were presented:

- The interior is freed from recent additions and regains its original open and flexible floors.
- The interior is given long-term protection in the detailed development plan, including demands for adapted maintenance and demolishment prohibition.

Correspondingly, the consequences for the national heritage interest were presented in negative and positive effects following the rebuilding and expansion. The negative effects to the national heritage interest that the City Planning Office brings up in the detailed development plan were:

- The expansion of the City Library does not follow the original plan shape of Götaplatsen with buildings that are aligned around a symmetrically formed space. The experience of Götaplatsen as a symmetrical urban space is lessened through the expansion.
- The space creation and the facade's interaction are decreased through the expansion.

- A large deciduous tree which signals the park by Lorensbergsteatern is removed at the same time as parts of the park is claimed following the expansion of Park Avenue Hotel.

The positive effects of the detailed development plan to the national heritage interest were described as follows:

- The new facade of the City Library shows a combination of materiality, degree of detail, colour scheme and weight with alternating openness and closedness that is connected to the surrounding buildings.
- The view from Avenyn is accentuated. Oblique angles aligned to Lorensbergsteatern strengthen the experience of the block's asymmetrical shape.
- The expansion's cubical volume corresponds to the forms of the buildings around Götaplatsen and has been given an eave that conforms to the space-creation.
- The glass expansions towards Park Avenue Hotel and towards the park lessens its characteristics as a rear facade.
- The park, Lorensbergsteatern and the hotel building towards Avenyn are given long term protection through plan regulations.

The detailed development plan was finalised in November of 2011 after it was appealed against and tried by the County Administration (Beslut 2010-05-11). Rune Lund developed his critique of the expansions of the City Library in his complaint. As support for his objections, he used the historical planning material, which according to Lund describes Götaplatsen as an urban space with its design idea and qualities in an excellent manner. Lund saw the historical planning material as a *"code of conduct"* for the planned renewal of the City Library. A central point in his critique was that the rebuilding and expansion elongated the facade, which violated the original plan shape. The new extended facade had a negative effect in the interplay with the other buildings. This is a relevant critique. The County Administration, however, rejected his objections on formal grounds. As architect behind the design of 1967, Lund did not belong to the group of affected who had the right to have their objections evaluated. Because the County Administration, in the role of regional plan authority, had chosen to not bring up the risk of damage to the national heritage interest in the consultation, the objections to the architectural project lapsed. The County Administration instead focused on the judi-

cial interpretation in the trade-off between individual and public interests in the plan-project. The inconveniences that the residents brought up in the form of reflections of the sun were an individual interest that was not strong enough to void the detailed development plan. The County Administration's decision to not review the impact of the detailed development plan to the national heritage interest thus had a deciding influence on the outcome of the appeal.

Inauguration and conducting the establishment

In 2014, the rebuilt and expanded City Library opened to the public. In a review of the renewal in the Swedish journal *Arkitektur,* Claes Caldenby noted that the library had been given a new attire with more sassy imagery. He pointed out that the proposal by Erséus Arkitekter/WSP in the parallel commission had given rise to a certain surprise, as the solution did not respect the exterior of the building. But by attaching a three-metre-deep extension to the building, it became possible to keep the contact with Avenyn, theatre building and the park. It was a source of success. Yet it was the facade that Caldenby raised as problematic. The new facing of glass was, after adaptation, given pillars as sun screening, a solution in true 60s' spirit. The sun could probably affect the areas around the building in a negative way. The new location of the café a floor up with the newspaper section and a balcony gave possibilities for outdoor serving on sunny days. This is a *"lookout spot"* that is liked by end-users. During my visits, I have noted that the balcony at the café is appreciated by visitors during the spring and summer, although the Nordic climate does limit its use.

Caldenby's review in the journal *Arkitektur* was mainly positive. He viewed the library as a cultural institution at Götaplatsen that needed to be preserved. According to Hanna Carlsson (2013), the role of libraries in society has changed through the deregulation of the 1980s. Previously, libraries had the task to compensate for the shortcomings of the market, to give citizens access to welfare services and make possible a good cultural life. In the new assignment, creating preconditions for welfare by contributing economic growth were included. The aim of the library as public enterprise has transformed into a means for growth. It is, however, a change that is so far not visible in the documents behind the renewal of the City Library. The foundation for the expansion was described as an intention to support the meeting of people, to inspire self-study and research. In the program for the parallel commission, the organiser also referred to the national culture political goals

Figure 9, 10 and 11. The original facade seen from inside. To the left, the brick façade seen in the corridor at the ground floor. In the middle the café in the extension at the second floor seen from the third floor. To the right, stairs to the third floor. Photography: Magnus Rönn, 2020.

of democracy, freedom of speech, integration and diversity (Program för parallella uppdrag, 2006).

FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The critique of the planning and architectural project and its handling of the cultural environment from individuals and neighbours did not gain the support of the Building Committee and the County Administration. For the City Planning Office, the rebuilding and expansion of the City Library became an approved renewal of cultural values and architectural qualities in urban space. The County Administration concluded that the effect to the national heritage interest was to be accepted. But how does cultural environment compensation appear in the planning and architectural project?

1. Compensated losses through restored interior design: The loss of the City Library as a pedagogical example of modernist architecture, typical for its period, well-integrated into Götaplatsen, was not seen as damage to the national heritage interest by municipal and governmental key players. Instead, interior design became the focus of compensatory measures. Architectural qualities in the original interior were to be restored simultaneously with the expansion. Later additions in indoor design were to be removed. Because the County Administration abstained from reviewing the detailed development plan, the balancing of interests appeared simple to the City Planning Office. There were no deciding obstacles given by the representatives of the cultural environment against alteration in the urban space. The encroachment into the national heritage interest appeared as compensated for in the updated historical planning material, together with extended regulations in the detailed development plan. Additionally, the aesthetic program

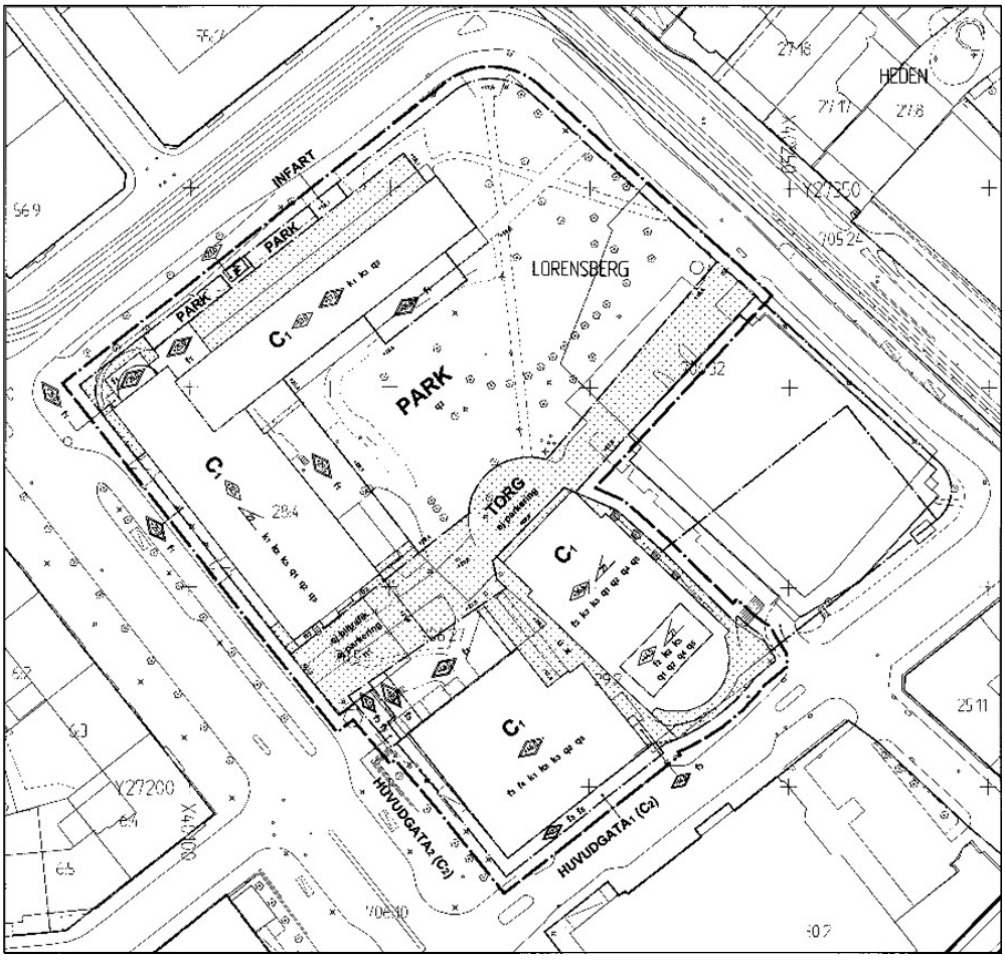

Figure 12. Regulations in the approved detailed plan. Source: City Planning Office, City of Gothenburg.

had been attached to the plan description. The City Library's need for appropriate premises appears as a dominating driving force behind the planning and architecture project modified by the planning material.

2. Partly recreated cultural values at the site: The sculptures at the City Library that were removed as a consequence of the rebuilding and expansion were to be given new placements. It was viewed as an unproblematic compensation for the exploitation. The Karin Boye statue was given a new spot in connection to the City Library. The same cultural value is in this case

recreated in another location within the planning area (Grahn Danielson et al., 2017). The statue portraying J. A. Wadman was, however, moved away from the planning area and was resurrected on a hill in Vasaparken, a park in the city centre. It led to a permanent loss of cultural values in connection to the City Library, at the same time as Vasaparken, through the new placement of J. A. Wadman, is given a new addition to the environment. The damage is thus compensated at a different location, outside of the planning area (ibid).

3. Compensatory revisions during the planning process: The plan description was completed in two ways during planning processes. New knowledge was added to the detailed development plan at the same time as requested values, qualities and properties were made clear in planning materials. Both of these types of revisions have a compensatory function. The detailed development plan was given a description of existing cultural values and intended architectural qualities. This revision of the detailed development plan satisfied considerations from the Cultural Administration. While the City Planning Office saw the rebuilding and expansion as a positive addition to the urban space, the renewal was admitted as having negative consequences on the cultural environment in the area. To compensate for the loss of cultural values and architectural qualities, the detailed development plan was given two updated attachments: historical planning material regarding cultural, historical, architectural and urban space qualities and an aesthetic program to steer the rebuilding and expansion of the library. It was additions to the detailed development plan that further minimised the risk for strong objections to the detailed development plan from the Cultural Association and the County Administration.

4. Plan regulations as compensatory measures: The regulations on the plan of the detailed development drawing were an expression of the compensatory thinking in the plan-project supported by the comprehensive plan (see Teräväinen, 2020). Through the regulation, the plot was made available for exploitation. The main purpose had been achieved by the City Planning Office's compensation. The architectural design, protection and preservation regulations in the detailed development plan were managed through several requirements.[6] However, the regulations varied in clarity and precision and had different orientations and timeframes. They comprised the expansion of the City Library as well as the upkeep of the property with maintenance and prohibition against demolition. A closer examination shows that the plan regulations have three orientations:

Firstly, the detailed development plan contained forewords that took note of the exterior of the building, its architectural exterior and role in the public urban space. Particular care was given to the exterior of the expansion with consideration to that the urban space and park space is an area of national heritage interest (f3). The facade of the expansion was to be designed with consideration to cultural and historical qualities, architectural distinctiveness and the significance of the building in the urban space and park space (f4, k1).

Secondly, the detailed development plan had regulations that treat the interior of the building. According to these regulations, the renewal of the interior was to occur carefully with consideration to cultural and historical qualities, architectural distinctiveness and artistic qualities (k2). Recent additions were to be removed. The qualities of particularly valuable interiors such as of the construction plan, the volume of rooms, fixed furnishings and installations were to be preserved and might not be distorted (q2).

Thirdly, the detailed development plan contained regulations that pertained to the property as a whole, such as a demolition prohibition (q5) and the demand that upkeep – exterior and interior – must happen with materials and methods that are adapted to the technical, historical and aesthetic distinctiveness of the building so that the cultural and historical value does not diminish (k3).

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NOTES

1 Frida Andreasson has translated parts of the text and proofread the paper. Statements in reports from the competition jury and evaluation committee in the parallel commission are translated from Swedish.

2 https://www.arkitekt.se/app/uploads/2014/08/De-nya-etiska-reglerna-2017-pdf.pdf

3 The following politicians from the culture and building committee are part of the judging group in the parallel commission: Ewelina Toarczyk, Margita Björklund, Mats Arnsmar and Olof Wickman. The leading officials in the judging group are Christina Persson, library director, Lennart Johansson, project manager at lokalsekriteriatet, Malin Häggdahl, plan architect of the City Planning Office and Rune Johansson, architect of the City Planning Office.

4 The following officials are part of the task group: Christina Persson, library director, Håkan Grissler, coordinator of the City Library, Lennart Johansson, project manager of Lokalsekretariatet, Malin Häggdahl, plan architect at the City Planning Office, Rune Johansson, architect at the City Planning Office and Christina Jönsson, plan architect at the City Planning Office.

5 The critique of the proposal from Malmsötrm & Eström Arkitekter boils down to that the floors have lesser flexibility and is more difficult to furnish compared to the winner. The objection to the design of the exterior environment is that the proposal lessens the visual contact between the park of the area and Avenyn.

6 The requirements are marked in the detailed development map as f3, f4, k1, k2, k3, q2 and q5.

HERITAGE COMPENSATION IN CHANGING ENVIRONMENTS: The case of the West Link infrastructure project, Gothenburg

Maitri Dore

ABSTRACT

Major urban infrastructure projects in old cities often encounter material, historical features during planning or execution, presenting several challenges for local heritage management. Using the case of the West Link in Gothenburg, Sweden, this paper discusses compensation as an approach to heritage management in cases of large urban developments.

The West Link is a railway line currently under construction in Gothenburg. It burrows through the city's 17th century fortifications, ancient agricultural properties and historical parks. Since the project is deemed to be a threat to cultural heritage, the Swedish Transport Administration (STA) – responsible for the project – and Gothenburg City's cultural administration, among others, are in talks on how best to compensate for the impact on heritage.

The paper finds that compensation can take the form of storytelling, variously expressed by exposing archaeological finds, incorporating them into art and architecture, using digital storytelling techniques and linking project sites to their wider regions. Situating these within the wider discourse on compensation and critical heritage, the paper raises for discussion the extent of interconnectedness between heritage objects and their stories, the centrality of material and overlapping heritage approaches that come into play during planning.

KEYWORDS

Heritage, Compensation, Storytelling, West Link

INTRODUCTION

Compensation is an approach to dealing with ecological and cultural heritage in planning. The concept has been associated with the economic value of cultural heritage, as in compensation for elimination (Ben-Malka & Poria, 2019), and is also present in claims to justice by compensating for historical atrocities using material culture through recognition, economic reparation and/or return (Joy, 2020). In policy it most often finds mention in the context of damage to ecological heritage on account of new development.

This paper focuses on compensation in situations of cultural heritage damage. While there is ongoing academic research in the Swedish context, this aspect of compensation has rarely received attention in policy. In the literature, its definition is unclear, spanning a range of concepts that cover compensatory actions.

The aim of the paper is to advance the understanding of compensation in situations where cultural heritage is faced with large urban development. The paper uses the interpretive case of the West Link train tunnel in Gothenburg, Sweden, to characterise storytelling as compensation and situates the ways in which two public actors intend to mobilise it through their proposals. Accordingly, the paper asks the following research questions:

- How is compensation expressed through storytelling in the West Link infrastructure project?
- How does storytelling, as found in the West Link, fit into existing models for compensation and future-oriented notions of heritage?

The paper is a scientific article and is structured as follows: Section 2 forms the theoretical framework, including a background on compensation and storytelling, through which the findings in the West Link are analysed; Section 3 introduces the case and discusses the methodology used in the paper; Section 4 presents the findings and analysis of storytelling; Section 5 discusses the findings and analysis within the context of theory; and the final section, Section 6 summarises the main points put forth in the paper, also highlighting the importance of research on compensation.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework starts out from the premise that heritage conservation and city planning have the potential to work in tandem and that

heritage-making in situations of large-scale urban transformation can take different forms and create new development directions. It is the point of departure for analysis and discussing compensation in the West Link case.

The section has been subdivided into future-oriented notions of heritage from the critical heritage canon, compensation and literature on storytelling.

Future-oriented notions of heritage

Authorised Heritage, loss of heritage and its potential

According to the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), heritage management and interpretation is strictly the prerogative of a group of experts (Smith, 2006). This view of heritage as being sanctioned by the state, charters or established professional practices (Harrison, 2013, p. 14), is *"official"* heritage (Harrison, 2013). Conversely, "*unofficial*" heritage does not benefit from formal protection and constitutes assets valued by individuals or communities (Harrison, 2013). The AHD also promotes a selective and *"consensus view of history"* (Smith, 2006, p. 306), while validating *"dominant narratives about nation"* (Smith, 2006, p. 299). Heritage in this view is a carefully curated narrative of the past and essential for national pride (Lowenthal, 1998).

Heritage, liberated from the AHD, is dynamic and processual, rather than a *"thing"* (Smith, 2006, p. 2) and is an activity of the present (Harrison, 2013, p. 4). This involves *"an active assembling of a series of objects, places and practices that we choose to hold up as a mirror to the present, associated with a particular set of values that we wish to take with us into the future"* (Harrison, 2013, p. 228-29). Heritage viewed this way shifts conservation practice from its classical form to a contemporary one, as defined by Muñoz Viñas (2005). The former is an essentially truth-seeking, truth-revealing exercise, wherein truth is seen to lie in the physicality of the object that is limited and must therefore be safeguarded (Muñoz Viñas, 2005). Contemporary conservation on the other hand depends on the subject's attribution of meaning to it (Muñoz Viñas, 2005, p. 147).

The way conservation is understood connects to notions of damage and loss. Damage is the basis for conservation, for conservation strives to mitigate actual and potential damage (Muñoz Viñas, 2005, p. 101). According to Holtorf (2017, p. 303), viewing heritage as being at risk sees the future as a place that will be a replica of the present, *"a future in which people will thank us for our conservation efforts and in which we will be recognized as responsible ancestors*

that did the right thing". Loss, however, can be emancipatory, giving life to *"new values, attachments and forms of significance"* (DeSilvey & Harrison, 2019, p. 3). This involves an acceptance of change (DeSilvey, 2017), for loss of material fabric does not necessarily translate to a hollowing out of memory (DeSilvey, 2017, p. 5) or of the object's value (Holtorf, 2015, p. 409). Decay is generative (DeSilvey, 2017) and *"destructive processes"* too create heritage, such as roads and urban architecture, to name a couple (Holtorf, 2015, p. 406).

Changing nature of heritage

The above views are part of a progressively changing nature in the way heritage is conceived of and conserved. Ashworth (2011), Janssen, Luiten, Renes & Stegmeijer (2017) and Pendlebury (2009) look at these changes from a temporal perspective, reflecting on how new and old forms relate to each other.

Ashworth's (2011) *preservation paradigm* embodies a heritage management approach that strives to prevent, or at least resist, change. According to this paradigm, developing and saving are incommensurable goals, because effecting one, will perforce diminish the other. The *conservation paradigm* (Ashworth, 2011) considers value in not solely single objects, but also in collections or environments and opens the field of engagement between conservation and contemporary use. This approach also became a policy objective, heralding a more formal approach to heritage management. The *heritage paradigm* (Ashworth, 2011) marries past and present, not only by acknowledging that heritage is created in the present, but also putting the focus on the process of its creation, the selection of what is considered valuable and the subjects who attribute meaning to objects of value.

These *preservation*, *conservation* and *heritage paradigms* (Ashworth, 2011) run parallel to Janssen et al.'s (2017) discussion of the Dutch spatial context, where heritage is sector, factor and vector, respectively. *Heritage as sector* views socio-economic and spatial dynamics as a threat to cultural heritage. In times of uncertainty and rapid change, the monument becomes something familiar to clutch on to, acquiring a therapeutic quality. *Heritage as factor* in spatial planning means that heritage is one of the many elements that plays a role in the quality of a place. In this understanding, objects from the past can actively be incorporated into and enrich the creation of contemporary urban spaces. *Heritage as vector* provides a guiding narrative to spatial planning more broadly and draws in intangible heritage, where archaeological remains are few and do not offer a ready crutch for planning.

Both Ashworth (2011) and Janssen et al. (2017) stress that old forms did not entirely give way to new ones. Ashworth (2011) terms it as an *"incomplete paradigm shift"* and Janssen et al. (2017, p. 1656) argue that the approaches were adopted by different actors despite evolving one after another. A multiplicity of approaches is not only present, but also necessary in contemporary heritage planning practice, so that the most suitable can be deployed, depending on the situation at hand (Janssen et al., 2017, p. 1656).

Ashworth (2008) and Janssen et al.'s (2017) categorisations overlap with Pendlebury's (2009) view of changing approaches over time: Ashworth's (2008) *preservation paradigm* (from the 1900s) and Janssen et al.'s (2017) *heritage as sector* (from the 1800s) are in step with modernist conservation principles as Pendlebury (2017) describes them. Pendlebury (2009) also emphasises the changing focus of heritage as it went from being an aesthetic commodity to gaining economic relevance, followed by, in contemporary times, social relevance.

Compensation in Sweden

Compensation in law

In Sweden, the Environmental Code (Miljöbalken) makes provision for compensation, where the environment is impacted by development projects. Though this is meant to include the cultural environment, the Code makes no explicit mention of this, consistently referring to the environment in terms of the ecological environment. As Rönn, Grahn Danielson & Swedberg (2017) note, compensation in Swedish law is most commonly used where ecological environments are affected.

Ecological compensation is also provided for for *"natural or green environments"* in Boverket's (National Board of Housing, Building and Planning) Injury Mitigation Hierarchy, a hierarchy of responses to development affecting ecosystem services (Boverket, 2018). In order of most preferred to least preferred action, starting from the bottommost step to the topmost, the hierarchy is as follows:

1. *Avoid negative impact – choose another location, protective measures, reinforcement measures.*
2. *Minimise negative impact – protective measures, reinforcement measures.*

3. *Compensate for negative impact – restore value in the immediate area, certain reinforcement measures.*
4. *Compensate for negative impact – replace by measures elsewhere or of different value.*

According to this, the preferable options (protective measures) are the bottom two steps, while the top two (compensatory measures) should be employed only where protection is not possible. The final step, which involves replacing the affected heritage is the last resort because is accepts that damage is unavoidable.

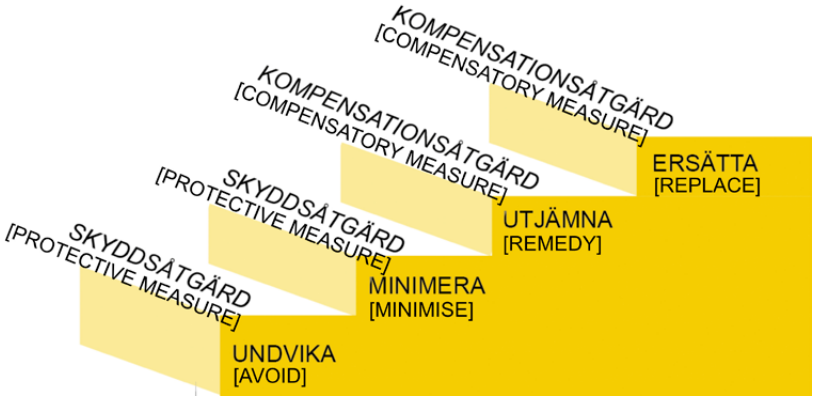

Figure 1. Injury Mitigation Hierarchy. Source: Boverket (2018)

The other two relevant laws in the heritage and planning context are the Historic Environment Act (Kulturmiljölagen) and the Planning and Building Act (Plan- och bygglagen). The Historic Environment Act governs the protection and conservation of cultural heritage and the Planning and Building Act (PBL) covers regulations related to detailed plans, master plans, zoning, area development and other aspects concerning construction. Neither act covers compensatory measures by municipalities or cities in planning (Rönn et al., 2017, p. 81). Because the PBL does not provide for compensation for cultural heritage, claims for its implementation must be regulated through other agreements (Grahn Danielson, Rönn & Swedberg, 2014, p. 13). Such compensation is voluntary and operationalised through agreements between the municipality and the developer or builder (Boverket, 2018; Grahn Danielson et al., 2014, p. 13).

Compensation for ecological versus cultural heritage damage

Compensation for ecological heritage damage is seen to be less complicated than that for cultural heritage damage. It is quantitative values that are assigned to ecological heritage and these values are considered to be reproducible, while cultural heritage compensation involves the restoration of qualitative aspects associated with experiences in the landscape (Grahn Danielson, Rönn & Swedberg, 2013, p. 4). Consequently, cultural values are seen to be unique, site-specific (Rönn et al, 2017, p. 78) and irreplaceable as compared to the case of ecological conservation (Fredholm, Olsson, Wetterberg & Håkansson, 2017, p. 67).

Further, the legislative tools for compensation, specified in the Environmental Code are seen to be inadequate for application in situations of cultural heritage damage. According to Grahn Danielson et al. (2014, p. 12), the Code regulates compensation for cultural values keeping ecological values as a model, due to which it has been difficult to develop compensatory strategies specific to the cultural environment's scientific discourse (Grahn Danielson et al., 2014, p. 12). Boverket's Injury Mitigation Hierarchy also prioritises quantifiable, tangible values over intangible, abstract ones (Larsson, 2020, p. 231), making it hard to apply to cultural heritage.

Compensation for cultural heritage damage

Most research related to compensation for cultural heritage damage comes from Magnus Rönn, Benjamin Grahn Danielson and Stig Swedberg of the Kulturlandskapet cooperative and involves investigating compensatory measures with respect to planning (Rönn et al., 2017, p. 76). They start from a position that change is inevitable and must therefore be managed properly (Grahn Danielson, 2013, p. 4). Grahn Danielson et. al (2013, p. 6) detail out the conditions for cultural heritage compensation as being: *"(a) land development of a cultural heritage area, which (b) leads to a negative impact (damage or loss of cultural value/qualities), in turn (c) requiring physical compensation or measures. This has to be (d) regulated in an agreement with the developer or appointed in a decision taken by the authorities and should (e) be carried out within a certain time"*. In response to spatial transformation, the authors propose a model for cultural heritage compensation based on the metrics of cultural value and spatial connection (Grahn Danielson, et al, 2013, p. 8).

As shown in Figure 2, the four parts of the matrix range from compensating the same type of values on-site to different type of values off-site. The inter-

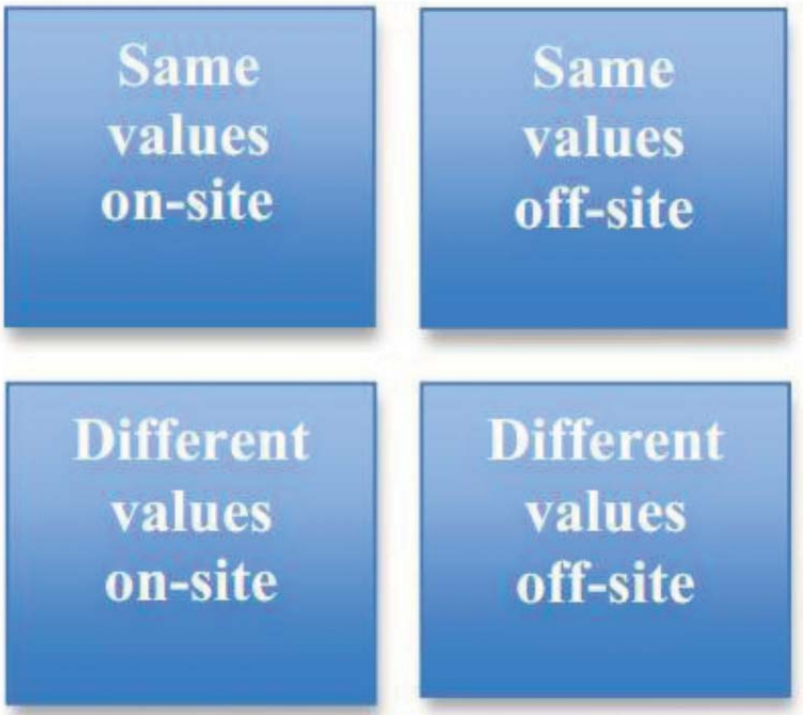

Figure 2. Model based on values and site. Source: Grahn Danielson et al. (2013, p. 8)

mediate positions in the matrix represent 'same values off-site' and 'different values on-site'. In the upper left box, cultural value and location are connected and in the bottom right box they are delinked. The 'same values on-site' approach calls for minimisation of damage, a tenet enshrined in traditional conservation and ecological compensation. The most radical break from this is the 'different values off-site' approach because it emphasises creativity and newness.

Rönn et al. (2017, p. 89) advocate the use of the model to produce creative solutions to dealing with the 'conflict' between conservation and development. Axelsson (2015, p. 197) further argues for looking at heritage beyond physical place, but where intervention in the environment is a fact, advocates for a move from conservation (as denoted by the top two squares in the grid) to creation (the bottom two), in the process inviting completely new ways of thinking about heritage (Axelsson, 2015, p. 197). Relatedly Larsson (2020) and Ross (2020) emphasise compensating tangible elements with intangible ones.

Compensation can also take forms unrelated to design, such as cultural environment investigations; revisions of plan and implementation descriptions; plan regulations; aesthetic programmes; and control by building conservation officers (Rönn, 2020). These forms include textual and/or visual descriptions of heritage values, investigations by heritage consultants and regulation of architectural design (Rönn, 2020, p. 109). By this yardstick, compensation does not necessarily have to have anything to do with the on-ground space around the damage and new development, implying that *any* action taken in relation to cultural values in response to planning can count as compensation.

Storytelling

The concept of storytelling anchors the findings in the case to theory on compensation. Storytelling, as understood in this research, is the act of narrating. Palombini (2017) differentiates between a storytelling approach and an information-based one, suggesting that storytelling is a creative act that contains a *"narrative boost"* (Palombini, 2017, p. 134). This means that storytelling is not simply about conveying information but about fashioning it in a certain way. Storytelling comprises *"units of narration"* namely an agent, an event and change (Palombini, 2017, p. 135). Rivero Moreno (2020, p. 400) highlights the neurological role of storytelling, writing that *"stories appear as a very valuable tool to make meaning and analyse the cities where we live, learning from the spaces we inhabit"*. He too, stresses the malleability of stories and their quality of being open to interpretation (Rivero Moreno, 2020, p. 400). For Rivero Moreno (2020), storytelling contributes to urban sustainability. Much of the literature on storytelling focuses specifically on digital storytelling, but for the purposes of this paper, that distinction has not been considered.

METHODOLOGY

Case selection

The West Link acts as an interpretive case-study that attempts to capture multiple perspectives on a single issue, i.e., compensation for cultural heritage. This is a relativist perspective that corresponds to a *constructivist* (Yin, 2018, p. 16) or *interpretive* (Merriam, 2009) approach. The case-study methodology is particularly suited for this research because of its closeness to practice: architecture and planning in practice can benefit from knowledge of cases (Johansson, 2007, p. 49; Rönn, 2020, p. 117). Further, the West Link is a *critical case* (Yin, 2018) by virtue of being a pilot project in compensation at such a large scale and an experiment for all parties involved. As Flyvbjerg

(2006) argues, case-study research provides context-dependent knowledge and is valuable for human learning, so that beginners can develop into experts. Making a strong case for employing this form of research, he argues that there is no such thing as context-independent knowledge in the social sciences (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 223). The case-study of the West Link helps build new knowledge about a more general phenomenon, i.e., compensation as an approach in urban planning. All of this makes it worth studying in detail.

Introduction to the West Link

The West Link is an ongoing railway extension project including three new stations. Its construction began in 2016 and is scheduled to be completed by 2026. The Swedish Transport Administration (STA) is responsible for its planning and implementation. As Figure 3 shows, the West Link snakes through the city, tunnelling through parts of the old city and national interest in its path. The national interest is a heritage listing under Swedish law and includes the city's 17th century fortifications, the 'landeris' (former agricultural properties) and historical parks. The motivation for the area being of national interest includes its being "*'Sweden's gate to the west' and the strategic location for shipping, trade and defence*", the "*kingdom's foremost shipping city and city of residence*" and "*[one] of the foremost examples of 17th century urban planning and fortification art and of urban planning during the 19th and 20th centuries*" (National interests for cultural environment values – Västra Götaland County (O), p. 15).

Consequently, the Swedish national government instituted conditions for permissibility of construction, mandating that the STA engage with various other authorities in the planning process. Condition 1, which is relevant for the cultural heritage, laid down that the West Link needs to "*be planned and executed so that negative consequences for the cultural environment and the urban environment in general, including parks and green areas, are limited. Affected ancient remains must, as far as possible, be preserved, made visible and incorporated into the new facility*" (Ministry of Environment, 2014). The main consultative parties are the STA, City of Gothenburg, County Administrative Board and National Heritage Board.

Condition 1 is important because it forms the basis of negotiations around the cultural environment between the parties. Additionally, the STA and City of Gothenburg entered into another agreement, the Implementation Agreement. According to this, the STA must not only minimise damage to

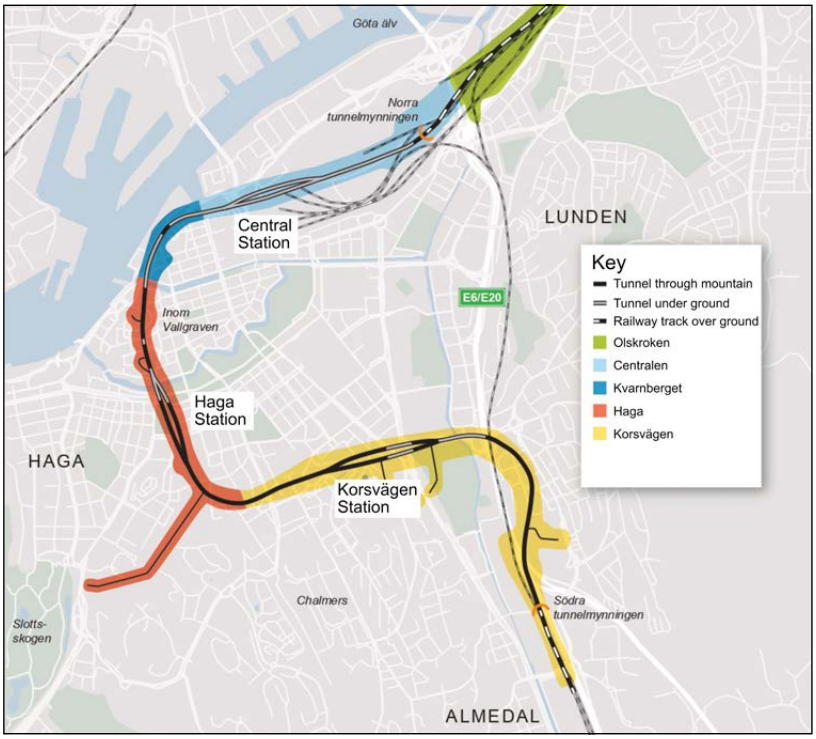

Figure 3. Trajectory of the West Link with the three new stations, Central Station, Haga Station and Korsvägen Station. Source: STA (2022)

the national interest but, through their work, enable *"various parts of [it to] be perceived as stronger"* and *"the stories about parts of the national interest [to] become clearer"* (Gothenburg City & STA, 2015, p. 28). Working with the cultural environment is therefore a mandate formalised through agreements.

The object of study in this research is conceptions of compensation in the West Link project as expressed by these two public institutions – the STA and the City's cultural administration, selected because of their key roles in the negotiations. The STA has the mandate to fulfil Condition 1, through consultation with the other parties and the City's cultural administration is the cultural arm of the City of Gothenburg. The City has monopoly on city planning.

Methods

The methodological framework is built upon an earlier report on the West Link, *Professionella aktörer och gränsöverskridande kulturmiljöarbete Fall-*

studie: Västlänken [Professional actors and cross-sectoral negotiations on built heritage. Case-study: West Link] by Fredholm et al. (2019) that follows the actors and their communication with respect to the cultural heritage negotiations. The author of the present paper used its findings to write a scientific paper (Fredholm, Dore & Brorström, 2021).

The research presented here is part of an ongoing PhD project on heritage planning in cases of large infrastructure projects, and the discussions for compensation in the West Link too are very much ongoing. Consequently, the data extracted from both interviews and documents, which form the results presented here, are still being negotiated and stand as ideas from the parties rather than concrete plans.

Interviews

The primary method of data collection was interviews. The interviewees were selected based on the key roles they play within their organisations in the discussions and negotiations related to the cultural environment in the West Link and the fulfilment of Condition 1 and the Implementation Agreement. The representatives from the City's cultural administration are part of a grouping constituted by the City from within its departments working on the West Link. This group is called the Sakområde kulturmiljö [Subject area: Cultural environment] and mostly consists of representatives from the City's cultural administration [Kulturförvaltningen], but there are also representatives from the City Development Department [Stadsbyggnadskontoret] and the Real Estate Department [Fastighetskontoret].

The author had secondments with the STA and Gothenburg City Museum (that is a part of the City's cultural administration) in October-December 2020 and December 2020-May 2021, respectively. This was a component built into the ongoing PhD project. The secondments, though impacted by Covid-19, made it possible to establish close interaction with the people working on cultural environment issues in the West Link at the two organisations. They helped with providing an understanding of the case and access to further interviewees, documents and project resources. The author also attended workshops and reference group meetings between the consultative parties for the West Link negotiations. These were in Swedish (a language that the author is not proficient in), but they helped inform some of the questions, the kind of documents and plans to refer to and potential interview candidates to contact. The data were collected from five interviewees, deemed to be enough because

the interviews yielded enough material to chalk up results. Since this is part of an ongoing project, more interviews will be conducted at a later stage. Further, since the data from interviews are complemented by other source material, the number of interviews was considered sufficient.

Questions posed related to the actors' proposals for the cultural heritage of the areas affected by the West Link, their thinking behind these and the scope of their work, among others.

Name	**Organisation**	**Number of interviews**	**Date**
Respondent 1	Swedish Transport Administration (STA)	4	27 November 2020 9 December 2020 7 April 2021 20 September 2021
Respondent 2	Swedish Transport Administration (STA)	1	1 December 2020
Respondent 3	City's cultural administration	2	26 November 2020 23 September 2021
Respondent 4	City's cultural administration	1	15 April 2021
Respondent 5	City's cultural administration	1	17 September 2021

Table 1: Interview details

The interviews were conducted between November 2020 and September 2021. They were semi-structured, conducted in English and recorded after seeking prior consent. They lasted between 30 minutes and 2 hours 10 minutes and all but two were conducted online.

Official documents

Documents support interview data and elaborate on the actors' ideas for dealing with the cultural environment. The main documents referred to were:

- Gothenburg City Museum, Gothenburg City: Development department, traffic office and cultural administration, Reuter Metelius, Tyréns, Nyréns & Mareld (2017) *Göteborg förstärkt: Fästningsstaden.*

Handlingsprogram för ett stärkt riksintresse [Gothenburg strengthened: The Fortified City. Action plan for a strengthened national interest]. (Kulturmiljörapport 2017:09; Kulturförvaltningen dnr 0448/17 916 [Cultural environment report 2017:09; Cultural administration dnr 0448/17 916]). Retrieved from https://samlingar.goteborgsstadsmuseum.se/carlotta/web/image/blob/1336554/Kulturmilj.rapport%202017_09.pdf

- Gothenburg City Museum, Gothenburg City development department & WSP (2018) *Göteborg förstärkt: Landerierna. Handlingsprogram för ett stärkt riksintresse [Gothenburg strengthened: The Landeris. Action plan for a strengthened national interest] (Kulturmiljörapport 2018:06 [Cultural environment report 2018:06])*. Retrieved from https://samlingar.goteborgsstadsmuseum.se/carlotta/web/image/blob/1336572/Kulturmilj%C3%B6rapport%202018_06.pdf
- Swedish Transport Authority and Abako Architects (2021). *Presentation in reference group meeting: Utredning av kompensation för kulturmiljö. Idéer, skisser och förslag [Investigation, cultural environment. Ideas, sketches and suggestions]*.
- Swedish Transport Administration and Kanozi Architects (2020). *Presentation in reference group meeting: Kulturmiljö Västlänken [Cultural environment: The West Link]*.

Analytical approach

The interviews and documents have been analysed by means of qualitative content analysis, which involves reducing the data, making sense of it and deriving meaning (Ballinger, 2008, p. 121). This method of analysis recognises *"that text is open to subjective interpretation, reflects multiple meanings and is context dependent (e.g., part of a larger discourse)"* (Ballinger, 2008, p. 121). The larger discourse in this research constitutes notions of compensation and critical heritage as discussed in the theory in Section 2. It forms the framework against which the actors' views were evaluated using the analytical approach of abduction as defined by Reichertz (2014). This is a reasoning habit that involves the decontextualising of data followed by its recontextualization (Reichertz, 2014), in order to arrive at new ideas. He borrows from Peirce, CP (7.218-, 1903, in Reichertz, 2014) to assert that abduction involves matching observations to theory.

Note on definition and wording

The term 'compensation' is most often used in legal terms, in the context of ecological heritage damage, according to the Environmental Code and Boverket's (2018) Injury Mitigation Hierarchy. In this paper, however, the wording and the legal definition have not been the focus, but rather, what it connotes. So 'compensation' is used more broadly to cover the actions proposed by the parties towards the cultural environment in response to the West Link project. This is in line with Rönn et al.'s (2017, p. 78) views that, if certain conditions are fulfilled, measures are considered as compensation regardless of what the actors call it. Compensation then becomes an empirical issue (Rönn et. al., 2017, p. 78).

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS: STORYTELLING AS COMPENSATION

As emerged from the data, for both the STA and the City's cultural administration, storytelling is crucial to working with the cultural environment, even if their ambitions for how to go about it differ. As for wording, the STA prefers to use the term 'strengthening' over 'compensation', with respect to actions proposed.

This section forms the bulk of the findings in terms of how compensation plays out through storytelling. It includes 'what' the story is, 'how' it is attempted to be told and the scope of storytelling, as approached by the two parties.

The chosen story

Condition 1 mandates minimisation of damage to the national interest, which establishes Gothenburg as a prominent 17th century port and Sweden as a sea-faring power. This lays the basis for the story that the parties default to. In the case of the fortified city, the story relates to the official birth of Gothenburg in 1621, important to tell because the fortifications are deeply connected to the city in its current form, much of which is hard to read (Respondent 4, City's cultural administration, 2021). The 400-year history and the birth of Gothenburg made these stories the natural choice (Respondent 1, STA, 2021b). The suggested stories to tell are about the people's contribution, the city's defence and the merchant city (STA and Kanozi Architects, 2020).

Despite the default version being the dominant narrative, there is an acknowledgement of stories beyond those surrounding the birth of the fortifications and rivalry with the Danes (Respondent 5, City's cultural administration,

2021). These include the history of emigration to USA (Respondent 2, STA, 2021; Respondent 5, City's cultural administration, 2021) and Sweden's colonial history, a dark chapter related to Sweden's involvement in the slave trade (Respondent 5, City's cultural administration, 2021). The latter is recognised as a story that needs to be told and is currently under discussion within the City (Respondent 5, City's cultural administration, 2021).

Both parties see their work with storytelling as being both for the people of Gothenburg and visitors (Respondent 1, STA, 2021b; Respondent 3, City's cultural administration, 2021; Respondent 5, City's cultural administration, 2021), as well as for future generations (Respondent 3, City's cultural administration, 2021).

Means of storytelling

Storytelling by exposing the finds along the West Link

Part of how the STA seeks to tell the story of the city through the finds is through on-site measures, as in their interpretation of Condition 1 the finds from the excavations are important to lift, visualise and make accessible (Respondent 2, STA, 2020). They plan to strengthen the story of the parts of the city that they cause damage to by telling a story there, to invoke the memory of what was there previously (Respondent 1, STA, 2020a). Where feasible, they plan to expose the finds in-situ, in the newly built stations (Respondent 2, STA, 2020) or in museums, in cases where special care is required (Respondent 1, STA, 2021a).

The STA's proposals consist of linking nine sites along the West Link route and highlighting the stories of the archaeological remains found beneath them to communicate a cohesive narrative (STA and Kanozi Architects, 2020). They intend to harness the trajectory charted by the track between the new stations to tell the stories of the city. The Central Station would be activated to tell the story of the people who built the city, Haga Station would archive how they did it and Johanneberg (around Korsvägen station) would tell the 19th century history, when the area was outside the city limits and used as agricultural land that supplied the city (Respondent 2, STA, 2020).

An example of in-situ exposing is at the mound near the Central Station, at Skansen Lejonet, where, as Figure 5 shows, a stretch of wall at least 12 m long has been found (Arkeologerna, 2017). Close to this, as seen in Figure 6, the excavations have also yielded an entire room from the 16th century, complete with brick walls, stone floors, a vaulted tiled roof and a staircase (Arkeolo-

Figure 4: The STA's proposals for linking nine sites along the West Link route using the archaeological finds. Source: STA and Kanozi Architects (2020, p. 10)

gerna, 2019). The STA is exploring the option of building this space up with the rock from other parts of the excavations and making it accessible to the public (Respondent 1, STA, 2021a). Their plan is to *"uncover"* and *"highlight"* the archaeological finds discovered there and introduce signage to explain them (STA and Kanozi Architects, 2020).

Storytelling through architectural and artistic elements

The STA seeks to use *"keys"* and *"clues"* that will lead to an unravelling of the story as the participant follows a trail akin to a treasure hunt (Respondent 2, STA, 2020). Their approach is to let the story unfold as people discover it incrementally (Respondent 2, STA, 2020) and also to work on smaller parts of the storytelling (Respondent 1, STA, 2021a). The sites are referred to as *catalysts*, with the hope of encouraging the City of Gothenburg to later develop this work in their future projects (STA and Kanozi, 2020, p. 11).

Figure 5. Wall excavated at Skansen Lejonet. Source: Arkeologerna (2017), CC BY

Figure 6. Stairs and part of a vault roof excavated at Skansen Lejonet. Source; Arkeologerna (2019), CC BY

The STA plans to use the archaeological finds as elements in the station designs. This includes the excavated stone and old patterned tiles in the flooring and walls of the new station mezzanines and exits, in the service shaft at St Eriksgatan and in landscaping like seating, edging and paving at the Haga station exit (STA & Kanozi Architects, 2020). In the Central Station, there are plans to embed clues to the story being told, for example, by marking the location of the former moat in the station floor (STA & Kanozi Architects, 2020, p. 19).

The architects at Haga also attempt to reflect the cultural-historical values in the architecture (STA and Abako Architects, 2021, p. 5). The five ways in which they propose to do this are through patterns of former rust beds, countersinks and pile locks; words evocative of the fortified city and its construction, such as 'bastion', 'glacis' and 'curtain wall'; using patterns of water on the walls to invoke association with the river, moat and canal; historical maps at various locations; and displays of excavated objects (STA and Abako Architects, 2021). The words play a part in the treasure hunt, arousing curiosity and encouraging viewers to find out more (STA and Abako Architects, 2021, p. 12).

The STA also attempts to mobilise art as a form of conveying the history of the ancient city. At the Central Station, the artist Danh Võ's *"display landscape"* consists of rock from the excavations exhibited as art, which also doubles up as furniture across the space (STA and Kanozi Architects, 2020). The STA sees his ideas of using the old material as part of their attempts to strengthen the story of the city and a measure towards the fulfilment of Condition 1 because of the work's historical inclination (Respondent 1, STA, 2021b).

Storytelling through digital methods

Both the STA and the City's cultural administration are interested in using technology and exhibition displays for the dissemination of new knowledge. In the case of the fortified city for example, the City's cultural administration cites the need for a space to discuss new knowledge about the fortified city, including its five portals and harbour canal and their relevance to present day Gothenburg (Respondent 4, City's cultural administration, 2021).

In terms of digital tools, one proposal is to create a *"soundscape"* at the waterfront in Masthamnen, to convey the erstwhile *"hustle and bustle"* of the mercantile area (STA and Kanozi, 2020, p. 32) and the use of a mobile app to go along with city walks (Respondent 2, STA, 2020; Gothenburg City Museum et al., 2017, p. 18; Gothenburg City Museum et al., 2018, p. 26).

Figure 7. Tiles from the excavations. Source: Maitri Dore (2020)

Figure 8. Stone from the excavations. Source: Maitri Dore (2020)

Figure 9. Architectural rendering showing Danh Võ's "display landscape". Source: STA & Kanozi Architects (2020, p. 21)

For the story of the landeris, the City's cultural administration additionally proposes a dedicated website; binoculars on site that show a historical picture of the site; and digital reconstructions of the environment (Gothenburg City Museum et al., 2018, p. 26).

Storytelling by linking sites outside the West Link trajectory and building new programmes

The City's cultural administration further proposes more wide-ranging actions for storytelling as compensation. These include linking the project-affected sites with their surrounding regions and also building additional structures and introducing new programmes that will help tell the city's story. Their proposals for the fortified city attempt to reimagine the space in its entirety, comprising a walking trail, entrance portals in a contemporary style at the sites of the former ones, access to historical city spaces and a visitors' centre (Gothenburg City Museum et al., 2017, p. 16). The strategies to enable these measures include visual connections and sightlines between different parts of the fortified city, plaques indicating buildings that had once been part of it, attempts to preserve a unified skyline, a plan for street names and pedestrianisation where appropriate (Gothenburg City Museum et al., 2017, p. 31).

The City's cultural administration also has a plan to tie together the 13 landeris spread all over the city, through information and signage; public access, restoration and maintenance, as the case may be and new, contemporary functions (Gothenburg City Museum et al., 2018). Of the 13 landeris, the

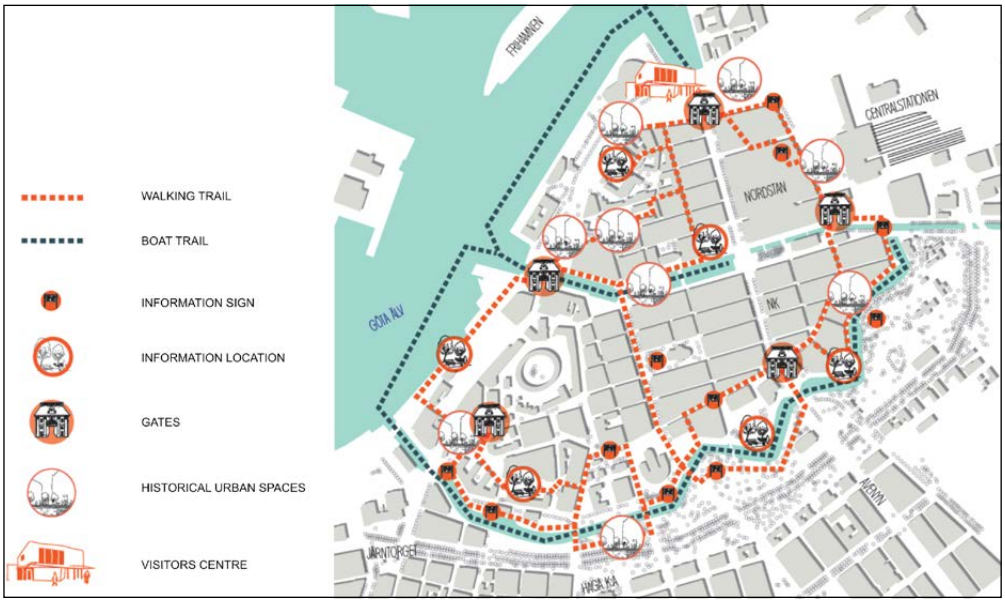

Figure 10. The City's cultural administration's proposal for a stronger fortified city. Source: Gothenburg City Museum et al. (2017, p. 17)

Johanneberg landeri lies in the West Link's path and the Liseberg landeri is additionally in the vicinity of the project.

These proposals come against a background of ongoing, city-wide changes, not restricted to the West Link project alone. In relation to the fortified city, the action plan states, *"The current urban development projects pose a threat to the remains of the fortress city by removing underground ancient remains. At the same time, the projects provide an opportunity to implement measures to strengthen the story of the fortified city in the new one being added and to show the remains that are excavated"* (Gothenburg City Museum et al., 2017, p. 5). As the statement makes clear, these projects are not only a threat, but also an opportunity, that if harnessed suitably could amplify the story of the city as a whole.

Scope of storytelling

To start with, the scope of compensation as established through Condition 1 and the Implementation Agreement is unclear, as each emphasises different aims with working with the cultural environment. Condition 1 has a limited scope in that it sees the West Link as affecting only the places where building takes place. The Implementation Agreement on the other hand, takes

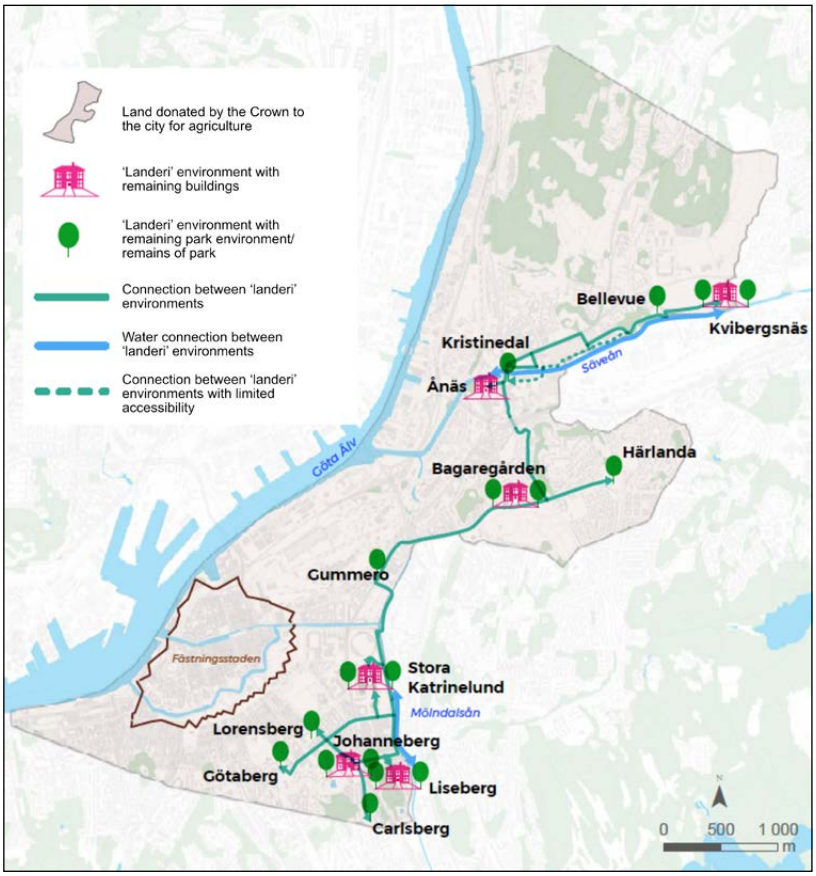

Figure 11.The City's cultural administration's proposal for linking the landeris. Source: Gothenburg City Museum et al. (2018, p. 5)

compensation to another level, beyond only minimising damage, to actively strengthening the heritage.

For the STA, it is important to compensate in areas where heritage is considered to be weak and where Condition 1 behoves them to work, these areas overlapping with where they have access through their excavations (Respondent 2, STA, 2020). In this way, the finds from the excavations play a significant role in storytelling. Further, in their opinion, they have kept damage to the minimum and that once completed, apart from the stations, the West Link will not be a physical interference (Respondent 2, STA, 2020). Their proposals work with the West Link trajectory and the new station buildings.

The City's cultural administration sees damage caused by the West Link to be more widespread than where the excavation for the project takes place. For them, damage done to parts of the fortified city for example, does not only affect those parts but also the understanding of the fortified city as a whole (Respondent 3, City's cultural administration, 2020). Damage is seen as being done not only to the physical sites, but also to the story. Accordingly, they propose compensatory measures outside the excavation sites as well, as seen in their attempts to work with the fortified city in totality and link the multiple landeris.

The scope of storytelling also differs in terms of the scale of interventions. While the STA is looking to insert small-scale measures in public space, as seen through their emphasis on *"keys"* and *"clues"*, the City's cultural administration seeks to bring out the story through the installation of more robust, permanent elements as well (Respondent 3, City's cultural administration, 2020). To them, while signs and models are important for providing explanations and contextualising things, they should not stand on their own (Respondent 3, City's cultural administration).

Further, the City's cultural administration's work with the cultural environment in the West Link is one part of a bouquet of the City of Gothenburg's programmes. These include "*Vision Älvstaden [Vision for Älvstaden], Kulturprogram för Göteborgs stad [Cultural programme for Gothenburg city], Göteborgs grönstrategi för en tät och grön stad [Gothenburg's green strategy for a dense and green city], Strategi för utbyggnadsplanering 2035 [Strategy for development planning 2035]"* and "*Arkitekturpolicy för Göteborgs stad [Architectural policy for Gothenburg city]"* (Fredholm et al., 2018, p. 33). So, while they understand the West Link as part of the City of Gothenburg's broader strategy to enable a healthy and sustainable urban environment, for the STA, the mandate is focused on the railway infrastructure they have been tasked to plan and implement.

Overall, the way in which the two parties approach storytelling is different, in terms of scope of damage and actions proposed. This is aptly summarised by one respondent from the City's cultural administration who said:

> *[The STA's] way of looking at this project is that they are building a tunnel, in the city. Whilst from the City's point of view, we are developing a city, that also has a tunnel in it.* (Respondent 3, City's cultural administration, 2020)

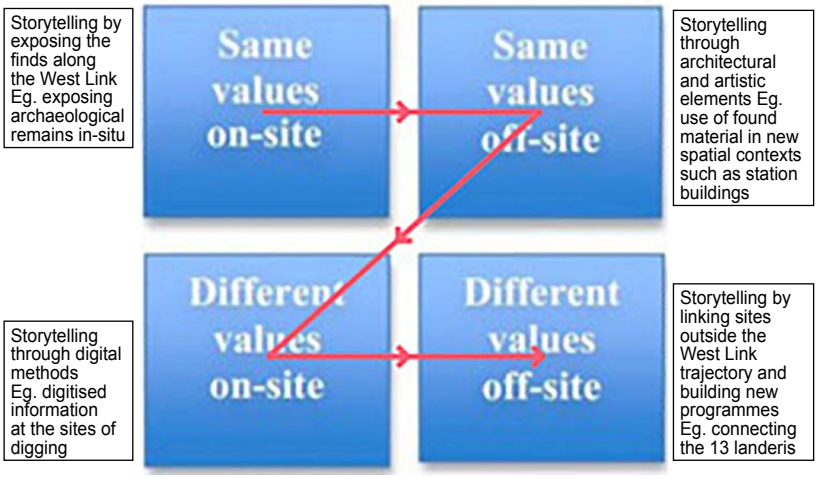

Figure 12. Analysis using Grahn Danielson et al.'s (2017, p. 8) model of values and site.

DISCUSSION

The discussion contextualises the findings within the previously elaborated theoretical framework. It focuses on three main themes: storytelling and the compensation model; storytelling and Authorised Heritage; and storytelling as a mix of approaches to dealing with heritage.

Storytelling and the compensation model

Storytelling, by exposing archaeological finds, using architecture and art, using digital techniques and linking sites outside the West Link trajectory, form a spectrum of four storytelling methods. When mapped onto the values-site matrix (Grahn Danielson, et al, 2013, p. 8), they range from the 'same values on-site' quadrant to 'different values off-site'. This is shown in Figure 12.

It is, however, not a snug fit because the value of the changed object is open to question. It is debatable, for example, as to whether the found floor tiles retain their old value when inserted into the flooring of the new station buildings and, furthermore, if they continue to do so when inserted into the walls. Additionally, in this mapping, values are equated with physical measures and the way the authors interpret them when using the model in other cases. This is seen in Rönn et al.'s (2017) application of the model to specific cases (Rönn et al., 2017), which seems to use 'value', and the actual object that is damaged or lost, interchangeably. This is exemplified in the case of new housing devel-

opment in the historical Folkets Park in Linköping, Sweden, wherein the authors plot the refurbishment of two *buildings* and the relocation of one in the 'same values on-site', 'same values off-site' and 'different values off-site' quadrants. 'Value' indirectly connotes built fabric.

The assignment of value to objects requires further interrogation. It is also open to question as to whether a new station building on the site of archaeological finds can be considered to be on- or off-site. Following deeper reflection on these issues, a modified model that accommodates storytelling as expressed in the West Link may need to be developed.

Storytelling and Authorised Heritage

The chosen story, though still under discussion, largely lends credence to Gothenburg's prime position as a 17th century harbour and to Sweden's supremacy as a naval power. This version of history is enabled by top-down instruments and decision-making by experts. Condition 1, issued by the Swedish national government, focuses on the national interest, itself a state-established stricture. Further, Condition 1 clearly stakes out heritage management as an expert prerogative, since it calls upon the STA to discuss proposals for its management with the County Administrative Board, National Heritage Board and City of Gothenburg. In selecting these four bodies to discuss what is an issue of city- and region-wide significance, Condition 1 rules out the possibility of any debate taking place outside the corridors of power. Apart from the conventional civic 'samråd' (meeting for information exchange) – mandatory for any planning process – discussions on the fate of the ancient city take place behind closed doors, with little or no public consultation or participation (Fredholm et al., 2019, p. 10). In this way there is no channel for the stories of locals or laypersons to find a voice. This is similar to the case of compensation in Lilla Aspholmen in Gothenburg, wherein the national interest story that found telling was that of the maritime fortress, rather than of the working-class history of the shipyard and self-built cottages in the area (Rönn et al., 2017, p. 85).

In focusing on officially recognised heritage, the West Link planning does not subvert received and accepted values of what heritage is and what story must be told. In this sense, heritage is treated as a given, rather than a process of *"negotiation and regulation of social meanings and practices associated with the creation and recreation of 'identity'"* (Smith, 2006, p. 5). In the West Link, the version of history to be told and its tellers are not up for negotiation.

Figure 13. Architectural rendering showing old stone in the new station flooring at Central Station. Source: STA & Kanozi Architects (2020, p. 22)

Authorised Heritage also focuses on material authenticity (Smith, 2006), seen in the West Link as storytelling's reliance on the physical damage or loss caused by the project. Compensation is triggered by notions of heritage being 'taken away', which consequently sees attempts, particularly by the STA, to 'uncover' it, whether on-site or off-site. This speaks to notions of classical conservation as Muñoz Viñas (2005) describes it. Even the use of old elements – like the tiles – in the new designs are to be clearly differentiated in materiality from the new (Figure 13). This approach is another way of aspiring towards authenticity, for it holds that *"that new building, like conservation work, should be honest and authentic and a representation of the age in which it is constructed"* (Pendlebury, 2009, p. 177).

Storytelling as a mix of approaches to dealing with heritage

The scope of storytelling as understood by the two parties and the legal instruments they rely on, along with their proposals, reveal a mix of approaches to dealing with heritage. Condition 1, with its focus on minimising damage to the national interest, mandated a *preservation paradigm* approach, as framed by Ashworth (2011). Despite this, the other official undertaking, the Implementation Agreement, signed by the City of Gothenburg and STA, moved slightly away from this paradigm. In asking for 'strengthening' of the cultural environment, the agreement broadened the scope of engagement and drew Ashworth's (2011) *conservation paradigm* into conceptualising heritage in the West Link project.

Heritage as factor as defined by Janssen et al. (2017) and that corresponds to Ashworth's (2011) *conservation paradigm*, is also seen in this case. Heritage is, in this approach, not seen as an obstacle but an agent. This perspective is very much reflected in the West Link, which sees many professionals come together to negotiate storytelling measures in the cultural environment.

Though heritage is a shared concern, the means to tell its story are understood and articulated in different ways. The STA's approach is largely based on Condition 1 by which they are bound. This is more in line with *preservation* (Ashworth, 2011) and *heritage as sector* (Janssen, et al., 2017). The City's cultural administration proposes more extensive and all-encompassing measures, outside the realm of the immediate surroundings of the track and for the city as a whole. In this way, their views are closer to the *conservation paradigm* (Ashworth, 2011) and *heritage as factor* (Janssen, et al., 2017). The reasons for the adoption of different approaches are influenced by various constraints such as the mandates of the actors and their roles and responsibilities. The mixture of responses is in line with what Ashworth (2011) calls an *incomplete paradigm shift* and Janssen et al.'s (2017, p. 1656) assertion that new approaches did not replace old ones entirely.

Overall, however, storytelling in the West Link does not explore more future-oriented ways of dealing with heritage, as emphasised in the *heritage paradigm* (Ashworth, 2011), nor does heritage become a *vector* in spatial planning (Janssen et al, 2017).

CONCLUSION

The paper finds that compensation for damage to cultural heritage in cases of large infrastructure projects can take the form of storytelling. This can be expressed by exposing archaeological finds from sites of construction through architecture and art (including the integration of found objects with them), digital methods and linking sites outside the immediate location of project construction. In the West Link, storytelling was mobilised by two key actors, the Swedish Transport Administration (STA) and the City of Gothenburg's cultural administration, in response to the damage to the national interest caused by the construction of the train tunnel.

The actors see compensation, on one hand, as compensation for physical loss and, on the other, for loss of 'story' that this physical loss begets. In different ways, they attempt to make amends for these two, causing storytelling to

emerge as the dominant form of compensation. Both the objects and their stories are seen to have value.

The STA attempts to return the story by reconnecting it to the objects and sites of lost or damaged parts of the city. The City's cultural administration additionally delinks story from object by introducing new sites of storytelling. They are less focused on site-specificity because they see damage to the story as widespread, even if actual physical damage is limited. For both the parties, storytelling is triggered by physical loss of heritage, even if its methods go beyond the immediate site or object in question and include digital techniques.

The findings further show that storytelling as a form of compensation does not readily fit into any of the available models for compensation in policy or research. It involves a multiplicity of approaches and theoretically falls within a view of heritage as perceived according to the *preservation* and *conservation paradigms* (Ashworth, 2011) and *heritage as sector* and *heritage as factor* (Janssen et al., 2017). Storytelling as reflected in the West Link, raises the question of whether other forms of compensation for material loss can be mobilised and what else is lost, apart from its story, when material heritage is damaged.

As for the architecture specifically, its role in compensation is as receptacle of archaeological finds that can convey a story about its surroundings. In terms of design itself, the new station buildings attempt to be responsive to their historical surroundings but their specific role as instruments of compensation for cultural heritage damage is yet to be investigated.

Nevertheless, thinking of heritage compensation is extremely fruitful because it throws into focus the nature of change that cultural environments are subject to when large projects are inserted into them and the need to assess this change. Such change not only involves damage or loss experienced by physical objects and spaces, but also what that corresponds to in terms of other losses, such as stories. As the West Link case shows, the instruments to make sense of compensation for loss of cultural heritage are as yet rudimentary, and the way compensation is understood and deployed is far from straightforward. Interrogating these issues has the potential to expand the toolbox for how to deal with heritage in planning, so that it can be lifted out of *preservation* and *conservation* to approaches that can be more harmonious with future-oriented ways of thinking about heritage.

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SAVE WHAT CAN BE SAVED AND TELL THE STORY: Balancing damage of industrial heritage by architectural interpretation

Urban Nilsson

ABSTRACT

This paper deals with the possibility of preserving strategically selected parts of an industrial site and interpreting its history by using new architecture.

Lövholmen in central Stockholm is an ongoing planning process and it will be used as a case-study. One of the conditions for this development is its harsh exploitation, which will lead to the demolition of several buildings. However, a critical mass of the physical heritage will be reused, and the loss will be compensated for by the telling of the history of the site by design ideas and design propositions.

The study focuses on different ways of interpretation by architectural means using the existing bedrock, landscape, structures and buildings as basis for the design. Through landscape architecture, the remaining rock of the archipelago can be highlighted. Squares can be paved with designed patterns, with maps of the cement distribution network for instance. The concrete industry Cementa's plant used the quay for transhipment, distributing cement to building sites around Stockholm. To reuse parts from the silos in new contexts or to use the forceful architecture of the silos as inspiration for the design of new housing blocks are other examples.

If the planning process plays out well, the conversion that is carried through will transform Lövholmen to a part of the city that still reflects significant cultural values and tells the stories of the people who worked there.

KEYWORDS

Urban development, Reuse, Architectural interpretation, Industrial heritage

INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with the possibility of preserving strategically selected parts of an industrial site and interpreting its history by using new architecture and design.

Thesis: It takes more than preservation of built structures to convey the history of a site to residents, visitors and users of a new district. To clarify the narrative of the heritage, its matter has to be shaped by architectural means, thus interpreting it.

The study focuses on different ways of interpretation by architectural means using the existing bedrock, landscape, structures and buildings as a basis for the design. Through landscape architecture, the remaining rock of the archipelago can be highlighted. Squares can be paved with designed patterns, with maps of the cement and concrete distribution network, for instance. The concrete industry Cementa's plant used the quay for transhipment, distributing material to building sites around Stockholm. To reuse parts from the silos in new contexts or to use the forceful architecture of the silos as inspiration for the design of new housing blocks are other examples.

LÖVHOLMEN – A CASE-STUDY

Lövholmen in central Stockholm is an ongoing (2020) planning process and in this paper, it will be used as a case-study. One of the conditions for the development is harsh exploitation figures, which will lead to the demolition of several buildings. However, a critical mass of the physical heritage will be reused, and the loss will be compensated for by the telling of the history of the site.[1]

The location of the site also makes it sensitive from at a cultural historic point of view since it borders to two areas of national interest (the environmental act) – the district Gröndal and the inner city of Stockholm with Djurgården. In a later stage of planning further surveys will be made, in particular, if the development will include high rise buildings, the skyline of the inner city with its cultural historic environment will be impacted. The consequences of such a plan proposal will be analysed, assessing if the national interest is at risk.

The current situation has arisen from a planning history that has been going on for twenty or even thirty years, already starting with the shutting down of Beckers paint manufacture. This eventually led to selling the properties.

Even Cementa, which still is running, will be sold, provided that a new city plan is approved as a result of the ongoing planning process. In 2017, a proposition for a new plan was presented by the city and the property owners. The plan was to keep parts of the landscape, the structure and four of the buildings. However, the plan was rejected by the state through the Stockholm County Administrative Board.[2] In the planning process, a survey was made by Tyréns[3], describing the cultural significance of the site, wherein a large number of outdoor spaces and buildings were singled out.

The assessment of the Stockholm County was that the values pointed at in the cultural historic survey were not fully considered, nor integrated as part of the planning proposal. The City of Stockholm and the real estate owners plus the group of consultants had to restart. Here is where Nyréns group for cultural heritage was hired as support in the process. One of the products is a strategy document suggesting how to manage cultural heritage. In collaboration with the owners, the city and the public, our aim is a new plan where cultural heritage is better integrated physically, thoroughly explained and interpreted.

During the autumn of 2021, the work of the present group of consultants was paused at the request of the property owners. The city did not consider the owners, in the current version of the proposal, to fully meet the demands, and therefore intermittently took the plan back in order to adjust it. One of these demands concerned the physical heritage, which could not be resolved within the group of property owners, since the industrial heritage is unevenly distributed on the site. This process is playing out as this is written (autumn 2021-spring 2022).[4] Probably, the owners and group of consultants will get a revised plan back and the work can be resumed.

Revising the plan proposition

A group of consultants was hired by the real estate owners to revise the proposal, in order to meet the demands of the City and the County Administrative Board. The group of consultants was led by Urban Minds and Projektledarhuset, who managed the project. The following firms contributed with their speciality – Gehl Architects on plan and landscape; Tyréns on traffic; Nyréns on cultural heritage and Structor on environment. The site is subdivided into four plots owned by Skanska, JM, Nordr and the last plot is jointly owned by Besqab and Järntorget. The City owns the streets.

Working method

Regardless of when the work is resumed, this means that the designing process is in an early stage; the proposed plan consists of a structure of streets, squares, volumes and existing structures as quays and buildings. Therefore, a number of listed themes, ideas and propositions have been suggested, conceptualized and evaluated by key actors in two workshops. The theme of the two first workshops in the series were named *Imprint* and *Plan proposition.*

The real estate owners and the group of consultants participated in the workshops, which were conducted in the autumn of 2020 and included visiting the site. The workshops were concluded by the writing of what can become a strategy for the heritage of the site.[5] By the turn of the year, the result was presented to the City's planning office. The sessions can be described as design dialogues.[6] The dialogue has continued during 2021, more integrated in the planning process and adding the planning office as the most important participant.

The driving force behind this approach has been the need to find an overall transformation strategy and a common objective amongst all participants, whose interest in the area differs.

Themes, design ideas and propositions in the workshops have been structured in three parts: landscape, architecture and art. The presentation was executed by Nyréns, based on analysis of the site and its historical context, referring to similar projects. The result is listed in section 4 and 5 in the paper. This is to visualize what might be the result of design efforts.

Interpreting the reinterpreted

When a former district of industry or brown field area such as Lövholmen changes into an integrated part of the city, the area is unavoidably reinterpreted.[7] To reinterpret[8] Lövholmen is in accordance with the policies of the City of Stockholm, thus expanding the city centre and adding housing.

In this case, the aim is not only to reuse the physical remains of the site but to interpret the history of the site. This is achieved on the one hand by blending existing structures and physical remains and on the other hand by adding new architecture. By keeping selected remains, by telling the history of the industrial era through different forms of design and by adding new blocks, a new whole will be created, yet recognizable as Lövholmen.

This approach coincides with the concept of compensation when used as a strategy for safeguarding heritage. Its purpose is to recompense, replace, recreate, repair, weigh and balance.[9] Of relevance for Lövholmen is the following corresponding model.[10] The model is presented as a schematic figure as a square subdivided in four smaller squares.

The same value on the same site	The same value on a different site
Other values on the same site	Other values on another site

Table 1: Compensation model (Grahn Danielson, Rönn, Swedberg, 2015).

CRITICAL MASS – KEY CONCEPT

It would be meaningless to only tell the story without grounding it in physical reality. To be effective, compensation must be a combination of preservation of physical remains and an interpretative narrative.

The collaboration between the property owners and the group of consultants led to the development of the concept Critical Mass. It is also used by the city and as a working principle within the planning project.[11]

Critical mass may be defined as: *The minimum amount of physical, cultural, historic resources required to maintain a site as industrial heritage.*

The preservation of both the structure of the site and the buildings shall together establish a unity large enough so that this in combination with architectural interpretation can continue the industrial heritage at Lövholmen. The preservation of physical remains is what is called critical mass: man-made buildings and other facilities as well as landforms of the archipelago. If this mass is too small, it is our assessment as conservationists of the built environment that the physical remains are not sufficient.

One aspect of the critical mass is the number of physical remains, but another aspect is that the selection of the remains should reflect the most significant aspects of the site. A third aspect is the grouping of outdoor spaces and buildings and how these relate to each other and to the topography. In the strategic document concerning the cultural historic environment – *Lövholmen kulturmiljö. Utgångspunkter för gestaltning. Nyréns Arkitektkontor 2020-12-10* – spaces and buildings are selected as material for a discussion, implying that all of them can be preserved. Societal functions such as parks, streets,

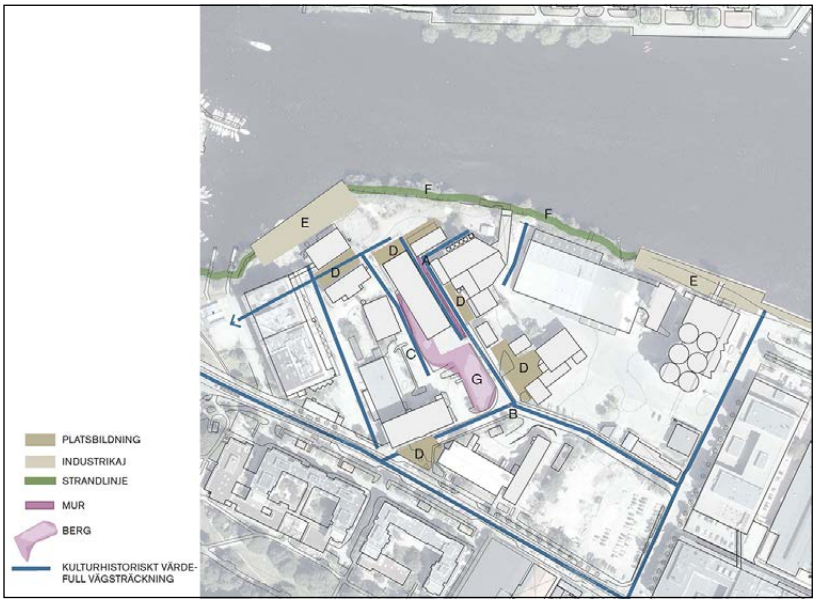

Figure 1: The map shows parts of the landscape that are considered significant from a heritage perspective. Outdoor spaces and squares (dark beige), industrial keys (light beige), shorelines (green), walls (dark purple), bedrock (light purple), roads and directions (blue). Source: Lövholmen kulturmiljö. Utgångspunkter för gestaltning. Nyréns Arkitektkontor 2020-12-10

schools, kindergartens, etc. are qualities that also must fit into Lövholmen, alongside the real estate owners' legitimate claims for profitable square meters and building volumes.

THEMES

Lövholmen is the last, larger industrial site in close proximity to the city that is to be developed, besides the former Stockholm slaughter industry in Johanneshov or the two powerplants – the Gasworks and the Electric powerplant, both in Hjorthagen. These three were all public initiatives by the City of Stockholm. At Lövholmen, on the other hand, all companies were private.[12]

The themes that could and should be presented at Lövholmen in an implemented urban development are shortlisted below. The themes were produced in collaboration between the property owners and the consultant group managed by Nyréns.

The shortlist is thematically subdivided in three parts:

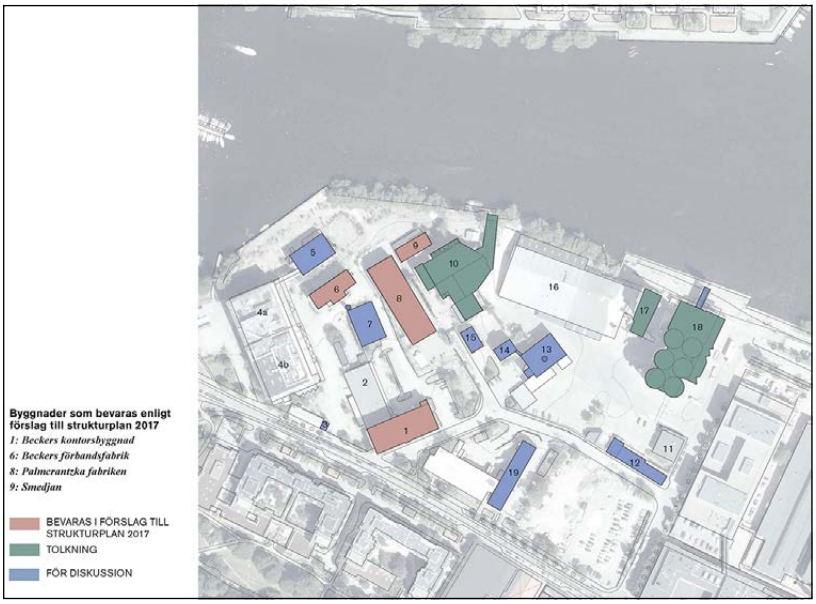

Figure 2: The map shows the four buildings (red 1, 6, 8 and 9) that were proposed to be preserved in the plan from 2017. During the current plan process, nine additional buildings and objects are discussed (blue 3, 5, 7, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 18b). It is also discussed if three buildings or structures can be interpreted by creating new architecture (green 10, 17 18). Source: Lövholmen kulturmiljö. Utgångspunkter för gestaltning. Nyréns Arkitektkontor 2020-12-10

1. How the site sits in the archipelagic landscape – geographical level

A) The landscape remaining from the archipelago. This is reflected in the bedrock and shorelines, adjusted through time.

The motif of the theme derives from the need to understand the position of Lövholmen in the historic landscape.

2. National and regional industrialisation – theoretical macro level

B) The national history of the industrialisation of Sweden. This could be a site for presenting a large number of industrial museums or *"arbetslivsmuseer"* in Sweden. This is provided that a national gathering – institutionally and financially – can be realized, with partners such as the Swedish National Heritage Board (RAÄ), the Administrative Boards of the Counties and private sponsors connected to the industrial history of Sweden.

The motif of the theme derives from the need to contextualize the place and role of Lövholmen nationally.

C) The regional history of the industrialisation of the greater Stockholm region. This is provided that a regional gathering – institutionally and financially – can be realized, with the City of Stockholm, the Stockholm Region, the Stockholm County Administrative Board and private sponsors connected to the industrial history of the Stockholm region.

The motif of the theme derives from the need to contextualize the place and role of Lövholmen regionally.

D) Large scale industrial theme

- The urban development of Stockholm during the post-World War II era, reflected through the distribution of building material by Cementa.
- The development of the chemical industry mirrored through the production of paint at Beckers.
- The development of the industry of carbonated beverages mirrored by Kolsyrefabriken.
- The theme of social work reflected in the plot Färgeriet and the production and social work at Industrihemmet.

The motif of the subdivided theme above derives from the ambition to understand the process of industrialisation.

3. The industrialisation of Stockholm – perceptible and tactile micro level

E) Privately run industrialisation, with its different phases, is here reflected by the different firms that have run their enterprises at Lövholmen.

- The harsh economic and social conditions.
- The managing and operating of the firms.
- The organisation of labour at the companies.
- The organisation of the workers in unions.
- The real estate of each firm through time (maps, pictures, 3D-representation).
- Showing the fast change through time, the unsentimental way of replacing and changing buildings and other physical structures initiated by immediate needs.
- The aspect of abandonment and unused spaces, left to posterity to care for.

The motif of the subdivided theme above derives from the ambition to grasp and feel the process of industrialisation locally at Lövholmen.

F) Physical organisation

- Describing the organisation of each plot or real estate.
- Describing the physical expression and the architecture of each plant.

The motif of the theme derives from the ambition to let the public perceive, experience and feel the built environment and its architecture at Lövholmen.

This shortlist of cultural historic themes gives an idea of the potential the site of Lövholmen holds. The themes formulated as a program would, amongst designers and architects, undoubtedly be considered as a desirable mission.

INTERPRETATION BY ARCHITECTURE AND DESIGN

The main idea of the concept *Interpretation by Architecture and Design* is to compensate for the loss of cultural and historic value that comes with the removal of physical structures in the landscape and the removal of buildings.[13]

The removed remains, seen as physical documents, can never be compensated for. The compensation should in this case rather be seen as an added quality: a large and new but carefully designed layer of interpretation. The purpose of the added layer is to make visitors, residents, officers, workers and other users comprehend the history of the site and what role the companies of Lövholmen played in a larger regional, national and even international context. Therefore, it is crucial that the vantage point for the narrative about the site starts in what is left, that is to say, in the critical mass (see part 3) that was decided upon in the early stages of the planning process. Design ideas and design propositions have been and will be assessed throughout the process as a compensatory method used for the visualization and interpretation of cultural values, as well as new architectural qualities.

Landscape

The landscape is, as mentioned above, or rather was, a reflection of the Stockholm archipelago on the lakeside. Prior to industrialisation, Lövholmen consisted of a lakeshore and a few rocky hills with roads or paths in between. Exploitation gradually led to these traits being diminished.[14]

Fortunately, the lakeshore still exists, though converted into quays in some stretches. The bedrock is exposed in a single presence of rock in the middle of the area at its highest point. Therefore, it is the lakeshore and the rock that should be highlighted whilst shaping the future Lövholmen.

Design ideas

- To expose the rock.
- To highlight Lövholmen as a part of the archipelago.
- To tie the site and its elements together.

Design propositions

- The rock gives us an opportunity to expose the rock in the street.
- By using the rock and the shore, the preindustrial history can be displayed: Lövholmen as a geographical part of the archipelago. *Below this proposition is further developed, design proposition 1.*
- One interesting way would be to use the spontaneous established vegetation of the shorelines.

The bedrock tells the story of the archipelago – design proposition 1

Another proposition for Lövholmen is to keep, expose and use the bedrock, as in Slakthusområdet (figure 5), reminding us of the rocky topography of the Stockholm archipelago. One way of showing the rock is to highlight it with light, as shown in the example below. The granite of the bedrock is a resource; when properly used it adds character to its environment.

Architecture

The existing buildings are remains from the different industrial plants, displaying different times and lines of industry. Parts of the first generation were exchanged early on.

In its architecture, the oldest remains – Palmcrantzka fabriken from 1889 – though slightly altered, still show the age of early industrialisation. The Becker paint factory displays buildings from various times – förbandsfabriken (the Bandage Factory) from the 1910s, the Nitrolack factory (the Car Paint Factory) from the 1940s and Ångpannecentralen (the Steam Engine Centre) from the 1940s. The Kolsyrefabriken (the Carbonic Acid Factory) harbours parts that reflects different times in its development – from the 1890s to the 1930s. The Cementa plant was founded in the 1940s, remodelling a few existing buildings and constructing most of the plant from the start. What today

Figure 3: On the map, parts of the geological main structure are marked: fault slopes (yellow), the ridge Stockholmsåsen (blue). Lövholmen is marked by the red dot. A military map from 1861 is used as underlay for the sketch. Source: Historical maps, the City museum of Stockholm (SSA)

remains on the plot Färgeriet is one building of cultural historic interest – Industrihemmet from the 1930s.[15]

Design ideas

- Emphasizing the plan structure.
- Explaining the industrial establishment and its phases.
- To proceed and further develop the existing post-industrial activities – small companies, start-ups, artistic studios, the Färgfabriken Cultural Centre, art exhibitions, restaurants.
- To use the streets and squares as conveyors of industrial history.
- New architecture interpreting the historic plants.

Figure 4 and 5. Part of the cultural centre Färgfabriken (originally Palmcrantzka) where the bedrock is apparent as foundation for the building, as well as provider of characteristics to the street. Source: Nyréns, photo from inventory 2006

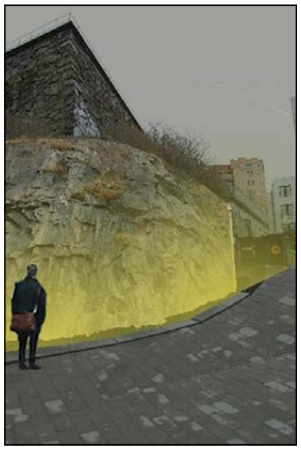

Figure 6 (left). On the rendering (to the right), the bedrock has been cut, a wall of granite that will be exposed as a reminder of where on the site the railroad and its platforms were located. From here the cattle were brought in, first to the market and thereafter to the slaughter halls. Figure 7 (right). A proposal (to the left) for illuminating parts of rocky hills that were used defending the harbour of the fortified city of Gothenburg in the 17th century. Source: Report 2018 Göteborg förstärkt. Gestaltningsprinciper för fästningsstaden. the City of Gothenburg

Design propositions

- The proposition underlines historic roads, paths and topography, integrating them in the forthcoming plan. The historic streets – Lövholmsgränd/Lövholmsbrinken – tells the story through the retained historic buildings and by carefully designed facades of the ground + 1st floor levels.

- The common outdoor level is one way to tie the site together, despite different expressions, ages and scales. *Below this proposition is further developed, design proposition 2.*
- The selection of buildings to keep and preserve is done in a way so that as many buildings from different periods as possible are retained. In this, the selection of parts to retain reflects the representativity of the site. *Below this proposition is further developed, design proposition 3.*
- The post-industrial period is reflected by keeping businesses and organisations from this period in the area, in the form of adapted leases for start-ups, artists, studios, etc. This will bring a diversity to the neighbourhood. The impact on the site is social rather than physical.
- An idea of activating the ground level – the streets, the squares, the keys and the shoreline gives an opportunity to tell the industrial story of Lövholmen. This can be done by using architecture, the landscape and the design of objects as a means of expression. Architecture interwoven with the design of signs and artwork can be a strong statement. By focusing the effort on especially selected nodes, the impact can be essential.
- Another example is to let the nature of the material talk. Cement or concrete itself tells the story of Cementa, which also is the case for the making of paint at Beckers.
- All of the outdoor furniture should have a common design concept that is in tune with the guidelines of the City of Stockholm.
- Interpreting the industrial heritage through architecture – one, two or three new blocks can function as interpretations, narrating the function and architecture of removed buildings. *Below this proposition is further developed, design proposition 4.*

The common outdoor level – design proposition 2

A common level at outdoor can, like a woven fabric, contribute to keep the site and its parts together. This idea combined with a conscious programming of content is used by the City of Stockholm and designed by the landscape architects at Nyréns for the culturally historic site Slakthusområdet in Johanneshov (originally the City of Stockholm Slaughterhouse).

From the cultural, historic point of view, this environment was, in its pioneering years, strictly uniform in its function, as well as in its architecture.

Figure 8 (left). Vivid street life at the park Fållan in Slakthusområdet. Figure 9 (right). The plan and the common level. Landscape architect and illustrator Nyréns Arkitektkontor. Source: The City of Stockholm

Through the years, the site has changed both in function and in its physical expression due to a more varied content. However, a common theme is still food. For a new common theme rooted in existing streets, squares and loading platforms, a common outdoor level could also be used in the newer part of the site. This concept could also be used at Lövholmen.[16]

Selecting buildings to keep – design proposition 3

The selection of buildings to discuss is not only a question about what heritage to keep; it is also a conscious act of design.[17] A strategic selection will be a precondition in the planning process, and it can contribute to a new environment where the preserved culturally historic qualities have a considerable weight, though lesser in volume than in the added parts. A main idea is to select objects and buildings that, on one hand, tells the story of the site and, on the other hand, ensures architecture with considerable urbanistic qualities. The old street Lövholmsbrinken with its topography, its narrow width and sequence of characteristic buildings is a highly valuable environment, both architecturally and seen as heritage. After negotiations between the City and the owners, a shortlist of preserved buildings will probably be presented, choosing amongst the nine objects and buildings that are discussed (see map, figure 2). Therefore, it is, for example, important to keep spaces and buildings alongside Lövholmsbrinken, consequently resulting in the demolishing of other discussed buildings. The prioritizing among the discussed objects and buildings is however conscious due to the continuous weighing of societal values aiming at a balanced whole.

Figure 10 a-e. Spaces and buildings along Lövholmsbrinken. Photographs 2020 Nyréns. See maps – Top row from left: Kolsyrefabriken (10) south, Kolsyrefabriken north and Cementa buildings (13, 14). Bottom row: Left Färgfabriken (8, former Palmcrantzka fabriken), Kolsyrefabriken and Cementa (15). Right Färgfabriken (8) and the smithy (formerly the smithy of the Palmcrantzka factory 9). The top left and middle photos show Kolsyrefabriken prior to the fire in July 2021.

When industrial sites are used as commodities[18], it is inevitable that the environment and the object is treated in a way where the new function directs the architecture. This is a precondition that has to be managed consciously, thus trying to avoid aestheticization.[19]

Kvarnholmen in Nacka is an old industrial site where development started about fifteen years ago.[20] In the early stages of planning, a selection was made of the buildings to retain. This has been a basis for planning that throughout

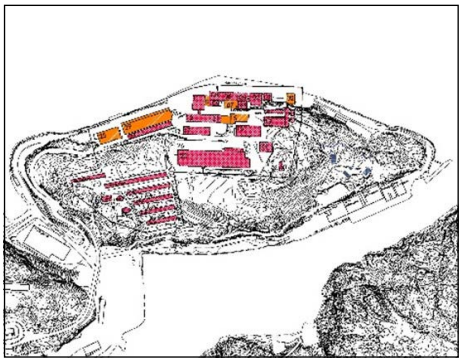

Figure 11 (left). The key at Kvarnholmen in Nacka overlooking the waterway from the archipelago of the Baltic Sea towards the centre of Stockholm and Södra Djurgården. Photo Urban Nilsson 2019. Figure 12 (right). Evaluation of cultural and historic significance as material for the planning process. Kvarnholmen – antikvarisk förundersökning, Nyréns Arkitektkontor 2004

the process has been respected. Today some projects are still under way but the most part of this attractive urban district is completed.[21]

Interpreting the industrial heritage through architecture – design proposition 4

One block at Kolsyrefabriken and one or two blocks where the Cementa silos still stand can function as new interpretations, narrating the function and architecture of removed buildings. The point would be to say something in an architectural language about what Lövholmen was and will be, thus avoiding a conventional and generic reproduction of condominiums.

Exhibition – outdoor and indoor

Contemporary technology gives us the possibility of digitally enhanced ways of exhibiting. This opportunity should be used at Lövholmen, as well as an analogic means of exhibiting as signs or three-dimensional representations as sculpture. The ideas and the propositions are a mixture of implemented and unimplemented projects.

Design ideas

- The movement of people on each plant and at the site as a whole.
- The Cementa distribution network.
- Sequence of historic maps and/or sculptures.
- Signs telling the story, digital/analogic.
- Graphic Concrete, telling the story on new facades, on new walls and on new paving.

Figure 13 a-c. Interpreting industrial heritage through architecture at Pearl River Brewery in Guangzhou, China. Phase II 2021. Source: ArchDaily

- A trail through Lövholmen makes it possible to view the site from different points.
- The trail has physical signs as well as a digital platform for smartphones using QR-codes, systems that subsequently will be updated as new tech supplants the former.

- A centre can convey the story of Lövholmen and the industrialisation of Stockholm. A new destination at Lövholmen would sit well alongside the existing and well-established cultural centre Färgfabriken.
- A small national museum telling the story of the industrialisation of Sweden would enhance the cultural profile of Lövholmen as well as the importance of the site.
- Artefacts from the plants will be used in different ways.

Design propositions

- The Cementa distribution network as paving on a key or square. Plans of removed buildings presented as lines and surfaces in the paving. *Below this proposition is further developed, design proposition 5.*
- The movement of people, material and products on the ground of each industry is laid out as paved trails in streets, squares and keys.
- Phases of change I: the history of the site is exhibited as sequences of maps made of graphic concrete. Phases of change II: The history of the site is exhibited as sequences of 3D sculptures showing the companies and the development of their operations on the site. *Below this proposition is further developed, design proposition 6 and 7.*
- The trail of Lövholmen runs through the site. Robust signs make a long-lasting core for telling the story. Through time, more transient ways of exhibiting can be attached to the core. *Below this proposition is further developed, design proposition 8.*
- Parts from the industry can be used along the trail or as artefacts and furniture in parks or on quays – for example paint making tins or steel screws for moving the cement.
- Small visitor centres – outside, under roof or inside a building – describes the development on Lövholmen and the industrialisation of Stockholm.
- A large visitor centre – as part of a building – tells the story of the industrialisation of Sweden, on a national basis.

The Cementa distribution network – design proposition 5

In the 1940s, Cementa was established at Lövholmen. The plant was an important point for the distribution of cement for the rapidly growing, greater Stockholm region. The limestone was quarried in Slite, on the island of Gotland, or at Stora Vika on the mainland coast, transported to Lövholmen via Nynäshamn and distributed from there. Mapping this is very interesting

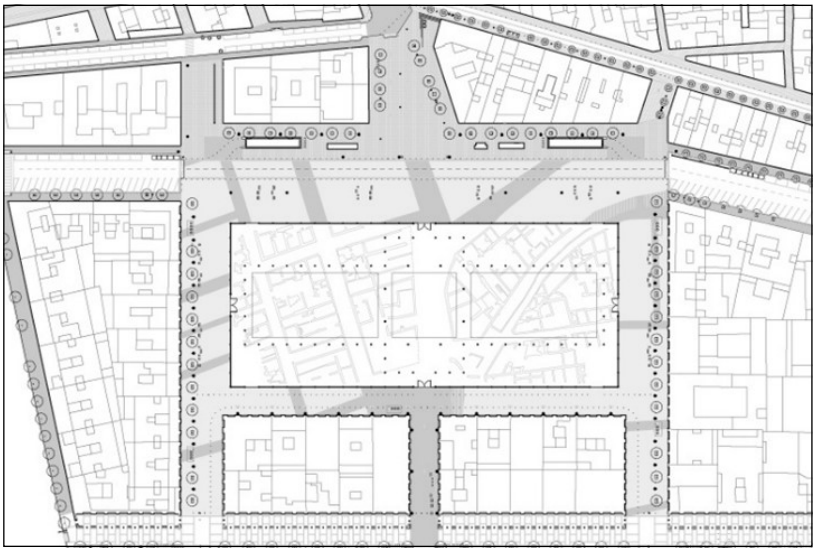

Figure 14 a-b. The square by the market hall Del Born in Barcelona, Spain, describes the direction of the streets, the shapes and the plans of the old buildings that have since long been removed from the site. Source: ArchDaily

for the understanding of the cement and concrete industry, as well as the distribution of building material during the expansive post-WW II period.[22]

A map showing the distribution network can be both decorative, informative and a piece of contemporary landscape architecture as paving on one of the new squares.

Phases of change I & II – design propositions 6 and 7

This example points at an obvious and effective way of showing the physical change of a site, that is, to present it in a sequence of maps or of 3D moulds. The maps can be presented as paving on the ground or on signboards. The 3D moulds can be casted as sculptures in bronze, aluminium or in concrete, as the apparent choice might be on a site where Cementa still operates.

Figure 15 a-f. A sequence of historical maps from the Central railway station in Klara, Stockholm. Here, it is used as an example of what, in a stylized and uniform design, could be conducted at Lövholmen as paving and/or signboards. Source: Centralstationsområdet, Stockholm. Kulturmiljöutredning, Nyréns Arkitektkontor 2019-04-24

Figure 16. A sequence can also be conducted as sculptures casted in concrete or in bronze as shown on the photo-collage above, using an interpretative project in Gothenburg, Sweden. Source: Göteborg förstärkt. Gestaltningsprinciper för fästningsstaden. Göteborgs stad, Nyréns 2018-12-12

The trail of Lövholmen – design proposition 8

A trail runs through the site. Robust signs on steel stands make a long-lasting core, making it possible to tell the story for a very long time. Through time, more transient ways of exhibiting can be attached to the core, such as digital texts and maps on smartphones, VR-glasses or other hardware.

Along the trail, there are a number of information points and even a visitors' centre in one of the existing or new buildings. Near the information points, there are, for example, benches for views, sculptures, playground equipment, signs, etc. The information points are connected by a trail resembling the breadcrumbs that Hänsel and Gretel followed in the brothers Grimms' tale.

Figure 17 a-b. Information point with sign and benches for views along the trail; here at Kungstorget by the moat in Gothenburg. Source: Göteborg förstärkt. Gestaltningsprinciper för fästningsstaden. Göteborgs stad, Nyréns 2018-12-12

Figure 18 a-b. Information point with sign and the trail of "crumbs"; here at Kungsparken by the moat in Gothenburg. Source: Göteborg förstärkt. Gestaltningsprinciper för fästningsstaden. Göteborgs stad, Nyréns 2018-12-12

ART

As an integrated part of the planned urban development at Lövholmen, art has an important role to play. In a collaboration between real estate owners, planners, architects and conservationists of the built environment, the artist can provide ideas and structured ways of letting art contribute, by making artifacts and producing larger interpretative systems together with the designing group.

Design ideas and propositions

- The map of the cement/concrete distribution as a paved quay or square.
- A number of specific works of art reflecting the history of the site.
- A façade – larger or smaller parts of it – can be an artwork.
- Representations of lost parts.
- The trail of signs can be designed in close cooperation with architect/designer.
- The theme of paint from Beckers is a point of departure for works of art.
- Architecture as interpretation of the production should be drawn in collaboration with an artist.
- The role of art in a larger sense: what is the artistic starting point for the development?
- Adding art: production machinery – *"uppfordringsverket"* – used as material for making art. *Below this proposition is further developed, design proposition 9.*

Adding art to historic machinery – design proposition 9

This construction will probably be preserved, showing the loading and unloading of ships at the Cementa quay. The idea is to let an artist use the construction as material for a work of art. The process will have a program that ensures the cultural significance of the machinery and that the work of art tells the visitor/user a part of Stockholm's industrial history.

LEARNING FROM LÖVHOLMEN

When the former factory of carbonic acid was destroyed through a violent fire in late July of the summer of 2021, it highlighted the fact that physical expressions of culturally historic significance are not possible to replace when they are gone.

To practice adaptive re-use on existing structures and buildings is to economize the use of physical resources. Hence, to reuse is to save energy invested in the construction and building of the existing built environment. In times of climate change, to reuse structures that hold embodied carbon should be an obvious objective, thus reducing carbon emissions.[23] One could argue that it is irresponsible to pull down existing structures in order to increase exploitation figures and economic gain. (See *Selecting buildings to keep* above.)

Figure 19 a-b. Machinery for loading and unloading cement; concrete and railway track buffer at the Cementa quay. Photographs Nyréns 2020

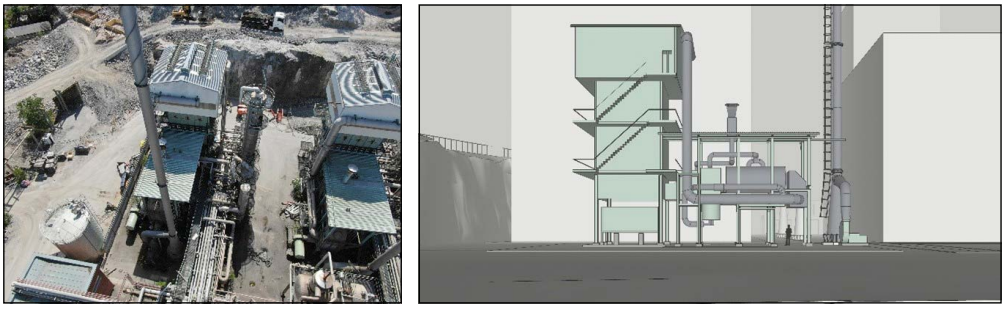

Figure 20 a-b. At the former gasworks in Stockholm, parts of one of the production lines in Spaltgasverket will be protected and kept as an artifact. Left (20a) shows the existing situation. Drone photo by Nyréns, Mattias Eklund 2021. Right (20b): architect Petra Gipps' study 2021 of parts to keep. Using this as a model for Lövholmen, it would be possible to add the work of an artist to the physical remains.

A real estate developer acts only in exceptional cases in favour of cultural heritage, expressed as physical remains. A real estate company has business transaction as its priority, not promoting the interest of urban development in a larger societal sense. Therefore, it is unusual that these firms are prepared to see existing structures as resources. However, real estate developers can, in fortunate collaborations with municipal urban planners, architects and conservationists of built environment, etc., contribute to a successful urban development with high-grade architecture, balancing preservation and addition. Therefore, the role of the communal urban planner is key, as a director of the planning process. (See *Interpreting the industrial heritage by architecture* above.)

Figure 21 a-c. The former Carbonic Acid Factory at Lövholmen (21a top left) caught fire on 29th of July 2021. Source: The newspaper Svenska Dagbladet (SvD) 2021-07-30. After securing the premises, a ruin with heaps of brick, concrete rubble, reinforcing bars and cisterns is what is left of Kolsyrefabriken (21b top right and 21c above). Photographs Nyréns, Urban Nilsson 2021-09-01

The buildings that are polluted, as well as the decay that they have been allowed to suffer since they were shut down, are a severe problem. This unfortunate decay is caused by a planning process that has been blocked for various reasons. One of the reasons is the perhaps unrealistic expectation of economic gain that the politicians of the city and the property owners seem to have for the relevant real estate business at Lövholmen. This delay has led to vandalism, neglected maintenance, demolition of buildings and fire.

One lesson is that the commercial potential is a threat as well as an opportunity for placemaking.[24] Another lesson is that of conflicting interests – public on one side and private on the other. When learning from these lessons, a question or two might be posed.

- Are the societal and political demands on single property owners, although large, too great?

- Are the real estate prices a hindrance in the urban development, thus forcing real estate owners to aim at exploitation figures that end up in neighbourhoods that are too dense?

If the balancing between cultural heritage and the addition of new urban fabrics do not add up, maybe we must conclude that real estate developers cannot rise to the task?

CONCLUSION

Delay leads to decay. This applies to the managing of real estate and to the planning process. At Lövholmen, physical expressions of culturally historic significance are damaged due to pollution of the ground and the buildings, neglected maintenance by property owners and delay due to unrealistic expectations of economic gain by real estate businesses.

While writing this, the planning process continues, and urban development is threatened by a multitude of conflicting interests. Despite these bad omens, it is still possible to turn this evolution around in an upward and more positive way by picturing the future as follows:

The transformed district is now a vibrant part of the city with a rich content of services, businesses, culture and housing. Due to a conscious handling of the site's heritage, Lövholmen has kept some of its soul. When the pervasive conversion of the former industrial site is completed, many years will have passed. This long process has held many participants – from property owners to experts in different fields and to citizens, the latter as practitioners of their democratic rights. Through this large teamwork, it has been possible to take care of physical remains that are carriers of cultural significance and to convey the history of the site through architectural interpretation. Today, as the conversion is completed, Lövholmen reflects significant cultural values, and it tells stories about the people who lived and worked there. This is a good outcome, where societal interests are balanced against commercial ones.

In the case-study, compensation[25] in the planning process includes the production of design ideas and design propositions. The driving force in the project is the transformation of the area and the objective to re-use urban structures, buildings and add narratives about its history through design. The compensatory actions in this planning process involve: (a) identifying

heritage values and qualities in the built environment; (b) taking care of history by investigating possibilities together with key actors with conflicting interests; and (c) adding new perspectives, stories and art. In this transformation compensation is a creative working process where ideas, possibilities and narratives are evaluated in design. The connection between the impact of transformation, damages to the cultural environment and protection, as well as reconstruction of selected values and quality, develop simultaneously with changes in the overall project.

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1 *Lövholmen kulturmiljö. Utgångspunkter för gestaltning.* (2020), s. 4, 6, 7, 18-21.

2 *Tidigt samråd avseende Lövholmen 12 m fl. i stadsdelen Liljeholmen, i Stockholms kommun* (2018-08-22).

3 *Lövholmen 12 m.fl.* (2019), s. 29 f.

4 The decision was made by the project management at the City planning office. No official remark has as yet been announced in the matter.

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6 Design dialogues or "stadsbyggnadsdialog" that in many ways are inspired by the structured service that Nyréns have offered for several years where a large set of stakeholders participate.

7 On a change as the one described here the real estate prizes rises and gentrification of the district follows. However, this aspect is not taken under consideration in this paper.

8 Storm (2007), s. 17 f.

9 Rönn, M. (2018). s. 8

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12 *Lövholmen 12 m.fl.* (2019), s. 12, 14-22.

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15 *Lövholmen kulturmiljö. Utgångspunkter för gestaltning.* (2020), s. 8-21. *Lövholmen 12 m.fl.* (2019), s. 14-22.

16 *Slakthusområdet i Stockholm. Kulturhistorisk inventering och analys.* (2011), s. 11-17

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18 Storm (2007), s. 145-160

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23 International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage (2012), s. 136-141. As discussed by Mark Watson in his article Adaptive re-use and embodied energy.

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HERITAGE VALUES AND CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL LANDSCAPE IN ADULIS

Susanna Bortolotto, Nelly Cattaneo, Serena Massa

ABSTRACT

Since 2011, an Eritrean-Italian research has been conducted on the Adulis archaeological site (Eritrea), the main emporium town of the Horn of Africa between the III century BC and the VII AD. The project is led by the Eritrean Ministry of Culture and Sports and by the Research Centre on the Eastern Desert, in collaboration with Italian universities; one of its aims is to create an archaeological park.

Adulis is of great interest for researchers worldwide, nevertheless, its current context is peripheral to the main Eritrean centres. The local inhabitants are committed to subsistence farming and goat breeding in a semiarid context; the unexcavated archaeological area itself has been a common grazing land. The balance between livelihood and local scarcity of resources represents an intangible heritage shaped over centuries, enhancing the diversification of activities and the community over the individual, thus ensuring a high level of resiliency.

What would happen to this local intangible heritage when the main trigger for economic development is an archaeological site of international interest? The socio-economic process promoted by the tourism industry may endanger an unacknowledged heritage whose loss might be considered an acceptable side-effect of development. To prevent this irreversible loss, the ongoing project has considered the understanding of local cultural values as part of the actions. The contribution aims at reflecting on the concept of compensation and mitigation when applied to intangible heritage and competing values.

KEYWORDS

Heritage values, Public archaeology, Tourism industry, Mitigation/compensation

INTRODUCTION

The site of Adulis is located on the south-western shore of the Red Sea, in the bay of Zula, about 50 km south of Massawa, Eritrea. The geographic position of the site, at the connection of ancient international maritime and regional terrestrial routes, was the key factor for the flourishing of Adulis, the preeminent port town of the Horn of Africa between the III century BC and the VII century AD. The international Eritrean-Italian *"Adulis Project"* has been active since 2011, following an initiative of the Eritrean Authorities, in collaboration with the Research Centre on Eastern Desert (Ce.R.D.O.) and Italian universities.[1] It is an archaeological research project, aimed at the rediscovery, study and valorisation of the archaeological remains of the ancient town of Adulis, with the intent to also create the first archaeological park in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The objectives have been designed together with decision makers and local communities to plan the fieldwork (excavation and conservation) in close relationship with the cultivated and natural environment, giving high attention to the study and valorisation of traditional hydrogeological and agronomic knowledge, as a strategic asset to planning the sustainable development of the area. Specific needs have been expressed by the inhabitants of the villages, neighbouring the ancient site, to the archaeological project: shedding light on their history and origins ensuring the conservation of archaeological remains, felt like *"ancestors"* but forgotten before the starting of the excavations supporting better opportunities of life through improved accessibility of road links and services creating economic development without threatening the cultural and natural heritage, part of which consists in the traditional knowledge of resource management.

The project in fact proposes, through the realization of the Archaeological and Natural Park of Adulis, a model of research and valorisation of the cultural landscape in the Horn of Africa, based on the study and enhancement of the ancient holistic approach as a key element to sustainability. The research is conducted with an interdisciplinary method that integrates the latest advanced techniques of remote sensing, geoarchaeology, bioarchaeology, archaeometry, 3D modelling and computational models.

Such objectives need long-term archaeological research and dedicated strategies to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the territorial context where the archaeological site is located. The creation of a sustainable park where

the evidence of the discovery can be publicly shared can be pivotal for the development of the local community, going along with the empowerment of specialized skills to manage the site, the artefacts and the future park.

The evidence brought to light at Adulis during the annual field surveys and excavation campaigns over the course of ten years[2], enabled us to understand the ground-breaking research potential of the site in relation to the origin and development of African Horn civilization, its place in the construction of local identities and the strategic relationship between the Mediterranean, Africa, Arabia and Indian Ocean. In the common opinion, the development of the port town of Adulis is strictly connected with the flourishing of the Aksumite capital, Aksum, nowadays located on the Ethiopian Highlands, at an altitude of 2.200 meters and at a distance of about ten caravan days from Adulis, gate to the sea for the metropolis. Nevertheless, remains of an earlier settlement of huts have been excavated in the southwestern area of the site, with material culture dated to the II millennium BC[3], when Adulis was part of the Land of Punt, the objective of expeditions by the Pharaohs to find precious and exotic items, such as ivory, ebony, aromatic resins and animals.[4] It is probable, by reaching deeper archaeological levels in future research, that earlier documents of human frequentation/settlement could be recovered, like those found in the coastal environment of the Bay of Zula, where artefacts datable to the Middle and Late Stone Age document the presence of human groups capable of exploiting the marine and coastal resources of an ideal habitat for living. Ten years of fieldwork have also enabled us to refine our understanding of the current social system and cultural landscape, which the archaeological site is part of. (S.M.)

ADULIS AND THE PLAIN OF ZULA: WHICH COMPENSATION FOR WHICH HERITAGE VALUES?

In this article a brief attempt is made to formalize some of the research questions raised – and still are being raised – during the ongoing activities of the annual fieldwork, started in 2011 in the Adulis archaeological area. As these activities are part of a project that is both research and site based, their theoretical frameworks will be outlined, along with the most meaningful aspects of the project itself.

Questioning the impact of an archaeological site of international interest and the values of the local communities living in the same area, necessarily means dealing with a multiple and multi-layered set of issues and with

uncertainty in foreseeing medium and long-term effects of our actions: which transformations will be triggered by the enhancement of Adulis' archaeological heritage? How will these transformations affect local tangible and intangible heritage? Which local, national and international values engage in the process activated by the ongoing project? Will local values have to compete with internationally acknowledged values? How is it possible to adopt a perspective that enables to detect, enhance and combine intercultural values? Which measures of mitigation or compensation should we deal with, in order to prevent the possible loss of cultural values triggered by a new cultural environment?[5]

Given the dynamic and living nature of any cultural process, the complexity of the issue already starts with the attempt of defining and sharing a common meaning for keywords like *heritage*, *values*, *compensation* and for the wider concepts they evoke in terms of identity, memory, community ties, sites and places, monuments, tangible and intangible aspects, knowledge, etc. Therefore, though they can hardly be separated one from the other and cannot be charged with ultimate definitions, each of these keywords will be addressed at first as tools, useful to address our research study. Although each of them condenses years of cultural and disciplinary debate, they will be addressed in their most codified and shared definitions, proving that even once they were reduced to their very general meaning, they are demonstrated to be determinant tools when dealing with the specific complexity offered by the Adulis case-study. Starting from the term *heritage*, the understanding of local cultural and heritage *values* will be a pivotal issue to approach *compensation*. The concept of *compensation* will be addressed mainly in the last section, starting from its definition as a process of restoring damages to values and loss of qualities in areas undergoing development processes, by trying to define the nature and the characteristics of the *development* we refer to in our case-study, the plan to create the Adulis Archaeological Park, which mainly focuses on the enhancement of a site acknowledged as heritage of international interest and attractive for worldwide researchers, as well as for tourists travelling in Eastern Africa. In a currently peripheral area like the Zula plain, where inhabitants are engaged in a delicate balance between farming and a semi-arid landscape affected by the increasing uncertainties of climatic conditions, cultural tourism would certainly produce important transformations in the short and long terms, triggering a wide range of socio-economic and cultural effects. (N.C.)

LANDSCAPE AND PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY AS PREMISE AND METHOD FOR SUSTAINABILITY AND COMPENSATION

The theoretical premises of the scientific research underlying the Adulis project are those dictated by landscape archaeology, denoting the term *landscape* in its broad sense of cultural expression, i.e., the result of the interaction between man and the environment.[6] The interest of the research is therefore aimed at investigating all the phases of this historical landscape, in order to understand the context in which the ancient community found and managed the resources for its survival and prosperity in the long term, building a system of relationships and social identity of which archaeology reads the material traces that have been preserved up to our time. It is a dynamic system, which can be read with the method of archaeological stratigraphy, recognizing its environmental, productive and social elements[7], within a systemic approach and a multidisciplinary methodology involving, alongside the archaeological and historic ones, natural sciences, mathematic and statistics.[8]

This holistic and systemic approach, as well as being central to knowledge, is the basis of a vision of public archaeology that places at its centre the economic and social values of the community that currently resides in the area surrounding the archaeological site. This is in fact the heir of a cultural tradition that is one of the key factors for a sustainable safeguard of the landscape.[9]

All the more so in contexts hard for survival, such as the case-study illustrated here, a semi-arid environment in which wisdom in water management is as vital today as two thousand years ago, at the time when the splendid urban civilization of Adulis flourished, in climatic conditions not dissimilar to the current ones.[10]

Traditional knowledge[11] is an elaborate and often multipurpose system, part of an integral approach between society, culture and economy and grounded on the idea of the world based on the careful management of local resources.[12] The close and intimate bond existing in traditional cultures between man, natural environment and the universe, permeates techniques, spaces of sacredness and defines the identity of the communities.[13] This is the intangible component of the heritage that runs the greatest risk of being lost if not properly investigated alongside its more easily recognizable material evidence.

Figure 1. Satellite image (©BingMap 2021) displaying the current surroundings of Adulis Archaeological site: the villages of Afta and Zula and the farmed fields.

In public archaeology[14], the community plays a central role in the process of knowledge, protection and enhancement of cultural heritage, considered as a reflection and expression of its constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions.[15] It is a different way of doing archaeology in which *"the energies invested in research and in the growth of knowledge favour processes of participation, social cohesion, valorisation and sustainable economic development"*[16], with the ultimate goal of proposing sustainable solutions to the current problems[17], among which the scarcity of water resources is certainly one of the most serious.

As noted by several voices, there are no regulatory legal tools or codified guidelines for the implementation of participatory archaeology projects, but in the case of Eritrea there are two elements that have facilitated this approach. The first is the local culture itself, which is based on a vision of the world whose values are defined by relationships, not only between individuals who make up the community, but also between humans and nature, in its visible and non-visible aspects. From this derives a strong sense of cohesion and sharing of the community members, which also includes the process of knowledge and research and which must contribute, in the end, to the quality of life.[18]

The second facilitating factor in the Adulis Project is due to the methodology that has always characterized the ethnographic and archaeological research

work of the originators of the project, i.e., respectful, inclusive and participatory.[19] Local communities were therefore involved, together with the local authorities, in the phases of the project, from planning to development of research, training, processing and communication of results. Respect for the local assessment towards their past has proved to be all the more indispensable in a context, such as the Eritrean one, in which the ethical and emotional aspects of a heritage connected to a recent and painful period of war conflict – whose protagonists, however, share many traits of the common ancient culture – must be considered.

It is precisely in this regard that a further theoretical premise must be made explicit in relation to the history of studies in the region, which in several cases appears tainted by a vein of nationalism, sometimes using archaeological documentation to strengthen the national cultural identity of Eritrea, supporting its total autonomy and absence of contamination with the surrounding contemporary cultures[20], as claimed in some contributions of the volume "*The Archaeology of Ancient Eritrea*", a publication that collects an important summary of the archaeological research carried out in the country in the period between independence and the early 2000s.[21]

A further consideration must be made about the distance between the material culture unearthed by the excavations in Adulis and the current culture of the local communities residing in the villages of Zula and Afta, close to the archaeological site. Unique material memories of the past for current inhabitants, who mostly belong to the Saho and Afar ethnic groups of the Islamic religion, are the tombs of the ancestors.

More than ten centuries separate the Islamic graves from the monumental, early Christian churches that belong to the Byzantine phase of Adulis, a completely foreign architecture in the eyes of the local communities, but full of meaning from the point of view of knowledge of the past. It is therefore appropriate to ask ourselves whether our academic value of the past has the same meaning for those who now live in places where, from natural catastrophic causes and following the Islamic conquest, a drastic change in the cultural landscape took place.

"The distance between the concept of cultural heritage held by the specialist and the concept held by lay people is unavoidable… Nevertheless, it is this reality that

Figure 2. The tombs of the ancestors located in the archaeological area (credits Alfredo Castiglioni 2012).

we need to come back to, in order to connect people with our idea of the value of the past and vice versa".[22] This should be a further, fundamental dimension of the concept of *compensation* in the archaeological field, usually declined in the material aspects of structural consolidation, restoration, monetary payment for the loss of artifacts and / or areas planned for development or for criminal damage to the mobile and immobile heritage.[23]

After the past ten years of work in Eritrea, the Adulis project has to be acknowledged as an opportunity that has been offered to the Italian team of experts, not only from the scientific point of view but also for the possibility to develop a multidisciplinary, inclusive and dynamic research approach, within a context of valuable human relationships. In this context, we can consider Public Archaeology, both as a theoretical/methodological framework and a mitigation tool, as the design of any future activity that undertakes an evaluation of local needs. (S.M.)

Research teams and local communities creating new cultural environments
The two main characteristics bringing complexity into the Adulis project, and which makes it a useful case-study to eventually broaden the understanding of the *compensation* issue, are interdisciplinarity and interculturality.

Interdisciplinarity and common lexicon

The first characteristic is the multiple expertise of the Italian team involved in the activities, which makes the Adulis project interdisciplinary research; in its current configuration the team is composed by archaeologists, architects, anthropologists, geologists, cartographers, as well as engineers with various specializations.

The presence of specialists from different disciplinary sectors implies that keywords like *heritage* and *compensation* might have slightly or significantly different meanings. The terms would recall the various debates in the history of the respective disciplines, sometimes differing within the same country and even within the same discipline, leading the meanings far beyond any official definitions. Just to provide an example, the construction of meaning around the term *heritage* has developed for centuries and overwhelms national borders; in a Western country like Italy, it can currently be considered in its national and transnational senses, when switching from the Italian term *patrimonio culturale* to the English term *heritage.* For Italian architects engaged in preservation and conservation, it is not possible to avoid referring to ICOMOS and ICCROM's international documents[24], but just going through the historical evolution of the definitions in the documents issued in the last century, it is clear that each of them captures a cultural moment within the discipline and in the broader sociocultural framework that, in order to be internationalized, must refer to an extremely general sense.

That is true for a culturally stratified and multifaceted term like *heritag*e, but we can affirm the same for the word *compensation*, which in the Italian context is only apparently more technical and therefore easier to define. Italian architects and engineers mainly refer to it in territorial planning, addressing the concept of *environmental compensation,* in use since the 1980s[25], which is defined based on an assessment of the impact of new infrastructures or built environment; specific expertise is required for this analysis that makes use both of quantitative and qualitative evaluations, aiming at defining in a consistent and scientific way the compensatory measures, in order to *"restore"* the natural environmental balance after the transformations carried out. The main cultural achievement of this concept of *compensation* is that the territory is a system that should safeguard a balance to maintain itself in a sustainable way; compensatory measures do not necessarily address the direct negative effect caused by a new element introduced in the system, but, due to the level of understanding of the relations within the system itself, they

might enhance other interacting aspects, helpful in achieving and maintaining a new *equilibrium*.

In Italy, architects specialized in heritage preservation would rarely deal with *compensation*, as they would rather resort to mitigation measures. Compensation in fact implies a *"loss"*, and efforts in conservation aim at preventing losing any material part of the artifact. From a conservation perspective, any tangible loss is also intangible, and compensation interventions would compromise authenticity, thus preventing heritage from fully witnessing and passing on its story. Any loss is therefore irreplaceable/irreversible (Brandi C. 1977).[26] While this is a clear and verifiable process when dealing with tangible heritage, it is not as linear when addressing intangible heritage.

In Italy, the term *compensation* is also in use in archaeology. When referring to the impact on archaeological remains by the construction of new infrastructures (a paradigmatic example is the construction of the underground in Rome[27]), the term might be intended in a very technical way, i.e., as a *structural compensation,* when the works might cause or accelerate the structural decay of archaeological remains. The same word, in the same discipline and in the same country, would take on a different meaning when adopting a public archaeology approach, as outlined above.

Sharing a lexicon and resorting to official definitions, though presenting evident limitations, is of great use in broad research to provide a common ground for the varied sets of expertise involved. In the Adulis project, a continuous collaboration, in particular between the Scientific Coordination of the archaeological excavation and the one of conservation activities, has promoted a sound reciprocal disciplinary understanding, which was then addressed to manage the entire team on sensitive issues. Every activity has been conducted by involving at least two different experts, in order to avoid sectorial approaches. Also, the archaeological excavation plan is discussed with architects in order to find a balance between the structural requirements of the buried artifacts and the research needs of archaeologists. In this framework, an interdisciplinary approach can be itself considered a mitigation strategy.

Interculturality and the concept of Heritage

The second characteristic of the Adulis research project, and much more susceptible to unexpected outcomes, is the different cultures that the stake-

holders engaged in the ongoing process belong to. The activities in fact directly involve the local community of the villages of Zula, Afta and Foro, a team of Eritrean archaeologists and anthropologists and the aforementioned team of Italian researchers. All of these communities create a new *"seasonal"* community during the yearly fieldwork on site. This obviously amplifies the multifaceted meaning that words like *heritage* have, as well as the level of understanding of the *values* on the field, and therefore the *compensatory measures* we ought to resort to.

In the Adulis case-study, there are therefore at least three different layers of *official* or *shared* meanings of the word *heritage* and, of course, many others not formalized in official definitions. As the eventual aim is to detect values, it is important here to refer to the concept of *heritage* as the most intertwined with issues like identity, memory, values and collective acknowledgement of the heritage itself. This also provides the base for a possible common ground when dealing with this issue within the entire group. We will only consider the official definition of *heritage*, in order not to address an issue too broad to be dealt with in this article, also if we fully acknowledge the multiple meanings attributed to the word *heritage,* as masterly outlined by Laurajane Smith when stressing its *"intangible"* nature, introducing manifold open definitions, like heritage as *"a process of engagement, an act of communication and an act of making meaning in and for the present"* and as a *"multi-layered performance – be this a performance of visiting, managing, interpretation or conservation"*[28].

But as Smith claims, *"heritage is also a discourse"* and *"there is a dominant Western discourse about heritage, which [she] terms the 'authorized heritage discourse' that works to naturalize a range of assumptions about the nature and meaning of heritage. [...] This often self-referential discourse simultaneously draws on and naturalizes certain narratives and cultural and social experiences – often linked to ideas of nation and nationhood. Embedded in this discourse are a range of assumptions about the innate and immutable cultural values of heritage that are linked to and defined by the concepts of monumentality and aesthetics"*[29].

While fully agreeing with a more complex definition of heritage outlined by Smith, nevertheless we can here use the terms and their general *"official"* definitions as tools to trace the ideas shared worldwide and their influence in different cultures. In particular we refer to the UNESCO Convention on Cultural Heritage, dated 1972, which stresses the tangible aspect of heritage and its universal values, and implemented in 1999 by Operational Guide-

lines that implicitly address intangible heritage in the definition of cultural landscape, and which *"often reflect specific techniques of sustainable land-use, considering the characteristics and limits of the natural environment they are established in and a specific spiritual relation to nature"*. The UNESCO *Convention for the safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* is dated 2003.

But this must be framed in a proper cultural process that can be supported resorting to the concept of *"decoloniality"*[30] as an epistemic attitude that enables researchers to be more and more aware of the limits of western professional approaches and of their consequent biases when addressing other cultures. In this case, we prefer to refer to the concept of *"decoloniality"* in a very broad sense, not therefore strictly involving colonial, post-colonial and decolonization processes[31], but rather as a cultural attitude and an ongoing process aiming at identifying *"the ways in which Western modes of thought and systems of knowledge have been universalized, [seeking] to move away from this Eurocentrism by focusing on recovering 'alternative' or non-Eurocentric ways of knowing"*[32]. Therefore, while referring legitimately to Eurocentric and universalized concepts, it is important not to pave the way for dogmatic approaches when addressing heritage in other continents and countries, adopting standard tools (sometimes inadequate) and supporting extremely biased lectures on different cultural environments.

One of the first steps in this *decolonial approach* in the Adulis project has been to be aware of the cultural process engaged by Eritreans in the field of *heritage*. In fact, the intermediate group of stakeholders actively taking part in it are the experts from the National Museum of Asmara and from the Regional Museum of the Northern Red Sea, coordinated by the Commission of Culture and Sports. It is therefore important to refer to the definition of *heritage* that Eritrea has shaped and formally defined in a national law of 2015. The *"Cultural and Natural Heritage Proclamation"* n. 177 affirms (art 2.1.g): *"Cultural Heritage means any tangible or intangible resource, which is the product of human creativity and labour in the discernible historical times, describing and witnessing to such creativity and labour because of its scientific, archaeological, historical, cultural, artistic, architectural or aesthetic value or content ultimately bearing the identity and/or collective memory of peoples or communities"* and further (art. 3 f): *"the objectives of this Proclamation shall be to: […] c) protect Cultural and Natural Heritage against all forms of damage; f) empower and encourage the general population to nurture and conserve heritage resources and their cultural and indigenous values"*.

The Proclamation provides a broad and inclusive definition of heritage, which certainly recalls the internationalized western statements issued by ICOMOS; nevertheless, it is tailored on the Eritrean cultural environment, stressing explicitly the importance of communities. Even if recently issued, on the occasion of the candidacy of Asmara as World Heritage Site, the Proclamation is actually the achievement of a long process of cultural debate, started in the 1970s within the cultural committees, part of the Eritrean People Liberation Front, during the struggle for independence from Ethiopia. This debate was clearly structured in national cultural projects when Eritrea reached the status of independent nation (1993). For example, the CARP (Cultural Asset Rehabilitation Project), formalized in 2001, included the conservation and planning of historical sites (component A) and supporting living cultures (component C).[33] So, even if issued in the cultural frame related to UNESCO's training and capacity building programs, the 177/2015 law and its contents should not be intended at all as a *"cosmetic"* accomplishment of international requirements, or blind borrowing of Western standards, but as the outcome of a long-term active process, which puts the local traditions and languages at the same level as architectural heritage. Taking part in the International Conference on Eritrean Studies in 2016 and sharing the experience of the Adulis project with the Eritrean scientific community and international researchers working on similar issues has been another important step of the project.[34] Adulis is fully acknowledged as a national archaeological heritage site.

As Eritrea is a multicultural country, with nine ethnic groups speaking different languages and rich in specificities, a national definition of heritage, even when *"decolonized"*, needs to be *localized*. We therefore resorted to the concept of *"localization"* when going from Eritrean national cultural frame to the local one, which is represented by the communities of Zula, Afta and Foro, also actively involved in the Adulis project. The concept of *localization* is transferred and adapted from the field of Translation Studies[35] to cultural environments in general. By *localization,* we refer to a communication/understanding process more complex than a translation, as it considers multiple and extremely specific cultural aspects involved in the exchange. At this level of understanding, all the definitions proposed by Smith should be born in mind, both by Italian as well as Eritrean researchers, in order not to apply biased and schematic approaches, but to detect and understand those local values at the base of any heritagization process.

Localization, as well as *decoloniality*, are intended as cultural attitudes to prevent *"epistemic injustice"* (i.e., *"discrimination against certain forms of knowing or knowledge [that] result in the exclusion of certain people from the process of knowledge production. It invalidates their ability to be seen as having knowledge or systems of knowledge of their own"*[36]). The main outcome of these considerations is that specialists engaged with heritage and in charge of managing the transformation of a place/site should keep on questioning themselves what *"heritage"* is, in the specific case they are working on, finding new ways to adapt their mindset and their research tools to that case-study. This does not prevent resorting to general definitions, but they should not be intended as static concepts, but rather as starting points.

The aim is therefore to understand what Adulis represents for the communities of Zula, Afta and Foro and if there are competing values in its acknowledgment as heritage by the local community. One of the peculiarities of the site is that, as already outlined, there is no evidence of historical continuity from Adulis to the current communities; the site has been buried for centuries after a probable destructive flood in the VII-VIII century AD. The villages are set in the smooth alluvial plain around the site, instead of the heights where Adulis was and which is now rippled by ruins. From an emporium town, hinge of important trade routes and probably equipped with an irrigation system for agricultural self-reliance, the plain, according to the reports by explorers of the XIX and early XX centuries, was in the last two to three centuries populated by semi-nomadic peoples engaged in breeding and rain-fed farming. Currently, the communities are active in spate-irrigated farming and in goat breeding.[37]

According to the definitions of cultural landscape, the Adulis archaeological area would be described as a relict (or fossil) landscape, which is *"one in which an evolutionary process came to an end at some time in the past, either abruptly or over a period"*[38]. Moreover, when considering part of the material evidence in Adulis, due to trade and cultural links with the Mediterranean and the Far East, it is even less likely to find links between current and ancient material culture of local communities. Nevertheless, the Adulis archaeological area, though not inhabited, has been used and is still in use for other purposes, thus being fully part of a living cultural landscape: the south-eastern area is an important cemetery for the local communities, where annual ceremonies take place and the site, more or less half-way from Zula to Afta, has been for decades a common grazing land (Figure 4), as well as a place to collect bushes

Figure 3. The landscape. From left: a general view of the site with the mounds from the past excavations (early 1900) and the remains of collapsed buildings; one of the excavated buildings; the result of the farming activities (credits Nelly Cattaneo 2012-18).

Figure 4. The archaeological area has also been used for its grazing spots among the mounds (credits Nelly Cattaneo 2014).

for domestic use. On very rare occasions, as on any other archaeological site, worked stones or regular slabs found on the surface have been reused for other purposes, providing useful materials for domestic needs (e.g. grinders) when strictly necessary. A general respect for the site seems to have been a general trait for centuries and, in fact outside the XIX and XX centuries archaeological excavations, the stratigraphic units are intact.

Useful hints to detect and understand local communities' values have been provided by researchers in the field of *evaluation,* dealing with the assess-

ment of development projects in Africa on the basis of African rather than Western values, to improve the effectiveness of the projects themselves.[39] In this field, the proposal from Chilisa and colleagues is to start approaching *"values from the perspective of an African-based relational paradigm"*[40]; yet, while *"African"* values imply quite a broad and generic field, as the authors themselves affirm, it is helpful in widening and revolutionizing Western and Westernized mindsets, by focusing on some pivotal concepts.

The authors deepen the meaning of *"relational"* as a key concept of the African approach, analysing it first at an ontological level, suggesting that the *"African way of perceiving reality comes out more clearly when addressing the nature of being. The common answer on what is being comes out in the adage, I am because we are, I am a person through other persons, I am we […]. Relationships as opposed to individualism form an integral part of identity. […] The community plays an essential part in defining one's identity"*[41]. Following *"The I/We relationship, with its emphasis on a connection of human beings to non-living things, we are reminded that evaluation of projects from the African perspective should include a holistic approach that links the project to the sustainability of the environment"*. Connections are therefore as real and valuable as single beings; the total is more than the summation of single parts and more important than them.

At a *"relational epistemology"* level, knowledge is meant as *"something that is socially constructed by people who have relationships and connections with each other and with the environment, as well as the spirits of the ancestors, including the living and the non-living"*[42]. Somewhat opposed to Euro-Western ways of knowing that emphasize the single individual, knowledge is community-based and *"situationally located"* and might follow a logic of *"circularity as opposed to linear logic of traditional Western"*[43] interpretation scheme and narratives of reality.

Coming to the point of relational axiology (that is *"the nature of values"* focusing *"on the question of what we value"), "the emphasis is on values grounded on collective responsibilities, cooperation, interdependence and interpersonal relationships among people". "From these principles, an ethical framework emerges that is focused on the responsibilities of researchers and evaluators and on the creation of respectful relationships between researchers, evaluators and participants and that takes into account the participants' web of relationships with the living and the non-living"*[44].

In such a framework, it is clear that no fully predetermined knowledge *iter,* methodological toolkit or planning theory can be automatically addressed, but can only be a starting point of an open system, which develops with the members of the *"seasonal community"* engaged in the fieldworks.

Scientific excavation, a broad bibliographical research and other activities are of paramount importance, as well as the territorial, contextual understanding availing itself of different technologies. Nevertheless, the fieldworks can be considered a very crucial action for insight and have to be managed and set in order to be as bias-aware and inclusive as possible: a place for mindful observation, to acquire and refine understanding not necessarily through specific apposite activities, but also along with the spontaneous cultural dynamics of this new community. The cultural environment that takes form seasonally around the fieldwork is already a new entity, different from the local, Eritrean and Italian communities, and richer in complexity than the summation of the three. This is already part of a cultural transformation and a trigger for future changes, which might have a positive or negative impact, but certainly would not generate a loss of authenticity of local values, but rather *"the blending of an imported discipline with the generation of new concepts and approaches from within a culture"*[45], a process generally addressed in literature as *"indigenization"*.

The Adulis project at its current stage reflects in its tasks and goals the level of understanding reached in almost ten years of common work and shared achievements, as well as of research on the past and contemporary history and cultures of Eritrea. While formal and standard actions have been conducted to improve the understanding of the Adulis cultural landscape, it is possible to affirm that daily sharing of experience and a mindful approach have been and are determinant for providing meaning to the achievements of the research and for understanding local values.

The first of these values, as detectable even in the agricultural landscape, is of course the community: the farming activities, the layout of the irrigation system and of the fields and the use of natural resources, can be understood only when considered as a whole process involving and affecting everyone. The value of the archaeological area itself has been intended as a common shared spot, available for the surrounding villages, and its value relies on the support it can provide to the communities.

Figure 5. Local techniques and materials are used for conservation purposes, taking advantage of local skills and knowledge (credits Paolo Visca 2018).

Figure 6. Blending traditional and contemporary techniques on the fieldwork is a key for a deeper cultural understanding (credits Alfredo Castiglioni 2012).

The engagement of the local people and the collaboration of our Eritrean colleagues will shape it and refine it all along the development of the project. The challenge is now to design a masterplan for the archaeological park, which will be flexible enough to include changes and give value to process, as well as to achievements and to management instead of fulfilment, in a circular approach. (N.C.)

THREATS TO LOCAL VALUES: TOOLS AND COMPENSATION STRATEGIES

The fulfilment of an archaeological park as an Eritrean requirement within the Adulis project is intended to promote the enhancement and preservation of the heritage of Adulis, economically supported by tourism. The socio-economic process promoted by the tourism industry, as suggested by many cases around the world[46], can endanger particular, local tangible and intangible heritage, as well as local values.

The critical relation between the tourism industry and local contexts was internationally acknowledged already in the 1970s, as demonstrated in the Charter of Tourism issued in 1976 by ICOMOS, declaring itself *"directly concerned by the effects – both positive and negative – on said heritage due to the extremely strong development of tourist activities in the world"*. The same topic has been addressed by manifold international initiatives and research.[47] The general outcomes share the will to design new models and strategies for the development of territories and their tourism industries, safeguarding and enhancing cultural identities and local resources towards a sustainability of tourism in a cultural, economic, social and environmental perspective. The ten articles of the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism issued in 1999 by the World Tourism Organization[48], remark that access to heritage around the world is a human right and tourism is a possible occasion of encounter among cultures. This perspective, which is a fully western perspective, admits that to achieve these results, tourist activities must respect local characteristics, and cultures, and communities should take equal advantage of them for an inclusive growth.

Also, the *Eritrean National Tourism Development Plan (2000-2020),* issued in 1999, expresses the awareness that tourism must be controlled in order to derive benefits and counteract the harmful effects that this phenomenon can entail, like homologation of the territory, social degradation, exploitation

and commodification of heritage, loss of identity values, loss of authenticity, etc.[49] At the Eritrean national level, it is therefore clear that the general development of a country makes tourism a resource and not the other way around.

The Eritrean plan also outlines some activities related to touristic enhancement that can be considered general mitigation measures: *"Environmental protection measures that are integrated into the tourism planning, development and management process are to: not over develop or overuse tourism sites, that is, not exceed their carrying capacities; use well designed infrastructure systems, especially providing adequate waste management techniques, in tourism areas; develop adequate road and other transportation systems; apply environmentally suitable land use and site planning principles, development standards and architectural, landscaping and engineering design in tourism areas; [...] carefully manage visitor flows at tourist attraction features; apply specific controls on visitor use in protected land and marine areas and inform visitors about these controls"*.[50]

Moving from international and national statements, it has to be remarked that local tangible and intangible heritage is at risk on any occasion when it has not been acknowledged as such, or when its loss can be considered as an acceptable side effect of tourism development. In the case of the Zula plain, the differentiation of activities, conducted by the local communities to obtain enough resources to prosper from the surrounding semi-arid environment, might be some knowledge at risk when a new and easier form of economy suddenly occurs. At the same time, the maintenance of the territory as a result of farming activities is also necessary to guarantee food security and to preserve the archaeological site from being flooded. One of the activities addressed by the Adulis project is therefore the enhancement of the existing agriculture activities in a semi-arid context, along with measures to improve biodiversity in farmed and non-cultivated areas. In fact, the use value of the site as grazing area and for wild vegetation collection will be probably lost when the Archaeological Park is completed; therefore, the improvement of wild environments in other surrounding spots will be promoted as a compensatory measure. On the other side, the support of local farming can be considered a mitigation measure. The use value of the south-eastern portion of the site as a cemetery is culturally of paramount importance, and no limitation will be foreseen by a forthcoming masterplan. The masterplan will have to design actions and promote processes adopting

a holistic approach, able to include the touristic activity in the living cultural environment and landscape, supporting its intangible values. (S.B.)

CONCLUSIONS

During the years of archaeological research in Adulis, it was clear that, when addressing a site through a project based both on academic and on-field activities, these two components have to fully inform each other and not only of archaeological contents. The development of the discipline in the field of Public Archaeology has clearly suggested over the last decades that broadening research from the archaeological site to a wider territorial, chronological and cultural scale, including necessarily the contemporary context and the community involved, is necessary for a meaningful and sustainable role of the site itself. The community is central in this process, which is not linear, nor can it be based on pre-defined standard steps. In this article, the focus was on how determinant this approach can be in understanding the community needs and values that archaeological activities might affect, also in negative ways, in order to design or co-design mitigation and compensatory measures, considering that the community values might be threatened by the presence of a noteworthy site, in the form of tourism-based economy.

The effort was therefore to understand how to support a bias-aware investigation of local values, by analysing the cultural attitudes and characteristics of the different *"communities"* involved in the archaeological project and the different meaning that the site has for them. Due to the complexity of any cultural environment, the tools for this understanding are situational rather than prescriptive, but nevertheless based on the awareness of the cultural features of each part involved. The Western *"authorised"* discourse on heritage values is actually a limit that needs to be overcome. In the case of the Adulis project, the long-term research activity (started in 2011 and conducted annually) and the collaboration with the local communities were the primary conditions to promote this process of understanding of values and compensatory/mitigation measures. (S.B.)

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NOTES

1 Eritrean Commission of Culture and Sports, National Museum of Eritrea, Northern Red Sea Regional Museum of Massawa, Politecnico di Milano, Università Cattolica di Milano, Università degli Studi 'L'Orientale' di Napoli, Università degli Studi dell'Insubria di Varese. The research, financed by Eritrea, by Ce.R.D.O. and by Piccini Group, has received contributions from the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation since 2012, from AICS (Agenzia Italiana per la Cooperazione allo Sviluppo) within the project VITAE in 2020 and is supported by ISMEO (Associazione Internazionale di Studi sul Mediterraneo e l'Oriente). The scientific research is directed by Serena Massa, in collaboration with the Eritrean Archaeological Heritage Research Branch, responsible dr. Tsegai Medin and the director of Massawa Museum, dr. Yohannes Gebreyesus. Our warmest thanks to the Commissioner of Culture and Sports, Arch. Zemede Tekle, to Mr. Tedros Berhane and to all the Eritrean and Italian colleagues and workers.

2 Bortolotto et al. 2013; Massa 2017; Castiglioni et al. 2018a, 2018b.

3 Paribeni 1907, c. 448-450, 547-548, tav.III-VI ; Manzo 2010, p. 29-33.

4 Lastly Manzo 2017.

5 For the expression "cultural environment" see Kirkegaard 2020.

6 Massa 2014 with references.

7 Brogiolo 2015, p. 360.

8 Brogiolo, Chavarria Arnau 2019, pp. 104-105.

9 As recognized and ratified globally since the 1992 Rio Conference, also known as the 'Planet Earth Summit'. Following the Conference, world conventions, international organizations such as the United Nations, the FAO, Unesco, the European Union, promote projects for the protection of environmental resources and for the creation of a new ethical economy and a technology capable of considering the wisdom of ancient practices.

10 Beyn., Bar-Yosef Mayer 2018, p. 26.

11 As defined by the Science and Technology Committee set up by the Convention for the fight against desertification: www.unccd.int;

12 www.droughtmanagement.info/literature/UNCCD_promotion_of_traditional_knowledge_2003.pdf

13 Laureano 2001, p. 80

14 Participatory research in archaeology. Legal issues and good practises, "European Journal of Post-Classical Archaeologies", n. 9, 2019: Nucciotti, Bonacchi, Molducci 2019; Dragoni, Cerquetti 2019. In these texts a critical review of the multiple aspects connected with Public Archaeology is analysed, starting from the definition itself and of the key concept of community versus Public, experts, the "bottom up" and "top down approaches", legal and ethical issues, social implications of the interpretation of the results, democratization of knowledge, collaboration, with the conclusion that both are necessary and an equilibrium between needs to be found.

15 Volpe 2017, p. 48.

16 Volpe 2019, p. 10.

17 In line with the more democratic and open approach to cultural heritage adopted by a series of international Conventions and Recommendations promoted by UNESCO and the Council

of Europe, which consider the population not only the recipient of research and projects to enhance the heritage but also an actor actively participant to its management, in the optics of an economic and social development: from the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (Paris, 1972), to that for the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (Valletta, 1992), up to that on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro, 2005). The latter convention is fundamental because it promotes the involvement of all actors in the research and conservation of heritage, closely linking cultural heritage to human rights. Brogiolo, Chavarria Arnau 2019, p. 104, with previous references.

18 See further about African Relational Evaluation Approaches.

19 As recognised also by the European Award Helena Vaz da Silva in 2019; among the publications: Castiglioni 1977, 1978,1988, 1989, 1995, Castiglioni et al. 2016.

20 Fattovich 2008, p. 347.

21 Schmidt, Curtis, Teka 2007.

22 Castillo 2019, p. 63.

23 As example

https://www.isprambiente.gov.it/files2021/eventi/studi-impatto-ambientale/nuove-nt-via-paesaggio-17-marzo-2021-revf.pdf; https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/atto/serie_generale/caricaArticolo?art.versione=1&art.idGruppo=0&art.flagTipoArticolo=1&art.codiceRedazionale=18A05332&art.idArticolo=1&art.idSottoArticolo=1&art.idSottoArticolo1=10&art.dataPubblicazioneGazzetta=2018-08-10&art.progressivo=0

24 For a synthesis of ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) and ICCROM (International Centre for the study of preservation and restoration of cultural property) documents, see Jokilheto 2005.

25 See for example the Italian legislation: Decreto del Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri DPCM 27/12/1988 "Norme tecniche per la redazione degli studi di impatto ambientale e la formulazione del giudizio di compatibilità" art 4 comma 4.

26 Projects for new interventions to enhance the artifacts or the sites and to enable their current use, would not be considered as compensations, as a proper design would rather be a cultural plus, part of the palimpsest of the heritage.

27 See https://www.romametropolitane.it/articolo.asp?CodMenu=10760&CodArt=10802)

28 Follows: – that embodies acts of remembrance and commemoration while negotiating and constructing a sense of place, belonging and understanding in the present. Simultaneously the heritage performance will also constitute and validate the very idea of 'heritage' that frames and defines these performances in the first place" in L. SMITH, Uses of Heritage, Routledge, New York, 2006, p.4.

29 Ibidem.

30 In Birdi et al. 2021: "The twinned concepts of coloniality and decoloniality have to be distinguished from colonialization and decolonization. The latter terms refer directly to the systemic exploitation of lands and resources and the subsequent process of liberation from this system. In a sense, we can see both colonization and decolonization as time-bounded and geographically defined. Coloniality and decoloniality, by contrast, are better understood as ongoing conditions. Coloniality and decoloniality, as terms, are often linked back to what is today called the Latin American school of thought and associated with scholars including Walter Mignolo, Aníbal Quijano, Arturo Escobar and many others".

31 Eritrea was an Italian colony from 1890 to 1941, but the cultural outcome of the colonial entanglement is not strictly relevant in Adulis project.

32 Birdi et al. 2021.

33 See the World Bank report, 21138-ER dated May 29, 2001 and the interesting insight by the Eritrean urbanist Gabriel Tzeggai in Barera et al. (2008).

34 See ICES proceedings:

35 See B. Heinisch, 2021 and the intertwined concepts of localization, translation and citizen science.

36 See A. Birdi et al. (2021)

37 See Cattaneo & Massa 2020.

38 See "Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention of 1972" art. 39 (ii).

39 Chilisa et al. 2016.

40 Ivi, p. 317.

41 Ivi, p. 318.

42 Ibidem.

43 Ivi, p. 323.

44 Ivi, p. 319.

45 See Adair et al., 1993, p. 155, quoted in Chilisa et al., 2016, p. 316.

46 See for example F. Vigotti 2020.

47 Among these contributions: "Chart for a Sustainable Tourism", known as "Carta di Lanzarote", adopted during the World Conference on Sustainable Tourism, Lanzarote, April 27/28, 1995; "Global Code of Ethics for Tourism", adopted in Santiago (Cile), October 1999; and the following.

48 Santiago del Cile General Assembly

49 Eritrean National Tourism Development Plan (2000-2020), p.102. About negative sociocultural impacts: "uncontrolled development of tourism may have negative sociocultural impacts. Overcrowding of local attractions […], over-commercialization of traditional crafts may lead to loss of authenticity of dance, music and crafts…may generate social problems and loss of cultural identity"

50 Ivi, p.16.

THE OPEN-AIR ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM AS MODEL OF CULTURAL COMPENSATION

Athanasios Kouzelis

ABSTRACT

This article aims through specific examples to document the open museum space as a model institution for cultural compensation, associated with the unimpeded accessibility to the cultural heritage preserved in it. In particular, after the recent experience of the pandemic where too many indoor museums could not operate, open-air museums became an exception, serving traditional institutional activities such as sports organizations, music and theatre. Based on the architectural distinction between open space and enclosed structures in museum facilities, a review of their storage and exhibition characteristics is attempted in order to develop more accessible services, through which the museums' wealth can be utilized in various ways in modern events, and not as nothing more than a stationary attraction.

Given that archaeological heritage is a material record of past human activities, it constitutes an outstanding instrument for a better knowledge of the past and for introducing cultural novelty that emerges by using a museum's exhibition wealth in a given cultural 'genius loci'. For this reason, the recording of data concerning the modern perception of the archaeological heritage and the optimal way of its utilization with architectural and functional terms is considered useful. The method of determining the suitability of open-air archaeological museums for the aforementioned purposes utilizes the theory of compensation, on the basis of which any lost cultural value can be reconstructed or replenished, even in a new form, without affecting the handed-down or inherited history.

KEYWORDS

Museum, Exhibition, Management, Cultural heritage, Model for compensation

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

The management of archaeological heritage was established internationally as a term and field of professional employment in the mid-1980s, following a growing threat of irreparable deterioration and destruction of finite and non-renewable archaeological heritage, both natural and man-made. Management includes all the actions of care and administration that are necessary to be conducted on real estate or movable monuments in order to ensure, in an effective manner and in accordance with their particular cultural characteristics, their physical maintenance and protection, the emergence of their inherent immaterial values and especially the increase of their educational and recreational influence in combination with the improvement of their financial performance.

The management process includes individual interventions and actions, from the initial work of searching and locating the monuments (indexing-recording, site research) to the interventions of discovery (excavations), maintenance and fixing, restoration and promotion, organization, configuration, presentation and, ultimately, their use. These actions are contained in a general management plan, with a relatively specialized general coordinator in charge (site manager). Management is a dynamic process, which presupposes the interdisciplinary cooperation of the case specialists, the continuous dialogue of all participating and engaged members, the constant training of the management team, as well as controlling and possibly improving and adapting to the changing conditions and requirements of the overall management plan, which must be flexible and subject to revisions (Mallouchou-Tufano F., 'Monument protection and management-Historical and theoretical approaches', SEAB-NTUA, Athens, p.26).

The management of cultural heritage (archaeology, but also more general history) represents the tendencies and desiderata of the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries. It integrates cultural materials in current economic processes, treating them as potential cultural resources and tries to increase their financial efficiency, for the benefit of its management and society as a whole. The social mission of their management mainly concerns the presentation, promotion and augmentation of the didactic/educational and entertaining influence of the monuments, responding in the best way to the prevailing social needs of our time for public enjoyment and experience of cultural materials.

Integrated protection, which represents the latest international trends in monument restoration, constitutes a dynamic form of management, which aims not only to save the outer shell of historic build environments, but to preserve them in the entirety of their functions and values, economic, social and environmental. Its main goal is the integration of cultural heritage into social life and the preservation or recovery of a safe, human-scale, sustainable framework. One of the main features of integrated protection is its immediate integration in the wider spatial and urban planning, which becomes one of the main objectives, with active participation in the implementation of all stake-holders, central government services, local authorities and citizens – as well as its combination with economic growth, to which it contributes effectively (Mallouchou-Tufano F., 'Protection and management of monuments-Historical and theoretical approaches', SEAB-NTUA, Athens, p.22).

THE OPEN-AIR ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUMS

An important category of archaeological monuments are outdoor facilities and open-air building structures. Due to their exposure to natural influences and disasters, they generally need a complete restoration and maintenance in order to maintain their monumental character of cultural value. Outdoor or open-air monuments, despite the problems and the cost of their restoration and maintenance, are accessible, useful values in the environment in which they belong, mainly due to the fact that historically they were places of activity at the time they were created. Mainly included among the cases that belong to Greek antiquity are the market places, the stadiums, the theatres, the palaestras, the gymnasiums, the processional streets and the cemeteries.

The completed renovations that have taken place in Greece so far show that in the entire utilization of such sites there is a reciprocal dimension regarding the total cost of archaeological interventions and their maintenance. In particular, the original stone of the outdoor monuments and the technique of their construction has contributed to an effective morphological restoration, based on the scientific and artistic methods of architectural renovation. This practice was finally recently recognized and established as vital for the cultural development of the country (Organization for the Management and Development of Cultural Resources, article 2 of Law 4761/2020, Government Gazette 248/A/13-12-2020).

The expediency of restoration is the sense of continuity, the sense and the perception that the remnants of the past are an integral part of an insep-

arable and continuous historical becoming. This fact integrates the monuments directly into the modern creative process, resulting in either their complete restoration as places of ancient civilization or their adaptation to new cultural perceptions that have since prevailed. The utilitarian treatment of monuments, i.e., their consideration primarily in terms of their use value, is particularly suitable for adaptive interventions of re-use or revival of their old use, since the ideological exploitation of the historical remains of the past functions because of their symbolic content and the recognition and validation of present culture (see: International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, The Venice Charter, ICOMOS, 1964, articles 4-9).

In the field of historic preservation, the restoration of buildings is the action or process of accurately revealing, restoring or representing the condition of an edifice as it appeared at a certain period in its history, while protecting the value of its heritage. The preservation of historic buildings has more to do with enhancing the deep appreciation for these structures so that we can learn more about their value and purpose, rather than preserving them as ruins and relics of a bygone era. Their architectural restoration not only functions as a monument of cultural heritage but can also regain its useful value as a carrier of activities similar to, or related to, those that caused their erection historically.

As conditions for proper anastylosis and restoration, in the case of monuments of Greek classical antiquity, the following are considered: a) the certain knowledge of the original appearance and architecture of the monument; b) the existence and good condition of a sufficient percentage of ancient architectural members; c) the replacement of the existing members and the replacement of the missing ones with new material in a proportion necessary for the reintegration in the monument of the original, preserved ancient material; d) the filling of the existing members, or the replacement of the missing members and the filling of the gaps in a distinct mode, but at the same time harmoniously integrated in the whole; e) the pursuit of structural reassembly of the architectural members and the original construction system of the monument; and g) the use during the operation of new materials of good and long-lasting quality (Mallouchou -Tufano F., 'Protection and management of monuments-Historical and theoretical approaches', SEAB-NTUA, Athens, p.21).

CASE STUDIES OF OPEN-AIR ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUMS IN GREECE

Two of the most important restorations of archaeological sites in the history of the modern Greek state are the renovation of the Panathenaic Stadium in Athens and the Ancient Theatre of the Asklepieion at Epidaurus (known as the Theatre of Epidaurus). The Panathenaic Stadium was built on the site of a simple racecourse by the Athenian Lycurgus in about 330 BC, mainly for the Panathenaic Games. It was rebuilt with marble bleachers with a capacity of 50.000 spectators in 144 AD by Herod Atticus, a Roman senator originating from Athens. With the advent of Christianity in the 4th century, it was abandoned and gradually lost its architectural splendour of the past. After the independence of Greece from the Ottoman yoke, an archaeological excavation in 1836 revealed traces of the stadium of Herod Atticus. In the area of the ancient stadium, there were only a few marble tiers and four Hermes statues at its entrance. This event was followed by an in-depth excavation under the direction of the German architect Ernst Ziller during the period 1869-70, with the aim of highlighting it as a majestic monument of ancient Athens, but also as a place of revival for the modern Olympic Games. The work of restoration and renovation of the Stadium was conducted with the sponsorship of the benefactor Evangelos Zappas. After the completion of the project, which took place in a short period of time, sports competitions were held on the stadium track in 1870 and 1875, which could be watched by about 30.000 spectators (Papanikolaou-Christensen A., Solomou-Prokopiou, A., 'The Panathenaic Stadium: Its history over the centuries', edited by Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece, Athens, pp.89-91).

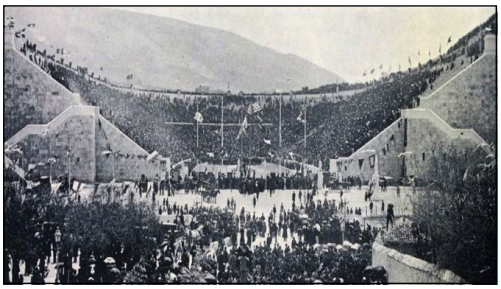
Due to the reconstitution of the Olympic Games and the proposal of Baron de Coubertin to hold them in Athens in 1896, the Greek government through Prince Constantine, asked the Greek businessman George Averoff who had his headquarters in Egypt to finance the second renovation of the Panathenaic Stadium before the 1896 International Olympic Games. Based on the findings and instructions of E.Ziller, a new, complete reconstruction plan was drawn up by the architect Anastasios Metaxas in the mid-1890s. According to this plan, the dimensions of the friezes around the horseshoe of the stadium were doubled, arranging the marble stands as they were in the form they had had during the 2nd century AD (J. Darling Architecture of Greece. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, pp.133-135).

Figure 1 (left). The area of Panathenaic Stadium before its restoration (1872) (source: Pascal Sebah). Figure 2 (right). Restoration works at Panathenaic Stadium in 1875 (source: photo gallery).

The restored Stadium became horseshoe-shaped, with the addition of the 'slingshot' – a characteristic shape of the Greek Stadiums in Hellenistic times; the space for spectators, the amphitheatre, was divided into two tiers, each covered by 23 rows of seats, in white Pentelic marble. In the centre of the 'slingshot' was placed a series of luxurious thrones, seats for the officials and the jury, and in front of it the double-faced Hermes. On the east side of the slingshot semicircle, an under-ground passage was constructed for the entrance and exit of the competing athletes and judges. The whole reconstruction and completion of the restoration work was done with Pentelic marble in order to be distinguished for the high degree of fidelity to the ancient monument of Herod of Attica ('The plan of the Stadium', newspaper 'To Asty', no.1943, 17.04.1896).

The Panathenaic Stadium was inaugurated in 1896, during the first International Olympic Games, without having its stands restored to their final form. The only restoration of the marble stands took place in place of the 'slingshot' and in the first four rows of 'petals'. The rest of the rows on the 'petals' were made of porous stone filled with white-painted, wooden benches. The marble works at the Panathenaic Stadium continued after the end of the first modern International Olympic Games, to be completed in the year of the 1906 Mid-Olympics, when, at the request of George Averoff, Propylaea at the entrance of the Stadium were built, consisting of 18 Corinthian columns in a double row. However, this addition caused a conflict among the visitors to the monument, since many considered that they obstructed the view to the inside of the Stadium and were not part of the simplicity of its form and austerity; in contrast to those who claimed that its grand Propylaea were worthy of the splendour of ancient classical architecture. Over time, the Propylaea suffered

damage and in 1951 the Olympic Games Committee decided to demolish them, which was completed in March 1952 (Dakula Elena, 'Panathenaic Stadium: one of the most important monuments in Athens', Athens Voice newspaper, 14.11.2020, Athens).



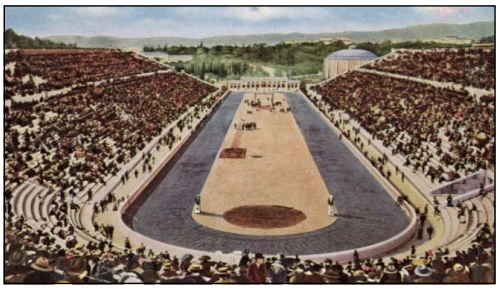


Figure 3 (left). 1896 opening ceremony (Source: The History of the Greek Nation). Figure 4 (right). A view of the first International Olympic Games at the Panathenaic Stadium (source: Greek Postcard)

Apart from the first Olympic Games, the Panathenaic Stadium later hosted the Panhellenic athletics and other events, such as the First Student Sport Games and the Panhellenic Youth Games. In 1910, the Panhellenic Rough Road Championships were organized for the first time, and two years later the students of the Lyceum of Greek Women presented Swedish gymnastics exercises for the first time. After the First World War, even more sporting events that revived the interest of sport fans were held at the Stadium, such as the Panathinaea, the Averofia and the Panionios Games. Apart from marathon races, the Panhellenic championships and other internal events, the Panathenaic Stadium has welcomed foreign and Greek runners in the context of the Balkan Games since 1930. From 1955 to 1979, SEGAS (Association of Greek Gymnastics Sports Clubs) organized 15 International Marathons, an institution that since 1983 has been held every year by the great pacifist and Balkan track athlete, Grigorios Lambrakis. After the 1960s, the Panathenaic Stadium also functioned as a concert venue with international participation and musical performances by Greek and foreign composers (Giannakis, Vas. Thomas, 1993, 'Zappeies and Modern Olympiads', Athens. p. 567 and Zevgoli Nefeli 'Vas. Konstantinou 2 & Stadiou Square 1', Hellanicus, Athens).

Today, the Panathenaic Stadium with a capacity of about 68.000 spectators is an important tourist attraction of Athens and is used for various sports and music events, which are approved by the Hellenic Olympic Committee (EOE) on demand. The Stadium in its current form has 47 rows of seats that

are divided by a corridor into two zones. The lower zone (tier) is divided into 30 stands and the upper 36. Since 2010, the Stadium is used for the operation of continuous pilot sports and training programs, such as 'I love sports – Kid's Athletics', which is conducted in collaboration with the Ministry of Education, Research and Religions and SEGAS. At the same time, the utilization of the space is promoted by groups of citizens who wish to be guided or to play sports in an organized manner with the presence of teachers, gymnasts or even a doctor, depending on the selected activity. In addition, there is the possibility of using the Atrium, a well-equipped and decorated conference space with a capacity of 70 people, which can comfortably host any small event, such as seminar, business meeting, training of interested parties and performance, always in combination with the history and spirit of place at the Panathenaic Stadium. (Panathenaic Stadium Website).

The Panathenaic Stadium has belonged to the Hellenic Olympic Committee (EOE) since 1907, which according to its statutes *'administers and manages the Stadium with all kinds of facilities and their branches and all the surrounding public spaces'*. Since 2010, the E.O.E. is now a legal entity under private law; the maintenance of the Stadium is done by decisions of its executive committee, which ensures that it has a part of the proceeds from the events held in the area, in order to cover the costs that mainly concern the restoration of faults in the area of the track and the marble stands. A significant part of the expenses of E.O.E. also concern the storage, lighting and management of events in the space.

The general management of the Stadium is currently determined by the Α/Φ56/357180/ 256204/7869/3303/26.09.2018 Ministerial Decision of the Ministry of Culture of Greece (Government Gazette 4521Β'/2018), which approves the terms and procedures for the holding of cultural events. The revised policy of the Ministry aims at opening the archaeological sites to society and contemporary artistic creation. Under certain conditions, cultural heritage sites may be allocated for events that are distinguished for their quality, aesthetic and artistic value, such as concerts, stage and dance performances, artistic events, exhibitions, literary events, lectures and conferences. According to the Ministerial Decision, the approval of the concession of the Panathenaic Stadium, because it belongs to the UNESCO World Heritage Sites, is still subject to the competence of the Central Archaeological Council (CAC) and the Central Council of Modern Monuments (CCMM).

In addition to the Panathenaic Stadium the E.O.E. as a private legal entity administers and manages and other cultural facilities, which include the Stadium Karaiskaki (in Piraeus), the modern Athens Olympic Swimming Pool, the buildings of the International Olympic Academy and the Museum of Modern Olympic Games in Athens. The main responsibility of E.O.E. is the representation of Greece in the IOC, the selection of athletes and supervision of Greek international competitions; in every event under the competence of the IOC, it acts as the body for the promotion and protection of the Olympic Idea and of sports fans in Greece and in the world.

Figure 5 (left). The Authentic Marathon termination at the Panathenaic Stadium in Nov. 2016 (source: Athens Authentic Marathon).
Figure 6 (right). The Scorpions music performance at the Panathenaic Stadium on 16.07.2018 (source: Dion. Partheniadis).

According to the financial report of EOE for the period 2017-2020, the cash balance increased by 48%, without reducing the costs of maintenance of the facilities under its responsibility and the Olympic preparation of Greek athletes. The utilization of the Panathenaic Stadium during the mentioned period for cultural and sports events, in combination with the increased tourist traffic, contributed decisively to the reciprocity of the paid resources for the maintenance and operation of the space. This fact documents a promising development because it took place in a very unfavourable economic situation (subordination of the Greek economy to the IMF), which still persists and has worsened due to the ongoing pandemic (EOE news, 27.01.21).

Another restored site that offers a cultural compensation is the ancient Asklepieion Theatre of Epidaurus. The theatre was erected at the end of the Classical era in around 340-330 BC, as part of the general reconstruction of the Asklepieion sanctuary. This unique monument, the most perfect and famous ancient Greek theatre, which combines elegance with perfect acoustics is, according to Pausanias, the work of Polykleitos (the younger), the creator of the Tholos in the same place. The theatre was built to house the

musical, vocal and dramatic games of the Asklepieion festivals. In the middle of the 2nd century BC, the theatre's concavity was expanded and its capacity increased from about 8.000 to 13.000-14.000 spectators. At the same time, the stage building was erected so that the actors could play exclusively in the pulpitum (logeion), i.e., on the stage above the foreground and no longer in front of it. During the Roman era, it retained the characteristics of the Greek theatre, even after its repair from the destruction it suffered during the invasion of the Heruli in 267 BC, mainly in the stage building.

The concave of the theatre was constructed on the slope of Mount Kinortio of limestone materials, while its elevations consist of porous stone. A paved tier, 1.90 m wide, separates the part of the concavity that was built first from a newer part, the upper theatre. Thirteen radial staircases lead to the 34 rows of seats of twelve equal bleachers of the original section, while the upper theatre consists of 22 bleachers and 23 staircases leading to 21 rows of seats. The first and last rows of the original section, as well as the first row of the new one, have seats with backrests. The concavity was surrounded by a corridor and a porous protective wall. In the lanes, there were monumental double-door gates, from which sloping levels (platforms) led to the foreground. A paved corridor separated the concavity from the circular orchestra that has a diameter of 20 m, in the centre of which is preserved today the base of the altar of Dionysus (the thymeli).

The stage built of porous stone consisted of the frontstage, a two-storey stage, framed by the backstage. Initially, it had two colonnades with pillars, one in the front of the stage, decorated with Ionic half-columns and the other at the back of the ground floor hall of the stage. In the middle of the 2nd century BC, this side was closed, while on the opposite side of the stage floor, five accesses to the pulpitum were opened. The movable paintings were then transferred from the frontstage and were placed between the pillars to shape the scenery according to the performance. The stage was also decorated with sculptures, of which very few have survived (Committee for the Preservation of Epidaurus Monuments, issue Odysseus, 2012).

In 395 AD, the Goths who invaded the Peloponnese caused serious destruction in the Asklepieion; in 426 AD, Theodosius the Great banned by decree the operation of the Asklepieia festivities in the area of Epidaurus, permanently closing its activities after almost 1.000 years of functioning. Later, natural disasters and plundering of the monuments completed the devastation of the area.

Figure 7 (left). The ruins of the Theatre of Epidaurus after R. Rey's drawing in 1858. Figure 8 (right). Marbleizing work in the restoration of the Theatre of Epidaurus (archaeol, photo probably from the year 1956).

The first systematic excavation in the area of Epidaurus began in 1881 by the Archaeological Society, under the direction of archaeologist Panagis Kavvadias. He had pointed out in his first publications that the work he performed in the ancient theatre was not a simple cleaning-up but an archaeological excavation. The whole area was densely wooded and inaccessible, as a result of which he encountered many difficulties on his way up to the monument. After years of hard work, in which the inhabitants of the area also contributed, the excavations of P. Kavvadias brought to light an imposing and almost intact theatre, a discovery that is important for both the science of archaeology and the history of architecture.

After the initial excavation, the theatre was maintained in very good condition thanks to the restoration interventions of P. Kavvadias (1907), A. Orlandos (1954-1963) and the Epidaurus Monuments Conservation Committee (from 1984 until today). With the work carried out (restoration work on the gates of the side passageways, the retaining walls and the upper bleachers of the original part of the amphitheatre) the theatre has regained – except for the stage building – almost its entire original form (Boletis, K., 'History of the latest interventions in the theatre of the Asklepieion of Epidaurus and in its wider area until 1989', in Archaeological Bulletin, Reprint, Part AD: Studies, Volume 57).

The revival of ancient tragedy at the Theatre of Epidaurus took place on Sunday, September 11, 1938 with 'Electra', the tragedy of Sophocles, played by the National Theatre of Greece at the initiative of the Travelling Club, which sought in practice to use the space for performance and teaching of ancient Greek drama. However, the declaration of World War II and the ensuing civil war in Greece prevented the continuation of this activity.

In 1954, with the establishment of the Epidaurus festival under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture, the first rehearsal of Euripides' Hippolytus took place, directed by Dimitris Rontiris. Since 1955, the theatre hosts the events of the Athens-Epidaurus Festival (official name: Greek Festival), which in 2001 became a legal entity under private law (Government Gazette 792/05.02.2001). The events of the festival include theatrical performances, concerts, productions of ancient comedy and tragedy, art exhibitions, etc. It has a strong international impact and is usually held during the summer months until the beginning of September. The Greek Festival has now been established as a cultural institution that not only attracts theatrical and artistic creations but is a living representation of ancient Greek culture for the whole world (Kangelari D., 'Greek Stage and Theatre of History 1936-1944', PhD Thesis .A΄, Aristotle Univ. of Thessaloniki, School of Philosophy, Department of Philology, Thessaloniki, 2003, p.97).

Figure 9 (left). The view of the theatre of Epidaurus from the right gateway (author's photo archive) Figure 10 (right). Spectators at the theatre of Epidaurus (source: Athens Festival Archive).

From 1984, the maintenance of the theatre has been undertaken by a working group for the preservation of the monuments of Epidaurus (which after 1988 was renamed the Committee for the Preservation of Epidaurus Monuments) initially restoring the extreme western bleachers of the upper theatre, the gate of the west side passageway and the two rainwater runoffs of the orchestra. The care of the theatre is ongoing and aims to restore the damage suffered by the monument from natural causes and its use. The works conducted in the Asklepieion have radically changed the physiognomy of the archaeological site, while recent excavations have brought to light information about the general organization of the site, as well as the dating, use and operation of many buildings. The general maintenance and restoration works are subsidized by the regular budget of the Ministry of Culture of Greece and are performed within the framework of Law 3028/2002.

The operational management of the theatre of Epidaurus is based on the share capital of the company 'Hellenic Festival', which takes care of the operating costs of the performances and scientific gatherings in the area. The company's resources come from the regular budget of the State, from the receipts of the Parnitha and Corfu casinos, from sponsorships and from the revenues that result from the performances and concessions of its areas of responsibility. According to the financial report of 2017, there was an increase of 96% of receipts compared to the corresponding period of the previous year, despite the fact that ticket prices fell in some performances and that several productions were free, due to the financial crisis in Greece since 2010 (Naftemporiki newspaper, 09.07.2018).

In view of the historical documentation of compensation produced by the restoration of the aforementioned monuments, it should be understood that a revision of our perception of the cultural value that potentially belongs to every archaeological monument is required, i.e., when it is usable and useful in modern times as the 'shape of a living landscape'. The values of cultural monuments do not contradict today's values, because they contribute to our current framework of values. As Hans-Georg Gadamer points out, traditional values in the built environment coexist with the current ones, regardless of the historical depths from which they arise, because: 'We live in what we have been given and it is not just a specific area of our experience of the world that we call 'cultural tradition', which includes only texts and monuments and which can convey to us a linguistically substantiated and historically documented sense. No, it is the world itself that is experienced communicatively and is constantly handed over to us as an infinitely open issue to convey ('Truth and Method', p.102).

Thus, the pseudo-dilemma of tradition or modernity is dialectically transformed into a beneficial creation. Alois Riegl, from the beginning of the last century realized and systematically exposed in his theory the interdependence of the values of monuments in relation to the times in which they survive, pointing out the cultural origins of both their values and their choices ('Der moderne Denkmalkultus', p.12).

In modern Athens, there is an area that has not been restored and utilized like the Panathenaic Stadium and other ancient monuments of the city. This area is Plato's Academy, today a grove on the site of the ancient Gymnasium of the 6th century BC, which was a public institution of 'free man's edification'

(Kouzelis A., 'Från Andronitis till Gymnasion', pp.41-42). Due to the gathering of young people in this area, the philosophers chose the Gymnasium of the Academy to meet with audiences of listeners or students. When Plato settled on private land opposite the Academy, he created a philosophical school in around 388-387 BC, which acquired historical value as an educational and research institution due to the dialogues that took place there. The Gymnasium of the Academy was a complex of buildings and sports facilities, scattered in an extensive area of groves and gardens. It had sanctuaries and other monuments such as the altar of Prometheus, the altar of Eros and a sanctuary of Athena with the sacred olives trees of the goddess.

The Academy as a place of philosophical meditation was an innovative institution. We should imagine it as a closed organization of like-minded people, who decided to live together in a life dedicated to philosophy and scientific knowledge. It was in a way the first university of antiquity, a closed school of philosophy that had a hierarchical structure headed by a headmaster, qualified researchers, teachers and students, full and probationary members. The cognitive ideal and the search for truth functioned as a cohesive bond of the members of the Platonic Academy; according to Plato, knowledge had value only if it led to the moral improvement and the happiness of individuals.

Apart from Plato's philosophical school, the Academy is mentioned in historical sources as a Holy Grove, as a place of worship of gods (Hephaestus, Prometheus, Athena and Poseidon), as a Shrine of the Modest Gods (Erinyes), as well as a Gymnasium and a Hippodrome. All these historical reports highlight the importance of the space outside the walls of the 'closed' town (i.e., the walled centre of the ancient city of Athens) because it housed mainly worship and outdoor leisure activities (Panagiotopoulos M., Chatziefthymiou T., 'Back to the Academy', ARCHEOLOGY, magazine issue 123, pp.62-66).

Since the end of the 19th century the latest archaeological research on the enigmatic topography of the ancient Academy has shifted between altered toponyms and vague information of ancient geographers and historians. This, mainly philological, research was added to at the beginning of the century by the field findings of P. Kastriotis on the hill of Ippios Kolonos. Kastriotis' research led, through chance finds, to the 'Vlachos estate', which for many decades was considered by Athenian academics to be identical with the site of the Ancient Academy.

Figure 11 (left). Bird's eye view of Academy of Plato's area in Athens city (source: Ministry of Spatial Planning & Environment). Figure 12 (right). The excavated Gymnasium Palaestra in the area of Plato's Academy (source: American Journal of Archaeology, 41, 1937).

In 1929, P.Z. Aristofron, with the vision of the unveiling of the ancient Academy, conducted long-term research that yielded the majority of today's visible ancient monuments, most of which were associated with the Platonic Academy, such as the Gymnasium Palaestra and the 'Square Peristyle'. From 1957 to 1963, F. Stavropoulos conducted excavations in the area, revealing the 'The Akademos' house', the 'Holy House' and the 'Hipparchus Wall' (Panagiotopoulos M., Chatziefthymiou T., 'Back to the Academy', ARCHEOLOGY, magazine issue 123, pp.67-69).

With the establishment of the project 'Creation of museum repositories and unification of sections of the Archaeological Site of Plato's Academy', which joined the EU's Corporate Pact for the Development Framework in 2011, the Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens solved some important problems, in terms of protecting monumental space and by freeing a series of preservation infrastructures of the discovered antiquities. Specifically, an area of four acres was released inside the archaeological site by the demolition of a complex of old buildings, which were used as archaeological warehouses where excavated material was kept from the Plato Academy, as well as from all over Athens. In their place, a new warehouse was built of a museum character with the possibility of conducting educational programs. The surrounding area of the Academy was also remodelled with small-scale interventions, which include a kiosk that has information material for visitors (Booklet 'Plato's Academy', Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens, Athens, 2015).

Guided by the perspective of the historical and archaeological regeneration of the site, Greek archaeologists and the Association of Architects of Greece have repeatedly called on the state to take responsibility for the substantial

and comprehensive use and promotion of Plato's Academy due to its global importance as one of the first cradles of human philosophy and sciences. The proposal of the Central Council of Antiquities to the Ministry of Culture of 2002 for the construction of an Archaeological Museum of Athens on the site of Plato's Academy – with a relevant modification of the Master Plan (Law 3057/2002, article 80/Government Gazette 239/ A/10-10-2002) – is not in line with the spirit and beliefs of the Committee of Residents of the area, which seeks *'the socialization of cultural goods, the protection of their material existence, while preserving the collective memory they carry in their function as free public spaces hosting social practice'* (Perpinia S., Tselemegou L., Hagiou K., 'The area of the Plato's Academy as a field of expression of development interest and expression of conflicting interests', NTUA, pp. 29-32).

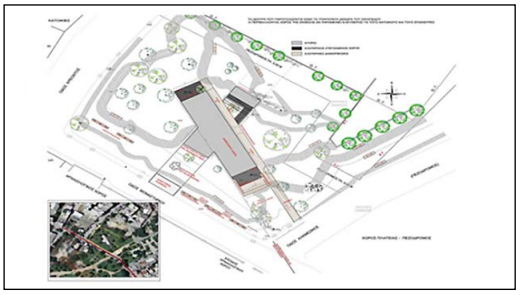


Figure 13 (left). The entrance to the digital museum in Plato's Academy. Figure 14 (right). Situation plan. (Source: the Foundation Of Hellenic World.)

In addition, the site of Plato's Academy is at risk due to the change of management status, now assigned by the Ministry of Culture to the Municipality of Athens and the company Anaplasi Ltd, and whereby a commercial development is approved by the Council of State, including market stores, catering and cinemas (www.iefimerida.gr/news/418954). According to the Association of the Greek Archaeologists, *'the creation of a huge mall in the surrounding area of Plato's Academy, with its nuisance and uses as well as the commercial use of the name of the Academy as the mall's brand name (Academy Gardens), will only bring degradation to the area of the archaeological site'* (www.iefimerida.gr/news/276455).

The subsequent construction of a digital museum in 2015, under the responsibility of the Municipality of Athens and sponsored by the Foundation Of Hellenic World, does not satisfy the glamour and grandeur of the archaeological site, as it is another enclosed building, limited to virtual tours and

the reading of philosophical works only (KTIRIO Magazine, 03/2016). The proposals concerning the highlighting of the Palaestra and the 'square peristyle' frequented by Socrates, Plato and their students are, on the contrary, plans of complete regeneration and their reconstruction in a 'walking open-air space' where visitors, in addition to touring and leisure, will be able to feel and study the spiritual beauty of ancient Greek philosophy in digital archives and virtual representations. This renovation, combined with the construction of an open-air amphitheatre for gatherings and teachings of international interest in the cradle of the Platonic school, can effectively contribute to an investment that is rewarding for modern culture. An investment that in any case restores and repairs the damage, destruction and abandonment of the sacred grove of the Academy of ancient Athens within the urban fabric of the modern city. Such proposals are based on the principle of 'public archaeology', which promotes renovation and restoration applications that serve the immediate dissemination of archaeological and historical knowledge to all visitors, whether in the form of recreation or scheduled open events (Little, J.B., 'Public Benefits of Public Archaeology' in R. Skeates, C. McDavid and J. Carman, The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology, pp. 395-413).

The contribution of archaeology alone is not enough to serve this purpose. Collaboration with experts in antiquities, conservationists, museologists, architects, cultural designers, animators and computer graphic designers is required. This can be seen in Sweden in local planning processes that transform the built environment with important characteristics. In this case, cooperation must follow a new, integrated working model for proposals which according to Magnus Rönn shows various expressions of compensatory thinking in the detailed development plans that affect cultural values and architectural qualities. Actions can be measures that either aim at minimizing the loss of natural and cultural values or at restoring damaged properties in archaeological sites, as well as in areas with special qualities of architecture and urban design. Compensation as a means of control has many different expressions in detailed development plans, such as maintenance, protection and design requirements for newly built environments (See 'Design, Heritage and Compensation – Renewal in areas with cultural values and architectural qualities' in Cultural Heritage Compensation, p.135).

CONCLUSION

In modern times, the management of the preservation and regeneration of archaeological sites as cultural sites is a very important compensatory process.

It inspires and provides a framework for modern approaches to architectural and design praxis, as it is a source of cultural compensation. Research on the future applications of such cultural management is focused on the usefulness and utility of the invested resources, through which the conditions for compensation of losses in the architectural and cultural heritage are met.

The open-air and outdoor archaeological site with facilities that allow easy access has a functional value different from space such as the closed form of a museum, which functions more as a storehouse for security reasons and where the preserved monuments in it have been moved from the place where they belonged, a fact that is not in line with their readability. Also, the current pandemic has proved that this architectural form of the museum did not benefit public attendance nor the financial efficiency of the institution (Antara N., Shuvro S., 'The Impact of Covid-19 on the Museums and the Way Forward for Resilience', Journal of International Museum Education 2020, VOL. 2, NO. 1, pp.54-61). A new perspective of disclosing open or semi-open-air archaeological museums, which includes site renovation and exact copies, or even digital and virtual representations of the monuments, places them as leisure and educational facilities with the possibility of reproducing institutional activities, such as the reconstituted sports events at the Panathenaic Stadium in Athens and the performances at the Epidaurus Theatre.

In an effort to be contemporarily relevant, museums are increasingly seeking to communicate with the public and to actively involve visitors in their activities, with the ultimate goal of transmitting knowledge and values, entertainment and aesthetic pleasure. An important factor for achieving these goals is the architecture of the Open Space Museum, both in a way it is used as a cultural monument and as a bearer of the revival and modernization of institutional cultural heritage.

The organization of the open-air museum also allows free accessibility to the museum's resources and attractions and which become a functional body of cultural utilization through modern means, such as illustrations of the origins of the exhibits, or even a vivid recreation of the activities related to them. In such museums with open-space organization, the visitor can follow an individual course, based on individual interests and needs, and each visit can be a special experience; this is completely different from the traditional linear access to the exhibits imposed by the museum's closed form from entrance to exit, which in many cases excludes alternative routes.

It goes without saying that cultural heritage in general is not just about the past – it also determines who we are and shapes the future. Archaeological evidence suggests that cultural heritage assets serve as a catalyst, not only for conservation, historical cohesion, cultural development and education, but also for job creation, infrastructure development, investment and economic development.

Cultural planning and its subsequent management aim at the promotion of the aesthetics and functionality of the sites of cultural heritage. This may involve the restoration or reconstruction of monuments or sites of archaeological importance, that are particularly suitable for future use, and the promotion through them of the archaeology, architecture, history and customs of an inherited culture. But this perspective can be expanded significantly. It is not just a matter of giving proper examples of how a monument or a museum is being used for compensation today. From a utilitarian point of view, the function of compensation is interwoven with the utility and viability of the design of such proposals. That is, it serves to correct what is considered as damage or loss to the cultural property of the people, promoting through its restoration the cultivation of inherent and handed-down values in conjunction with their future feasibility.

In the light of the practice described, we submit that the proposed process is sufficient and capable of consolidating a new model of cultural compensation and perspective. With this, we can go beyond the causal approach to archaeological intentions and create a progressive view of the possibilities of acquiring and using concepts in the cultural sphere of modern life. We must decide what kind of fundamental principles are incorporated into our work for the restoration and function of the cultural monuments of human history. In other words, we must explore all the conditions, knowledge, skills and interventions that are constituent principles of a cultural design and that, as a result, are offered as compensation and simultaneously are creative in the historical development of each country.

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NARRATIVES OF FISH, TRADE AND COASTAL COMMUNITIES: Use and resource management as a tool for heritage and environment compensation

Tom Davies, Anja Standal

ABSTRACT

This paper considers use and resource management, through the medium of Norwegian coastal communities, as a transdisciplinary tool for heritage and ecology. Through two case-studies, the natural and cultural heritage capital in Norwegian coastal localities (islands, coastline and fjords) and the parameters of exploitation of that resource are appraised as a basis for compensation and resource management. This is approached through coastal communities in Norway, considering the World Heritage Site of Vega in North Norway and the fjord-side former fishing village of Ytre-Standal, Hjørundfjorden, in the municipality of Ørsta, Northwest Norway, as case-studies.

The intangible heritage component in this is considered in terms of cultural record and tacit knowledge and the roles of both assessed in relation to psychologist Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs. A key theme in the paper is permanence and impermanence in coastal environments, how fish and maritime trade have helped determine cultural landscapes and communities, and through which we consider how to work within the available resource framework. The paper puts forward an approach, which is tied into locality and environment, through the idea of mapping 'cumulative natural and cultural heritage capital' to represent the combined value realised over time through resource management. The usefulness of employing composite data in this way and using it to determine parameters for resource management is then reviewed in relation to current sustainability thinking and legislation. The paper concludes with a five-step guide to implementation.

KEYWORDS

Fish, Marine, Resources, Conservation, Heritage, Needs, Vega, Ytre Standal, Community, Livelihood

A FISHY TALE: INTRODUCTION

This paper forms the third of three papers on heritage compensation, or mitigation, and considers the intrinsic relationship between the tangible and intangible in heritage. It builds on the work of the earlier papers, the first prepared for EAA 2018, on how absent and removed heritage might be explored in new design and the second for a symposium at Chalmers, Gothenburg, the year after exploring the phenomena and impact of displacement, borrowing and relocation of heritage narratives. It develops this by considering the composition of intangible heritage, separating it into cultural record and tacit knowledge, before appraising its value and role in conservation and reconciling it within an approach to resource-management for coastal localities.

Tacit knowledge about resources and livelihoods in heritage is not tangible or physical, given that it informs the use of the buildings, places, tools and objects rather than being them. Nor is it part of the narrative of folklore tales, songs and high culture of community. That cultural record of tales, songs, etc. in recounting past events and the successes and misfortune of fishing communities reflects and informs on tacit knowledge, keeping it alive as it is revised and providing something for conservation to draw on. This definition from UNESCO shows how these two levels are often usually presented together.

> *'Intangible Cultural Heritage means the practices, representations, expressions, Knowledge [and] skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity'* (Labadi 2013:129).

The intention in reviewing Vega and Ytre-Standal as case-studies is to show how intangible heritage is intrinsically linked to the resource management and environment of such places and how it can be considered as comprising cultural record and tacit knowledge. Vega's world heritage management plans 1 and 2 demonstrate the difficulties of progressing beyond stabilisation

Figure 1. Bjørn Standal fishing at Ytre-Standal 1980's. Photo: Ragnar Standal

and consolidation, whilst the account of Ytre-Standal seeks to demonstrate the wealth of information available through contemporary and recent local source material. It is the potential to read tacit knowledge in the source material, which is of greatest use to resource management, and with that compensation. One very important observation is that both cultural record and tacit knowledge need to be repeated and allowed to evolve (through telling, enacting and implementing) which can only be done within the context of the physical environment of resource management in question. This ties culture to place, confirming the importance of working with material culture for the survival of intangible heritage, whether cultural record or 'tacit knowledge', making it a paramount consideration in compensating erosion and loss. This is then anchored through mapping of 'cumulative natural and cultural heritage capital' into a practical approach to managing resources, livelihoods and place.

OBJECTIVES

The overall objective of the paper is to explore the relationship between place and significance in the heritage of Norway's west coast fishing communities and suggest how we might separate intangible heritage into cultural record and tacit knowledge in compensation. Intrinsic to which is the management of physical material resources (ergo, tangible heritage) as being essential to the sustainable conservation of this heritage and at the same key in sustaining

their futures. The aim of compensation in this context is to better the understanding of the diverse heritage of these places and their communities, which might both inform compensation for impact to that heritage and input to its sustainable future management.

RESEARCH QUESTION

How might the intrinsic relation between the tangible and intangible in Norway's west coast cultural heritage be approached to better understand it in terms of 1) cultural record of communities and 2) their tacit knowledge concerning the management of physical resources and what is the potential of this to inform better compensation and sustainable management?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework of the paper draws upon a background of human anthropology, archaeology, landscape and resource analysis, which is balanced against a study of cultural heritage and biodiversity legislation. The paper follows anthropologist Jonas Enge and engineer and researcher Tor Andersen's persuasions to find the real essence of the cultural heritage of coastal settlements as well as architects Karl Otto Ellefsen and Tarald Lundevall, through their work on the coastal economies and livelihoods of Northwest Norway. The paper concludes by reflecting on current sustainable heritage discourse and national and international sustainability goals.

FIELDWORK & CASE STUDIES

Two contrasting case-studies are outlined in the paper, the UNESCO World Heritage Site of the Vega Archipelago, Nordland and the village of Ytre Standal, Hjørundfjorden, both in Northwest Norway. The research on Vega has been through an ongoing Heritage Impact Study (HIA) for UNESCO to determine the impact of proposals for aquaculture, whilst Ytre-Standal stems from living at the locality, being part of its community and playing an active role in heritage and other local initiatives in the village and surrounding area. Whilst the Vega research has comprised a desk-based study and archival research, Ytre-Standal comprises diverse material from local historical society archives to interviews and project work with members of the community. Both authors have undertaken this. Tom Davies' association with Ytre-Standal as primary author is of around 12 years, whilst Anja Standal (researcher) originates from there. Addressing any potential issues inherent in this close relationship, the intention has been to hold the input used in this paper to as objective an account as possible.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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WHOSE HERITAGE?

Before looking at narratives of trade and fishing through the two case-studies of Vega and Ytre Standal, it is worth reviewing some key points concerning the history of heritage and the relationship between conservation and designation; that designation is the legislative tool of conservation. A more detailed review of the history of heritage presented in paper 2, 'Defining New Values for Cavemen and Finding the Human in Heritage', considers how early heritage legislation for ancient monuments (Stonehenge, Hadrian's Wall, etc.) reflected societal pressure to preserve aspects of our physical past (Davies 2020). Despite not referring to intangible heritage, the existence of this early legislation confirms societal interest in preserving/conserving our past. What followed in the early 20th century (both for heritage and ecology) represents a broadening of the scope of conservation and thereby designation – protecting historic buildings, species, landscapes and, after WWII, extending to areas of historic environment through conservation areas.

Anthropologist Jonas Enge's work on Vega notes how designation of landscape in the late 1800s and early 1900s typically addressed expansive tracts of pristine, unsettled Norwegian countryside as opposed to complex coastal settlements. He concludes that when applied to dynamic, anthropomorphic environments, where communities work closely with nature in the confines of available resources, traditional conservation and designation does not fare well, largely because by focusing on the past and not the requirements of their evolving nature nor the livelihoods of their communities. Enge leaves us with the notion that coastal communities and their landscapes are the outstanding challenge for nature and heritage conservation (Enge 1999). By example, the Vega Archipelago, Nordland, North Norway is a UNESCO Class II Cultural Landscape, a designation largely developed for Vega, which looks to balance conservation and livelihoods in designation, such that its eco/eco-systems (ecology/economy) might remain in balance for a sustainable future. This is a key part of the consideration of this paper, both at Vega and through Ytre Standal, Sunnmøre on the West Coast (UNESCO 2004).

Developing this notion of pristine conservation, Enge describes how the basis for nature protection stems from nation-building and American 'wilderness-romanticism'. This focused on the creation of national parks and has been essentially inward-looking, by concerning itself with inland areas of the country, skewing the national narrative of Norway's character during the past century. Relatively unsettled and unexploited areas were chosen as localities for designation where there would be little conflict over use and protection and where they could be enjoyed as parks and recreation. In this approach, protection (against man) comes first and dispensations are then granted for activity. When applied to coastal areas where human activity has sculpted the environment and defined place, this is highly problematic. Principally, because it looks to introduce wilderness to a man-made and conserved landscape (Ibid. 80).

Engineer and researcher Tor Arnesen notes how protection has only relatively recently turned its attention to coastal areas. He notes ironically how the internalised search for the soul of the nation neglects the fact that the real meeting point between man and nature in Norway has been along the coast, making it more plausible that Norway's essence might rather be found there. Furthermore, that whilst inland settlement has been inwardly focused, coastal settlement has focused via trade to other lands. Within which coastal culture stands against wilderness, making successful implementation of key aspects of current nature policy actually work to remove cultural heritage (Ibid. 80).

A key determinate factor in the growth of conservation is how it responds to that of enfranchisement under the development of the 'welfare state' over the past century. Enfranchisement brings an increasing percentage of groups into the fold of society, bestowing recognition and a voice. At the same time, it requires that the devices by which society manages itself, in this instance conservation, become applicable and put at the disposal of those groups. Such that society's mechanisms of control and regulation are required to grow to accommodate these new groups (Jensen 2018).

The result of this for conservation is that the singular narrative or Authoritative Heritage Discourse (AHD), as described by archaeologist Laurajane Smith, is no longer possible because of the need to recognise multiple voices (Smith 2006). This multiplicity in heritage is echoed by post-colonial theorist Bagele Chilisi et al.'s description of an African-based relational paradigm

characterised by the adage 'I am because we are, I am a person through other persons, I am we; I am because we are; we are because I am, I am in you, you are in me' (Chilisa et al. 2016: 317-319). It requires instead a diverse narrative, which recognises the stories of multiple groups and views. This development has taken us from individual buildings and sites to a focus on the natural and historic environment, or from 'monuments' to 'milieu'; as well as the shift to values and discourse about narratives, in which the rise of intangible heritage occurred, bringing with it the challenges of balancing tangible and intangible heritage, place and livelihoods.

'THE MAN WHO CAN'T DO EVERYTHING IS AN IDIOT' (NORTH NORWEGIAN PROVERB) *(Einar-Arne Drivenes quoted in Ellefsen & Lundevall 2021)*

The story of coastal Norway is a long one, in which we can best understand its small, often isolated communities of the islands, fjords and headlands by setting their local narratives within the bigger picture of coastal trade. This background reveals the preconditions and genesis of local relations, land and sea use, etc., and with it the connections between communities and the role of each area in the overall relay of fish and other goods along the coast. In addition to the rather blunt proverb above, this section also considers a softer notion, quoting local fishermen at Vega *"Folke her alltid har tadd vare på øyan i Skjærgården*" (folk here have always taken care of the islands) (Enge 1999: 89). Whilst both quotes are contemporary, the context they reflect is one of a long tradition of stewardship of the west coast.

Coastal trade along the west coast has its origins in the medieval period, starting with Bergen as part of the Hanseatic League. Around 1600, the merchants of Bergen and Trondheim began increasing their trade privileges further North, relying on legislation that prevented fishermen from selling to anyone other than those to whom they were in debt. In this early phase, the merchants had camps in the north where they built boathouses, trading-post (stores) and houses, and by the late 1600s, numerous Trondheim citizens were residing in the North. At this time, a third group of merchants developed who were locally based and known as the 'Knapene' (Swedish for 'the boys', meaning local merchants). These were 'common people', largely skippers. At this time, regulation was characteristically ad-hoc, seen for example in controls on net-fishing etc., which were largely determined by securing maximum profit for the landowner, at the expense of the local community (Grovik 1977: 290-91).

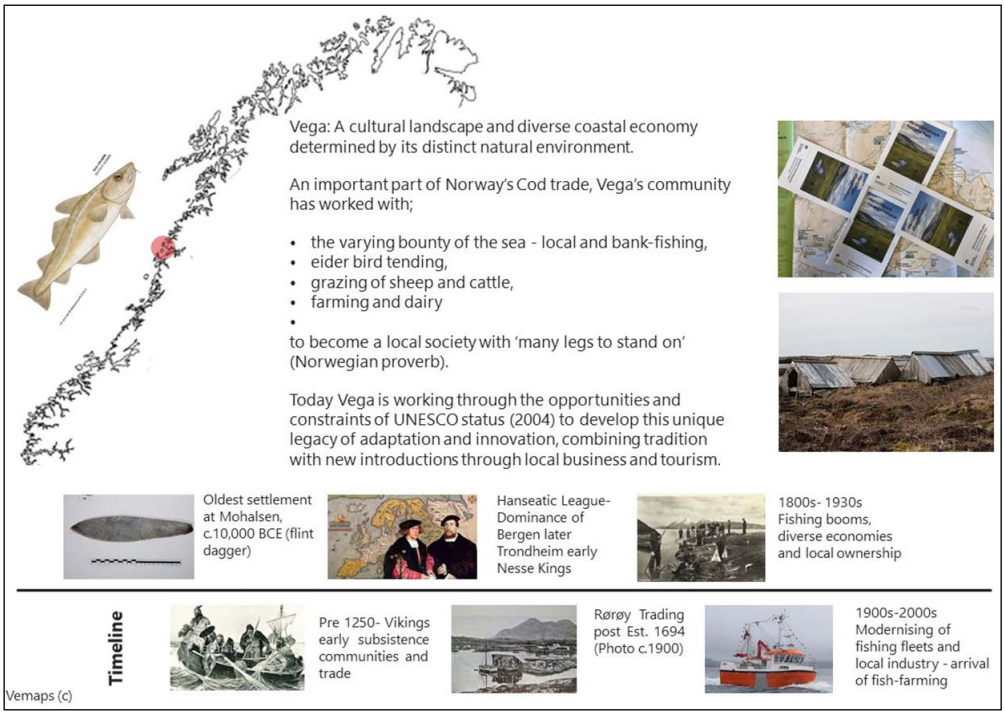

Figure 2. Timeline for Vega as part of West Coast (Tom Davies & Vemaps base).

In 1760, permissions allowing local trade were granted, allowing locals to be recognised as traders. In the latter half of the 1700s, regulation enabled local trading-posts to be owned and run by local traders, who became known as 'nessekonger' (ness-kings). New trade privileges emerged at this point, which had their origins in 'guesthouse allowances', granted from around 1770. These incentives to run guesthouses, bestowed them with rights to trade, gradually allowing them to take over. Those who were given guesthouse allowances were nearly all Trondheim merchants or 'knaper', which decentralised matters from Bergen and began to empower local communities. Many trading posts developed to become local positions of power through moneylending and land-use, prompting a boom which lasted until the middle of the 1800s, characterised by free-trade and independence from Bergen and Trondheim (125).

A series of booms in fish stocks during the 19th Century, both in local and bank fishing (away), produced growth in the industry, allowing debtors to

buy their way out of debt (Grovik 1977: 290). Communities established themselves independently as the earlier orchestration of trade (by Bergen) declined. A bountiful and diverse array of fish-stocks, also supporting fish-oil production, enabled increased settlement across the islands and coastal areas (Enge 1999: 35). At the same time, the 'Hamskiftet' saw overall population growth nationally, as local production and circulation gave way to the creation of commercial dairies and the import of cheap international corn. Farmers moved to cattle and animal feed, and later artificial fertiliser, providing the basis for specialised agriculture with the capacity to sustain a larger population. This included land-consolidation, or 'jordskifte' (of smaller parcels of land into fewer larger units), as earlier complex arrangements of smaller land apportionment were reorganised towards industrialise farming. Whilst fishing moved to larger boats, which could follow herring and cod along the coasts, and from the early 1900s motorisation, which pushed this further. This new social and economic hierarchy prompted restructuring of villages from cluster farms (making up a village) to singular outlying farms, from multiple-occupancy livelihoods to single-occupancy (one primary source of income) and the establishing of community groups such as workers' collectives (www.norgeshistorie.no, Grovik 1975 & 77).

From around 1900 motorisation, enclosing of the upper deck of fishing vessels, new boat-types and a range of technical innovations technically upgraded the fishing industry to take advantage of increased fish-stocks. State-subsidy sought to realise the potential of this by shifting communities from diverse economies to single-occupancy with fishing as their livelihood. Lofoten, Vesterålen and the far North with dependable cod-stocks saw the rise of trawlers and bigger vessels, whilst the Northwest region of Møre with its unpredictable herring stocks saw a heavy technical focus, replete with innovations in boat and engine technology (Grovik 1975 & 1977 & Ellefsen & Lundevall 2021: 164). By 1950, acts such as the 1947 raw fish law, standardising prices and weights, had regulated the new industry, whilst district architects' offices and the fishing authorities worked to build new facilities, producing advantages spread along the coast. This included the establishing of community fishing cooperatives with their own boats, harbours and industrial processing as well as new boats, catch-technology and install guidance systems whilst placing profits and autonomy in the hands of local communities and their fishermen in local cooperatives, making everything ready to make the most of the sea's bounty (Ibid. & Enge 1999).

Figure 3. Fishing settlement, Vega Archipelago. Photo: Sarah Court

From the early 1970s, depleting fish-stocks prompted EU regulation and the establishing of quotas for fishing. Where earlier fluctuations in stocks in the 1800s were met by diversifying to other parts of the coastal economy, the reliance achieved by 1970 had moved communities away from those diverse livelihoods (Grovik 1977: 290). The situation was worsened by advancing ecological conservation protecting seals, whales, etc. This increased numbers of predators and competition of fish-stocks, whilst removing their hunting as potential sources of income. Not to suggest that everything always went well in the earlier period, as historian Ivar Grovik tells us in Hjørundfjorden; in the worst years there are records of porridge being made of old fish-bones, which smelt terrible (Grovik 1977: 297). This prompted the advent of Norwegian aquaculture as an attempt to address that dependency (Enge 1999: 87-88). At the same time, government centralisation policy, such as the North Plan (Nordplanen), removed funding for community amenities and infrastructure (schools, community halls, etc.) relocating communities to towns, whilst community fishing collectives became aquaculture/fish-farms and trawling (Gjerde 2019: 132). Locally owned collectives struggled, prompting liberalisation of ownership, enabling large aquaculture businesses to grow and significantly reducing communities' stake in these local sources of income (Lundevall and Ellefsen 2021: 162).

THE VEGA ARCHIPELAGO AND A BATTLE OVER FISH AND CONSERVATION

Communities across the West Coast have fared differently, with their own stories. None of these stories is quite as dramatic as that of the Municipality of Vega and the Vega Archipelago World Heritage Site (2004). The following is from the UNESCO description of Vega which comprising some 650 islands.

> *'A cluster of dozens of islands centred on Vega, just south of the Arctic Circle, forms a cultural landscape of 107 294 ha, of which 6 881 ha is land. The islands bear testimony to a distinctive, frugal way of life based on fishing and the harvesting of the down of eider ducks in an inhospitable environment. There are fishing villages, quays, warehouses, eider houses (built for eider ducks to nest in), farming landscapes, lighthouses and beacons. There is evidence of human settlement from the Stone Age onwards. By the 9th century, the islands had become an important centre for the supply of down, which appears to have accounted for around a third of the islanders' income. Vega reflects the way fishermen/farmers have, over the past 1 500 years, maintained a sustainable living and the contribution of women to eiderdown harvesting'* (unesco.org/en/list/1143).

The following outlines Vega's fine balance of human activity and natural resources.

> *'The Vega Archipelago reflects the way generations of fishermen/farmers have, over the past 1 500 years, maintained a sustainable living in an inhospitable seascape near the Arctic Circle, based on the now unique practice of eider down harvesting and it also celebrates the contribution made by women to the eider down process'.*

Vega saw a similar decline in fishing from the 1970s that, as in other localities, saw efforts transferred from fishing to trying to develop aquaculture and fish-farming as an alternative. At the same time, environmental constraints were compounded at Vega by temporary nature reserves; restrictions were introduced from the beginning of the 1980s, preventing logging and restricting hunting, etc. (Enge 1999: 88). These limits on exploitation, in addition to those of the fishing quotas, created economic difficulties and frustration as they remained in place until the 1990s. The Coastal Heritage Protection Plan

(CHPP), introduced in the 1980s, argued for conservation and designation, whilst the Coastal Plan for Helgeland (CPH) sought to secure the legacy of fishing at Vega through aquaculture. Notably, the stipulations about balance and the Class II Cultural Landscape status of the UNESCO designation potentially represent a compromise between the resources and livelihoods, albeit not necessarily one that extends to aquaculture. What has transpired in the first two WHS management plans for Vega represents stabilisation and consolidation of resources and conservation, leaving it up to the third management plan to define that balance.

The first management plan, 'The Management Plan for Cultural Landscapes in World Heritage Sites West Norwegian Ford Landscape and Vega Islands', was principally concerned with addressing and repairing pre-2004 damage. Together with the incentives and subsidies accorded a newly granted OUV, it established the groundwork for conservation schemes for stabilising Vega. It principally discusses mapping, restoring and preserving sites and traditional industry, the merit of which is reflected in the extensive work done through a variety of projects since. The language is specific and quantitative, describing specific interventions (sheep-grazing, etc.) and setting targets for successful delivery. Examples include 'Develop a vegetation-map and management-plan for grazing and clipping in OUV' and 'Increase total number of eider houses by 10% 2007-2009'. On intangible heritage, the plan requires 'Collection of material about local knowledge and traditions and tasks from inscription relating to – eider industry, land-use, fishermen's lives and work, key crossing-points for fishing'.

The goals of the outgoing 'Management Plan for Vega Islands 2015-22' are generic, qualitative and less target-specific than its predecessor. The plan reflects progress since 2004, reporting on mapping, conservation communication and education. The second plan's goals are derived from its predecessor, and effectively comprise conservation-securing subsidy for management, developing understanding and availability of information, preserving landscape, recruiting birdwatchers and carers, increasing bird populations and sustaining marine habitats. This includes securing the legacy of work done through promoting local care and knowledge and managing the remaining fishing and farming. The overall picture presented is one of a landscape being curated in stewardship. One key point mentioned in the overview of goals is to 'integrate the intangible cultural heritage in the dissemination of the world heritage site', suggesting that this has yet to happen. Moreover, several

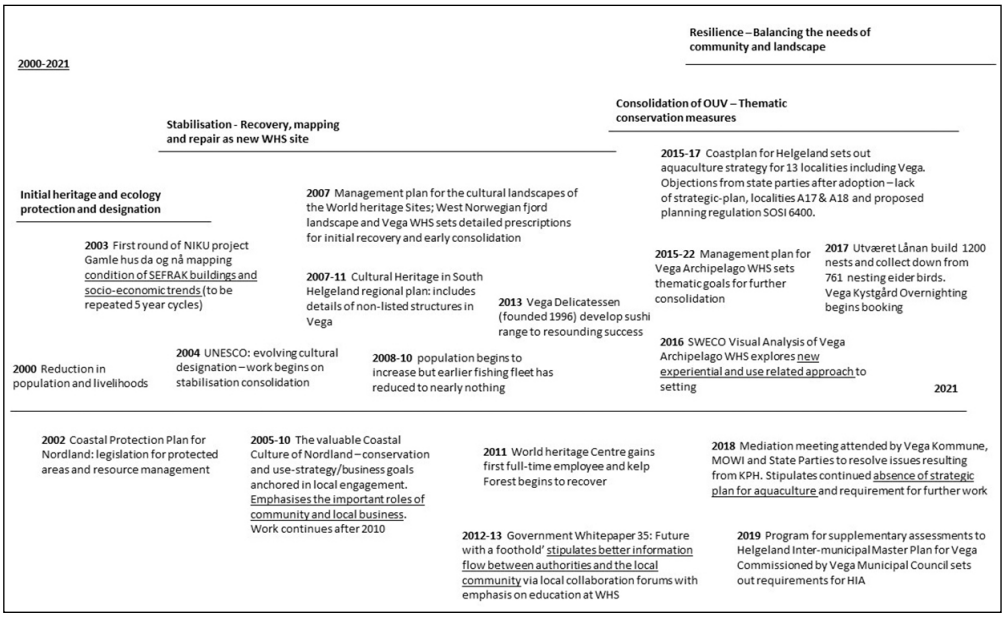

Figure 4. Vega Timeline 2000-2021 (Tom Davies).

areas are flagged as requiring detailed management strategies, which need to balance World Heritage Values and local economy, whilst aquaculture is detailed as lacking assessment and any strategy for impacts and pollution.

There is far more to Vega than the eider birds at the heart of its inscription, much of which is present in its Outstanding Universal and other heritage values, but with outstanding management challenges. Key in achieving this is the balance between livelihood and resources for which we can draw on historic precedent. By example, protection of otters and sea-eagles (from hunting) in the 1980s is seen as problematic for local eider birds (who they prey upon), as was a ban on shooting wild-animals during the egg season. This can be seen historically too in the 'egg and feathers' law (egg og dunværloven), which provided historic regulation of the eider industry (Enge 1999: 89). Laws on nets and other fishing regulation in the 1800s demonstrate a similar balance of exploitation but within recoverable parameters.

Both Jonas Enge and Landscape architect Marius Fiskevold have highlighted the importance of the relationship between people, nature and resources at Vega. Enge talks about the importance of tacit knowledge of fishers, farmers

and eider-bird tenderers in managing the complex relationships between resources at Vega, whilst Fiskevold stresses the importance of reading its landscape, resources and livelihoods through human experience (Ibid., Fiskevold 2020 & SWECO 2016). This demonstrates the intrinsic relation between communities and their environment in managing resources, determining landscape and built environment and critically sustaining livelihoods. The livelihoods of coastal communities such as Vega, are intrinsically engaged with nature and environment, which make up the rhythms of everyday life. This is described by anthropologists Lomnitz and Diaz as 'cultural grammar', which demonstrates the importance of repetition within that resource environment to sustaining that intangible knowledge (Knox 2005: 2). Enge relates this to anthropologist Tim Ingold's view of a direct relation between humans and their environment, which does not require cognitive faculties through our culture (epistemology) to interpret – we can experience the world without interpreting it. The distinction being between experiential knowledge and interpretative knowledge (Enge 1999: 93). Enge details 34 different types of fish at Vega, the role grazing plays in holding rodents at bay or how the reduction in human activity in recent decades allowed the reappearance of elk and other wild animals as evidence of tacit knowledge, typically overlooked at an administrative level, either because it is not picked up or is inconvenient for project and funding parameters (Ibid. 100).

Enge describes the relationship between humans and nature, reflecting on the significance of eider tending at Vega. He describes how the birds are wild but become temporarily domesticated for the nesting season, during which they are cared for by the bird tenderers, who are forced to live away from the nests during nesting season 'Birds are strongly associated with the seasonal changes that were so vital a part of life for most of humankind's existence. 'Renewal of the warmth of the sun and the fertility of the earth were necessary for human comfort, prosperity and survival itself'. Enge reflects how fishing as one alternative requires a similar degree of symbiosis between communities and their resources (Ibid. 122-123). Tacit knowledge about resource management is implicit in this tending of landscape and resources, birds and fish, and requires repetition and evolution to sustain it. These are lacking in the first two management plans for Vega. The third phase of management for Vega should work to reinstate these rhythms in an evolving form as the basis for future conservation, not least as the experiential knowledge and interpretative knowledge they provide is invaluable in understanding Vega.

YTRE STANDAL, HJØRUNDFJORDEN

After the narratives of fishing and trade along the West Coast (macro) and at Vega (meso), the small hamlet or village of Ytre Standal, in Hjørundfjorden, Ørsta, a day's drive south of Vega, provides the opportunity to consider the detailed picture morphologically (micro). Ytre-Standal currently comprises a small community of five farms, four of which sit along the village's former main route 'geila', forming a row of houses, barns and out-buildings. The origins of settlement at Ytre-Standal are likely to be in the medieval period, but in its present situation are likely to stem from resettlement of the West Coast following the Black Death (1539-40) (Grovik 1975: 62 & Pers. Comm. Tvergrov 2020: 23-26).

Ytre-Standal is first mentioned in 1568 as a deserted village (after the Black Death) then in 1626 as comprising a nobleman's property in the Rosenkrantz Property (Bergen). 20 years later, it was owned by Burgermester Rasmus Lauritzen Stoud, Bergen. It then passed to Priest Peder Jørgensen by 1683, the richest landowner in the area at that time. From 1695-1715, it was owned by daughter to Priest Mads Povelsen Alstrup, of Norddal, Birgitte (Berte) Madsdotter Alstrup. Following which, a series of developments arrive at the current five farms: four in the main village and one at the foot of the valley. This shows Ytre-Standal, which occurred along the coast as control was derived from Bergen (Grovik 1975: 62 & Tvergrov 2020: 23-26).

Prior to land consolidation around 1900, four of the farms at Ytre-Standal comprised a clustered group of buildings straddling the village road, the maps and apportionments for which reveal a complex arrangement of small parcels of land pertaining to the different farms, the management of which required cooperation and the regular crossing of each other's land, underpinned by reciprocal agreements. This is best demonstrated by the rights to have boathouses (naustrett) on the land of other farms, so that all had access to the principal resource, the fjord and fish (Grovik 1977 & Tvergrov 2020).

Land consolidation at Ytre-Standal focused on bringing together smaller units into larger apportionments, whilst exchanging and compensating to rebalance amounts. In contrast with localities where farms could take advantage of larger fields and pastures, the marginal landscape at Ytre-Standal saw only one farm 'Olagarden' relocate, moving to the north of the group; this opened a space in the middle of the village, changing the form from a cluster to something approximating a ribbon settlement. Sources reveal that Ole

Figure 5. Ytre-Standal. Photo: Eli Anne Tvergrov

Annaniassen Strandabø (from Strandabøen on the other side of the fjord) bought half of Jakobsgarden in 1879. We also learn that land consolidation comprised arrangements for grazing and access to the sea for those who did not border it and that, in the second round of 1894-1898, the number of plots was halved (Grovik 1975 & Tvergrov 2020).

These limited changes to layout and plot composition were only added to by the construction of County Road (FV70), which intersects the village between land and sea, replacing the long-established water-links to other Hjørundfjorden communities with a linear connection to neighbouring Stavset, Store Standal and Årsneset (Jordskifterett Ørsta). The development of routes by sea and land are described in detail by local publications, from articles in 'Frå Hjørundfjord' to the books 'Vegar før Vegar var II' (Standal 1996) and 'Om Samferdsel i Møre og Romsdal: Møre og Romsdal Fylkesbåtar 1920-1995' (Ulstein 1995).

The present form of Ytre Standal's quay is the result of several phases of work and infilling over the past century and comprises a commonly owned triangle of land. It is occupied by a singular concrete quay-house of interwar date, which prior to 1965 sheltered people awaiting passage to the nearby City of Ålesund, where fish and other commodities were bought and sold,

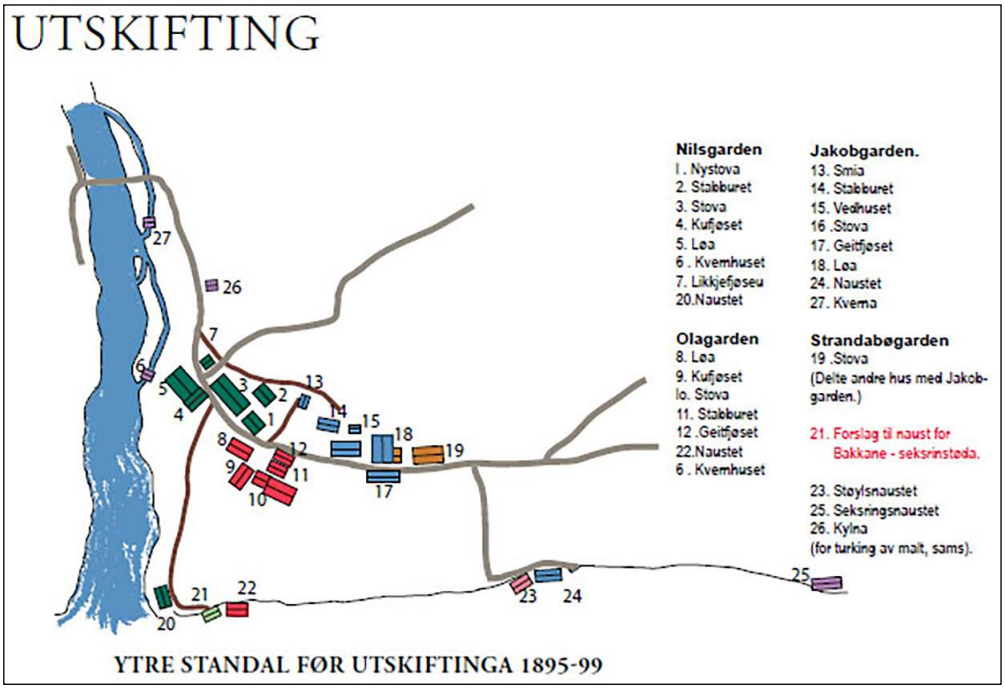

Figure 6. Layout of Ytre-Standal (Ragnar Standal) (Some discrepancies noted concerning uses.)

and to other destinations in and around Hjørundfjorden. Buildings around the quay include three wooden boathouses belonging to three of the farms – Nilsgarden, Strandabøgarden and Olagarden and two tourist cottages. The nearer of these is the former Cooperative Store (Samvirkelag) and the other, which lies close to a second enclosed harbour constructed in the mid 1990's, belongs to the furthest of the farms Bakkane, located in the valley above the village. This last building at the harbour demonstrates the importance of boathouse rights to farms which did not have land adjoining the sea (Grovik 1977 & Tvergrov 2020).

The cooperative store of earlier 20th Century date, which replaced an earlier general store in the village, demonstrates the common right of use of the quay together with the common ownership of the quay. Similarly, an earlier large boathouse, housing the church boat, reflects a Christian community who cooperated in fishing, growing of food, grass-drying (hæsjing) for animal fodder, paralleled at Vega and elsewhere along the West Coast (Grovik 1977: 311, 425 & 454). Film footage from the 1940s shows cod drying on racks set up

Figure 7. Waiting for the boat Ytre-Standal quay Summer 2020. Photo: Anja Standal

along the harbour-wall and an earlier map records a building on the shoreline further north as being used for storing nets (Urke 2002, Tvergrov 2020). The quay provided important links and familial connections to Strandabø and Molaupen on the opposite side of the fjord as well as further afield to Trandal, Sæbø, Store Standal and Stavset, where the two Standal communities shared a boarding school from 1915-65 (Davies and Standal 2013).

Sources from the 1800s record fishermen from Ytre-Standaland, the outlying North Sea Island of Herøy, working together in tracking herring shoals and sharing gains after markets in Ålesund. Fishing as elsewhere comprised home fishing (nets in the fjord) and away (sea) fishing (known as ro fiskja – row fishing). Coalfish tended to arrive in the fjord in Spring and are caught on shallower shelves. Boys typically started at the age of confirmation, around 14-16; areas such as Furkenholmen and Vigra (near Ålesund) were good fishing areas for cod; each year fishermen from Hjørundfjord took part in the Spring-fishing at Breisundet and Borgundfjord near Ålesund (Grovik 1977 & Tvergrov 2018). A record of years of low fishing yields is also given, such as 1627-29, 1714-15 and 1733-35, as well as information concerning where salmon and other stocks might be caught within the fjord (Grovik 1977: 291). This in turn forms part of the cooperative network throughout Hjørundfjorden in which women from the villages met and worked together

preparing nets and food to support the fishermen, whilst maintaining respective farms and households (Tvergrov 2018).

Details are also given concerning motorisation and technical development of boats, which according to the County Governor between 1906-10 led to professionalization of fishing and which increasingly squeezed out lay fishermen (Grovik 1977: 538). For example, the first motorised dairy-boat Primo is recorded from around 1900, which was collectively owned by the villages in the outer part of Hjørundfjord. Records include the names and histories of the various 'rutebåtar' (route-boats) and other vessels that made up the fjord's transport network, with boats around 1900 including the 'Hugnadd', 'Idrett' and 'Ramoen'. The latter of which is celebrated in the name of the community hall at Vartdal further along the coast (Grovik 1977: 538-40). Later details include those of three hunting vessels (skutes) operating in the early 1900s whose crews travelled as far as Greenland: the 'Vesterisen', 'Sjøblomsten' and 'Havfrue', (Grovik 1977: 400-404, 531 & 545 & Ulstein 1995: 385-390). The accounts of these boats and their roles demonstrates the growing professionalisation of fishing and general industrialisation after 1900.

A considerable diversity of other industries is recorded across Hjørundfjorden through the accounts of the local history society, such as the sale of ice from avalanches at locations such as Longenes to Ålesund in the 1800s, freighting of sand and ballast extracted at Store Standal and other localities and mink-farming at Ytre-Standaland and other villages from the 1920s (Grovik 1977: 543). Larger industries such as the furniture-making for which Sunnmøre is recognised through Stokke and other companies, from local wood-turning industry to larger concerns such as B. O. Willes wood factory at Sæbø (1909-62) or the range of small industry from dairy, woodwork/carpentry, boatbuilding and metalwork at Øye and Urke (Walseth 2005, Øye 2006 & Urke 2006). All of which demonstrates a diverse economy linking Ytre-Standal with the other villages and further afield. Industrialisation and an increased local populace (1850-1980 with slow decline from 1900) required rebuilding of the various village quays, including Ytre Standal, to accommodate new improved boats (Grovik 1977: 500 & 510, Urke 1991, 1993, 1994, 1996, 1998-2004 & Tvergrov 2018).

This reveals the wider context of Ytre-Standal as accessed through its quay. It is possible to equate the knowledge relating to resource management, locations of fish-stocks, seasonal availability and cooperation with the inland

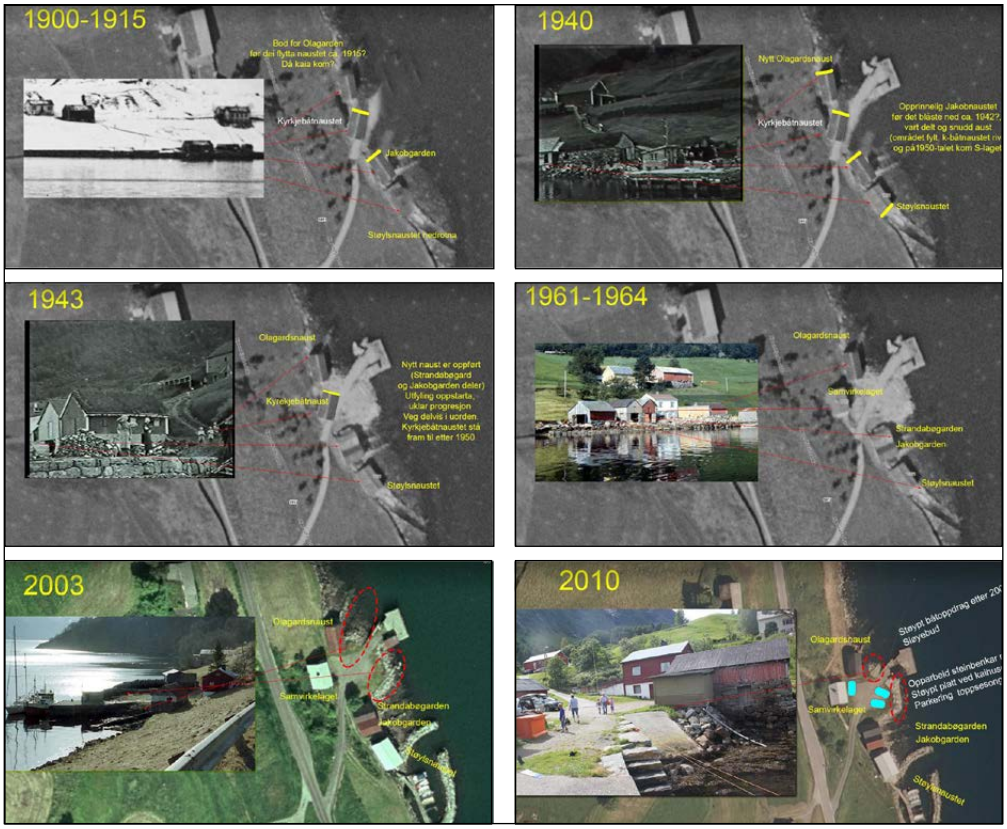

Figure 8. Development of the Quay at Ytre-Standal. Photo: Eli Anne Tvergrov

farm with its outbuildings and arable and grazing land. Whilst the components of the inland farm are apparent in the landscape, the seas, shoals and opportunities for a good catch represent a similar estate to Hjørundfjord's farms, only revealed by the records of its intangible heritage. The above account reflects the cultural record and tacit knowledge, which can be gained through local history sources, interviews and written accounts and which we can use to inform better conservation and management, by revealing the intangible heritage of those communities.

FINDING RESOURCES AND ECONOMY BETWEEN THE TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE

Returning to the concept of 'Cultural Grammar' and the rhythms of community-life, tacit knowledge can be presented as lying between tangible heritage

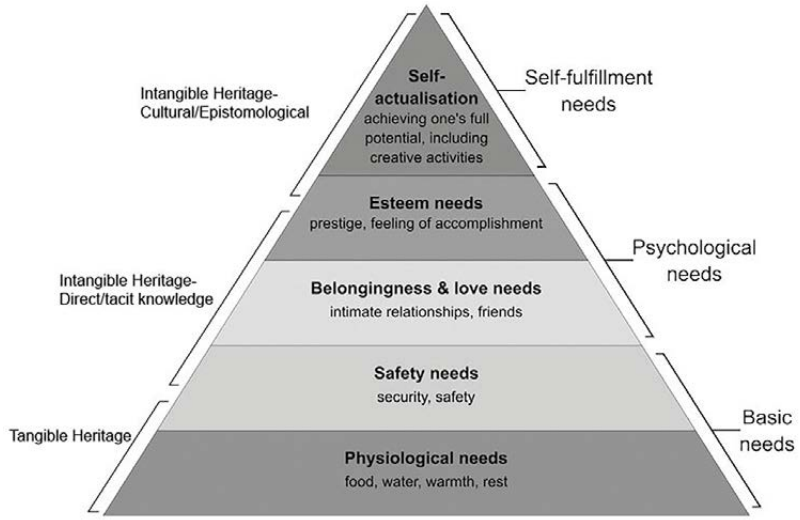

Figure 9. Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs with tangible and intangible heritage to left.

and an upper cultural level of intangible heritage (Knox 2005). This resonates with Ingold's distinction between experiential and interpretative knowledge and, potentially, other conceptual frameworks as well (Enge 1999). This middle-position can usefully be represented using the structure of psychologist Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs, which sets out human needs from basic subsistence (safety needs) through communal and relational aspects (social belonging) and then to notions of self-worth and value (self-esteem), the epistemological and cultural aspects of reflection and contemplation (self-awareness) to altruism, kindness, spirituality and beliefs (transcendence) (Maslow 1943). This places tacit knowledge, in the form of Ingold's 'experiential knowledge', with the safety needs and social belonging at the middle-level of the hierarchy.

Employing this construct to Maslow's model, it becomes possible to consider at what level the different aspects of tangible and intangible heritage play into the hierarchy of needs. Tangible heritage, in our built and natural environment sits happily at safety needs, through the process of turning space into place as humans make somewhere a place to live. It also contributes to social belonging in helping form the physical groupings for society, such as in the clustered settlement structure of Ytre-Standal, allowing community members to support each other in their work. Hopping up a level in the hierarchy, the cultural record of intangible heritage can be correlated with the upper levels

of self-awareness and transcendence in the way that the tales, accounts and songs, which make up our cultural record, inform on communities and allow them to self-reflect, providing the vehicle for transcendence, the evolution of those accounts and the tacit knowledge they embody to make up the community's intangible heritage. Located at the middle of the hierarchy, tacit knowledge can be equated with both social belonging, stemming from the activities that define networks of interaction and contact and the foundations of self-awareness, by virtue of determining parameters for the values held in the work and activities of that community.

Attempting to reconcile heritage with Maslow's hierarchy of needs in this way has various flaws and limitations, but at least usefully provides a means of considering where tacit knowledge lies within intangible heritage relative to community needs and what it can contribute. Through which, it is possible to consider how it can inform conservation, resource management and sustain livelihoods. Distinguishing cultural record from tacit knowledge in this way, it can be argued that the latter anchors the former to tangible heritage in our physical environment. This returns us to the importance of material culture in anchoring both parts of intangible heritage, as mentioned earlier, but first and foremost through tacit knowledge's interaction with that material culture or tangible heritage. Without the activities and work that tacit knowledge is drawn from, communities would have no historic moments and collective recollections to celebrate on a cultural level – linking all three. This highlights the need to use tacit knowledge in day-to-day management of resources and livelihoods. This shows how documenting cultural records helps conserve tacit knowledge, allowing the record of intangible heritage to be conserved and communicated further, as it evolves relative to the fluctuations of resources and other variables.

It is this point that Enge refers to, in discussing the tacit knowledge of the fishing community, in knowing the habits and characteristics of available local (and non-local) fish stocks, something that regular contact allows, where sporadic specialist survey struggles to gain accurate insights (Enge 1999: 100). At Ytre-Standal this is seen in knowledge recovered from sources about the whereabouts of elusive herring shoals, other opportunities for catch, cooperative agreements and other shared resourcing. In this way, the source material provides opportunities to learn about it indirectly through the events, accounts, recollections, etc., recorded. In time, accounts inform-

ing on tacit knowledge become retrospective, telling us about past resource opportunities (for example stocks and their whereabouts), 'we used to catch good herring off the coast of Godøy', for example. Away from a coastal context, tacit knowledge can also tell us about the use of place and the habits of community in their activities and daily lives, which are not necessarily born out in the stories, accounts and songs.

Part of the value in distinguishing these two types of intangible heritage is that it allows better conservation practice, by knowing when and how to manage them. The other significant contribution is in managing resources and livelihoods. Having established that available resources fluctuate, as with the story of Norwegian fishing over the past two centuries, it is possible to consider how records of tacit knowledge about past resource management can inform future management to plan more sustainably for livelihoods, local economies and the conservation of that heritage. This can reassure in terms of demonstrating fluctuations and earlier scarcity or provide a warning concerning over exploitation. At both Vega and Ytre Standal, the source material available demonstrates how diverse local economy and livelihoods have been and provides a model for re-establishing that balance. Something that is required at Vega and more widely along a post-industrial west coast.

Returning to some of the frustrations of top-down heritage management mentioned earlier, these recommendations concerning treatment of cultural record, tacit knowledge and resource management in conservation are not intended to promote local community over the external heritage-practitioner and authorities. Rather, that the potential role of the former needs to be realised fully in conservation practice. The latter's role has been redefined in recent years as being about stewarding heritage, working to raise awareness and communicate its values, whilst supporting local communities in engaging with their heritage. The community has constant exposure to changing local conditions in the resource network that supports their livelihoods, giving them a direct connection to the tangible resource, whilst heritage professionals and the authorities have tools and infrastructure to support the management of those resources. A delicate balance is required to refocus conservation on resource management and livelihoods in this way, to the collective benefit of both parties in planning for the future. Through which we can move toward new better-informed conservation and management.

USING TACIT KNOWLEDGE AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT TO DIVERSIFY LIVELIHOODS

Two critical points emerge: that fluctuating resources require a robust diversity of economic options and that study of tacit knowledge and collaborating closely with communities offers a means of tackling changes and issues. Given the inherent problems with industrialised single-occupancy livelihoods in the 20th century, diversifying local economies would at least return them to their earlier flexibility and adaptability. This would employ tacit knowledge to develop existing, and introduce new, sources of income and at the same time use that knowledge to regulate both businesses and over reliance on conservation incomes, such as heritage and nature tourism. Communities would become better enfranchised in their local economy, creating an impetus for larger businesses to engage as well. Managing places and their communities sustainably, as current Norwegian heritage policy strives to do, can be achieved by working with the relationships between resources and the local community. This requires recognition of the distinction between tacit knowledge, cultural records in intangible heritage and the importance of material culture in supporting it. After which, it becomes possible to employ that understanding to support resource management and the livelihoods of the local community (Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage 2018).

THE VALUE OF CUMULATIVE NATURAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGE CAPITAL

As part of understanding the Vega Archipelago and Ytre-Standal, the idea of accumulated natural and cultural heritage values has emerged, referred to as 'cumulative natural and cultural heritage capital'. Very simply put, when the geological and natural conditions have sufficient potential for exploitation of natural resources (plants, animals, fish etc.), then settlement occurs. Settlement begins the process of realising the potential of this resource value by finding ways to exploit and manage it, setting fish-traps, grazing of land and, something common to both Norway and Scotland, the use of kelp and other matter to enrich soil for agriculture. Other capital, such as that drawn from communities, pulling in intangible heritage and livelihoods and economy can also be developed.

Beyond its value as a framework for representing evolving, composite capital, its usefulness increases significantly, when mapped (through different datasets) across the locality, as a management tool for conservation and plan-

ning. It then informs spatially where composite capital is located enabling an understanding how these areas of settlement and managed landscape relate to each other. Through the knowledge concerning past availability and resource management, it provides the data needed to define parameters for current and future sustainable management, as well as the interdependence of resources, activities and livelihoods.

Sustainable heritage writers Amalia Leifeste and Barry L. Steifel review several such frameworks in their writing, involving them in promoting a cradle-to-cradle approach, integrating human and natural capital and asking for revision of ways of working to eliminate waste. Of these criteria, Michael Braungart and William McDonough's 'Hannover Principles' cover much of the potential useful output of mapping cumulative capital this way and then working within the sustainable parameters defined. Particularly, '(1) the rights of humanity and nature to coexist in a healthy, supportive, diverse and sustainable condition', '(2) recognising interdependence', '(5) creat[ing] safe objects of long-term value' and '(9) Seek[ing] constant improvement by the sharing of knowledge. Encourage direct and open communication [...] and re-establish the integral relationship between natural processes and human activity (Braungart & McDonough 1992: 5).

Combining value-sets from biodiversity and cultural heritage in this way delivers on current goals for a holistic approach in Norwegian guidance and legislation. Both the Cultural Heritage Act (1978) and the Biodiversity Act (2009) make provision for natural and cultural capital as well as frameworks for area-based protection. The recent Government Whitepapers 14 and 16 set out detailed prescription for merging natural and cultural heritage capital, clarifying that the creation of the Climate and Environment Dept. in 1972 was based on an integrated approach and aligning with current UN Sustainability goals and, as part of that, delivering on the UICN's AICHI Targets for Biodiversity (Climate and Environment Dept. 1978, 2009, 2014 & 2020). This cumulative approach has potential to contribute both to the ongoing work on at Vega and that supporting the designation of Hjørundfjorden as an Outstanding Cultural Landscape in 2018.

Having established the value of this working approach to current sustainable heritage discourse and sustainable planning goals, it remains to outline the key steps for conducting the process.

1. Work from habitat identification and other mapping to compile natural and cultural heritage datasets.
2. Work with local communities and written and illustrative records (such as local history society accounts) to understand resource use and livelihoods over time.
3. Consider information in terms of cultural record and tacit knowledge and how to map those in relation to cumulative capital in the different localities.
4. Prepare guidance on past and current resource use, including its parameters and interdependencies and networks tied to the mapped cumulative capital areas and between them.
5. Implement protection and regulation that provides an account of this and sets parameters for future conservation and sustainable development.

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