

# Cultural Heritage: a Challenge for Europe

## A Sustainable Future for the Historic Urban Core

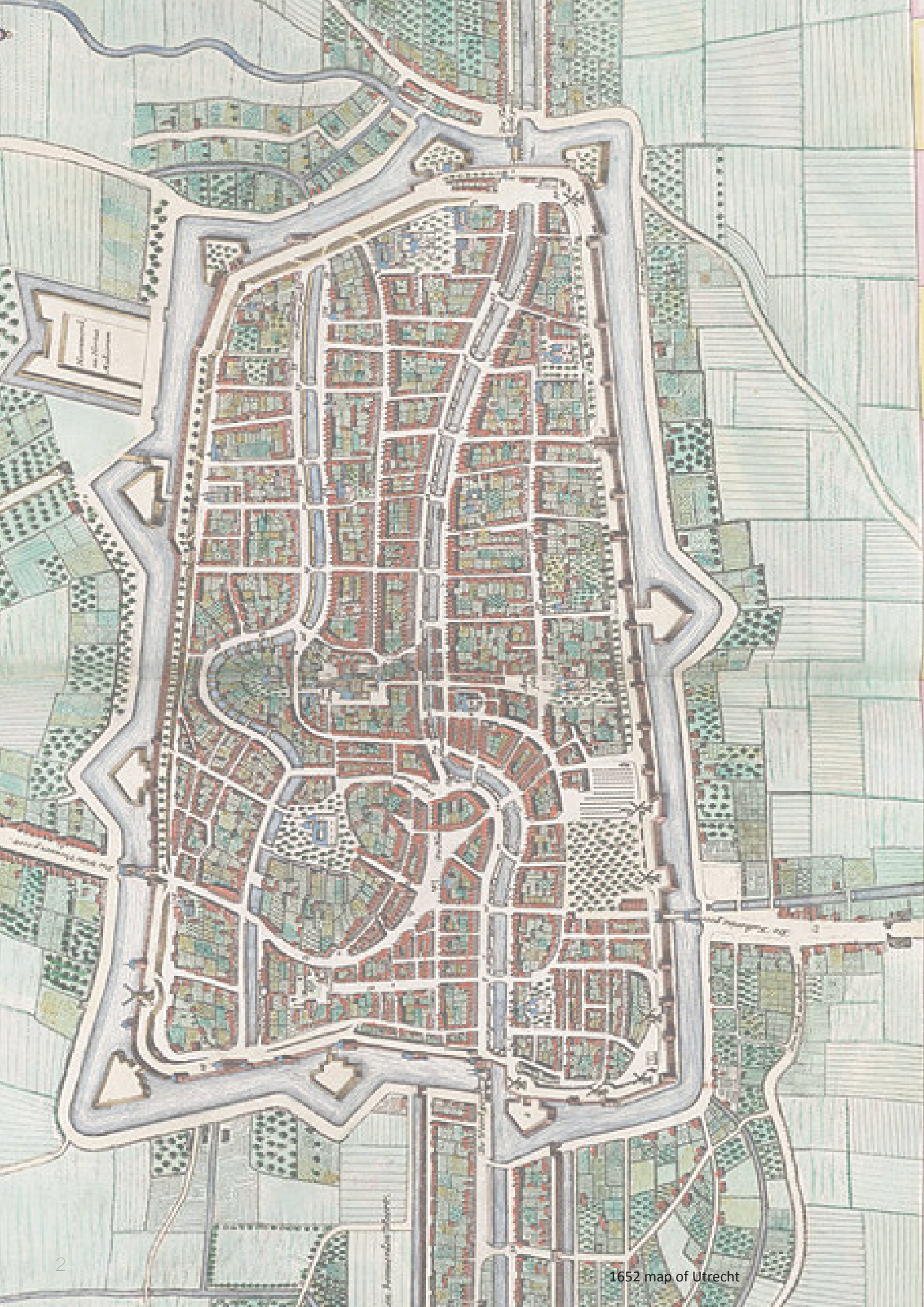






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# Introduction

## SHUC: A Sustainable Future for the Historic Urban Core

The historic urban core is a critical repository of cultural heritage in its buildings, monuments public spaces and townscape. It has been formed through incremental change over many years in response to changing pressures on the role of the city to produce a complex, highly differentiated urban fabric in terms of urban structure, ownership, and the historic periods represented. The characteristics of the historic cores many of which are shared across many cities make them a primary European cultural asset. But fundamental reforms in urban governance and planning in the wake of major shifts in political, social and economic conditions, present great challenges for the management of this cultural heritage.

Three partners collaborated on the SHUC pilot project to investigate how these challenges were being met in north-west Europe: the Urbanism Department in the Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment at Delft University of Technology, the Netherlands; the Global Urban Research Unit of Newcastle University, UK; and the School of Architecture, Planning and Environmental Policy of University College Dublin, Ireland. The pilot project has been generously funded by the Joint European Heritage Programme of the Joint Programming Initiative: Cultural Heritage. <[www.jpi-cultural-heritage.eu](http://www.jpi-cultural-heritage.eu)>

This report provides a summary of the pilot project approach and findings. Further details including working papers giving full accounts of the findings for each of the historic cores in this report are available online. The findings from this project are being taken forward in a second project on planning and heritage with additional partners

in Norway and Italy and funding by the JPI Heritage Plus: PICH: The impact of urban planning and governance reform on the historic built environment and intangible cultural heritage. Further details including working papers are available at: [www.planningheritage.com](http://www.planningheritage.com)

The SHUC team are very grateful for the time given by the officers of the local authorities and many other people who have helped with the project.

### Outline of the pilot project

The project has taken into account that the methods used to manage and regulate change in the historic urban cores vary from country to country (or even region to region) because of very different institutional conditions and social models (Nadin and Stead 2008). In continental Europe under a corporatist social model, there has been a tendency for the state to take a more direct role in urban development with provincial and municipal governments playing an active role in urban development as well as regulation. In the Anglo-Saxon countries under more liberal social model there is a tendency for the private sector to be more important in urban development with local governments playing a more facilitating role (Janssen, et al., 2012). There are nevertheless similarities, especially in the trajectory of changes in approach in Western Europe.

Public policy on the historic core has changed to accommodate different social and economic demands and evolving public and professional attitudes to their importance in the social and economic life of the city. For example, after the Second World War and during a long period of steady

economic growth, the service sector became much more important in city employment. Housing to meet growing demands was concentrated in the urban fringe in many countries. These changes had varying effects on the historic cores, but often led to decline and a loss of heritage value.

From the 1950s to the 1970s there were many attempts to redevelop historic cores to make them more 'attractive' for investment urban core more accessible to the motor car and more suitable for commercial and retail uses. In some cities this led to wholesale redevelopment of parts of the historic cores, but generally they have proved remarkably resilient. In the Netherlands, economic investments moved to bigger buildings and more accessible locations. Vacant buildings in the core were taken over by small-scale commercial activities and the housing function became stronger, with a good fit between function and the close-knit organic street pattern. At the same time, public and professional attitudes embraced heritage conservation and its associations with cultural identity, authenticity, sense of place and historic continuity.

From the 1980s the forces of globalization and European integration led to increasing competition between cities as investment became more footloose. In this context government has begun to recognize the economic value of the historic urban core as a characteristic that lends 'quality of place' and distinctiveness - which may be important in attracting and retaining investment. As a result, policies and regulations for conservation of the core (especially at the building level) have been strengthened and supported with sometimes generous



government financial incentives. The historic urban core has been rediscovered and is often now considered essential in promoting a city and creating a shared identity.

However the conservation planning approach has generally not been framed in a long-term vision concerning its functions in the context of the city as a whole. ‘While there are clear, authorized sets of principles for managing monuments or sites-the conservative repair approach - no such clarity exists for the management of places, with their multiplicity of buildings’ (Pendlebury, 2009, p. 210). The planning perspective has considered the historic urban core more as a collection of interesting buildings, and has tended to lack an overall strategy for the management of an urban area with highly valued characteristics.

The historic core now faces a new round of challenges arising from increasingly neoliberal public policy, a less direct role for government in urban development (whether under continental or Anglo-Saxon social models), and the effects of the banking crisis and the ‘roll-out’ of austerity policies, (Council, 2009; Dafflon, 2002, 2010). In particular, the ability of local government to support historic urban core strategies is fading away as spending cuts, privatisation and deregulation take hold in different degrees (Allmendinger & Haughton, 2012). Local government can do less in a direct sense through the funding available to undertake maintenance and improvement, and even indirectly through high-level professional knowledge available for policy making and interventions.

The tasks and responsibilities of public, private and civil society partners are being adapted, alongside modification of regulations and incentives. The rules of the planning, conservation and transformation game are being re-written to take into account a fundamentally altered political, social and economic framework. These changes present difficult challenges for the planning and management of the historic urban core, indeed it is seen as

a significant threat to the integrity and authenticity of urban heritage by some, especially where the public sector has played a dominant role and now is no longer able to do so. However, there is evidence of very effective heritage management in places where the market plays a significant role. There are planning approaches and mechanisms that can effectively regulate market actors whilst harnessing private investment, but these approaches require adaptation to current policies. In this context the provision of strategies for the historic urban core become particularly important, brining together a portfolio of tools that can together help to steer change. Strategic approaches can help to build and communicate a common approach and shape the actions of other public, private and civil society actors.

In the project we compared the approach of nine cities in three northern European countries (The Netherlands, United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland) in the planning and management of the historic urban core. Each partner applied a common conceptual framework to empirical evidence within a particular country, which enabled constructive comparison. The main research questions were:

- How are varying management approaches influencing the historic urban core and how can we capture this relationship in a common conceptual framework?
- How are approaches to the management of the historic core being reformed in each city and country?
- To what extent are models and methods of managing the historic urban core transferable between countries, and what scope is there for effective policy transfer?

The findings begin to uncover a much-needed understanding of how approaches to managing the historic environment are changing and the likely consequences for the cultural heritage. In this task, the comparative approach is especially useful because it has enabled consideration of the influence of underlying conditions, and also comparison of approaches and methods employed. It has helped in mutually beneficial lesson drawing. Overall the pilot project identifies the potential that further more detailed investigation will provide rewards for well-informed exchange or even transfer of knowledge .

The SHUC pilot project has provided an important springboard for the creation of a wider international network that will contribute to theoretical understanding of heritage planning and management, and the development of principles and practice for the heritage conservation in the historic urban core.



The View of Utrecht Old Canal, 1890





# Three cities in three countries

Mixed-method data collection approach that included:

- Planning and policy documents
- Policy statements and practice reviews available in the public domain
- Expert interviews with representatives of public, private and community sectors



## Netherlands case studies

- Breda
- Delft
- Utrecht



## United Kingdom case studies

- Newcastle
- York
- Norwich



## Ireland case studies

- Drogheda
- Limerick
- Waterford



# Netherlands





Breda Market Place

# Breda

Urban renewal policies have been pursued energetically in the Netherlands since the 1980s, and the City of Breda Structure Plan of 1992 has provided an operational framework for renewal together with a number of key projects for its historic centre. The plan includes policies for the renovation of housing above shops and transformation of a former military barracks into a residential area for 700 households, together with new city functions such as hotels, a theatre, museum, and a centre for popular music. Some of these projects are still on-going. A more recent development vision for the inner city of Breda 2020 emphasizes a further strengthening of the shopping environment and more attention to tourism. The City of Breda has also published a vision document specifically directed to 'Heritage in Context' (Erfgoed in context 2008-2015). This document draws together information on all heritage sectors such as archeology, architecture, building history, cultural history, monument management and public space under the title 'Cultural Planning'. The main aim of policy is to use heritage to strengthen city identity and to use heritage as a visible inspiration for the spatial development process. These are aims that are established in national policy for the heritage as outlined in the Belvedere Programme (1999-2009) and elaborated for the specific circumstances of Breda.

## Adapted approaches and innovations

- Sharing responsibility of maintaining the public domain

After the crisis the government has fewer financial resources. It is trying to encourage private society to play a more significant role in the maintenance of the historic urban core by shifting some of the responsibility to business owners and others who have an interest in the city.

- Creating a sense of urgency through large urban projects

The municipality is raising the attention of citizens and politicians to the urgent tasks of urban renewal through large-scale development projects such as the high-speed train station and a new 20,000 square metre shopping area at the southern edge of the historic urban core.

- 'Heritage and Visual culture' as a new slogan

Heritage is used as a tool for city marketing. Breda has made fairly good progress in finding new uses for its monuments, giving new functions to historic buildings, and refurbishing them with visual art - a new cultural phenomenon.

- Shifting mindsets: from fatherly figure to partner

The new thinking about 'city-making' is for a shift in the role of government to that of partner rather than provider. It is believed that private and public sector should cooperate and help each other, policies should not set up boundaries and barriers between interests but rather encourage a wide range of initiatives by a variety of actors.

### Impact of Crisis and Key Challenges

Local governments in the Netherlands are traditionally well funded. The Province has in the past been able to realise financial income by, for example, selling a large-scale energy provider. It also received significant funds after its unsuccessful campaign to make Breda Cultural Capital 2018. However there are financial challenges ahead due to the changing context for real estate development brought about by the banking crisis, where the municipality was in the past a key actor and financial beneficiary.

The inner city area of Breda has no obvious vacancy problem, but crisis had impacted the businesses in the areas immediately adjacent to the city centre, which are regarded as part of the core. At the same time statistics shows that Breda has lost 25% of visitors to the city centre over recent years, which has caused problems for the inner city economy. There is a view that the city is not offering new attractive activities for visitors whilst there is serious competition coming from other cities nearby. There is potential now for the City of Breda to attract visitors and strengthen its tourism position by making good use of high-speed train station zone.

### Spontaneous Private Initiatives

During the banking crisis and its aftermath, there has been noticeably less private investment in the city. As local government withdraws from their role of primary investors, private developers have tended to gain more influence in all development. Since development values are relatively depressed and financial yields are lower, there is a tendency for developers to be inclined to undermine the need for preserving historic values in the City as a whole and in relation to the qualities of specific buildings. The municipal building inspectors have noticed that the crisis also influences other owners who give less attention to responsibilities to maintain their private properties. People are less able to invest in the maintenance or renovation of property if they do not have the budget. Nevertheless a positive new trend in the economic crisis is the increasing number of people who are willing to invest in old city centre properties, in small but important investments from 50,000 to 100,000 euros, and sometimes up to half a million euros of value.



View of Harbour of Breda



View of the great Church





Delft City hall and market

Delft is the sixth monument city in the Netherlands (Nota Binnenstad Definitief, 2012) and the entire city core was designated as a preservation area (beschermd stadsgezicht) by the central government in 1976. The urban renewal in the 1960s and 1970s has transformed the area into a picturesque, pedestrian-friendly, mixed-functional and neatly maintained urban core. The new vision document 'A Vital and Hospitable Inner City' (Binnenstad Vitaal en Gastrij: Visie and Agenda Binnenstad 2020, 2012) envisages an economically vital and attractive city core for national international visitors and knowledge workers. It calls for more optimal use of the historic core so as to benefit the city. One of the key goals is to boost the tourism economy of the core, finding new possibilities for retail, cultural and recreational activities, making better connections between the shopping areas. It also aims to let the city core of Delft better reflect the characteristics of 'city of technology', and explore potentials of the knowledge economy.

# Adapted approaches and innovations

- Reduced maintenance  
To cope with the decreased financial and personnel capacity, the city has reduced the intensity of maintenance of public space.
- From caretaker to director  
The municipality is changing its role from the leading 'caretaker' of the historic core to 'facilitator'.
- More flexible zoning plan  
An important change is to make the zoning plan more flexible to facilitate new initiatives. In the new zoning plan (2012) urban areas in the city core are defined as zones with certain characteristics and atmosphere, for example in relation to the living environment, shopping, culture and lifestyle.

## Impact of the crisis and key challenges

The city of Delft has considerable financial problems because of funding commitments made to a major project that has put the main railway line through the town into underground tunnels and to create a new railway station and other facilities. These plans were made before the banking crisis of 2008. The intention was to cover the costs of the project by benefits generated from real estate developments in the area, but the crisis produced a sharp fall in investment interest in the market for new real estate developments and now the municipality has a large financial deficit. That deficit has to be covered by further cutbacks on the municipal budget and increased local taxes. The reduced budget means a fundamental change in the municipality's participation in historic urban core development with investment plans halted for several years to come.

The direct impact of the financial constraints also includes a shrinking of 15 per cent of personnel in the sector of heritage conservation and management in the municipality and the ending of a number of subsidies for city core related projects, such as supporting the creation of independent entrances to the dwellings above shops, restoration of façade decorations, urban renewal of business properties, and the like. One of the key challenges for the historic core of Delft is therefore to strengthen its economic position, whilst maintaining the character of mixed functional and attractive urban area.

## Spontaneous private initiatives

A unique development in Delft is the self-emerged private organization, City Centre Administrative Consultation (Bestuurlijk Overleg Binnenstad, BOB). BOB aims to unify many existing private business organisations and their involvement in managing the city centre, including the Entrepreneurs Union Inner City Delft (OBD), Royal Catering Netherlands Delft (KHN), De Klis, Zuidpoort, de Breestraat and TvG. In contrast to existing approaches, there will be representatives of each shopping area in the BOB organisation irrespective of their locations in streets or squares. The members of BOB meet every month and have the attention of city alderman. Financially, this organization can make use of budget of the Entrepreneurs Funds (Ondernemersfondsen) provided it can represent all businesses and unions in the city core.



View of the Old Church



East Gate of Delft





Aerial View of Utrecht Canal

# Utrecht

The entire inner city of Utrecht was designated as a preservation area in 1976. The city is obliged to make a more detailed conservation zoning plan for such areas. In the making of the plan the preservation area is not considered to be a museum; rather changes and new development are allowed. What is the most important to preserve in this plan is the original urban or landscape structure, and to support the continued vitality of the city (the population of Utrecht has grown continuously by 1000 each year over the last decade). The vision document (Discussienota Binnenstad 2007) envisages the core city area as the heart, and the central station area (Hoog Catharijne) as lungs of the city. It defines the goals for city core as to ‘attract as many as possible people seeking a quality environment – ‘quality seekers’. Furthermore, it aims to strengthen residential function, livability, accessibility and safety of the core city. The most prominent on-going urban project in Utrecht is the renovation of central station complex. This ambitious project contains over 30 sub-projects in the station zone and the city centre. The aim is to make these two areas more tightly connected and to offer more diverse cultural and recreational programmes with overall good accessibility.

## Adapted approaches and innovations

### - Energy saving program for historic buildings

The Utrecht Energie fund was set up in September 2013 by the municipal Utrecht Restoration Fund (URF) in collaboration with National Restoration Fund (Nationaal Restauratiefonds) to grant subsidies to owners for adapting new energy-facilities into their historic buildings. The Utrecht energy program is quite successful so far with some 50 projects having finished by 2015 and another 35 projects to be implemented in the near future.

### - Linking other types of subsidies to heritage

To battle against the shortage of financial means for the heritage sector efforts has made to create useful links with other programmes with resources that are not necessarily focussed on heritage.

### - More flexibility in development control

The local municipality had adopted a more ‘flexible’ and less conservative approach for the new zoning plan. The vision of the future role of the authority is to step back and on ‘the basis of discussion on common interests and goals about collective actions ... leaving the execution to owners and users’. (Discussienota Binnenstad, 2007)

### - Social return program

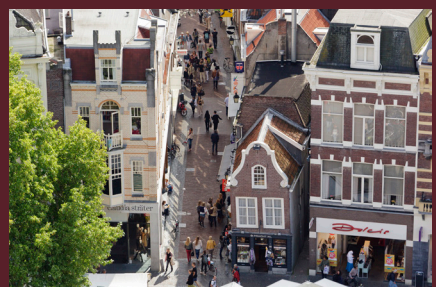
Attempts are being made to use the central government initiative called ‘social return’, introduced in 2011, to create new jobs related to conservation and maintenance projects within the historic urban core.

## Impact of the crisis and key challenges

In comparison to other municipalities in the Netherlands, the city of Utrecht has a more robust financial state. Nevertheless, over the last decade it has not been able to continue investment for improving public space and urban renewal projects as in the past. Since the 1970s the municipality has been involved in various high quality urban renewal projects in the core city area, such as removing car parking spaces and replacing them with good quality planting, floorscapes, improvements to the materials of buildings, renovating buildings, and installation of designed street and lighting furniture that suits the historic environment. Today the challenge is to keep up the same quality for upcoming projects. Since the crisis there are noticeably very few big urban renewal or public space projects, while there is much potential renewal that has not been addressed. City planners are busy with defining new tasks. At the same time, fewer personnel are available in the spatial planning and heritage sectors.

## Spontaneous private initiatives

The year 2010 is noticeably the lowest point for the development of the city core. There was very little investment, especially from the private sector. It means very few applications to the local government for a building permit to make adaptation to private properties, to change to a new function or to extend and improve buildings. Interestingly, in the time of economic crisis, there were also very few requests for subsidies. In general, in the current financial situation, there are only small initiatives for the historic core.





Ireland





St. Laurence's Gate

**Drogheda** is Ireland's largest town, with a population of 38,578. The town was founded in 911 and became a strategic defensive point during the 13th century when town walls were erected, enclosing an area of some 113 acres. Much of the historic core retains its historic street pattern and, although some sections of the medieval town walls and defences survive, the majority of buildings date from the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries. Despite this, recent decades have witnessed a marked deterioration in the historic core through road widening schemes, fabric decay, vacancy and large scale retail development. In response, the local authority is promoting economic growth through the regeneration of the historic core, by emphasising its importance as Drogheda's primary retail destination, and through encouraging the reuse and rehabilitation of historic buildings. The current development plan for Drogheda (2011) provides protection for 297 protected structures, seven of which are considered of national importance. A total of 18 architectural conservation areas are also designated under the plan. Further protection is provided to all remnants of the town's medieval walls and defences, which altogether are designated as a national monument.

## Adapted approaches and innovations

### - Urban Design Framework Plan for 'Heritage Quarter'

This is one of a series of framework plans to be published for seven character areas identified in the town Development Plan. The Heritage Quarter is approximately coincident with the town's historic core. It provides detailed of non-statutory design guidance on a range of issues, including: (a) the potential for new residential space to be provided in existing buildings; and (b) how to achieve a balance between retention of older buildings and plots, and the need to accommodate large-scale uses within the historic core, such as retail.

### - Capitalisation on heritage for tourism benefit

This policy proposes to both enhance and capitalise upon the physical heritage assets within the walled historic core as a whole. More specifically, the 'walled town of Drogheda' is one of a number of key attractions that comprise the Boyne Valley, designated in policy as one of ten 'world-class' tourism destinations in Ireland (LCC, 2015, p.190). This involves investment in the public realm, place-branding, signage and interpretation, as well as provision of training for local tourism businesses, all of which is intended to enhance the visitor experience.

### - Development opportunity sites

A total of nine sites have been identified within Drogheda's Heritage Quarter, and are subject to reduced contributions to the local authority from developers.

## Impact of the crisis and key challenges

Drogheda's core retail area suffers from high and increasing retail vacancy rates, and associated high levels of dereliction. While the economic crisis has contributed to this, the process was already in train. In the ten or so years leading up to the economic and fiscal crises, out-of-town retail in competition with Drogheda's retail core grew significantly. However, current policy recognises that out-of-town retail developments hold the potential to damage town centre retail provision, and seeks to protect the town centre retail function. A key challenge to arise from this is providing feasible and economically viable retail units within the historic building stock in the town's historic core. This is recognised by policymakers, and recent local policy attempts to address these difficulties. Despite these innovations in policy and guidance, the legacy of past zoning and development control decisions has yet to fully play out.

Arguably, there are four further key challenges facing Drogheda. The first of these is the rationalisation of local development plans following the amalgamation of Drogheda Borough and Louth County Councils, and coordination between the remaining local authorities responsible for the town

and its environs. Secondly, the local civil society/voluntary sector is not well established, and its role in the management of the town's historic core is limited, particularly when compared to case study cities in the UK. Thirdly, while recent urban design guidance for the town is strong, the means by which priority actions will be delivered in practice has yet to be clarified. In particular, mechanisms for funding and the role of key actors remain unclear. Fourthly, and finally, built heritage in the historic core is suffering from long-term neglect and a lack of basic maintenance, most notably to key medieval structures. While attracting private-sector investment into Drogheda's historic core remains a key challenge that the local authority continues to address, the private sector may be unable or unwilling to intervene in the short-to-medium term. Particularly in the emerging national and local policy context that emphasises the potential of heritage in developing tourism and the local economy, there is a strong case for a greater level of state intervention to prevent the loss of key heritage assets.



The Tholsel



Drogheda, Boyne River



View of Drogheda from the south





Bedford Row Shopping Street

# Limerick

is Ireland's third largest city with a population of 91,454. The most recent strategic plan for Limerick summarises the main character of the urban core and describes three areas of distinctive character. The first is the Medieval Quarter, located around King's Island and incorporating King John's Castle and the Nicholas Street and Bishop Street neighbourhood. The second is known as Irish Town, which has 'an organic street layout south of the Canal reflecting a series of smaller scale and independent development blocks between the Medieval Quarter and the Georgian Grid'. The third, and the most well-known, is the Georgian Grid, located to the south of the Abbey River. The city centre is characterised by a Georgian gridiron pattern of streets and blocks and comprises Limerick's main central city streets. The current development plan includes 693 structures on its Record of Protected Structures and six architectural conservation areas. The Plan contains specific policies to preserve the remaining medieval street pattern, the city's medieval walls and the physical integrity of the core by the retention of existing plot sizes and emphasises conservation.

## Adapted approaches and innovations

### - Local municipality investment

Taking advantage of the collapse in property values, the local authority purchased a strategic site in the heart of the city, referred to as the 'Opera' site. The council intends to redevelop the site, combining different functions in the new development. The aim is, firstly, to transfer of some of their own activities there, and to seek to relocate some of the functions of the local university from their suburban campus to the inner core. It is also intended that the development will accommodate a range of cultural activities and functions.

### - Tax incentives for Georgian core

Limerick has an extensive and largely intact Georgian core which in the past has mainly been used for office functions. The Living City Initiative, a Government tax incentive scheme, is aimed at providing incentives to potential owner occupiers to purchase Georgian properties for occupation through application of tax incentives relating to the purchase and refurbishment of such properties. This scheme is in its early stages, but has the potential to make a positive contribution to the regeneration of the urban core.

### Impact of the crisis and key challenges

The loss of key industrial companies in the Limerick city area has had a negative impact on the local economy. The decision of Dell computers to relocate out of Ireland was a blow to its industrial base and, when combined with the economic recession, drove unemployment to a high of almost 30% in the city, according to the 2011 Census. Not surprisingly, vacancy rates of commercial property were of the order of 30% in the historic core, something exacerbated particularly by the development of out-of-town retail centres, as well as by a long-term trend of population movement to the suburbs and beyond.

### Spontaneous private initiatives

Traditionally, state financial support for the preservation and protection of the heritage in Ireland has taken the form of 100% capital grants. However, in order to maximise scarce financial resources, the Government introduced a 'Built Heritage Jobs Leverage Scheme', providing partial state grant funding for architectural conservation projects. Only protected structures are eligible for financing under the scheme, which seeks to leverage private capital for investment in labour-intensive, small-scale conservation projects and to support the employment of skilled and experienced conservation professionals, craft-people and tradespersons in the repair of the historic built environment. While not initiated by the private sector, it depends upon private sector investment.



Aerial view Limerick City





Aerial View of Waterford's Viking Triangle

Waterford City, Ireland's oldest urban centre, was established as a Viking port in 914 and went on to develop into one of the most important towns during the Anglo-Norman period. During this period, the city's defensive walls were constructed and its position as a major strategic port was consolidated. While much of the city's medieval heritage has been lost, some, significant medieval structures remain in a good state of repair, including the city walls and six mural towers. The city expanded as a trading port during the 18th and 19th centuries and new Georgian street layouts were significant additions to the city, such as The Mall, which contains important Georgian buildings like The Bishop's Palace (1752), and Christ Church Cathedral (1779). Now with a population of just over 51,000, it is the country's fifth largest city. The city's development plan contains an objective to protect 922 structures, while two Architectural Conservation Areas have been designated to protect the areas of the precinct around the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity and the South Quays, and a further general conservation area applies to the areas combining the Viking, Norman and Georgian elements of the city. The City Council have also developed a specific 'Heritage Plan' which outlines specific objectives to improve public access to and knowledge regarding the city's built heritage and archaeological assets.

## Adapted approaches and innovations

### - Culture and tourism-led renewal

The Viking Triangle In 2011 Waterford City Council embarked on a multi-disciplinary regeneration and conservation initiative in the 'Viking Triangle' cultural and heritage quarter, to generate economic and tourism potential, create a new cultural identity for the city and generate new cultural, artistic and community opportunities. The initiative aims to reinforce the medieval urban grain, conserve monuments, improve existing route ways and public spaces, promote increased residential occupancy and develop a more comprehensive commercial tourism and retail offering. The City Council are attempting to "...utilise the area's heritage to maximum advantage in kick-starting regeneration of the medieval core.." Much of this work has been completed and so far there has been an investment of €34m in the Viking Triangle area.

### - Fiscal Incentives

The Living City Initiative offers tax breaks for owner-occupiers who purchase and renovate houses in the Georgian core of the city. This tax scheme was only approved earlier this year but it is hoped that it will give incentive some movement of owner-occupiers back into the core.

## Impact of the crisis and key challenges

While Ireland suffered a major economic recession following the international financial crisis, Waterford suffered disproportionately. The loss of key industries, such as Waterford Crystal, led to high levels of unemployment, with the Census of 2011 showing an unemployment rate of 25%. Vacancy rates with respect to commercial buildings in the historic core hit a high of 26% leading to dereliction and building decay. A reduction in state investment in built heritage in the form of financial aid meant that many heritage buildings were considered at risk, a problem compounded by a lack of private sector investment.



Cathedral Square / Henrietta Street, Waterford City



Bishop's Palace Garden, Waterford



# United Kingdom





Newcastle upon Tyne is perhaps best known as an industrial and now post-industrial city. This characterisation overlooks its wealth of medieval and Georgian built heritage. Economic decline and changing demands for property have led to the neglect of some of the historic areas in the urban core. Over the past 20 years efforts have been made to regenerate these areas and find new uses for the historic buildings. The Grainger Town Partnership had significant success in regenerating the Georgian heart of the city. However this well-funded project took place before the current period of austerity. Current efforts at regenerating the medieval part of the city are having to rely upon reduced capital and find a wider range of funding sources. Whilst the previous regeneration programme in Grainger Town was very much founded in the idea of the Urban Renaissance, popular in the last decade, the later projects are more focused on preserving and promoting the culture contribution of the historic area to the city overall.

## Adapted approaches and innovations

### - History of partnership working

Whilst Newcastle lacks the number of civic institutions to be found in York and Norwich those that do exist have built a good working relationship over a number of projects focusing on the historic urban core. This means opportunities can be grasped when presented but they do not have the secure underpinnings found, for example, in York.

### - New Institutions

As funding priorities change new institutions have been created to take advantage of them. The Newcastle Business Improvement District, 'NE1' is primarily focused on improving the situation for businesses in the city. However NE1 has secured funding to develop a Townscape Heritage Initiative to improve the Bigg Market area of the city by offering grants to improve shop frontages and signage and enhancing the public realm in this historic part of the city.

### Impact of the crisis and key challenges

Newcastle City Council has seen a significant reduction in its budget as a result of central government austerity measures. Support for cultural activities is one area that has seen significant budget cuts. This has also resulted in the prospect of selling some of the Council's historic assets.

There has needed to be a shift in focus and purpose when dealing with the projects to enhance the historic core. Previous schemes relied on economic regeneration. However, large scale funding of this type for physical development is no longer available. Smaller funding streams focused more narrowly on cultural heritage are now the main source of capital.

As the economic downturn continues there is a risk previous investment in the historic core, such as took place in Grainger Town, could be reversed as a lack of ongoing investment in the fabric of buildings allows them to deteriorate.

### Old Newcastle

The Old Newcastle project aims to regenerate the medieval area of the historic core. The project is led by the Heart of the City Partnership which includes the City Council, the Cathedral Church of St. Nicholas, The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, and representatives of the local heritage and business sectors.

The project has significantly enhanced the old 'New Castle', after which the city takes its name, as a visitor attraction. The project also includes a series of cultural events to inspire and educate people about the mediaeval history of the city. A further aim is to make closer links between the restored and renewed Castle and the Church of St. Nicholas, the city's Anglican Cathedral, which together make up the key medieval area of the historic core, and to re-establish the sites at the heart of the city's heritage and contemporary life.



Newcastle, Greys Monument - Photo by: Mik Mills

### Opportunities for the Future

The slow recovery from financial crisis is starting to create demand for development again. The newly formed Combined Authority is now bidding for greater devolved powers which should return a degree of spatial planning power to the region. This could offer an opportunity to have a more integrated and holistic approach to development in the city as a whole which includes the historic core. Initiatives such as the pedestrianisation of the whole of Grey Street have been proposed bringing more of a café culture to the area. This needs a strong voice for the historic elements of the city, something which needs to be developed further.





New York City Council's offices converted from historic railway terminus  
Photo by: John Pendlebury

York is one of the most important historic cities in the north of England. It was the regional capital during the Roman and Viking periods and remains a significant regional centre today. The legacy of these successive periods of occupation is clear in the buildings and monuments which remain in the city. In the 20th Century York's strategic place on the rail network and the development of the confectionary industry in the city in turn left its mark on the built environment of the city. The city retains its role as a service and retail centre as well as sustaining a well-established tourism industry. In addition to these existing strengths the city's universities could play a significant role in the development of a knowledge based economy. This is being pursued through initiatives such as the "Make It York" company, Science City York and its UNESCO City of Media Arts designation. The historic core brand is seen as key to attracting these types of knowledge intensive industry and the high-skill high-wage jobs they bring.

## Adapted approaches and innovations

### - A strong civic institutional capacity

York benefits from a rich and longstanding set of civic institutions that seek to preserve and enhance the historic urban core. Their longevity has allowed them to develop independent financial and strong human capital which allows connections to a range of civic networks in the city and have a significant role to play in both the ownership of historic property and promoting environmental improvements.

### - Adaptability

As direct conservation funding has been reduced, the City Council has levered funding for public realm improvements in the historic core as part of other projects. For example transport and sustainable development projects have been able to gain additional funding for such works to complement their principal objectives.

### - Taking advantage of reduced development pressure

The Council has consolidated its functions in the conversion of the historic original main railway station for its own offices. This has had the effect of stimulating the market and development more widely in this part of York.

## Impact of the crisis and key challenges

York's economy has passed through the financial crisis relatively unscathed and significant development has continued within the historic urban core.

However, the City Council has suffered significant budget cuts which have for example, led to the loss of conservation posts. These cuts look likely to continue. This has led to reduced capacity to monitor and proactively manage the historic urban core. One response to budget cuts has been to create Make It York (see next section). Whilst such an organisation has the potential to play an important role in providing leadership and vision in ensuring a coordinated approach to the management of heritage assets and the historic city, its focus is necessarily different from the established conservation-planning role of protecting historic buildings and areas.

## Make It York

Make It York is an arms-length company formed jointly by York City Council, Visit York and Science City York. It has a remit to be a one-stop destination management organisation and is responsible for a number of place-based initiatives:

- business support, including sector development and inward investment
- visitor economy
- arts and culture
- city centre markets and events.

As an independent company Make It York is able to tap into a wider range of funding opportunities than a traditional public sector body. It is also a means of coordinating a range of place-based activities that span normal public sector silos but which have complementary goals.

Whilst the management of the historic core is secondary to its principal objectives, it is likely that several initiatives, such as efforts to establish a Business Improvement District, will have a direct impact on the physical development of the historic core of the city.



York Minster  
Source: York City Council

## Opportunities for the Future

York has a wealth of world-renowned heritage assets which attracts both visitors and residents to the city. This heritage brand is a solid foundation to support the economy of the city and ensure the cultural heritage is valued and enhanced in the future.

The compact nature of the city and its connectivity to the wider region also offers York the opportunity to maintain its role as a retail centre as a complementary purpose for the historic core.





Aalso Norwich,  
Photo by: John Pendlebury

Norwich has managed to weather the financial crisis relatively well. Its role as a service and retail centre has insulated it from the worst of the economic downturn but not left it unscathed. There has been a focus on creating a more cohesive brand from the varied heritage resources when promoting the historic core of the city. The history of the city has been highlighted through linking a number of key historic buildings both culturally as well as physically. There has also been a focus upon improving the public realm, working with local businesses to achieve this. The city has a number of civic institutions which have as their aims the preservation and development of the historic core. There have been moves to improve coordination of these groups both in terms of their strategic response to the challenges facing the city and in terms of their own management and sustainability.

## Adapted approaches and innovations

### - Entrepreneurial approach of civic institutions:

Norwich has a similar range of civic institutions to York but they lack a similar degree of long-term financial security. This has resulted in a more entrepreneurial approach to revenue generation. Projects such as “Norwich 12” have allowed Norwich Heart to continue to play a role in promoting the value of the heritage to the local economy.

### - Space to debate the future:

The reduced capacity of the local authority has created the space for other institutions to articulate their visions for the future. This has allowed a range of visions to be developed and debated for the city and the historic urban core.

### Impact of the crisis and key challenges

The crisis led to a reduction in development pressure. A positive outcome of this was that some unsuitable development proposals, for example to divide historic town houses into flats, failed to proceed. On the negative side a lack of development has resulted in the decline of some historic buildings

Recession and continuing austerity has focused the Council’s attention on managing its extensive historic building portfolio. Many buildings were acquired for a specific purpose which is no longer is relevant; road improvement schemes or slum clearance for example. Initially the Council sought to dispose of these properties with little thought for their long-term future. However, following a backlash against this approach, the Council has now developed a Heritage Investment Plan which considers which buildings the Council needs to retain and which can be disposed of and to ensure buildings for disposal are not put at risk.

The New Anglian Local Enterprise Partnership has uniquely established a Cultural Board including representation from cultural and heritage organisations and is leading the development of a cultural tourism strategy in which heritage is a key component.

### ‘Norwich 12’

This is an innovative project to raise the profile, both nationally and internationally, of Norwich’s rich cultural heritage. Funded through the UK Treasury’s ‘Invest to Save Budget’ the project also sought to make savings in the running costs of the buildings by bringing together their management. The project had several aims:

- to encourage collaboration and joint promotion of the heritage buildings
- to tell the story of Norwich through its built heritage
- respond to the changed economic climate and save costs.

The Norwich 12 project was developed and delivered by Norwich HEART, a not-for-profit organisation, which seeks to develop and promote the cultural heritage of Norwich.

HEART initially received significant core funding from the local authority and the Regional Development Agency and local authority. However, following the abolition of RDAs and the financial crisis and reduced local authority budgets this funding is no longer available. To compensate HEART has sought to diversify its funding base including project funding and commercial activities.



Princes Street  
Source: VisitNorwich

### Opportunities for the Future

The Norwich Society’s 2035 report highlights how opportunities for Norwich can be found by addressing current problems. One opportunity highlighted in the strategy is how by tackling the sustainability agenda the regeneration of the historic core can be supported. Many of the challenges for the city and the historic core revolve around public transport and the deterioration of public spaces. Finding solutions to these problems will have an indirect affect on the quality of the historic core. Efforts to preserve and restore historic assets therefore need to be tied in with these sustainability initiatives.





## Findings and conclusions

This project was a networking project, with a focus on the sharing and exchange of knowledge and experience. It was a pilot project with limited resources for first hand investigation and much reliance is placed on documentary sources and a small number of interviews with key actors. Nevertheless, the cases have generated a better international comparative understanding of the changing approaches to managing historic urban cores in north-west Europe, and also provide a clear agenda of issues and questions for further investigation.

In this chapter attention is given first to past developments and how they shaped the actual spatial and functional characteristic of the historic urban core in the three countries. These developments and characteristics show several differences. Consideration of local government's future vision and objectives for the historic urban core follows. They show many similarities for the three countries. The future direction is explained next which is dependent on the current situation, social and economic developments, the management capacity of the local authority and other organisations and available budgets. On this point the approaches chosen in the different countries show similarities as well as considerable differences. A closer look is taken on specific the differences because they can have potential for policy transfer. Finally a list of questions are raised that come forward from the project, and which provide starting points for further research and experiments.

## Past developments and historic urban core characteristics

The historic urban cores of cities in the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Ireland have had, and to a large extent continue to hold, specific characteristics alongside differing social and economic conditions, which are decisive for the management approach chosen by local government.

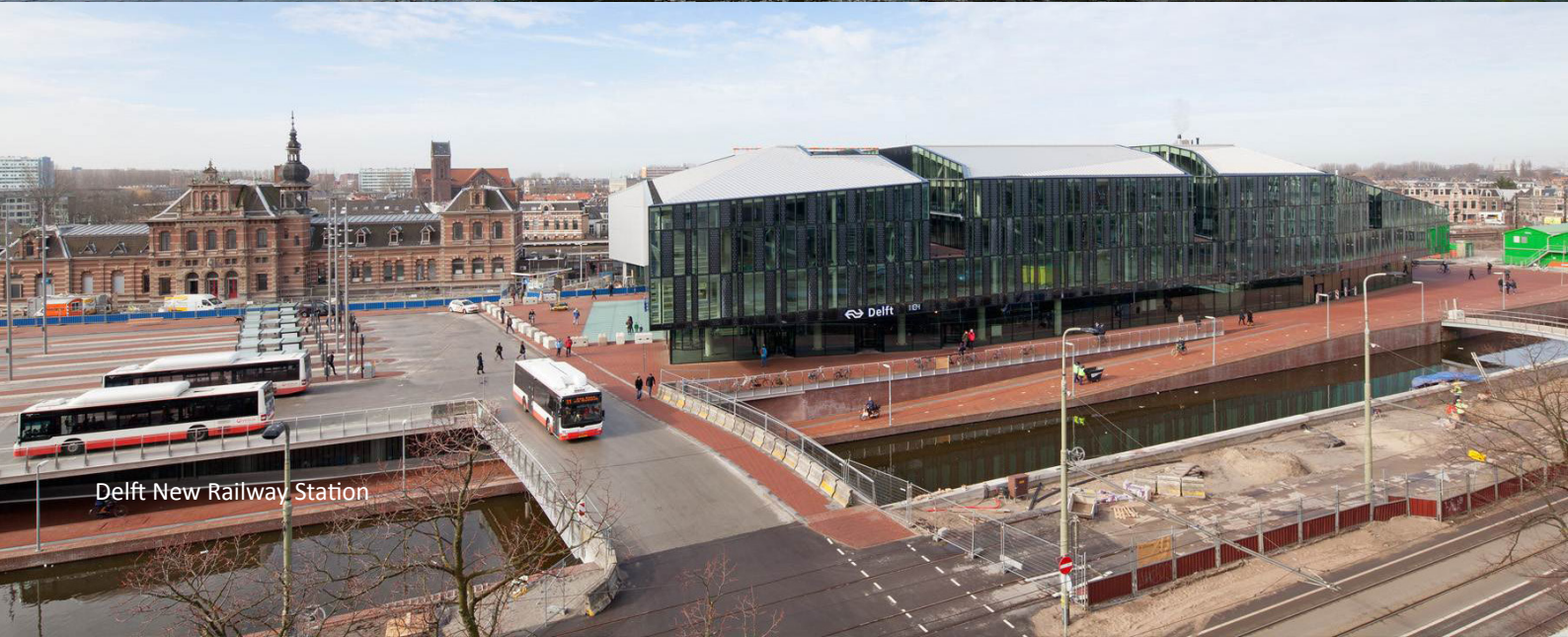




York Railway Station



Scotch Hall Shopping Centre, Drogheda



Delft New Railway Station

## Netherlands

In the Netherlands the housing function of the core historic area grew rapidly starting in the 1960s and 1970s. The people originally living in the historic cores tended to move out but they were replaced generally by a younger population of starter families, students and entrepreneurs.

During that same period large-scale urban functions in need of more floor space like supermarkets, schools and hospitals, moved to cheaper, bigger and car-accessible locations outside the core. Small-scale specialty shops, cultural functions, bars and restaurants moved in. These uses fit very well in the small-scale structure of the historic urban core. Since the 1960s general public interest in the cultural heritage has grown and the historic urban core has become a major tourist attraction and thus a marketing tool for local government to give the city a stronger profile in the growing competition between cities.

In the Netherlands responsibility for safeguarding the urban built heritage, mainly to be found in the city core, was assigned to and claimed by the municipalities. In their role as guardians and regulators of the historic urban core, local government developed policies and strategies to help guide decision-making. The municipality was the competent and accountable authority to manage urban change with a range of mechanisms or tools at its disposal for the management task, including formal legal powers of regulation, detailed plan-making, project investment and development and other non-statutory powers and intangible assets in building support for the strategy.

In the context of heritage as a public good, the local municipality financed its planning and management through its own resources drawn from central government funding and local taxes. Municipalities were also able to make financial gains by playing the role of land developer. Until 2008 it was common practice in the Netherlands for the municipal development company to obtain land for future building sites and sell it at a considerable profit.

## United Kingdom

The UK has seen the process of the passing of public assets, public services, and the civil service itself on to private and voluntary sectors since the 1960s. The processes of privatisation and deregulation of public services have formed the core of neo-liberal restructuring for a long time, and were accelerated in the 1980s and again more recently since 2010. Over recent years this has been accompanied with the rhetoric of ‘localism’ that seeks to emphasise the involvement of the voluntary and community sectors in urban governance networks. This was evident in the formulation of the doctrine of ‘Big Society’ that was designed to encourage citizens and local communities to take powers and responsibilities into their own hands, and in more concrete ways through the instigation of a statutory form of neighbourhood planning in England. Localism has informed law and policy such as in the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) and the Localism Act. New relatively small streams of funding available from the governmental departments and the Homes and Communities Agency (HCA), have opened up new avenues for strengthening the role of local communities, amenity societies and private companies in the governance of the historic urban core. At the same time there are considerable challenges for planning cities in the UK. Compared to other European countries the UK finds itself in a quite unique position given its relatively sharp demographic growth coupled with long-lasting undersupply of housing. But the experience of cities varies greatly across the country with a concentration of investment and development in the south of England and a few pockets of prosperity in the north.

In the last 20 years, much city centre visioning has been done through non-statutory master plans that aim at elaboration of new visions for the historic urban core, city branding, building investor confidence and real estate management. The turn towards non-statutory design-led master plans in the governance of urban cores has rebalanced the governance networks in the UK. First, it allows local authorities to bypass a slow central government endorsement process. Second, the new generation of master plans enables

stronger involvement of the private sector - urban design firms, private consultants, landowners and real estate development companies – in shaping the urban core.

## Ireland

During the Celtic Tiger period (1995-2007) Ireland experienced very high levels of economic growth. During that time, the country transformed from one of Europe’s poorer countries into one of its wealthiest. The crisis of 2008 was a bombshell. In early January 2009, The Irish Times, in an editorial, declared: ‘We have gone from the Celtic Tiger to an era of financial fear with the suddenness of a Titanic-style shipwreck, thrown from comfort, even luxury, into a cold sea of uncertainty’.

The economic crisis has had significant negative impacts on the historic cores. Poor economic conditions have led to lack of private investment in built heritage, while the perilous condition of public finances has meant that the state has not been in a position to invest in the built environment either. Underlying this have been longer-term trends such as the movement of population and housing from the historic core to the suburbs and beyond, with the development of out-of-town retail space compounding the issue. Taken together, this has led to underuse and dereliction in the historic core. While a comprehensive built heritage conservation system in Ireland was enacted in 2000, a lack of resources has undermined it to some extent. The economic crisis in Ireland has led to high vacancy rates in the historic urban core (between 20 and 30% in some cases). Former tax incentive schemes led to the migration of office uses out of the historic core. Built heritage in the core has suffered from long-term neglect and lack of basic maintenance. That also indicates that the built heritage assets have not been used to their full potential.



# Future vision and objectives

The vision and objectives stipulating the future function and characteristics of the core continue to have many similarities in the three countries. Without defining the time perspective and taking a general perspective the following main aspects are the most important:

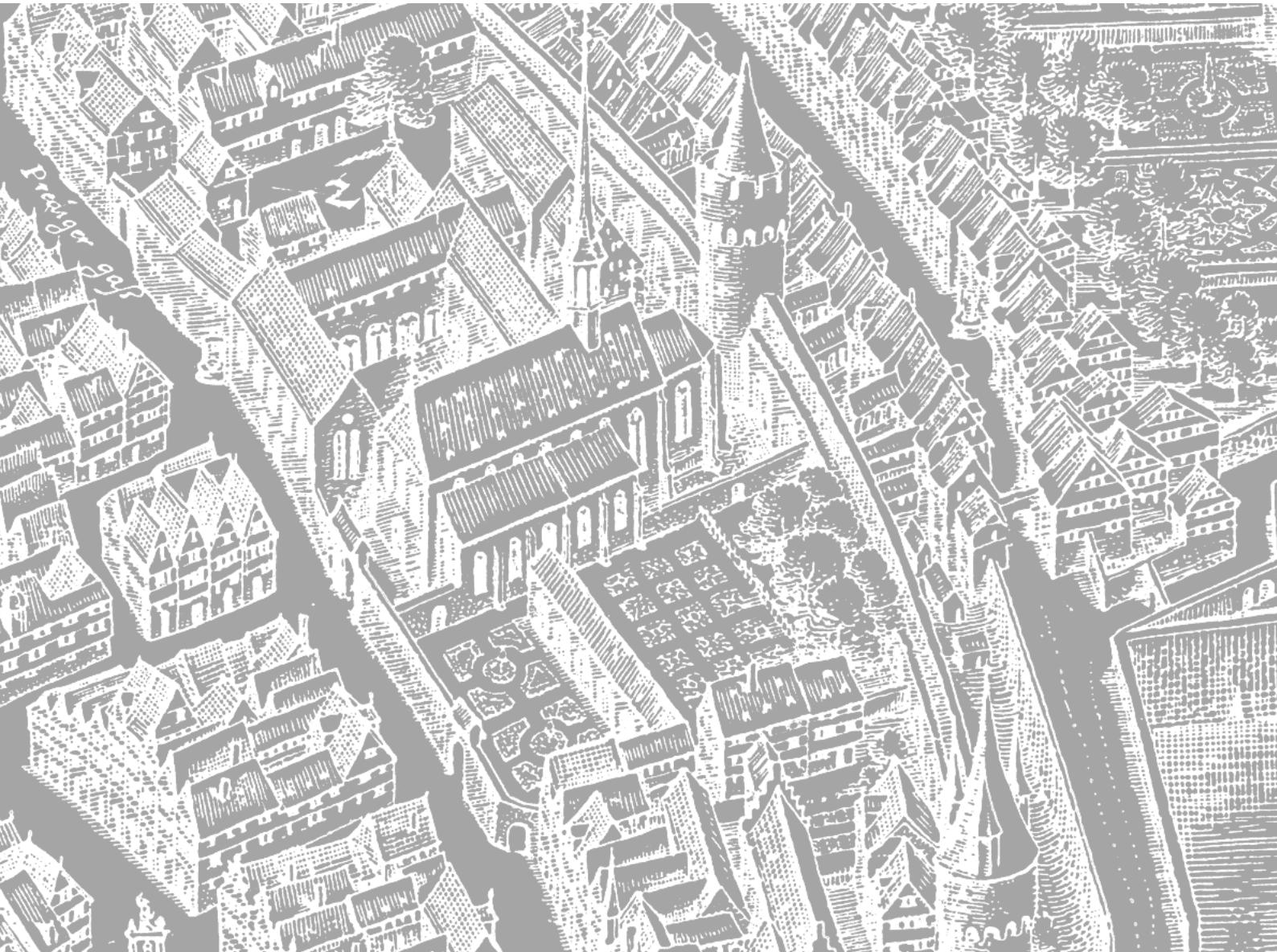
1. a fully occupied or used area, with a strong residential function;
2. full use the economic potential of the area, and the specific cultural assets it offers;
3. a local policy in which the function of the core is related to that of the other urban areas in the city;
4. a management approach in which there is optimally balanced efforts of public, private and civil society stakeholders.

## Route to the future, challenges and preferences

The impacts of the financial crisis on the management and planning of the historic urban cores in the Netherlands, England and Ireland are profound and relate to predominantly the same processes:

- cuts in public funding for conservation and heritage-related regeneration initiatives;
- a slow response from the private sector that may hesitate to invest;
- decreasing capacity of local authorities to actively manage urban change.

These factors vary, both between countries and between the case study cities, in terms of the symptoms, their severity, and the capability of multi-scalar governance networks to address them. Their effects are reinforced because the economic shockwave rippled through cities at a time when their economic growth was significantly linked to real estate development.



## Netherlands

In Dutch historic urban cores it is very hard to find a spot or a square metre of building floor space that is not fully used. Living in the historic urban core is considered highly attractive by a considerable part of the population. Also small scale enterprises, specialty shops, restaurants, art galleries and other cultural services favour the historic urban core to locate their business. The retail function of the historic core is adjusted to the limitations of the existing buildings, urban fabric and accessibility. Function follows form is accepted as a restriction. The function of the historic urban core has taken shape over a period of several decades under careful supervision and management by the municipality, and is well balanced with specific attention to the historic cultural values of the place.

The challenge for the Netherlands is centred on the balancing of contributions from different stakeholders in the public, private and civil sectors of society. The crisis of 2008 shuffled the division of roles among the stakeholders at the local level. The search for a new balance is still going on. The budgets of local governments are strongly reduced and therefore the planning and management capacity of what has been the leading stakeholder has become very limited. To maintain the qualities of the historic urban core at its current level will undoubtedly require private and civil society stakeholders to take over more tasks and responsibilities. To cope with changing roles and circumstances there is a general emphasis on the following actions:

- an emphasis on a more ‘flexible’ zoning plan for the historic urban core;
- the selling of publically-owned real estate, mostly in the historic urban core;
- the shift in role of the municipality from ‘caretaker’ to ‘facilitator’;
- private sector cooperation initiatives like BIDs embracing the whole historic urban core with the aim of public space maintenance and improvement.

In summary, the emphasis in the Netherlands is on consolidating the spatial, functional and economic situation with a different team of players, a much

smaller public budget, and a shift in legal rights and responsibilities, in new development policies, regulations and other arrangements.

## United Kingdom

The English cities considered in this project have sought to sustain some continuation of the ‘public realm’ legacy of the ‘Urban Renaissance’. While generous regeneration schemes from the late 1990s and early 2000s were depleted and discontinued after 2008, local authorities across the UK can access modest funding designated to transport improvements, in particular those that promote sustainable mobility. For example, the Reinvigorate York Project builds on synergies between removal and reduction of car traffic in parts of the walled city, improvements to the public realm and landscaping. The philosophy of the project dwells on a vision of the city as a network of public spaces connected by pedestrianised spine routes and “shared slow traffic spaces” used by privileged vehicles, cyclists and pedestrians.

In the UK local government has played a central role in managing the historic urban core but there has long been involvement of a wider partnership of stakeholders and particularly the use of private investment funding and value capture in maintenance of the heritage. The challenges revolve around maintaining a balance of public, private and voluntary efforts whilst also seeking more full use of building assets and functions in the historic core.

## Ireland

The strategy chosen in Ireland is characterised by very ambitious set of objectives that go beyond what the market can absorb and what can be planned and managed by local stakeholders.

In order to tackle the high vacancy rates and stimulate the housing function of the core the Irish ‘Living Cities’ fiscal initiative was launched in 2015, targeted at owner occupiers in Limerick and Waterford, Cork, Galway, Kilkenny, and Dublin. This initiative is very recently put into action and it is therefore

difficult to judge its potential, success or failure related to the objectives. The historic urban core is seen as the principal retail and leisure destination for the city. In relation to that the objective is to accommodate large-scale use within the historic urban core of older buildings and plots which are or become available. In addition there are plans to continue to develop sites at the edge of cities.

For example, the Viking Triangle in Waterford is an historic urban core development which has been very successful in facilitating and stimulating tourism. It is an attraction framing the historic urban core as a former Viking stronghold. This project was pushed forward by an ambitious local government, using creative funding, and private sector convinced of promising tourist status and related benefits. The ‘Built Heritage Jobs Leverage Scheme’ launched by the National Lottery and co-funded by the private sector can support private initiatives aiming for restoration and upgrading historic buildings and areas.

Some local authorities in Ireland also used the crisis as a window of opportunity to buy land at cheaper rates and, by doing so, increased their own bargaining power in negotiations on potential future developments. In the context of a very damaging crash in the Irish economy and relatively less attention to the maintenance of the historic urban core in the past, the Irish cities face wide-ranging challenges today. The cities face significant challenges across all four objectives – maintaining full use of assets, connecting the function of the core to the wider city and enabling contributions from the public, private and voluntary sectors. Given the slowly recovering economy, in combination with weak capacity in government initiatives are most dependent on watchful waiting for opportunities.



# Questions for future research

The SHUC pilot project has provided valuable insights into current developments in the management of historic urban cores. The fundamental changes taking place raise many questions – and our investigation has also shown that the local authorities themselves are keen to learn more about how the really difficult challenges are being addressed elsewhere. Here we pick out some key questions that the SHUC team recommend for future research. The individual case study reports provide more detailed commentary.

## Cocktail funding

Public funding for conservation and heritage-related regeneration initiatives is much reduced. New funding schemes based on a mix of public and multi private funding need to be developed. Tax incentives are, in this context, a promising and not fully explored component. Long term benefits in social and financial/economic terms for the different stakeholders willing to support need to be specified and secured in contracts and regulations. Inevitably, funding, incentives and sanctions will be more mixed in future – a cocktail of tools. Components of a cocktail identified in this project provide a starting point for the creation of a categorisation and catalogue of available tools.

## The retail function of the historic urban core

There are wide differences in the experiences of countries in coping with the impact of successive waves of retail innovation on the historic urban core. The Netherlands has generally fared better than the UK and Ireland. Future changes in shopping provision will continue to present challenges and opportunities for the historic core. There is a need to anticipate and understand future demand developments in the retail market and the potential of the historic core to meet them. What will be the function of the historic urban core in the total framework of retail supply facilities?

## The role of the private and civil society sectors

Governments expect the private sector to play a more active role in managing the historic urban core. There is experience of this, for example, in the business improvement district (BID), where businesses pay a levy in order to fund projects in the core, sometimes drawing on other public, private and voluntary funding streams. There are also examples of civil society organisations taking on tasks formally led by municipalities. BIDs (or other forms such as business revitalization zones, community improvement districts and the like can provide a wide range of services from street cleaning to capital improvements, to marketing. Experience in BIDS over 10 years has demonstrated that they, and similar initiatives, have potential to assist in management of cities. More investigation is needed of their specific contribution to the management of historic cores and how stakeholder partnerships can operate successfully to achieve common objectives.

## Heritage-led education

The future of the historic urban core depends to a large extent on changing public opinion. The need to conserve the built heritage, and the public's support for this in the three countries studied here, tends to be taken for granted. But there is a continuing need to ensure that heritage objectives are integrated with wider cultural, social and economic concerns in society and that public awareness and understanding of the importance of heritage is maintained. One example of a project that delivers on this is the UK 'Old Newcastle' project which seeks to combine tangible and intangible dimensions of the heritage together with education and social activities. The project is delivering a heritage-led education and interpretation centre involving a wide range of interests from the City Council, the Cathedral, the University and other. The potential of heritage-led education and social action has much potential and is certainly a subject for further investigation.

## Public good, common good, club good

The SHUC project has concentrated on gathering empirical evidence on the changing approaches to planning and management of the historic urban core. The conceptual framework for the study (explained in another report) concentrates on the type of instruments that can be used in planning and management. This project has demonstrated that in the context of the radical reforms in the role of government and planning, reinforced by austerity measures following the banking crisis, local government in the three countries is seeking and experimenting with new ways to maintain this common good – the shared heritage. But there is a need to consider the nature of the historic urban core and its role in society more fundamentally, especially its role in the collective memory and place identity of communities. The historic core is the place where traces of long gone times are mingled with change in the recent past. The access to experience of the history of the place is a common good. We

propose to investigate the role of the historic urban core as a common good – or more precisely following Buchanan (1965) – a 'club good'. The concept of club good offers a valuable framework to approach the management of a city's historic urban core and will be related to notions of 'place identity' as a valuable asset that needs careful management.



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