

HECTOR EDUARDO ROJAS TOPP

**GOVERNANCE MATTERS FOR THE
CONSERVATION OF THE URBAN HERITAGE
THE CASE OF FOUR WORLD HERITAGE SITES
IN LATIN AMERICA**

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Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias
Faculdade de Ciências Sociais, Educação e Administração

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HECTOR EDUARDO ROJAS TOPP

**IMPORTÂNCIA DA GOVERNANÇA PARA A
CONSERVAÇÃO DO PATRIMÓNIO URBANO.
NO CASO DE QUATRO SÍTIOS DO
PATRIMÔNIO MUNDIAL NA AMÉRICA LATINA**

Tese apresentada para a obtenção do Grau de Doutor em Urbanismo no Curso de Doutoramento em Urbanismo conferido pela Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias.

Orientador: Prof. Doutor Mário Caneva de Magalhães Moutinho

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“There are many gifts that are unique to man; but at the centre of them all, the root from which all knowledge grows, lies the ability to draw conclusions from what we see to what we do not see, to move our minds through space and time, and to recognise ourselves in the past on the steps to the present.”

Jacob Bronowski
The Ascent of Man

Resumo

A tese discute a governança do processo de conservação do património urbano focando os factores subjacentes que enquadram as decisões de conservação e influenciam a alocação de recursos para este esforço. A tese propõe um enquadramento analítico para estudar o processo de tomada de decisão de áreas patrimoniais urbanas utilizando uma abordagem baseada em valores. A utilidade do enquadramento é testada analisando quatro casos de preservação do património urbano em centros históricos da América Latina incluídos na Lista do Património Mundial da UNESCO: Oaxaca (México), Quito (Equador), Salvador Bahia (Brasil) e Valparaíso (Chile). A tese conclui que a conservação sustentável das zonas de património urbano exige: que a sua extensa gama de valores socioculturais e económicos seja apreciada por um amplo espectro de atores sociais; que devem participar ativamente no sentido de se tornarem atores comprometidos, e; alcançar um equilíbrio delicado entre conservação e desenvolvimento. Para tal, a conservação do património urbano deve ser plenamente incorporada nos objetivos de desenvolvimento da comunidade; Os sítios patrimoniais precisam ser disponibilizados para usos com a demanda solvente nas comunidades, permitindo a sua reabilitação adaptativa para usos contemporâneos; e que as instituições responsáveis pela conservação do património precisam para se tornarem parte integrante do quadro institucional, parcerias para promover o desenvolvimento social e económico das comunidades.

Palavras-chave:

Preservação Histórica, Governo, Planeamento Urbano, Reabilitação Adaptativa, Partes Interessadas

Abstract

The thesis discusses the governance of the urban heritage conservation process focussing on the underlying factors that frame the conservation decisions and influence the allocation of resources to this effort. The thesis proposes an analytical framework to study the decision-making process leading to the listing and conservation of urban heritage areas using the values-based approach. The usefulness of the framework is tested analysing four cases of urban heritage preservation efforts in historic centres of Latin America included in the World Heritage List of UNESCO: Oaxaca (Mexico), Quito (Ecuador), Salvador de Bahia (Brazil) and Valparaiso (Chile). The thesis concludes that the sustainable conservation of urban heritage areas requires: that their extensive range of socio-cultural and economic values be appreciated by a wide spectrum of social actors; that they must actively participate in the effort becoming committed stakeholders, and; achieving a delicate balance between conservation and development. To this end the conservation of the urban heritage need to be fully incorporated to the development goals of the community; the heritage sites need to be put to uses with solvent demand in the communities allowing for their adaptive rehabilitation to contemporary uses; and the institutions in charge of conserving the heritage need to become an integral part of the institutional arrangements to promote the social and economic development of the communities.

Key words:

Historic Preservation, Governance, Urban Planning, Adaptive Rehabilitation, Stakeholders

Acronyms

CONDER	Companhia de Desenvolvimento Urbano do Estado da Bahia (Urban Development Corporation of the State of Bahia)
CMN	Consejo de Monumentos Nacionales (National Monument Council)
ECHQ	Empresa del Centro Histórico de Quito (Historic Centre Corporation)
FONSAL	Fondo de Salvamento (Rescue Fund)
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IPAC	Instituto do Patrimônio Artístico Cultural da Bahia (Cultural and Artistic Heritage Institute of Bahia)
IPHAN	Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage)
INAH	Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (National Institute of Anthropology and History)
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
MINVU	Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo (Ministry of Housing and Urbanism)
SEDESOL	Secretaría de Desarrollo Social (Social Development Secretariat)
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WHC	World Heritage Centre
WHL	World Heritage List
WHD	World Heritage in Danger
WMF	World Monument Fund

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Introdução

**A importância das questões de governação na sustentável
conservação dos sítios urbanos do património mundial**

A conservação do património urbano ganhou força em meados do século XX na Europa, em parte em reação à grande perda de património ocorreu na Segunda Guerra Mundial e, em parte, como um fenómeno cultural que coloca o aumento do valor da cultura e suas manifestações como componentes centrais do processo de desenvolvimento social e económico das comunidades. O movimento que começou na Europa teve seguidores na América Latina no final do século XX e está a fazer progressos na Ásia e na África no início do século XXI. A preocupação com o património urbano aumenta ainda mais as comunidades locais ao redor do mundo mostram uma forte determinação para preservar seus bairros históricos e os seus modos de vida ameaçada por predadores investimentos imobiliários em cidades globalizadas em rápido crescimento mas mal regulamentadas. A preocupação com a preservação do património urbano que foi inicialmente focada no monumento histórico e os espaços públicos em torno deles evoluiu para abranger bairros inteiros, centros históricos e cidades históricas. Através deste processo evolutivo a conservação de áreas do património urbano ganhou 'voz' como uma preocupação social em muitos países e, mais importante, também ganhou 'legitimidade política' como uma área de intervenção do governo em alguns deles.¹

A Crescente Importância da Conservação do Património Urbano

A crescente preocupação com a conservação do património urbano entre as comunidades ao redor do mundo levou à adopção de uma legislação específica por parte dos governos locais, regionais e nacionais e para estabelecer instituições envolvidas com a gestão do património construído em um número crescente de países. A preocupação tem uma dimensão internacional na Convenção para a Proteção do Património Mundial Cultural e Natural (aqui a Convenção), adoptada pela Organização das Nações Unidas da Educação, Ciência e Cultura (UNESCO), em 1972. Em 2013, a Lista do Património Mundial (WHL) -que mantém o registo do conjunto de sítios arqueológicos, edifícios e sítios naturais que adquiriu a condição de

¹ Embora a literatura especializada usa as palavras "preservação" e "conservação" do património urbano como intercambiáveis, este estudo propositadamente emprega o termo "conservação", uma vez que implica uma abordagem mais pró-ativa para o problema. Quando conectado a herança, a preservação substantivo, originário a preservar, está associado a ações para manter e perpetuar algo, de alguma forma, o que implica manter as coisas como elas são. A conservação substantivo é associada com as ações mais dinâmicas de gestão, criação e manutenção, e é, portanto, mais perto da abordagem pró-ativa para a gestão do património urbano discutido neste trabalho.

património comum da humanidade, por força das decisões do Comité do Património Mundial- incluíram um total de 981 propriedades localizadas em 160 países, incluindo: 759 sítios culturais, 193 áreas naturais, e 29 sites que têm importância cultural e natural.

Os 190 países signatários identificam e nomeiam as propriedades situadas nos seus respectivos territórios a serem considerados para inscrição na Lista do Património Mundial. Em cada caso, a informação sobre a importância cultural ou natural da propriedade é complementado com um plano de gestão específico de conservação que explica como a propriedade está sendo e como ele vai continuar a ser protegidos. É responsabilidade do governo de cada país com locais culturais ou naturais no WHL proteger os valores universais de seus sítios e de informar periodicamente sobre a sua condição. Desde 1992, o Centro do Patrimônio Mundial, o ponto focal na UNESCO para todos os assuntos relacionados com o patrimônio mundial, monitora o cumprimento desses compromissos (WHC, 2014). O Comité do Patrimônio Mundial também toma decisões em suas reuniões anuais sobre o patrimônio em risco, ao decidir quais sites incluídos na WHL precisam ser incluídos em uma lista de Patrimônio Mundial em Perigo (WHD). Em 2013, havia um sítio urbano da América Latina listada no WHD (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/danger/>). Listagem no WHD constitui um tapa no pulso para os governos que tiveram sucesso em obter o estatuto de patrimônio mundial para os seus sites, mas depois não conseguem gerenciar esses sites de maneiras que são compatíveis com a sua conservação.² A listagem dos sítios do patrimônio como herança comum da humanidade e do chamado de atenção para o risco de desaparecimento enquadrar a questão central discutida neste estudo: Como conservar o que é valorizado pelo mundo e, em particular, o processo de decisão em curso no comunidades para definir regulamentos e a alocação de recursos para a conservação do seu patrimônio urbano.

² O Fundo Mundial do Monumentos (WMF) também tem uma lista de bens do patrimônio em perigo, o relógio que é publicada cada dois anos. Propriedades incluídas no *WMF Watch* são selecionados por um comitê de especialistas e são escolhidos entre todos os que são submetidos pelos patrocinadores de todo o mundo em resposta ao apelo do WMF à apresentação de propostas (WMF, 2013). Desde 1996, o relógio bienal tem atraído a atenção internacional para sítios do patrimônio cultural, que necessitam de assistência, listando um total de 688 sítios localizados em 132 países. O relógio é concebido como uma ferramenta para chamar a atenção mundial para sítios do patrimônio em perigo de grave deterioração ou mesmo o desaparecimento, se eles estão incluídos no WHL ou não. Fundada em 1965, a World Monuments Fund (WMF) é uma organização privada sem fins lucrativos, internacional dedicada à conservação da arquitetura histórica e sítios do patrimônio cultural em todo o mundo. A assistência é prestada sob a forma de trabalho de campo, defesa, doações, educação e formação. A WMF está sediada em Nova York, e tem escritórios e filiais em todo o mundo (<http://www.wmf.org/>).

Os governos dos países com propriedades incluídas no WHL admitem uma grande responsabilidade na concretização deste objectivo. A Convenção, entre outras obrigações, obriga os governos a

"... c) integrar a proteção do património nos programas de planificação geral; d) criação de serviços para a proteção, conservação e valorização do património; e) desenvolver estudos científicos e técnicos para identificar ações que possam combater os perigos que ameaçam o património; f) tomar as medidas jurídicas, científicas, técnicas, administrativas e financeiras adequadas para proteger o património; g) promover a criação ou o desenvolvimento de centros nacionais ou regionais de formação para a proteção, conservação e valorização do património e incentivar a pesquisa científica nestes domínios; "(UNESCO, 1972: 4).

Além disso, as diretrizes para a implementação da Convenção assinalam, "Todos os bens inscritos na Lista do Património Mundial deve ter proteção legislativa, regulamentar, institucional e/ou tradicional adequado de longo prazo e de gestão para assegurar a sua salvaguarda. Essa proteção deve incluir limites adequadamente delineadas "(UNESCO 2008: 25).

A questão decorrente dos compromissos assumidos pelos Estados, como resultado do sucesso na nomeação de sítios património urbano para a WHL, é se trabalhando isolados conseguirão cumprir as obrigações de forma eficaz. A resposta a esta questão depende, obviamente, do tipo de património nomeado. É espectável que os Estados, ainda que minimamente organizados, sejam capazes de cuidar de monumentos individuais. No entanto este nem sempre é o caso, pois locais complexos, como grandes sítios arqueológicos e ruínas antigas, colocam elevados desafios científicos e técnicos que continuam a desafiar os cientistas e conservadores. A América Latina possui muito património desta natureza desafiante, por exemplo, os sítios arqueológicos Maias da América Central (Getty 2009). Também problemático é o facto de muitos países latino-americanos carecem de instituições eficazes para cuidar do património. Como consequência, mesmo quando possuem os recursos financeiros necessários, esses países enfrentam dificuldades na sua utilização de forma eficaz.

Objetivos do Estudo e Perguntas de Investigação

Os sítios urbanos patrimoniais representam um desafio especial para os conservadores. A variedade de usos que ocorrem num sítio urbano patrimonial bem como as exigências que estes usos impõem sobre a disponibilidade de edifícios, infraestruturas e espaços públicos é apenas um dos fatores que desafia os esforços de conservação e que complica a gestão de sítio urbano patrimonial. O tamanho da maioria dos sítios urbanos patrimoniais, particularmente centros históricos de cidades de médio e grande porte, faz com que seja necessário dedicar grandes volumes de recursos para sua manutenção - somas que nenhum Estado, de forma autónoma, pode pagar. Tendo em vista as exigências múltiplas, e sempre prementes, sobre o orçamento público de programas de desenvolvimento social e económico, coloca-se sempre a questão sobre a racionalidade de dedicar grandes quantias para a conservação do património urbano, mesmo que o Estado possua recursos suficientes. A conservação do património urbano confronta os Estados com outro dilema. Numa época em que as preocupações ambientais levam os urbanistas a defender cidades mais densas e diversificadas, como podem os Estados obstar à renovação de bairros históricos, localizados em áreas centrais com relativa baixa densidade? Podem as cidades suportar o custo da oportunidade ambiental e não promover uma utilização mais intensa e diversificada desses ativos urbanos? Qual é o equilíbrio correto entre a conservação do património e a necessidade de trazer de volta pessoas e postos de trabalho aos locais centrais dos espaços urbanos onde este património costuma estar localizado? As questões subsequentes abordadas neste estudo são: Se um Estado não consegue sozinho financiar a conservação sustentável de um local urbano patrimonial, e se a conservação deste tipo de sítios coloca questões complexas relativas à alocação de recursos, então como pode um lugar ser sustentavelmente conservado? E, por extensão: Quais são os mais efetivos acordos institucionais e financeiros que assegurem a conservação do património urbano incluído no WHL?

Este estudo focar-se-á num aspeto do problema geral acima descrito: a conservação dos centros históricos incluídos na WHL. Também se irá concentrar numa área geográfica específica: a América Latina. Em particular, este estudo irá discutir a governança do processo de conservação do património urbano e incidirá sobre os fatores subjacentes que enquadram as decisões de conservação e influenciam a alocação de recursos. Este estreitar do objeto de estudo permite uma análise

aprofundada dos problemas este conjunto particular de países confronta e evita o perigo de cair em generalizações que poderiam ser o resultado de um estudo focando num conjunto mais amplo de questões ou de países.

O estudo adotará uma definição de governança abrangente. Segundo Bell (2002: 1), a governança é entendida como "... o uso de instituições e estruturas de autoridade para alocar recursos e coordenar ou controlar as atividades na sociedade, ou em qualquer outro ambiente relevante, incluindo a economia". Consequentemente, a análise concentra-se num conjunto amplo de questões incluindo leis, regulamentos, procedimentos para a tomada de decisões, instituições públicas de comando e controle, arranjos institucionais para a promoção intersectorial e coordenação público-privada, e as capacidades do pessoal afeto à tarefa.

Evolução do Estado do Conhecimento Sobre o Tema ³

Os conceitos e princípios para a conservação do património urbano evoluem significativamente desde a sua primeira regulamentação através da Carta de Veneza em 1964. A preocupação inicial centrava-se na história e nas suas expressões materiais, em particular, na salvaguarda dos monumentos históricos para as gerações futuras. A Carta prevê o recurso a todas as ciências na prática da conservação e restauro e exige que os monumentos sejam intervencionados minimamente e que qualquer intervenção deve ser efetuada respeitando os materiais originais e onde a contemporaneidade é bem marcada diferenciando-a quer do design quer dos materiais originais do monumento. A Carta afastou-se da tradição anterior de conservar o monumento individual reconhecendo que a conservação do monumento também abrange a conservação do seu entorno. A Carta também revela também uma preocupação com a sustentabilidade do esforço de preservação indicando que a conservação de um monumento é facilitada se possuir "algum propósito socialmente útil". A Carta de Veneza permitiu a académicos e técnicos um conjunto de princípios, aceites internacionalmente, que norteiam a preservação e restauro de edifícios antigos,

³ A discussão incluída nesta seção foi apresentada pela primeira vez no discurso de abertura do 17.º Simpósio Internacional Anual do ICOMOS/US "The Venice Charter at Fifty" efetuada pelo autor, na Filadélfia, EUA, a 03 de abril de 2014.

mas permitiu a cada país aplicar os princípios estabelecidos de acordo com o quadro da sua própria cultura e tradições. (ICOMOS 1964).

Várias cartas e documentos relacionados foram desenvolvidos com base nas proposições da Carta de Veneza expandindo o alcance da preocupação com o património material e introduzindo princípios complementares (Yahaya 2006). As recomendações da Carta de Burra, de 1979, vão além do monumento individual e lidam com a preservação dos “lugares de importância cultural”(ICOMOS, 1979). A Carta de Washington, de 1987, ampliou a preocupação da comunidade internacional de profissionais para incluir a conservação das cidades históricas e outras áreas urbanas históricas, como parte integrante do desenvolvimento social e económico das comunidades urbanas (ICOMOS, 1987). A Carta sobre o Património Vernacular Construído, de 1999, amplia o interesse de conservação de edifícios que são ‘a forma tradicional e natural’ pela qual as comunidades se abrigam (ICOMOS, 1999). O mais recente documento internacional, a Recomendação da UNESCO sobre a Paisagem Histórica Urbana, de 2011, alarga o âmbito da análise e da prática de conservação para além dos monumentos e das componentes físicas das cidades e bairros históricos para abranger as áreas urbanas entendidas como o resultado de uma estratificação histórica de valores e atributos culturais e naturais, ampliando a noção de "centro histórico" ou "conjunto" para incluir o contexto urbano mais amplo e sua localização geográfica (UNESCO 2011).

As crescentes preocupações da comunidade internacional de profissionais acompanham o interesse crescente das elites culturais relativamente à preservação da cidade histórica conjugadamente com os monumentos que esta possui. Especialistas em preservação juntaram-se a urbanistas e arquitetos na defesa e definição de métodos de preservação de um grande número de cidades históricas e centros urbanos.

A expansão da preocupação da comunidade internacional para a preservação de patrimónios urbanos corre em paralelo com a evolução dos conceitos e princípios que norteiam a prática e as instituições responsáveis pela preservação do património. A literatura e as experiências relacionadas a estes desenvolvimentos são discutidas no corpo da tese; no entanto dois aspetos são dignos de nota nesta introdução. Primeiro, há hoje uma compreensão mais precisa da variedade de valores sociais e culturais mantidos pelos patrimónios urbanos e uma apreciação mais clara do valor económico do uso dos edifícios. O conceito de património urbano como capita cultural – stock

acumulado que providencia um fluxo de serviços socioculturais- permite uma apreciação mais precisa do contributo para o desenvolvimento social das comunidades e o contributo do seu valor para o desenvolvimento económico. Estas considerações fornecem motivos adicionais para a sua preservação. Em segundo lugar, há também uma melhor compreensão dos fatores que originam a obsolescência funcional e física dos centros históricos e das áreas de património urbano. Este conhecimento suportou inúmeras experiências de reabilitação urbana que reverteram com sucesso esses processos de obsolescência. Eles fornecem uma riqueza de conhecimentos validados acerca das estratégias mais eficazes para reverter os processos de deterioração que afetam os patrimónios urbanos.

A Carta de Veneza e os documentos subsequentes fornecem um guia claro sobre como preservar o património urbano. No entanto, eles são menos precisos, ou mesmo mudos, na definição do que preservar e por que meios. O que se preserva depende do valor que a comunidade atribui ao património. A determinação do valor do património urbano para a sociedade continua a ser uma questão difícil. O que significa o património para especialistas em história ou artes pode não ser tão importante para outros membros da comunidade, bem como a apreciação sobre o fluxo de serviços socioculturais que o património fornece pode variar significativamente de uma comunidade para outra. A relativa importância dos edifícios individuais ou dos espaços públicos pode diferir de maneira significativa dentro de um amplo espectro que varia desde os monumentos de renome mundial aos patrimónios regionais ou locais que são conhecidos dentro de limites territoriais restritos. Os defensores de preservação ainda se debatem com a difícil questão do que preservar e até que ponto será necessário preservar. Estas são as questões sobre a governança da conservação do património urbano que serão o foco do presente estudo.

Metodologia do Estudo

A abordagem metodológica utilizada neste estudo é a de um profissional reflexivo, como proposto por Schön (1983) que defende a acumulação de conhecimento através da análise sistemática de intervenções concretas nos processos de desenvolvimento social, económico e físico. Por conseguinte, este estudo é baseado: na experiência prática do autor no planeamento, financiamento e execução de programas

governamentais de conservação do património urbano; a discussão crítica da literatura disponível sobre o tema; a elaboração de um quadro analítico original para o estudo da governança do processo de conservação do património urbano; e a aplicação do quadro analítico num número selecionado de casos (casos de estudo) com base na análise crítica dos dados recolhidos em trabalho de campo e outros trabalhos publicados. As atividades de investigação desenvolvidas para esta tese são complementadas com dados e conclusões de estudos anteriores e publicações do autor, devidamente identificadas no texto referenciadas de acordo com as normas académicas aplicáveis. O estudo suporta-se essencialmente na experiência prática do autor e na revisão da literatura para identificar as relevantes questões sobre governança. Estas questões são, posteriormente, estudadas em detalhe para o desenvolvimento dum quadro analítico original. A análise de quatro casos, utilizando o quadro analítico, é um teste à sua validade e contribui com evidências empíricas para fundamentar as conclusões do estudo.

O núcleo da tese é o quadro analítico proposto para estudar o processo de governança da conservação do património urbano e identificar os fatores que determinam o seu sucesso e sustentabilidade a longo prazo. Este quadro é a contribuição original da tese e aproxima-se do problema com uma perspetiva semelhante à da política económica da tomada de decisão (Molotoch, 1976; Sturzenegge e Tommasi, 1998; Persson e Tabellini, 2000; DiMaggio, 2011). O núcleo do argumento é que a conservação do património urbano é um processo que pode ser sustentável se atrair o interesse e os recursos de uma grande variedade de atores sociais gerindo-os para trabalhar em conjunto rumo a um objetivo comum. Este, por sua vez, requer liderança e instituições para organizar o envolvimento concertado de todos os intervenientes no processo.

O quadro analítico é testado através da investigação em quatro estudos de caso na América Latina. Os fatores identificados como significativos para a conservação sustentável do património urbano, no quadro analítico, são examinados utilizando a informação fornecida pelas visitas de campo e relatórios sobre os programas de conservação em quatro sítios do património urbano na América Latina que estão inscritos no ‘WHL’. São eles os centros históricos de: Quito, Equador, que foi a primeira área do património urbano listada na WHL em 1978; Oaxaca, México e Salvador de Bahia, Brasil, que se seguiram, em 1987; e Valparaíso, Chile, que ganhou a inclusão em 2003. Estes casos foram selecionados porque:

1. Nestas áreas de patrimoniais espera-se que, nos próximos anos, sofram pressões de desenvolvimento significativos que poderiam ameaçar a sua conservação pois são centros de cidades de médio porte (população entre meio milhão e três milhões de habitantes), que apresentam o crescimento mais rápido de assentamentos urbanos na América Latina nos últimos anos.
2. As abordagens de conservação utilizadas nestes casos diferem significativamente e foram implementadas em diferentes contextos institucionais: Federais e descentralizados no Brasil, unitários e centralizados no Chile, unitários e descentralizados no Equador, e Federais e centralizados no México. Esta diversidade é vantajosa para testar a estrutura analítica.

As informações utilizadas para a análise das questões de governança, confrontando estes centros históricos, é colhida de uma monografia que contém estudos sobre a sustentabilidade do processo de conservação do património urbano em dez centros históricos que estão incluídos no 'WHL', orientados pelo autor, e que incluem as cidades listadas acima e também outros seis casos da Europa, do Médio Oriente e Norte da África (Rojas e Lanzafame 2011). Os estudos específicos são: Quatesan e Romis (2011) para Oaxaca, Jaramillo (2011) para Quito, Zancheti e Gabriel (2011) para Salvador e Trivelli e Nishimura (2011) para Valparaíso.

A importância cultural dessas áreas patrimoniais referidas está contida nos fatores considerados para a sua inclusão no WHL: o centro histórico de Quito, devido à sua excecional oferta de espaços públicos e edifícios de valor histórico e artístico; a área indicada de Oaxaca, que inclui o centro histórico da cidade e o sítio arqueológico de Monte Albán, porque são dois magníficos exemplos da evolução dos assentamentos humanos na América Central nos últimos dois milénios; o 'Peloruinho', o centro histórico de Salvador da Bahia, destaca-se pela mistura das culturas Europeias, Africanas, e ameríndias, os seus edifícios Renascentistas cercadas por casas coloridas, muitas vezes decoradas com estuque fino; e Valparaíso, pois a estrutura e os edifícios da cidade testemunham a fase inicial da globalização no final do Século XIX, quando se tornou o principal porto comercial para as rotas de navegação na costa do Pacífico da América do Sul (UNESCO 2014). O facto das cidades analisadas estarem inscritas na Lista do Património Mundial oferece verificação externa dos seus valores patrimoniais sob critérios e padrões comparáveis.

Concentrando-se em cidades de médio porte (200 mil a 3 milhões de habitantes), este estudo centra-se num dos componentes mais dinâmicos da estrutura

dos assentamentos urbanos da América Latina, o conjunto de cidades nas quais se esperam as mudanças mais significativas nas próximas décadas (ONU -HABITAT 2010). A conservação e o desenvolvimento das áreas patrimoniais destas cidades latino-americanas de médio porte será um desafio, como o foi a conservação dos centros históricos das grandes áreas metropolitanas nesta região do mundo, que sofreu graves perdas de bens patrimoniais através da pressão do rápido desenvolvimento urbano na última metade do Século XX. Esta perspectiva negativa fornece significância aos resultados deste estudo, podendo fornecer aos decisores políticos uma base teórica e prática para o estabelecimento de processos de conservação do património urbano sustentável nas suas cidades.

Os programas de conservação do património urbano dos casos de estudo selecionados são implementados em contextos institucionais diferentes e na forma pela qual o poder para a gestão do território é delegado dentro da estrutura institucional: os governos federais e os estados unitários e que também têm diferentes níveis de descentralização na gestão dos assuntos urbanos (Daughters e Harper 2007).

O trabalho testa o quadro analítico nos quatro casos de estudo selecionados transformando os resultados em recomendações de políticas e metodologias sobre a melhor forma de abordar as questões de governação envolvidas na conservação do património urbano.

Estrutura da Tese

A tese apresenta-se em quatro capítulos. O primeiro analisa a evolução dos conceitos e ideias relativas à conservação do património urbano e, em particular, à evolução do quadro jurídico e institucional da conservação patrimonial na América Latina. Este capítulo discute os fundamentos teóricos dos valores relacionados com a conservação do património urbano, incluindo a definição dos múltiplos valores do património urbano e os métodos para os avaliar. Também, neste capítulo, se discute a evolução das estratégias de conservação que levaram à crescente aceitação de uma abordagem de reabilitação adaptativa como estratégia de conservação mais capaz para assegurar a conservação sustentada do património urbano. Desenvolvem-se, neste capítulo, métodos específicos para avaliar a capacidade de suporte dos sítios de património urbano e o seu potencial de utilização para usos contemporâneos, fatores-chave com incidência na viabilidade da reabilitação adaptativa do património urbano.

O segundo capítulo desenvolve o quadro analítico para a análise dos aspetos de governança na conservação do património urbano. A discussão abrange o papel desempenhado pelos valores socioculturais e de uso económico do património urbano como motores do esforço de conservação. Particular atenção é dada ao papel desses valores no reforço da legitimidade social e económica da preocupação das comunidades para a conservação do património urbano e na mobilização de uma grande variedade de atores como contributo para esse esforço. Este capítulo também discute os fundamentos teóricos e operacionais das disposições institucionais com vista à coordenação das intervenções e recursos fornecidos pelos diferentes tipos de intervenientes.

Os capítulos três e quatro reportam o teste do quadro analítico em quatro estudos de caso. O capítulo três discute a evolução dos esforços de conservação ao longo do tempo e as abordagens operacionais utilizados em cada um, destacando as semelhanças e diferenças. O quarto capítulo examina os temas de governança incluídos no quadro analítico de referência: a diversidade de atores envolvidos, as suas múltiplas motivações e os arranjos institucionais para coordenar os seus esforços. A análise conclui que as cidades que conseguiram criar instituições, regulamentos e procedimentos que estabelecem um processo de cooperação frutífera entre uma grande variedade de atores, e que conseguiram também canalizar as suas contribuições para a conservação e desenvolvimento sustentável de seu património urbano, são capazes de incorporar ativos adicionais no planeamento do seu desenvolvimento social e económico com impactos positivos para a melhoria sustentada da qualidade de vida das suas comunidades.

O capítulo conclusões detalha os fatores que são relevantes para alcançar a condição descrita no parágrafo anterior, mostrando que as questões de governança são importantes para a conservação sustentável do património urbano. Uma muito significativa, que os bens patrimoniais bem conservados podem contribuir de forma muito significativa para o desenvolvimento social e económico das comunidades.

Introduction

The Significance of Governance Issues in the Sustainable Conservation of Urban World Heritage Sites

The conservation of the urban heritage gained momentum in the mid twentieth century in Europe partly in reaction to the great loss of heritage occurred in World War II and in part as a cultural phenomena that places increased value on culture and its manifestations as central components of the social and economic development process of the communities. The movement that started in Europe had followers in Latin America in the late twentieth century and is making progress in Asia and Africa in the early twenty first century. The concern for the urban heritage expands further as local communities around the world show a strong determination to preserve their historic neighbourhoods and their ways of living threatened by predatory real estate investments in poorly regulated but rapidly growing globalised cities. The concern for urban heritage preservation that was initially focused on the historic monument and the public spaces surrounding them evolved to encompass whole neighbourhoods, historic centres, and historic towns. Through this evolutionary process the conservation of urban heritage areas has gained 'voice' as a social concern in many countries and, more importantly, has also gained 'political legitimacy' as an area of government intervention in some of them.⁴

The Increasing Importance of the Conservation of the Urban Heritage

The growing concern for the conservation of the urban heritage among communities around the world led to the adoption of dedicated legislation by local, regional and national governments and to establish institutions concerned with the management of the built heritage in a growing number of countries. The concern has an international dimension in the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (herein the Convention) adopted by the United Nations Education, Science and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) in 1972. In 2013 the World Heritage List (WHL)—that records the set of sites, buildings, archaeological, and natural sites that acquired the status of common heritage of mankind by virtue of the decisions of the World Heritage Committee—included a total of 981 properties located in 160

⁴ Although the lay literature—and also some specialized works—uses the words “preservation” and “conservation” of the urban heritage as interchangeable, this study purposefully employs the term “conservation”, as it implies a more pro-active approach to the problem. When connected to heritage, the noun preservation, originating on preserve, is associated with actions to maintain and perpetuate something, somehow implying keeping things as they are. The noun conservation is associated with the more dynamic actions of management, husbandry, and maintenance, and is therefore closer to the pro-active approach to the management of the urban heritage discussed in this work.

countries including: 759 cultural sites, 193 natural areas, and 29 sites that have cultural and natural importance.

The 190 signatory countries identify and nominate properties located within their respective territories to be considered for inscription on the World Heritage List. In each individual case the information about the property's cultural or natural importance is complemented with a conservation-specific management plan that explains how the property is being and how it will continue to be protected. The government of each country with cultural or natural sites in the WHL is expected to protect the universal values of its sites and to report periodically on their condition. Since 1992, the World Heritage Centre, the focal point in UNESCO for all matters related to the world heritage, monitors compliance with these commitments (WHC, 2014). The World Heritage Committee also makes decisions in its annual meetings concerning the heritage at risk by deciding which sites included in the WHL need to be included in a list of World Heritage in Danger (WHD). In 2013, there was one Latin American urban site listed on the WHD (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/danger/>). Listing in the WHD constitutes a slap on the wrist to those governments that have succeeded in obtaining world heritage status for their sites but then fail to manage these sites in ways that are compatible with their conservation.⁵ The listing of heritage sites as mankind's common inheritance and the calling of attention to their risk of disappearance frame the central issue discussed in this study: How to conserve what is valued by the world and, in particular, the decision making process taking place in the communities for setting regulations and the allocation of resources to the conservation their urban heritage.

The governments of countries with properties included in the WHL bear a large responsibility in achieving this aim. The Convention, among other obligations, commits governments to

“...c) integrate heritage protection into comprehensive planning

⁵ The World Monument Fund (WMF) also has a list of heritage properties in danger, the Watch that is published biannually. Properties included in the WMF Watch are selected by a committee of experts and are chosen amongst all that are submitted by sponsors from around the world in response to the WMF's call for proposals (WMF, 2013). Since 1996, the biennial Watch has drawn international attention to cultural-heritage sites in need of assistance by listing a total of 688 sites located in 132 countries. The Watch is intended as a tool to draw world attention to heritage sites in danger of grave deterioration or even disappearance, whether they are included in the WHL or not. Founded in 1965, the World Monuments Fund (WMF) is a private, international non-profit organization dedicated to the conservation of historic architecture and cultural heritage sites around the world. Assistance is provided in the form of fieldwork, advocacy, grant making, education, and training. The WMF is headquartered in New York, and has offices and affiliates around the world (<http://www.wmf.org/>).

programmes; d) establish services for the protection, conservation and presentation of the heritage; e) develop scientific and technical studies to identify actions that would counteract the dangers that threaten the heritage; f) take appropriate legal, scientific, technical, administrative and financial measures to protect the heritage; g) foster the establishment or development of national or regional centres for training in the protection, conservation and presentation of the heritage and encourage scientific research in these fields;” (UNESCO 1972:4).

Furthermore, the guidelines for the implementation of the Convention state, “All properties inscribed on the World Heritage List must have adequate long-term legislative, regulatory, institutional and/or traditional protection and management to ensure their safeguarding. This protection should include adequately delineated boundaries.” (UNESCO 2008:25)

The question arising from the commitments acquired by governments as a result of successfully nominating urban heritage sites to the WHL is whether by working alone they will be able to fulfil these obligations effectively. The answer to this question obviously depends on the type of heritage nominated. It is reasonable to expect that even minimally organized governments are capable of caring for individual monuments. This, however, is not always the case since complex sites, like large archaeological sites and ancient ruins, pose scientific and technical challenges of magnitude that continue to defy scientists and conservators. Latin America possesses much heritage of this challenging nature, for instance, the Maya archaeological sites of Mesoamerica (Getty 2009). Also problematic is the fact that many Latin American countries lack effective institutions to care for the heritage. As a consequence, even when they possess the financial resources needed, these countries face difficulties in using them effectively.

Objectives of the Study and Research Questions

Urban heritage sites pose a particular challenge to conservators. The variety of uses that take place in an urban heritage site and the demands that these uses impose on the stock of buildings, infrastructures, and public spaces is but one of the factors that challenges conservation efforts and complicates the management of an urban heritage site. The size of most urban heritage sites, particularly historic centres of medium-

sized and large cities, makes it necessary to devote large volumes of resources to their upkeep—sums that no government alone can afford. In view of the multiple and always pressing demands on the public budget from social and economic development programs there is always the question about the rationality of devoting large sums to conserve urban heritage even if a government has sufficient resources. The conservation of urban heritage sites confronts governments with yet another dilemma. In an age when environmental concerns are leading planners to advocate for denser and more diversified cities, on what grounds can governments prevent the redevelopment of centrally located, relatively low-density historic districts? Can cities afford the environmental opportunity cost of not making a more intense and diversified use of these urban assets? Which is the right balance between the conservation of the heritage and the need to bring back people and jobs to the central locations where they usually stand? The subsequent questions that are addressed in this study are: If a government alone cannot finance the sustainable conservation of an urban heritage site and if the conservation of this type of site raises such complex resource allocation issues, then how can such a place be sustainably conserved? And by extension: Which are the most effective institutional and financial arrangements to ensure the conservation of the urban heritage included in the WHL?

This study will focus on one aspect of the general problem outlined above: the conservation of historic centres included in the WHL. It will also focus on one specific geographical area: Latin America.. In particular, this study will discuss the governance of the urban heritage conservation process and will focus on the underlying factors that frame the conservation decisions and influence the allocation of resources to this effort. This narrowing of the object of study allows for an in-depth analysis of the issues confronted by this particular set of countries and avoids the danger of falling into generalisations that could be the outcome of a study focusing a wider set of issues or countries.

The study will adopt a wide definition of governance. Following Bell (2002:1), governance will be understood as “...the use of institutions and structures of authority to allocate resources and coordinate or control activities in society, or in any other relevant environment, including the economy.” Consequently, the analysis focuses on a wide array issues including laws, regulations, procedures for decision-making, public institutions of command and control, institutional arrangements for

promoting inter-sector and public-private coordination, and the capabilities of the personnel devoted to the task.

Evolution of the State of the Knowledge on the Topic⁶

The concepts and principles for the conservation of the urban heritage evolved significantly since first codified in the Charter of Venice in 1964. The initial concern was for history and its material expressions in particular for the safeguard of the historic monuments for future generations. The Charter calls for the recourse to all the sciences in the practice of conservation and restoration and requires that the monuments should be intervened with minimally and that with any intervention should be done with respect for the original materials and bearing a clear contemporary stamp so as to differentiate it from the monument's original material(s) and design. The Charter departed from the early tradition that focused on the conservation of an individual monument and recognized that the conservation of a monument also encompasses the conservation of its setting. The Charter also shows a concern for the sustainability of the preservation effort indicating that the conservation of a monument is facilitated if it is put to 'some socially useful purpose'. The Venice Charter provided scholars and practitioners with internationally agreed upon principles to guide the preservation and restoration of ancient buildings, but allowed each country to apply the established principles within the framework of its own culture and traditions. (ICOMOS 1964).

Several charters and related documents build on the propositions of the Charter of Venice expanding the scope of the concern for the material heritage and introducing complementary principles (Yahaya 2006). The recommendations of the Burra Charter of 1979 go beyond the individual monument and deal with the preservation of 'places of cultural significance' (ICOMOS 1979). The Washington Charter of 1987 expanded the concern of the international community of practitioners to include the conservation of historic towns and other historic urban areas as an integral part of the social and economic development of urban communities (ICOMOS 1987). The Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage of 1999 expands the

⁶ The discussion included in this section was first presented in the keynote address to the 17th Annual US/ICOMOS International Symposium "The Venice Charter at Fifty" delivered by the author in Philadelphia, USA on April 3rd 2014.

conservation concern to buildings that are ‘the traditional and natural way’ by which the communities house themselves (ICOMOS 1999). The latest international document, the UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape of 2011 expands the scope of the analysis and practice of conservation beyond the monuments and the physical components of towns and historic neighbourhoods to encompass the urban areas understood as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending the notion of ‘historic centre’ or ‘ensemble’ to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting (UNESCO 2011).

The expanding concerns of the international community of practitioners matched the growing interest of the cultural elites for the preservation of the historic city in addition to the monuments that it contains. Preservation specialists joined town planners and architects in advocating and devising methods to preserve the vast number of historic towns and centres.

The expansion of the international community’s concern for preserving urban heritage sites runs in parallel with the evolution of the concepts and principles guiding the practice and the institutions responsible for heritage preservation. The literature and experiences related to these developments are discussed in the body of the thesis however; two aspects are worth noting in this introduction. First, there is today a more precise understanding of the variety of social and cultural values held by urban heritage sites and a more clear appreciation of the economic use values of their buildings. The conceptualization of urban heritage as cultural capital—accumulated stock that provides a flow of socio-cultural services—allows a more precise appreciation of its contribution to the social development of the communities and its use value as an input for production highlights its contribution to their economic development. These considerations provide additional motives for their preservation. Second, there is also a better understanding of the factors behind the functional and physical obsolescence of historic centres and urban heritage areas. This knowledge supported numerous urban rehabilitation experiences that have successfully reversed these processes of obsolescence. They provide a wealth of validated knowledge on the most effective strategies to revert the deterioration processes affecting urban heritage sites.

The Venice Charter and the subsequent documents provide a clear guide on how to preserve urban heritage. However, they are less precise or even silent in defining what to preserve and through which means. What to preserve depend on the

value assigned to the heritage by the community. Determining the value of urban heritage sites for society remains a difficult issue. What heritage means to experts in history or in the arts may not be so important for other members of the community, and the appreciation for the flow of socio-cultural services that the heritage provides may vary significantly from community to community. The relative importance of individual buildings or public spaces can differ in significant ways within a wide spectrum that range from world-renowned monuments to regional or local heritage sites which are known within restricted territorial boundaries. Preservation advocates still struggle with the thorny issues of what to preserve and up to what extent they need to be preserved. These are issues pertaining the governance of the conservation of the urban heritage the focus of the present study.

Methodology of the Study

The methodological approach used in this study is that of a reflective practitioner, as proposed by Schön (1983) that advocates the accumulation of knowledge by the systematic analysis of concrete interventions in social, economic and physical development processes. Consequently this study is based on: the practical experience of the author in the planning, financing, and implementation of government-driven urban heritage conservation programs; the critical discussion of the available literature on the topic; the elaboration of an original analytical framework for the study of the governance of the urban heritage conservation process; and the testing of the analytical framework in a selected number of cases based on the critical analysis of data and published material and field visits. The research activities completed for this thesis are complemented with data and conclusions from previous studies and publications by the author that are duly acknowledged in the corresponding parts of the text and fully referenced according to the applicable academic norms. The study first draws on the practical experience of the author and on the review of literature to identify relevant governance issues. These issues are subsequently studied in detail to develop an original analytical framework. The analysis of four cases using the analytical framework is a test of its validity and contributes empirical evidence to substantiate the conclusions of the study.

The core of the thesis is the analytical framework proposed to study the governance of the urban heritage conservation process and to identify factors

determining its success and long-term sustainability. This framework is the original contribution of the thesis and approaches the problem with a perspective akin to that of the political economy of decision-making (Molotoch, 1976; Sturzenegge and Tommasi, 1998; Persson and Tabellini, 2000; DiMaggio, 2011). The core of the argument is that the conservation of the urban heritage is a process that can be sustainable if entice the interest and resources of a wide variety of social actors and manage to make them work in concert towards a common purpose. This in turn requires leadership and institutions to organize the concerted involvement of all stakeholders in the process.

The analytical framework is tested investigating four case studies in Latin America. The factors identified as significant for the sustainable conservation of urban heritage in the analytical framework are examined using the information provided by field visits and published reports about conservation programs in four urban heritage sites in Latin America that are inscribed in the WHL. These are the historic centres of: Quito, Ecuador, which was the first urban heritage area listed in the WHL in 1978; Oaxaca, Mexico and Salvador de Bahia, Brazil, which followed in 1987; and Valparaiso, Chile, which gained inclusion in 2003. The cases were selected because:

1. Their urban heritage areas are expected to receive in the coming years significant development pressures that could threaten their conservation as they are the centres of middle-sized cities (populations between half a million and three million), the fastest growing urban settlements in Latin America in recent years whose.
2. The conservation approaches used in the cases differ significantly and are implemented in different institutional contexts: Federal and decentralised in Brazil, unitary and centralised in Chile, unitary and decentralised in Ecuador, and federal and centralised in Mexico. This diversity is advantageous for testing the analytical framework.

The information used for the analysis of the governance issues confronting these historic centres is drawn from a monograph containing studies about the sustainability of the urban heritage conservation process in ten historic centres that are included in the WHL that the author led and that include the cities listed above and also other six cases from Europe, the Middle East and North Africa (Rojas and Lanzafame 2011). The specific studies are: Quartesan and Romis (2011) for Oaxaca,

Jaramillo (2011) for Quito, Zancheti and Gabriel (2011) for Salvador and Trivelli and Nishimura (2011) for Valparaíso.

The cultural importance of these aforementioned heritage areas is stated in the factors considered in their inclusion in the WHL: the historic centre of Quito due to its outstanding array of public spaces and buildings of artistic and historic value; the listed area of Oaxaca that includes the historic centre of the city and the archaeological site of Monte Alban because they are both magnificent examples of the evolution of human settlements in Mesoamerica in the last two millennia; the ‘Pelourinho’, the historic centre of Salvador de Bahia, stands out because of the blend of European, African, and Amerindian cultures and its outstanding Renaissance buildings surrounded by brightly coloured houses often decorated with fine stuccowork; and Valparaíso because the city’s structure and buildings bear witness to the early phase of globalisation in the late 19th century, when it became the leading mercantile port for the shipping routes on the Pacific coast of South America (UNESCO 2014). The fact that the cities examined are inscribed on the World Heritage List provides external verification of their heritage values under comparable criteria and standards.

By focusing on midsized cities (200,000 to 3 million inhabitants), this study centres on one of the most dynamic components of the urban settlement structure of Latin America the set of cities that is expected to undergo the most significant changes in the coming decades (UN-HABITAT 2010). The conservation and development of the heritage areas of these medium-sized Latin American cities will be a challenge, as it was the conservation of the historic centres of large metropolitan areas in this region of the world that suffered grave losses of heritage assets under the pressure of fast urban development in the last half of the twentieth century. This negative prospect provides significance to the findings of this study that can provide policy makers with theoretical and practical basis for establishing sustainable urban heritage conservation processes in their cities.

The urban heritage conservation programs of the selected cases are implemented in different institutional settings that differ in terms of the manner in which the power for managing the territory is delegated within the institutional structure: federal and unitary governments that also have with different levels of decentralisation in the management of urban affairs (Daughters and Harper 2007).

The study tests the analytical framework in the four selected case studies and turns the results into policy recommendations and methodologies on how to best tackle the governance issues involved in the conservation of the urban heritage.

Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is presented in four chapters. The first analyses the evolution of the concepts and ideas related to the conservation of the urban heritage and in particular the evolution of the legal and institutional conservation framework in Latin America. The chapter discusses the theoretical foundations of the values approach to the conservation of the urban heritage including the definition of the multiples values of the urban heritage and the methods for assessing these values. The chapter also discusses the evolution of the conservation strategies leading to the growing acceptance of the adaptive rehabilitation approach as a conservation strategy most capable of ensuring the sustained conservation of the urban heritage. The chapter develops specific methods for assessing the carrying capacity of the urban heritage sites and the potential demand for its use for contemporary uses, key factors impacting the feasibility the adaptive rehabilitation of the urban heritage.

The second chapter develops the analytical framework for the analysis of the governance aspects of the conservation of urban heritage sites. The discussion covers the role played by the socio-cultural and economic-use values of the urban heritage as drivers of the conservation effort. Particular attention is played to the role of these values in enhancing the social and economic legitimacy of the community's concern for the conservation of the urban heritage and in mobilising a wide variety of stakeholders to contribute to this effort. The chapter also discusses the theoretical and operational foundations of the different institutional arrangements to coordinate the interventions and resources provided by the different types of stakeholders.

Chapters three and four report on the test of the analytical framework in the four case studies. Chapter three discussed the evolution of the conservation efforts over time and the operational approaches used in each highlighting their commonalities and differences. Chapter four examines the governance topics included in the analytical frame of reference: the diversity of stakeholders involved, their multiple motivations and the institutional arrangements for coordinating their efforts. The analysis concludes that the cities that managed to set up institutions, regulations,

and procedures that established a fruitful cooperation processes among a wide variety of stakeholders and also channel their contributions to the sustainable conservation and development of their urban heritage are able to incorporate additional assets into their social and economic development plans with positive impacts for the sustained improvement of the quality of life of their populations.

The conclusions chapter details the factors that are relevant for attaining the condition described in the previous paragraph showing that governance issues do matter for the sustainable conservation of the urban heritage. An very meaningfully, that the well conserved heritage assets can make a significant contribution to the social and economic development of the communities.

Chapter 1

The Universalization of the Conservation of the Urban Heritage; A Response to an Expanding Appreciation of their Values

Even the most distracted tourist who leisurely wanders the streets of the various cities and towns of Latin America will soon become aware that he or she is walking through a veritable repository of a vast and valuable heritage. Living within a system of cities that for the most part was established in the first half of the sixteenth century, Latin-Americans of today work, socialize, pray, study, and sleep amidst physical testimonies of native American settlements and European town planning, architecture, and decorative arts and crafts.

The citizens of Quito, Ecuador gather Sunday mornings at Independence Park, the city's main square. There they stroll and talk with friends and relative after attending mass at the nearby Jesuit Church 'La Compañía'. In following this old and widespread Latin-American tradition, they repeat a ritual that has been taking place in this site since the Spaniards founded the city near an Inca religious centre in a site, which is situated right on the Equatorial line. The religious importance of this specific place prompted the Spanish conquistadors to erect several churches and convents, the physical platforms for the evangelization process, in the vicinity of the main square—the 'plaza de armas' the symbol of the new political power. Today, the citizens of Quito the 'Quiteños' walk among the square's gardens, the designs of which were influenced by Nineteenth-Century French landscaping, and which are flanked on one side by the neo-classical Presidential Palace—a site where many of the events leading to the country's independence from Spain took place. Further, the church where present-day citizens worship was built in the Seventeen Century by local master masons following European designs and embellished with baroque decorations that were largely based on indigenous motives and executed by skilled native craftsmen (Benavides 1988). In one corner of the square, the 'Quiteños' can savour a coffee at the coffee shop of the former Majestic Hotel building, itself an eclectic structure erected in the mid-1930s. Furthermore, 'Quiteños' and visitors can buy traditional local snacks and other products from street vendors located in the portals of the Municipal building—a modern movement structure erected in the 1970s to replace the former municipal building that had deteriorated beyond repair—that flanks the fourth side of the square. The Quiteños' weekly experience of walking amidst their heritage and, significantly, making use of assets inherited from their ancestors, is repeated in a similar fashion in countless other towns and cities within a region that not only has thirty-one urban areas declared World Heritage sites but many others that are also deserving of this status.

Figure 1.1 Independence Square, Quito, Ecuador in 2010.



Photo: Eduardo Rojas

After a long period of neglect, communities in Latin America are becoming increasingly interested in preserving and developing their heritage. They are also becoming more aware of the multiple values of urban heritage and are both pressing their respective governments for more action and supporting the allocation of funds for heritage conservation and development-related uses. The growing concern for the heritage is superseding the vast destruction suffered by the urban heritage in the first three quarters of the twentieth century under the pressures of the real estate industry that responded to the demands for new buildings generated by the rapid urbanization of the population and economic activities that took place in Latin American. Now, in caring for their urban heritage, Latin American communities are joining other communities around the world that are adopting a strong stance in favour of conserving their urban inheritance. These communities are also breaking with a long-held view in Latin America that the historic centres and the old buildings that they contain are the symbols of colonialism and all in society that is backward and non-modern. The Latin American promoters of the preservation of the urban heritage have followed the lead of the European cities and countries that were early promoters of

urban heritage conservation. These same Latin American conservation promoters also benefited from the mid-twentieth-century international debate that led to the adoption of several Charters Conventions and Agreements. The brief discussion of these developments in the following section helps to frame the analysis of the recent evolution of the urban heritage conservation movement in Latin America.

Figure 1.2 Jesuits Church of Quito



Photo by Eduardo Rojas

1.1 The Emergence and Evolution of a Modern Idea: the Conservation of the Urban Heritage

In discussing the origins of urban conservation Bandarin and van Oers (2012:1) state, “Urban conservation is an idea of modern times.” and links its advent to the emergence of the new economic and social order of post-French Revolution Europe. Initially focused on the historic monument, the concern for heritage soon evolved to encompass the public spaces surrounding the monuments, and then to whole neighbourhoods, historic centres, and historic towns. The expansion of the territorial

reach of the concern for the conservation of urban heritage runs in parallel with the evolution of both the concepts and principles guiding its practice and the institutions responsible for the heritage.

Early advocates of the conservation of urban heritage struggled with the thorny issues of what to preserve and how. The types of responses to these issues ranged widely and evolved over time. One position is exemplified by Violet-Le-Duc's mid-nineteenth-century interventionist restoration of Notre Dame of Paris, and his "idealized" reconstruction of the town of Carcassonne, in South West France, these projects responded to his interest in attaining a complete and ideal restoration of a monument. Later in the nineteenth century, Patrick Geddes promoted the 'conservative surgery' approach, which aimed at "...minimising the destruction of historic buildings and urban spaces to adapt them to modern requirements..." (Bandarin and van Oers, 2012:13), thus establishing a practice that is valued today by those who advocate for the sustainable conservation of urban heritage sites by means of their adaptive rehabilitation.

The institutionalization of the preservation of monuments began early with institutions like France's *Commission des Monuments Historiques* (Historic Monuments Commission), established in 1837, and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, which was established in 1877 in the United Kingdom by William Morris. Today's historic preservation commissions, boards, institutes, and ministerial departments are the inheritors of an institutional development process that closely accompanied the evolution of the trade. International agreements, norms, and practices have played a significant role in the development and adoption of both scientific methods and efficient preservation strategies for urban heritage.

Adopted in 1964, the Venice Charter provided scholars and practitioners with a set of internationally agreed on principles that not only guides the conservation and restoration of ancient buildings, but which also allows each country to apply the established principles within the framework of its own culture and traditions (ICOMOS 1964). The Charter, which provided an international framework for the practice, was issued at a time when the conservation movement was gaining moment in Latin America. Strongly centred on monuments (article 1) and their historic values (article 3), the principles contained in the Charter required the recourse of all the sciences in the practice of conservation and restoration (article 2). In its conceptual makeup, the Charter is a product of its time. It is strongly influenced by the ideals of

the international movement in architecture, with its emphasis on a rational approach to buildings and minimalistic design, and is the embodiment of a reaction to the romantic reconstruction and improvement approach of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Accord to the Charter, monuments should be intervened with minimally, and as with any intervention there should come respect for the original materials. Additionally, if and when interventions are needed, each should bear a clear contemporary stamp (article 9) so as to differentiate it from the monument's original material(s) and design. The Charter also departed from the early traditions in emphasising that the conservation of a monument also encompass the conservation of its setting (articles 1, 6, 7, and 14). Moreover, it indicated that the sustainability of a conservation effort would require putting the monument to 'some socially useful purpose' (article 5). The Nara Document on Authenticity (ICOMOS 1994) states in its Preamble that it is "...conceived in the spirit of the Charter of Venice, 1964..." and later explains in its text that authenticity is the essential, qualifying factor concerning the values of the heritage (point 9). The Document also suggests that the assessment of the authenticity of a heritage site requires the study of its "...form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling..." (point 13)

The Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage (ICOMOS 1999) is of importance to Latin America since much of this region's urban heritage is composed of vernacular buildings that both correspond to clearly defined building types located in urban settings, and belong to well defined typologies as defined by Canniglia and Maffei (2001). The introduction to the Charter indicates that a "Vernacular building is the traditional and natural way by which communities house themselves. It is a continuing process including necessary changes and continuous adaptation as a response to social and environmental constraints." The Charter also requires that interventions to vernacular structures be carried out in manners that respect and maintain the integrity of the structure's sitting (article 2). Furthermore, The Charter provides explicit guidance surrounding the adaptation of the heritage buildings to contemporary uses (article 5) and stresses the importance of allowing change over time (article 6).

The Venice Charter is complemented by the Washington Charter, which was adopted by the ICOMOS assembly of 1987. The Washington Charter focuses on the conservation of historic towns and urban areas (ICOMOS 1987). It indicates in its

Preamble, "...the conservation of historic towns and other historic urban areas should be an integral part of coherent policies of economic and social development and or urban and regional planning at every level." Additionally, the Washington Charter explicitly advocates for the adaptive rehabilitation of historic towns and urban areas and states, "The introduction of contemporary elements in harmony with the surroundings should not be discouraged..."(article 10). The greater acceptance of change and adaptation in the preservation of the urban heritage shown by the Mexico and Washington Charters responds to the need to guide the practice operating with an enlarged view of the urban heritage that stretches beyond the monument to the setting of the monument and to vernacular architecture and urban structure of historic towns and neighbourhoods. The principles contained in the Charters discussed before are gradually being incorporated in the practice and institutional frameworks for urban heritage conservation of Latin America despite the fact that the mind frame of regional conservators is still largely focused on the monuments approach as outlined in the Venice Charter.

Latin America, like the rest of the world, is still in the early stages of the analysis and adoption of the proposals of the UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (UNESCO 2011). These Recommendations expand the scope of analysis and practice of the preservation of urban heritage beyond the monument and the physical components of towns and historic neighbourhoods to encompass the 'historic urban landscape' that understand the urban areas "...as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of "historic centre" or "ensemble" to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting." (Point 8). This concept "...aims at preserving the quality of the human environment, enhancing the productive and sustainable use of urban spaces while recognizing their dynamic character, and promoting social and functional diversity..." (Point 11). This approach to the conservation of the urban heritage provides the conceptual underpinning for the adaptive rehabilitation of urban heritage sites with the backing of the international community. The challenge is to put the ideas advanced by the Historic Urban Landscape concept into practice by developing the appropriate methodologies, institutional settings, and skill-sets required. This study hopes to make a contribution to the effective implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach by analysing the governance issues involved

in the sustainable conservation of urban heritage sites, a part of the development of the required institutional settings for its implementation.

1.2 Legal and Institutional Development for the Preservation of the Urban Heritage in Latin America

In relation to Europe, Latin America was a latecomer to the urban heritage conservation movement. Within Latin America, two large federal countries, Mexico and Brazil emerged as pioneers, with each establishing its own national heritage institute in the 1930's. The rest of Latin America established heritage preservation institutes or commissions during the 1950's and 1960's. The analysis of the institutional arrangements for the conservation of urban heritage in the countries of the four cases discussed in this study shows the progress made and the shortcomings of the existing situation.

Mexico's Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, INHA (National Institute for Anthropology and History) was established in 1939 by the Federal Government in order to promote research, and protect and disseminate knowledge about the Mexican prehistoric, archaeological, anthropological, historic and paleontological heritage. In the wake of threats posed by foreign cultural influences, the creation of the Institute was one of the many actions taken by the Federal Government during this time period to both reaffirm the country's national identity and specifically enhance the knowledge and appreciation of Mexico's rich historic and material heritage. Today, the Institute is responsible for the preservation of over 110,000 historic monuments that were built between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries and 29,000 registered archaeological sites of the estimated 200,000 places with archaeological vestiges that exist in the country. The INAH also manages 120 museums, 17 audio libraries ('fonotecas'), and two technical institutes for professional training in anthropology, history, museology, conservation, and restoration (INAH 2014). Mexico is also a pioneer in the protection of the architectural heritage of the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries—a task assigned to the Centro Nacional de Conservación y Registro del Patrimonio Artístico Mueble (National Centre for the Conservation and Recording of the Immobile Artistic Heritage), an entity that was established in 1946 and that functions as part of the Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes (National Institute of Fine Arts) (Gil 2011).

The Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional IPHAN (National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage), an autonomous dependency of the Ministry of Cultural of the Federal Government of Brazil, was established in 1937 under the patronage of a group of artists and architects linked to the modern movement to protect the material heritage of the country. The preservation of the heritage was considered a central component of the development of Brazil's unique mestizo culture, mixing European, Afro-Brazilian, and Amerindian influences. The IPHAN cares for over 1,000 heritage sites protected under the Federal law and located in over 260 different municipalities. In addition to the protection of the heritage sites, the Institute also undertakes research and training, and works closely with the governments of the states and municipalities (IPHAN 2014).

In Latin America, most countries have either laws or statutes in place for the conservation of their heritage and have established institutions of different types that administer these norms. For the most part, however, the existing legislation is focused on the protection of monuments and none of the institutions governing the conservation of heritage can be closely compared—in terms of size, complexity and scope of action—to either the INHA or IPHAN. For instance, Chile's legislation, which identifies two categories of protected urban heritage, national monuments and typical areas ('zonas típicas') (CMN, 2014), is basically a monuments protection law (Law 17.288 of November of 2010). The definitions and criteria for listing of the first category is strongly rooted in the monumental approach of the early twentieth century and those of the latter are strongly biased by a "tourism view" of the heritage. Furthermore, in dealing with urban heritage, this legislation overlaps with the legislation concerning urban development (General Law for Urban Development and Buildings, D.F.L. No 458 of 1975). It allows municipalities to declare in their master plans which buildings are of historic interest and which neighbourhoods should be considered protected heritage (MINVU 2014). However, Chilean municipalities possess only limited responsibilities and have few available resources to protect urban heritage. The Chilean municipalities are also highly dependent on the central government for resources, regulations, and technical expertise. Problematically, this means that the country has two different, often inconsonant legal and administrative systems applying two largely different sets conservation terms and yet endeavouring to effectively protect urban heritage. Additionally, it means that issues pertaining to urban heritage largely end up falling out of the control of the local authorities.

The management of urban heritage is better structured in Ecuador, which has a Ministry of Culture and Heritage in charge of the country's estimated 3 million cultural and heritage objects, including both urban heritage and natural sites, and mobile heritage like paintings, sculptures, and manuscripts. The resources for this management task come from the national budget. The activities of the Ministry are complementary to that of the municipalities that, in Ecuador, bear full responsibility for all matters concerning urban development—including the protection of the urban heritage. For instance, the Municipality of Quito has several entities linked to the protection of the city's heritage, including a Metropolitan Institute for Culture that manages public spending in the protection of monuments, and an office for the Historic Centre in the Planning Secretariat that deals with land use and building-regulation-related matters. For several years, the Municipality also had a mixed-capital corporation in charge of promoting private investment and executing public investments in the historic centre (Rojas 2004). The corporation was turned into a metropolitan entity in 2007 losing its focus on the historic centre.

In discussing the state of the urban heritage conservation effort in Latin America in the late 1990s, Rojas and de Moura Castro (1999) distinguish three stages of development that they call: concern of the elite, unsustainable government interventions, and concern of the whole society. This schema, with the necessary enlargements and adjustments, still proves useful in the 2010s to analyse current conservation efforts.

1.2.1 Conservation as a Concern of the Elite

As noted when discussing the founding of the IPHAN in Brazil, it was the cultural elite who took the lead in the early stages of the preservation movement in Latin America. Artists, intellectuals, and philanthropists concerned with the loss of monuments due to abandonment, poor conservation, or real estate development pressures, personally and collectively undertook conservation activities to prevent the destruction of significant historic or religious landmarks. This was also the situation in most Latin American countries in the early stages of the conservation movement. The notable exception in this phase was Mexico, where the State was the leader of the urban heritage conservation effort and both financed and implemented the majority of the conservation activities. Strongly rooted on the monument preservation approach

advocated by the Venice Charter, in this phase of the conservation effort of Latin America, most projects focus on the preservation of buildings of historic or architectural significance which, once restored, are usually devoted to some public use. Funding for these endeavours generally comes from a reduced set of sources: enlightened private philanthropists and monies from the public budget assigned to the projects more as exceptions than as regular allocations. These arrangements result in a limited scope of the conservation effort and sporadic interventions. At this stage, the sustainability of urban heritage conservation relies largely on the energy and diligence of the concerned elite. More often than not, however, the positive outcomes of these efforts are wasted due to both the absence of institutional structures capable of ensuring continuity of the efforts and the absence of users capable of operating and maintaining monuments. In this phase of development of the conservation effort, countries enact heritage conservation legislation aimed at protecting historic buildings from the ravages of real estate developers. Concerned mostly for historic monuments and relying on public spending as the main source of financing, the legislation, related rules and regulations, and the associated financial mechanisms fail to address the structural issues of abandonment and the poor maintenance of the monuments that necessitated conservation activities in the first place.

The net effect of this approach is mixed. In the best cases, legislation prevented the destruction of historic and religious monuments by buying time for more efficient approaches to mature. Contrary to the expectations of the stakeholders, however, the legislation often promoted the deterioration of the monuments. By limiting the development options available to the owners of heritage buildings, and by not providing incentives to owners and tenants for the proper maintenance of the monuments, the well-intentioned conservation legislation ended up having the opposite effect. Monuments, when not intentionally destroyed (mostly by arson), were left to deteriorate in the expectation that physical obsolescence would force local authorities to order their demolition and then position the landowners to sell the land at the best and highest use demanded by the local real estate markets. Confronted with more profitable uses for the land (even as parking lots), most owners of heritage properties could not resist the temptation to let the properties decay. While waiting for the physical deterioration to run its course, landowners subdivided and rented the heritage buildings in response to market demands (low-income housing, warehousing, repair shops), further contributing to the degradation of the heritage buildings. The

compounded effect of this process is observable in both the difficulties encountered by governments to preserve heritage historic centres and buildings, and in the deterioration of the historic centres where these buildings are located. The causes of this outcome lie in the misalignment of responsibilities and benefits among the stakeholders involved in the process, a critical topic that is discussed in Chapter 2 of this study. Today, a decreasing number of Latin American countries are in this stage of the conservation process, as most government in the region are aware of their responsibility in conserving the urban heritage and are actively moving to what Rojas and de Moura Castro (1999) call the phase of government interventions.

1.2.2 Conservation as a Responsibility of Governments

In the majority of countries in Latin America, governments adopt a more proactive approach to conservation enacting legislation, creating heritage conservation boards and specialized institutions, and by regularly allocating public resources to the preservation of the urban heritage. Governments taking responsibility to care for the public interest by ensuring the preservation of the flow of socio-cultural benefits that the urban heritage sites produce, and, in a way paying for public good component of the urban heritage, is certainly a move in the right direction. However, under this scheme the conservation is unsustainable. Because central, regional, and local governments in Latin America are always confronted with pressing social needs in health, education, or housing, they find it difficult to mobilize taxpayer funds in sufficient quantities to pay for the rehabilitation and upkeep of urban heritage sites. Additionally, the recently created institutions intended to handle issues of conservation are not fully equipped for the task as they usually lack information, effective procedures and the skilled labour necessary to tackle the complex development issues posed by urban heritage. Furthermore, given that urban heritage produces many private benefits that are mostly linked to its economic use values, it is unfair, and also inefficient for the public sector to shoulder all of the costs of the conservation effort. Unfairness stems from the possibility of the public expenditures subsidising individual owners and users who might otherwise be perfectly capable of paying for the majority of the related costs. Necessitating that the public sector bear the costs of such efforts is inefficient because the full financing of preservation efforts by governments crowds out other stakeholders; thus letting the whole effort to rest on

the public institutions. In these cases, the interventions fail to mobilize the potential contributions of private stakeholders. In extreme cases, a proactive public sector not only crowds out potential private investments but also undertakes the impossible task of operating and maintaining, with limited resources, a vast array of heritage buildings and public spaces.

The results of this approach are mixed. Outstanding monuments are conserved as they attract sufficient political support to secure budget allocations for their preservation. Urban heritage areas, like historic centres and neighbourhoods, are usually not as successful in obtaining public funding for their conservation and development. Support for expenditures in urban heritage preservation is neither steady nor large enough to address all the urban heritage conservation objectives that a community may have. Nor are such expenditures able to ensure the continuity of the actions demanded by the conservation of complex urban heritage sites. The lack of skills and methods on the part of the public institutions for the design and implementation of these complex projects also play a part. Under these circumstances, the conservation interventions may show gains in scope and continuity but may not do so sufficiently enough to ensure the preservation of all the urban heritage sites and ensure its long-term sustainability. To attain this objective, Rojas and de Moura Castro (1999) suggest that countries of Latin America must move toward: a) achieving a better balance among the interests and benefits accrued by all the stakeholders; and b) a more advanced stage in the institutional arrangements for conserving the urban heritage, a stage where the conservation effort becomes the concern of all social actors.

1.2.3 Conservation as a Concern of the Whole Society

In a third—and more advanced phase of the process—the conservation of urban heritage becomes a concern and a responsibility of a wide variety of social actors. This expanded social interest implies that the conservation of urban heritage becomes a concern of not only the cultural elite who press for an increasingly responsive government, but also a concern of the residents, local consumers and visitors, business owners, and real estate developers. As such, it derives momentum and dynamism from the interplay of different interest groups operating in the cultural and political arenas, and in the real estate market. This situation leads to a sustainable

conservation process. Sustainability here refers to the situation in which the urban heritage is conserved by the social and economic activities that made use of the buildings and public spaces. In operational terms, the conservation effort is sustainable when the buildings permanently retain their structural, stylistic, and functional characteristics without requiring new investment in rehabilitation. This outcome is usually the result of devoting the building to social and economic uses capable of undertaking the proper routine and preventive maintenance.

Private philanthropy, civil society organizations, and local communities get involved in the process with clear and complementary roles. The public sector can promote these developments by providing the appropriate regulatory environment and investing in the rehabilitation of both the public spaces and the infrastructure in order to create attractive conditions for private investors. Different sets of stakeholders who can increase the appreciation for the values of urban heritage and who will seek out the urban heritage areas as the locations they wish to visit or in which they wish to live or conduct business, must also become involved. Increased appreciation will augment the commercial value of heritage buildings and attract resources to the urban heritage sites. The preservation of urban heritage then becomes a relevant commercial concern, attracting private investors who rehabilitate buildings to satisfy the demand for space for a variety of economic activities. At this stage of the development of the preservation effort, the most critical issues confronting urban heritage conservation are solved through the fruitful collaboration of different actors. The governance implications of this approach to the preservation of the urban heritage are discussed in the Chapter 2 of this study. To attain this stage of development, it is key to achieve consensus in the community about the social and economic value of its urban heritage. This process can be assisted by both public education and informational campaigns.

1.3 The Value of the Urban Heritage, Concepts and Processes

Material urban heritage is the stock of physical capital—streets, squares and other public spaces, monuments, public and private buildings, and the cityscape—that an urban community inherits from its past. Urban societies also inherit intangible heritage that includes the attributes of their individual members—such as knowledge, values, norms of conduct appropriate to living in society, and the skills that allow

them to produce goods and services—and societal assets like language, traditions, rules, and other forms of social capital that enable individuals to live, work, and cooperate in a city. In essence tangible heritage constitutes both those assets that have been essentially gifted to an urban community by preceding generations and those assets that the majority of the community's members now share. The urban heritage is a commons a characteristic that has significant consequences for the governance of the preservation efforts, a topic that is develop later.

1.3.1 The Basic Concepts

Recent research has greatly improved the understanding of the value of the urban heritage. Among the latest and most influential works stemming from this body of urban-heritage-value exploration and analysis are those of Nijkamp (2012), Peacock and Rizzo (2008) and Throsby (2007, 2010 and 2012). These writings have contributed to a more precise conceptualization of the variety of values held by urban heritage and have improved the methods employed to measure these values. The discussion that follows is framed by the conceptualization of urban heritage values proposed by Throsby (2012) that includes the socio-cultural and use values of heritage. Throsby's approach—derived from the economic theory of capital—allows for an integrated view of the different values of urban heritage even though not all values can be directly measured in monetary terms. The core of Throsby's approach to the multiple values of the heritage is to conceive of them as assets; that is, as social and material products capable of generating a flow of benefits to society. According to this view, the heritage can be conceptualized as an asset whether it exists in the tangible form of buildings, sites, historic city cores, or open public spaces—the material heritage; or as intangible cultural phenomena such as festivals, dance, rituals, and traditional knowledge. Applying this theory of capital to the heritage leads analysts to focus on the flows of benefits that heritage produces. These benefits can be cultural or economic and, when combined with other inputs such as labour, can produce additional goods and services. The measurement of these flows—either directly through market transactions (for use values) or indirectly through surveys (for socio-cultural values)— allows for the valuation of heritage in objective terms.

The definitions and measurement methods proposed by this approach to the values of the heritage imply that they are of significance mostly to local communities.

However, the World Heritage Convention of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO 1972) is grounded on the notion that there are universal, globally recognized cultural values for the heritage. This idea, as debatable as it can be, supports the inclusion of sites in the WHL if they show one or more characteristic that suggests that they are of “outstanding universal value [that] means [of] cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity.”(UNESCO 2008: Paragraph 49). This study will not enter in this debate and will consider the inclusion of urban heritage sites in the WHL only as a sign of their socio-cultural significance. The study will concentrate on the values of urban heritage for the national, regional, or local communities to which most of the stakeholders interested in its conservation belong.

1.3.2 The Different Values of Urban Heritage

Urban heritage is a form of material heritage that is valued differently by different social actors. As a consequence, the valuation of this form of heritage must take into consideration a broad range of interested actors—stakeholders—and the wide variety of reasons regarding why these actors consider these assets valuable—values of the heritage—including economic and socio-cultural values, some involving contemporary interests, others concerning the protection of assets for future generations. The decision-making process leading to the conservation of the assets must include all stakeholders and balance their often-competing interests. Reaching a workable agreement to support sustained conservation actions is the result of a complex decision-making process that lies at the core of the governance problem of urban heritage conservation.

The traditional approach to urban heritage conservation emphasizes the socio-cultural values: the historic, religious, aesthetic, and social benefits that the material heritage brings to society. These are the most widely recognized values and they are linked to the non-economic benefits that urban heritage generates for a community—those benefits that satisfy peoples’ social or spiritual needs. This category of socio-cultural values comprises some that are hard to define and quantify, including aesthetic, spiritual, social, historic and symbolic values. Examples of these values include: the connection to a community’s past that is conveyed by a building

or place where an historic event or set of events took place; the benefits drawn from a place of worship by groups within a community; the enjoyment of the beauty of a building or public space; and the sense of belonging brought about by those using a place or building that is held in common. Socio-cultural values are the values that most commonly prompt social action. For instance, academic activities (like historical, artistic, and conservation research) unveil the educational, historic, or aesthetic value of a building or urban place. The findings of this type of research subsequently induce the cultural elite to press their governments to invest public resources in the conservation of such sites. The resulting action—the investment of public funds in the conservation of the valued heritage—is fully within the political sphere of the social interaction, the mechanism through which a community allocate public resources to competing demands.

Contemporary approaches to the valuation of the material heritage, such as those referred to at the beginning of this section, also emphasize the use value of this heritage. Use value is the utility or flow of income generated by a heritage building or an urban site for its capacity to satisfy the needs of some members of society that value using it. Use values refer to the values assigned to urban heritage by those that use the services that the heritage produces. These can be direct use values, as in the case of a heritage property that is used for offices and that, by virtue of its heritage status, yields higher rents than other similar buildings. There are also non-use values that refer to the values placed upon the range of non-rival and non-excludable public-good characteristics typically possessed by urban heritage buildings or public spaces. Adding to this list are indirect use values, such as the value gained by the non-heritage properties that benefit from their proximity to heritage properties. The educational value of a heritage asset is another form of non-consumption use that falls in this latter group. Non-use values capture the less tangible economic benefits that the urban heritage affords. To materialize these flows of benefits, these urban heritage assets must be adapted to accommodate contemporary uses; this is the core concept of the adaptive rehabilitation framework for the conservation of the urban heritage. These adaptations are constrained, however, by the structural and stylistic characteristics that give the heritage assets their values: the “carrying capacity” of the heritage assets.

1.3.3 Dilemmas in Ascertaining the Values of Urban Heritage

The values that communities assign to heritage vary over time. Factors prompting change include: progress in archaeological, historic, or aesthetic research that add new urban assets to the list of urban heritage or that unveil new values of the existing heritage; a higher level of education among community members that enhances their capacity to appreciate a wider range of values of heritage; an increase in income that allows for a greater cross-section of the society to afford to use heritage buildings; changes in tastes, and fashions that, in turn, increase the demand for urban heritage areas.

This continuous process of change creates an economic dilemma concerning the difficulty in estimating the opportunity cost of investing in heritage conservation. An example of this dilemma is the decision to allocate resources to the preservation of heritage properties that are in danger of disappearing. It is always difficult to determine whether such properties will be valued by future generations. The decision not to invest in such properties is irreversible, however, as the lack of investment can lead to the permanent loss of a community's heritage. Ultimately, the decision regarding whether or not to invest in heritage is politically determined, as stakeholders work to reach an agreement about the values of their heritage that they, in turn, express via their willingness to pay for its conservation.

The different values of urban heritage can either complement or conflict with each other when put into play in the context of a conservation effort under an adaptive rehabilitation framework. Complex problems arise as a result of such conflicts and finding solutions to the conflicts that arise in such situations is one of the most complex problems that the governance of the preservation process must solve. For instance, since some customers would be willing to pay a higher price for using a structure based on its beauty, the aesthetic value of a building can enhance its use value. However, the adaptations that must be introduced to the building in order to adapt it to current uses may put at risk the conservation of these values. A similar, potentially conflictive relationship occurs when the adaptive rehabilitation for contemporary uses of historic buildings or public spaces may jeopardize the preservation of features that contribute to their respective historic values. There is no easy solution to such types of conflicts and they require skilful, day-to-day

management—one of the many challenging undertakings confronted by the governance of the conservation of urban heritage areas.

1.4 Definitions of Urban Heritage Values

There is a close interrelation between the socio-cultural and economic use values of urban heritage. A heritage asset, a building for instance, may have unique cultural value—cultural value being a multidimensional representation of the building's cultural worth assessed in quantitative and qualitative terms in relation to a variety of attributes such as its aesthetic quality, its spiritual meaning, its social function, its symbolic significance, its historical importance, or its uniqueness. The socio-cultural values that a building or public space have are a motivator of the interest of some consumers to use it for their needs. There are many examples of this relationship. This is the case of a corporation establishing its headquarters or its public relations activities in heritage buildings in an effort to enhance its prestige or standing in the community as supporter of the conservation of the heritage. There are households that value living in a historic district and are prepared to pay the extra costs (initial price, higher maintenance expenses, minor discomforts). Therefore it can be asserted that the socio-cultural values of the urban heritage support its use values.

1.4.1 Socio-Cultural Values

Socio-cultural values are the non-economic values of urban heritage that generate a flow of social and cultural benefits to society—aesthetic, symbolic, and spiritual values. A single urban heritage asset (a heritage site, public space, or a building) may have one or more of these values. Socio-cultural values mostly represent the intangible benefits that a given heritage provides to society. Examples of socio-cultural values include: the connection to a community's past conveyed by a building or place where historic events took place; the benefits drawn by groups within a community from a place of worship; the enjoyment of the beauty of a building or public space; and the sense of belonging brought about by those using a commonly shared place or building. These are the values that most commonly prompt social action. For instance, cultural activities (like historical, artistic and conservation research) unveil the educational, historic, or aesthetic value of a building, neighbourhood, or city neighbourhood.

In more detail, operational definitions of these values are derived from interpreting the concepts in Throsby (2012):

1. *Authenticity value*. The site may be valued for its own sake because it is real, not false, and because it is unique. An important concomitant characteristic is that the site has integrity, variously defined in different circumstances, which must be safeguarded. Conservation of the site's integrity, in whichever way integrity is interpreted, may be a significant constraint imposed on project decision-making when cultural value is taken into account.
2. *Historic value*. This value is unarguably intrinsic to the site. Of all the components of cultural value, it is probably the most readily identifiable in objective terms. Perhaps, its principal benefit is seen in the way in which historic value assists in asserting the identity of a community by providing its members a connectedness with the past and by revealing the origins of the present.
3. *Aesthetic value*. The urban heritage site may be beautiful in some fundamental sense, whether that quality is somehow intrinsic to the site or whether it is engendered in the mind of the viewer who is a visual consumer of its attributes. Also included under the general heading of aesthetic value is the relationship of the site to the landscape in which it is situated; that is, all the environmental qualities relevant to the site and its surroundings.
4. *Scientific value*. The site may be important as a source or object for scholarly study.
5. *Spiritual value*. The site may contribute to enhancing the identity of both the community living in or around the site and the site's visitors. Spiritual value may also be experienced as a sense of awe, delight, wonderment, religious recognition, or connection with the infinite.
6. *Symbolic value*. The site may convey meaning and information that helps the community in which it is located to both interpret community identity and to assert cultural individuality; for example, the site may connect members of the community to some event or experience of historical or cultural importance. The value of the site as a representation of meaning may, in turn, be particularly important in terms of its ability to function in an educational capacity, advancing not just the historical and cultural knowledge of the young but also of the entire community.

Table 1.1 Syntheses of the Socio-Cultural Values of the Urban Heritage and of Criteria for Establishing these Values

Value	Definition	Criteria for Establishing the Value
Authenticity	The building or site is valued for its own sake because it is real, not false, and because it is unique.	The asset is not a fake and may be unique. Age is a starting point for establishing both the heritage value and the uniqueness of an asset. Old buildings cannot be replicated due to the changing construction techniques, tastes, and skills of the labour force.
Historic	The building or site provides a connectedness with the past and reveals the origins of the present.	Historic events took place in buildings and public spaces. Identify the historic significance of urban assets for the community, the region or the nation.
Aesthetic	The building or site possess and displays beauty	Buildings can be either good or poor examples of architectural styles and, in addition, can represent a style of period of construction.
Scientific	The building/area is important as a source or object for scholarly study.	The historic and aesthetic value of the assets may render them of interest for scientific research
Spiritual	The building or site contributes to the sense of identity, awe, delight, wonderment, religious recognition, or connection with the infinite experienced by both the community living in or around the site and those who visit the site.	Identify the assets' contributions to the sense of identity, awe, delight, wonderment, religious recognition, or connection with the infinite for the community.
Symbolic	The building or site conveys meaning and information that helps the community to assert its cultural individuality	Decide whether the assets convey meaning and information that helps the community to assert its cultural individuality.
Social	The building or site contributes to social stability and cohesion in the community, helping to identify the group values that make the community a desirable place in which to live and work.	Identify the assets' contributions towards social stability and cohesion in the community.

Source: Author elaboration based on Throsby 2012.

7. *Social value.* The interpretation of culture as shared values and beliefs that bind groups together suggests that the social value of urban heritage sites

might be reflected in the ways in which they contribute to social stability and cohesion in the community. An urban heritage site may affect the way of living in the community by helping to identify the group values that bind members and make the community a desirable place in which to live and work.

A single building or public space may hold one or more of the heritage values showcased in Table 1.1. Monuments tend to hold most of the socio-cultural values described. Private buildings, on the other hand, may hold a lesser variety of socio-cultural values, but may possess more use values. As these values are intrinsically linked to building or public spaces, were such urban heritage sites to disappear, these socio-cultural values would concurrently disappear—as they cannot be reproduced by new construction. In other words, this socio-cultural capital cannot be replaced by any additional capital added to the city by the urban development process. These considerations are of central importance for the governance of the urban heritage preservation process, as will be discussed in Chapter 2.

Before turning to the definitions of the economic values of heritage, however, it is important to present the socio-cultural values of the intangible heritage. The values of intangible heritage are determinants of a community's capacity to communicate and cooperate; thus they are important for its governance. They are presented here, in a schematic form in Table 1.2, as they play a role in the governance of the preservation process but are not the central concern of this study. Whenever pertinent, reference to them will be made throughout the remainder of the text.

1.4.2 Economic Values of Urban Heritage

Urban heritage sites also have economic values. These values, while less understood, are no less real than the socio-cultural values already discussed. Economic value is the flow of economic benefits that the heritage produces for society. Economic values produce more tangible flows of benefits than do socio-cultural values—or, it can at least be said that certain economic values attain monetary value in real estate markets. Some, like the rental and sale values of properties, are actual cash flows to the owners of heritage assets. Others, such as the value for the community to preserve a piece of the urban heritage for posterity, lead to the assignment of resources for rehabilitation and upkeep.

Table 1.2. The Socio-cultural Values of the Intangible Heritage

Value	Definition	Criteria for Establishing the Value
Social and cultural practices	Skills and acceptable behaviours that reinforce the sense of community	Social practices (language, etiquette, etc.) that allow members to live in community
Community cooperation	Practices allowing joint action by members of a community to accomplish their goal of obtaining representation in the political process	Rules and norms framing individuals' interactions with others for common action
Festive events	Community activities that either celebrate or entertain its members	Regular or spontaneous gatherings for celebration or entertainment
Music, dance and performing arts	Artistic activities that satisfy spiritual and ludic needs of individuals	Artistic activities that are unique to a community, or, if not unique, performed regularly by its members
Oral traditions	Information transmitted orally that contributes to the perpetuation of social and cultural practices	Histories, artefacts and individuals holding the information about the community's traditions and practices
Rituals and religious practices	Activities that connect individuals and their communities with transcendent realms	Recurrent gatherings and individual activities related to religious or spiritual practices of either individuals or groups
Traditional crafts and building skills	Skills to manufacture objects and vernacular buildings	Skills that are indigenous or unique to the community or, if not indigenous, used regularly

Source: Author's elaboration

Throsby (2012) identifies two types of economic values: Use values and non-use values.

1. *Use values* involve the benefits accruing to communities or individuals because they make a:
 - a. *Direct use* of it, like living or trading in a heritage building. The flow of economic benefits coming from the direct use value is usually the income (cash) obtained by the owners or operators of the heritage property. When a direct value of an urban heritage site exists, consumers are willing to pay premium rents for using the site in view of its socio-cultural values.
 - b. There are also benefits accruing from the *indirect use* of the heritage. Indirect use is the flow of benefits accruing to individuals as a result of their proximity to the heritage. An example of this economic value is

the appeal that properties having a view to a monument or heritage area have for some consumers.

2. *Non-use values* include benefits accruing to individuals who do not use the heritage but who are willing to devote resources (either personal or from the society) to its conservation. These include:
 - a. *Existence value* when the community of individuals within value that the urban heritage site exists for its own sake, in economic terms that means that they are prepared to spend resources in its preservation even if they have no intention to use it.
 - b. *Option value* exists when there is interest in spending resources to preserve an urban heritage site in order to secure for others the option that they may either use it now or in the future.
 - c. *Bequest value* exists when either the community as whole or when individual members of it spend resources to preserve an urban heritage site in order to bestow it to future generations.

Table 1.3 The Economic Values of Urban Heritage

Economic		
Use	Direct	Direct worth of asset as a private good. Potential for residential, commercial, services, or other uses with demand in the real estate markets and for which consumers will be willing to pay a premium rent due to the heritage value of the asset.
	Indirect	Value accruing to others (passive use)
Non-use	Existence	People value the existence of the heritage item even though they may not directly consume its services.
	Option	People wish to preserve the option that they or others might consume the asset's services at some future time
	Bequest	People may wish to bestow the asset to future generations

Compilation by the author after Throsby (2012)

As stated before, the use values of urban heritage sites emerge from its socio-cultural values. In addition to their capacity to accommodate contemporary needs, urban heritage assets attract private investors and consumers due to their socio-cultural values. By rehabilitating and adapting the heritage assets for their needs, private stakeholders make direct contributions to the preservation of urban heritage. The monetary value of the use value of the heritage is largely determined by market transactions. The attractiveness of the heritage buildings is also affected by the quality of the neighbourhoods in which they are located. Deteriorated heritage sites are not

attractive to private investors or consumers and the poor quality of infrastructure, deteriorated public spaces, and other manifestations of neighbourhood decay act as barriers for private investment. Therefore, the materialisation of the use values of heritage buildings—a private interest—also depends on the conservation and quality of services provided by the neighbourhoods—a public responsibility. These considerations are at the root of the need for cooperation among public and private actors in the conservation of urban heritage using adaptive rehabilitation strategies.

Like use values, non-use values are also intrinsically linked to the socio-cultural values of urban heritage as they are the reason why communities want to ensure its existence either to ensure the option to use it in the future or to bequest it to future generations. The willingness of the community to use of public resources for the conservation of the urban heritage is the indication of the existence of the non-use values. These are the values that also drive private philanthropist to contribute to the conservation of heritage. As non-use values are not established in the real estate markets, analysts usually assign them a monetary value through indirect methods like contingent valuation that produces estimates of the willingness to pay of individuals or communities for ensuring the conservation of the heritage assets.

1.5 The Assessment of the Urban Heritage Values

According to Rojas (2012:149):

“The valuation of historic city cores involves actions that occur on several spheres of social interaction. For instance, the research on the historic or aesthetic value of a place or building occurs in the realm of the social sciences’ scientific inquiry. Other actions take place in the political arena, such as the enactment of urban land-use and building regulations to preserve an urban heritage area, and the allocation of public resources to the conservation effort. Some forms of social interactions are essentially private, such as the decision of a household to acquire a home in a heritage area. Other actions that are essentially private are still strongly influenced by public regulations. An example would be the philanthropic donation of private resources to conservation efforts that is encouraged by and also bounded by tax exemptions granted by the government.”

Table 1.4 lists some of the most significant activities involved in the valuation of heritage assets, differentiating the domains of social interaction where they take place. The list includes a wide range of activities involving different stakeholders who are

either making or influencing decisions that take place in the complex array of institutions and resource-allocation processes affecting the preservation process.

1.5.1 Social Interaction Processes in the Formation of Socio-Cultural Values

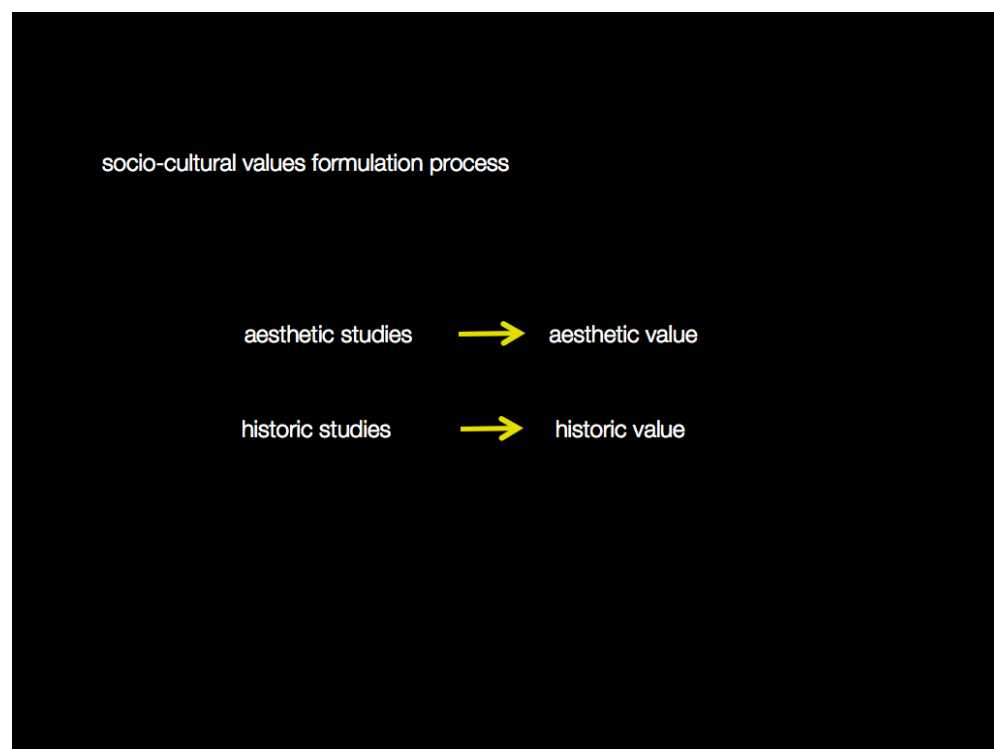
There are many types of social interactions included in the process of identifying and evaluating urban heritage values. The processes through which communities identify the heritage values of urban sites, set priorities for both the protection of these sites (listing) and for investing donor funds, and through which developers find the demand for their rehabilitated space include take place in five domains of social interaction: scientific enquiry, philanthropy, grassroots social interactions, markets and the political process.

The historic or aesthetic value of an urban heritage site can be determined through historic research and aesthetic studies, respectively. These are fields of scientific enquiry that increase the available knowledge of the heritage and the social interactions that generate this knowledge are mostly confined to specialists operating in academic institutions. However, their discoveries can have vast impacts on the values assigned to a specific piece of urban heritage by the community, the politicians, and the general public. For instance a better appreciation of the socio-cultural value of the heritage is a driver for the donors interest in its preservation. Debates and negotiations in philanthropic institutions and their interactions with the communities or their representatives are the processes through which donors funds are allocated to urban heritage preservation.

Similarly, several forms of consultation and debate are involved in mobilising communities to protect urban heritage. They can be called grassroots social interactions, as they are the processes that allow individuals to interact and to reach agreements on both what to protect and through which means. Dissemination of the socio-cultural values of urban heritage through mass media is one of these processes that increases a community's appreciation for the values of the heritage and motivates its members to act. Public forums are another social domain of interaction that allow communities to agree on topics like: what to conserve, how much to conserve, and with which means. Lobbying politicians is another domain of social interaction that communities engage in to mobilise public resources to ensure the conservation of urban heritage. This domain of social interaction is directly related to the political

processes through which several key decisions for the conservation of urban heritage sites are taken: the listing of urban heritage to ensure its statutory protection, the allocation of public funds for investing in its conservation, the solution of conflicts involving the adaptive rehabilitation of urban heritage, and the conservation norms and regulations. The social processes that are largely missing in the urban preservation process in Latin America are the transactions in the real estate markets of rehabilitated space in heritage sites. Few private investors operate in these areas and there are few customers interested in the space.

Figure 1.3 Socio-cultural Valuation Processes



Source: Author elaboration

Most of these processes operate in parallel and each makes its contribution to support the preservation of urban heritage. The long-term sustainability of the preservation process often depends on the synergies among these processes. When political support for allocating additional public resources to the preservation of an urban heritage site falters, new knowledge of the site's historical or aesthetic importance, or the documentation of its social and symbolic importance can recapture interest in its preservation. Table 1.4 lists some of the activities commonly undertaken in each of the domains of social interaction identified in this study. A wide variety of

activities undertaken by a variety of stakeholder interacting several social realms are desirable from the point of view of the sustainability of the urban heritage preservation process. For instance, when political support for investing public funds weakens, the philanthropy can still partially support the conservation process that is enhancing its sustainability. Similarly, if private capital start to invest profitably in a heritage site, it is most likely that the process will continue as long as the profits are realised. This process adds a source of finance for the conservation of urban heritage that is not completely affected by the political cycles of the local government and, in certain cases, of the central government. This topic is one of the factors impacting the sustainability of the preservation effort and is discussed further in Chapter 2.

The scientific processes provide information to the educational system and to public dissemination mechanisms expanding a population's appreciation for the values of its heritage. A well-educated and informed population will support the preservation of its heritage and will participate actively in the conservation process. Education and mass dissemination of the values of urban heritage is of utmost importance to the governance of the conservation process as it directly affects the political processes through which public resources are allocated and planning decisions made. Most of the processes listed in Table 1.4 under the heading "Political and Institutional" depend directly of the support of the community. This support, in turn, depends on the level of awareness of its members about the value and importance of the urban heritage. In the current state of development of the preservation process in Latin America, the allocation of public resources to the preservation effort is of critical importance. This allocation of resources takes place in the political domain, specifically in the transactions leading to the definition of the priorities and the budget of government institutions. Urban heritage conservation competes with other claims on the budget; thus proponents are forced to build a solid case for the social and developmental impacts of the expenditure. The determination of the communities to protect their urban heritage is of equal importance and of relative strength in terms of the specialised institutions in ensuring the continued allocation of resources to the preservation of the urban heritage. The activities of the grassroots organizations, and the support of the organizations of the civil society, play a role in creating the politically favourable atmosphere required to induce politicians to allocate resources to this activity.

Table 1.4. Activities Involved in the Valuation of Heritage Assets

Domains of Social Interaction	Activity
Scientific	Historical research Ethnographic studies Archaeological research Aesthetic studies Cultural analysis Anthropological research Education and training
Philanthropy	Assessment of the public relations value of urban heritage Negotiations with owners Getting incentives from the government Securing partners for the operation and maintenance of the assets
Grassroots social interactions	Community involvement in support of preservation Participation of NGOs or organizations of the civil society in the decision-making process Mass media dissemination of the values and benefits of urban heritage preservation Community stewardship and safeguarding of cultural landscapes and monuments
Market transactions	Purchases of properties for preservation and development Sales and purchases of preserved and developed space Rental of commercial and residential property
Political and institutional	Setting up a national heritage institution Enacting regulation and safeguard policies Listing of urban heritage sites Managing land-use and building regulations Offering tax and fiscal incentives Providing public-sector leadership Coordination, sequencing, and determining the scale of interventions Developing systems of incentives and penalties that apply to stakeholders

Source: Author elaboration

Although the process of establishing the socio-cultural values of urban heritage starts with a technical analysis of its different dimensions, such analysis cannot be completed without consultation with stakeholders. Table 1.5 describes four technical steps for the identification of socio-cultural values. The first step is determining the age of the heritage site, as age is a good indicator of the uniqueness of

the site. Old buildings or public spaces cannot be replicated and their loss is irreparable. The last step is assessing the authenticity of the site in an effort to verify its uniqueness. Reproductions or highly altered sites may still hold socio-cultural values, but as such sites could be eventually reproduced again, the urgency to preserve them may be less pressing. The middle two steps in the process focus on the other socio-cultural values discussed here. The values listed in Step 2 are amenable of analysis by specialists using the traditional tools of history and art history, while those in Step 3 need the concurrence of the social sciences: sociology, anthropology, psychology. In all cases the process must include consultation with the stakeholders, as their concurrence and support are central for the governance of the preservation process. Table 1.6 provides an indicative list of stakeholders commonly interested in the values of the urban heritage.

Table 1.5 The Process for Establishing the Socio-cultural Heritage Value of Urban Heritage

Step	Activity	Description
1	Establish the age of the building or public space	Age is good starting point for establishing the heritage value, as it is one of the grounds for establishing the uniqueness of an asset. Old buildings cannot be replicated due to changing construction techniques, aesthetic tastes, and skills held by the labour force.
2	Establish the historic value	Identify the historic events that took place in the building or public space. Establish the historic significance of the urban heritage in relationship to the community, or, if appropriate, on a larger local, a regional, or a national scale.
	Define the aesthetic value	Buildings can be either good or bad examples of architectural styles and, in addition to representing a style of a period of construction, they can be beautiful.
	Establish the scientific value	The historic and aesthetic value of the asset may render it of interest for scientific research.
3	Establish the spiritual value	Identify the asset's contribution to the sense of identity, awe, delight, wonderment, religious recognition, or connection with the infinite for the community.
	Establish the symbolic value	Decide whether the asset conveys meaning and information that helps the community to assert its cultural individuality.
	Establish the social value	Identify the asset's contribution towards social stability and cohesion in the community.
4	Establish the authenticity	The asset is not a fake and may be unique.

Source: Author elaboration

1.5.2 Socio-cultural Values and the Formation of Use Values

Socio-cultural values support the formation of the use values of urban heritage. The aesthetic or historic value of a building can be attractive to certain sectors of the demand for real estate products and motivate them to pay a premium for the privilege of using it. The motivations can vary significantly among the different, potential users. Corporations may be attracted by the prestige of establishing their offices in a historic building or in an edifice that has been listed due to its outstanding aesthetic value. Corporations may also prefer a location in a heritage site as part of their social responsibility programs rehabilitating and maintaining heritage properties as a contribution to the community. Business linked to the rapidly growing sectors of the “new urban economy”: tourism, entertainment, informatics, software, communications (Nevarez, 2003, Costas, 2011) can be attracted to urban heritage sites, and particularly to historic centres, for mostly practical reasons—like the central location and the availability of low-cost space. Proximity to the complementary businesses that were also attracted by these same attributes further proves an influencing factor.

Households may be attracted to heritage sites for many different reasons: low cost housing in the deteriorated houses, closeness to places of employment in the central districts of cities, proximity to urban services, or the prestige of dwelling in a heritage property. The analysis of these customer drivers is a central component of the demand analysis that is recommended by this study as one of the initial steps in the decision-making process that leads to investment in the preservation of urban heritage sites. This topic is discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

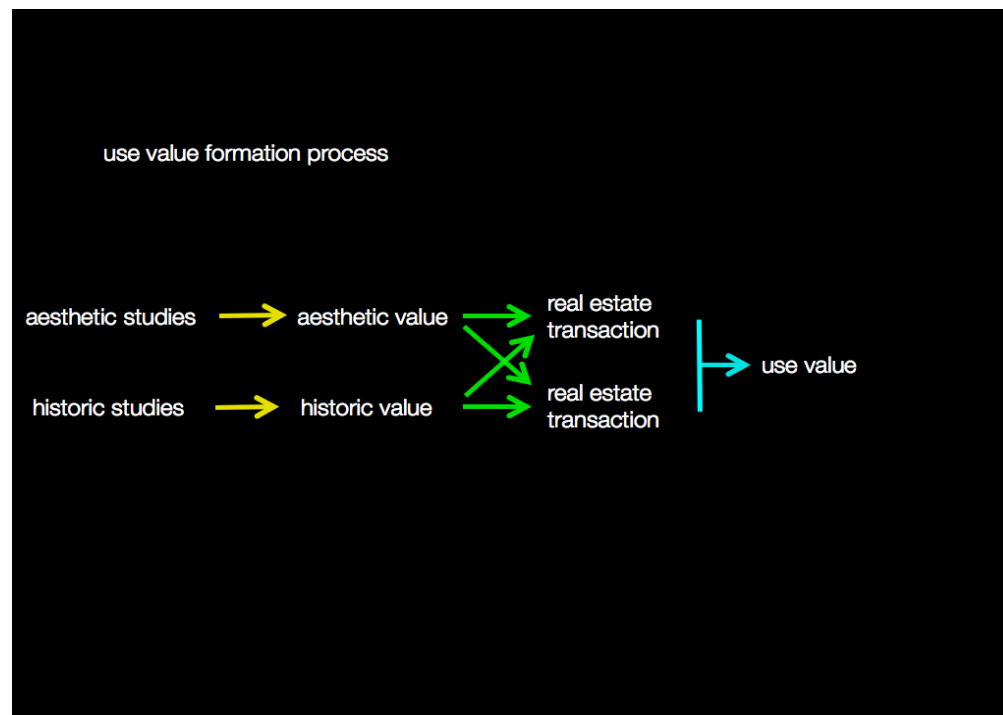
The materialisation of the use values through transactions in the real estate markets requires the adaptive rehabilitation of heritage sites to allow for contemporary uses. Was adaptive rehabilitation not to happen, there would be no market-based sustainable uses for heritage. Still, the adaptive rehabilitation of urban heritage poses complex problems related to balancing the needs of the urban activities that can locate in heritage sites with the need to preserve the very characteristics that give the sites their heritage values. The conceptual issues of the adaptive rehabilitation of urban heritage sites are discussed in this chapter, while the operational implications are analysed in Chapter 2.

Table 1.6 Indicative List of Stakeholders Commonly Found in Urban Heritage Areas

Stakeholder	Description
National government (federal or central government)	Entities in charge of cultural, historic preservation, and urban affairs
Regional (State) government	Entities in charge of cultural, urban, and economic development affairs
Local (municipal) government	Entities in charge of cultural and economic development affairs, and of planning and managing urban areas
Real Estate Investors	Developers involved in both rehabilitation projects and in the construction of new buildings in urban heritage areas
Entrepreneurs: formal traders and productive activities	Retail and wholesale merchants Industrial activities of all sizes Large companies with offices or other productive installations in the area
Tourism entrepreneurs	Local, national, and international operating in the area
Local users	Informal producers: Craftsperson, repair shops, small informal industries Sellers and buyers of products, peddlers and other informal users of the public space
Consumers	Shoppers using the area
Households	Owners, renters, and <i>de facto</i> occupants
Tourists	Local, national, and international visitors to the area
Individuals	Locals, nationals, or internationals with an interest in the area and a willing to cooperate in its preservation, development, and good management
Cultural elite	Those members of society interested in culture, the arts, and heritage
Philanthropists	Individuals, corporations, or other organizations willing to donate money, knowledge and technical skills for the preservation and management of the area
Community organizations	Residents, traders, and other stakeholder's associations with interest in the area
Scholars	Historians, architects, anthropologists, archaeologists, economists, and other academics interested in the study of the heritage area
Conservators	Conservation professionals interested or working in the heritage area
Organizations of the Civil Society	Local, national, and international associations interested in the heritage area and that are willing to work for and donate to its preservation and good management
NGOs (national and international)	ICCROM, ICOMOS, World Monuments Fund, Getty Institute, IUCN
International organizations	UNESCO's World Heritage Centre and Culture Under Secretariat
Foundations	Local, national, and international foundations
International Finance Institutions (IFIs)	World Bank, Asian Development Bank, African Development Bank, Inter American Development Bank

Source: Author elaboration

Figure 1.4 The Steps in Building Use Values



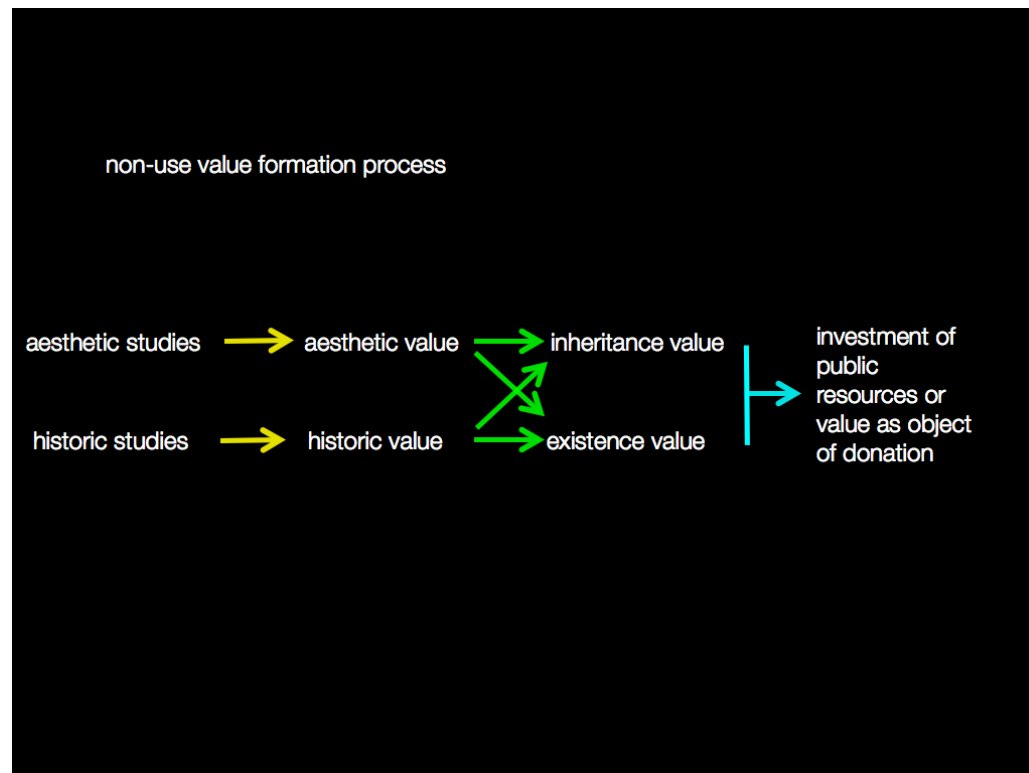
Source: Author elaboration

1.5.3 Socio-cultural Values and the Formation of Non-use Values

As described in this study, non-use values of urban heritage originate in socio-cultural values. The historic, aesthetic, spiritual, symbolic, and social values are those values responsible for motivating a community's interest in their urban heritage. They are also the values responsible for engendering non-use values—those values that motivate individuals and communities to ensure that the buildings and public spaces continue to exist so that they might be used at some future point or so that they may be bequeathed to future generations. This process has several consequences for the governance of the preservation process. The existence of a non-use value drives communities to press for spending public resources for the preservation of urban heritage sites. In the best of cases, the non-use values raise interest for these sites within the philanthropic community who, whether seeking to fulfil objectives related to social corporate responsibility or public relations programs of the corporations, or to implement core objectives of donors like charitable foundations or specialised associations, see them as potential objects of donation. In such cases, the leaders of the community, philanthropists, government officials, and other stakeholders enter

into complex transactions in order to match the donor interests with the objectives of the community and both the technical requirements of and the rules and regulations governing the urban heritage site's preservation.

Figure 1.5 The Steps in Building Non-use Values



Source: Author elaboration.

1.6 Adaptive Rehabilitation to Materialise the Use Values of Urban Heritage Sites

Traditionally, cultural institutions concerned with urban heritage focus on monuments—temples, fortresses or palaces—the most significant of which concurrently hold many socio-cultural values. Spiritual, historic, symbolic, and aesthetic values are commonly listed in the arguments advanced for their conservation. The World Heritage Convention focuses mostly on the presence of socio-cultural values in the criteria for including buildings, sites, historic centres and towns in the World Heritage List (UNESCO 2011). The most common approach to preservation in Latin America, which places the main responsibility on the government, relies on public expenditures to finance the conservation of urban heritage. Even if this approach is justified for the main monuments, it is not viable for

preserving the increasingly vast array of urban heritage sites that, for communities, possess socio-cultural values of importance. There is a need to attract more resources to the task of the conservation of urban sites holding important socio-cultural value and those resources can only come from the private sector. Private sector involvement in the preservation of urban heritage sites usually occurs in the form of donorship. Motivated by philanthropic objectives, corporations, foundations or individuals make non-refundable contributions to the preservation of urban heritage sites. The availability of this type of donor resource is limited, however, even in countries with a deeply rooted tradition of civil engagement. In Latin America such resources are even scarcer.

1.6.1 Use-values as Drivers of Private Sector Involvement in the Preservation of Urban Heritage Sites

Engaging the interest of a wider variety of stakeholders —consumers, business, households, and corporations—and creating conditions that will attract them to live, trade, and invest in the heritage area is the only option to attaining a sustainable urban heritage conservation process. This approach is what Rojas (2002) calls turning the conservation of the urban heritage into a ‘task for all social actors’. Attracting private actors to invest in and use urban heritage sites requires providing the conditions necessary for them to satisfy their needs within the buildings and the public spaces of the heritage sites. The material heritage must be adapted to the needs of these stakeholders. This action, the adaptive rehabilitation of urban heritages sites to materialise their potential use values is the central objective. The challenge is, however, to implement the adaptations without diminishing the socio-cultural values of the sites. The benefit, on the other hand, is that heritage sites that are actively used have higher chances of remaining well maintained and seeing their socio-cultural values well preserved.

An operational definition of the sustainable preservation of urban heritage sites is advanced by Rojas (2012:144) when he states that the preservation process:

“... is considered sustained when:(1) the area is attractive to a wide variety of users that demand space for developing residential, commercial, service, cultural and recreational activities; (2) private investment is available, supplying the demand for space from these activities and maintaining the historic characteristics

of private buildings; and (3) public resources are used mostly for the provision of public goods”.

Conditions 1 and 2 are directly linked to the materialization of the use values of the heritage site while condition 3 suggests an efficient use for the public resources. The challenge of achieving these conditions without diminishing the socio-cultural values of the heritage site is addressed by framing the adaptive rehabilitation interventions within the carrying capacity of the heritage site. The carrying capacity analysis—an essentially technical activity—should be able to determine: the range of uses that can be accommodated in a heritage building or public space; the volume of users or equipment that can be contained in the heritage building or public space; the changes to the structural elements, layout and design characteristics that can be made to a building without it losing its heritage values. The results of this analysis provide conservators with a range of both uses for and limits to the intensity of use that define the range of opportunities for the adaptive rehabilitation of the heritage building. Montuori (2010:56) aptly discusses this dilemma when states:

“If the primary goal is, rightly, the conservation of buildings of historic and architectural merit, and if restoration is the chosen technical and scientific approach to intervention, then any new use should be considered simply as the effective “means” of preserving the cultural significance of the object, and not as the principal “objective” of the intervention. The issue of identifying an appropriate use should therefore be fully addressed within the discipline of restoration. Only those activities most compatible with the functional purpose of the building should be considered. While the new use does not necessarily have to be the same as the original one (although clearly preferable whenever possible), it should allow for, above all, a proper and respectful integration with the physical and spiritual intention of the structure. Furthermore, it should not cause inappropriate or irreversible alterations to the building, or worse, destruction.”

These opportunities for sound, adaptive rehabilitation should be matched with the potential demand for space in the rehabilitated building. The carrying capacity of the heritage asset and the demand for space in it are the two most important inputs necessary to define the design brief for the conservators when they operate under the adaptive rehabilitation paradigm.

1.6.2 The Analysis of the Carrying Capacity of Urban Heritage Sites: Basic Concepts

The idea of analysing the capacity of heritage buildings or urban areas to accommodate contemporary activities is borrowed from the biological sciences. Biological carrying capacity is the upper population limit which an environment can support for any given species (the environment's maximal load), a measure of either how much or how many can be accommodated (Hiu 2006). The carrying capacity of a man-made structure is not fixed. It can be altered for the better or the worse by men's interventions. Even though carrying capacity has sometimes been expressed in different terms, it has for a long time remained an operational concept used in urban development, especially in land use, infrastructure, and transportation planning. At some point in the development of a city, limitations in the capacity of the infrastructures will restrict the size of both the human population and economic activities that can be sustained. This is the point at which the city reaches the limits of its carrying capacity. However, human ingenuity can overcome these limitations by investing in infrastructure and other urban services that bring in additional, serviced land for urban uses. This is the process by which cities grow.

The concept of carrying capacity can be extended to other fields of urban analysis and planning. For instance, it can be used to help determine the type of uses and the number of users that can be fitted into a public space. It may also be used to analyse the options open to recycle an abandoned building. However, the carrying capacity of urban areas and of individual buildings depends not only on the size of the spaces involved—that is the site or structure's capacity to hold users—but also on the shape and organization of, and on the materials out of which the sites or structures are built.¹ Similarly, the capacity of a public space (for instance a public square) to accommodate different uses depends on its size, shape, type of surface covering, lighting, plantings, and urban furniture. Also, the transformations that can be introduced into a building or public space to adapt it for contemporary use, when the original use is no longer demanded, must also be made by taking this carrying

¹ An obvious example is to attempt to turn a jailhouse into a music hall. Even if the size of the building (in terms of build space) is adequate and the materials with which it was constructed are strong and lasting, it is very difficult (if not simply impossible) to adaptively reuse a jailhouse as a music hall. The restrictions in this case come from the shape and organization of the building. It is indeed difficult to accommodate large audiences and have good acoustics in a building that is composed of a series of relatively small rooms organized along a corridor.

capacity as an upper limit of load and structural change for the building or the open space. A condition for the good maintenance of the urban sites or buildings is to use them within their carrying capacity.

The analysis of the carrying capacity of a building or public space falls in the realm of the study of morphology: the physical attributes that distinguish a building or space from those buildings or spaces produced in any other time and place. There are different approaches to the study of the morphology of buildings and public spaces. They range from the study of users' perceptions of the city and their perception of places, nodes, links, and landmarks (Lynch 1960, 1984) to the classification of the different types of public spaces that can be found in the historic cities (Krier 1979). The morphology of public spaces is also studied from the perspective of the interplay of individual building forms in shaping both the form of public spaces (Duany and Plater-Zyberk 1991) and the characteristics that make them more liveable (Cullen 1961). The application of the morphologic analysis to the urban heritage field highlights the role played by the physical characteristics of buildings or public spaces in giving them a heritage value. This analysis leads to set limits on the transformations that can be made to the buildings to preserve these values. Limits are usually defined by conservators as the different levels of protection desired for the urban heritage assets. It is a common practice in historic preservation to assign to heritage sites different levels of conservation:

- Full conservation for the most significant monuments, the most restrictive for adaptive rehabilitation
- Strict conservation for important pieces of urban heritage, allowing minor adaptations for new uses but without altering the heritage-defining components
- Typological conservation aiming at preserving the building type but allowing greater latitude for adaptive rehabilitation
- Contextual conservation, where what is important is the contribution of the building to the neighbourhood morphology

In order to adapt heritage assets to new or more intensive uses, the restrictions required to preserve the socio-cultural values of the asset become superimposed to the restrictions imposed by the structural and morphological characteristics of the heritage building or public space. In other words, in this field of enquiry the analysis

of the carrying capacity is not only a technical problem, but it also involves value judgments. The technical limits of adaptive rehabilitation must be set against the characteristics of the heritage sites that give them their socio-cultural value—that is the values that make the site important today and which may be of importance to future generations, a value-laden judgment call.

1.6.3 The Analysis of the Carrying Capacity of Urban Heritage Sites: Determining Factors

The study of the carrying capacity of urban heritage sites calls for a form of morphological analysis that concentrates on the characteristics of the buildings that confer on them their socio-cultural value for the community. This analysis must take into consideration the factors that determine these values: the building's or public space's history, aesthetics, and symbolism. As practical artefacts, buildings and city spaces respond to concrete, utilitarian needs, including the need to: house a family (vernacular and designed huts, houses, and palaces); establish a factory (shipyard, smelter, textile mills); serve as the seat of the political power (the king's palace or the municipality); a place of worship (church, cathedral, convent, assembly hall, mosque, temple or synagogue); a place for markets or other trading activities (market square, stock exchange); the gathering place of the community (community hall, guild house, parliament); a place for military exercises (Champ de Mars); or a place for conducting justice (main square in Spanish Latin America or 'pelourinho' in cities of Portuguese origin).

Urban sites and buildings are also cultural artefacts that represent the values and visions held by a society at the time they were built. In the cities of Latin America that were founded by the Spaniards, the central location and orderly placing of the public buildings found in each urban centre's main square ('Plaza de Armas')—the church, royal audience, governor's palace, and army barracks—express the social order and political system imported to Latin America in the late 16th Century by the Conquistadores. Similarly, the three-courtyard structure of the manor houses expresses the social structure of the family during the colonial period and extending well into the republican era—a period ranging from the late fifteenth to the late nineteenth centuries (CEHOPU-CEDEX 1997). Buildings are also products of their time and place because the construction techniques and materials used to fabricate

them correspond to both the level of development attained by the building technology and to the materials available where they were built. Ultimately, builders operating in a given place and time and when faced with a specific demand could build no building other than the one that supplied the services demanded with the technology and materials available based on the accumulated experience on which the builders could call.

Two key ideas are useful in addressing the different aspects of the analysis of the carrying capacity of urban heritage sites: the concept of type, and the components of a type. A building type is “...any group of buildings with some characteristics, or a series of characteristics in common” (Canniglia and Maffei 2001:52). A building typology results from what Canniglia and Maffei call “spontaneous conscience”, which is a practice that is inherited from both experience and the local conditions and it is something that individuals and communities use as “a-matter-of-fact” without mediating a rational creative process. Explained another way, a typology may be defined as buildings that “...*are produced in such a way* because their builders *would not have been capable of producing them differently.*” (2001:52, emphasis in the original) The emergence and consolidation of a building typology occurs within a specific cultural area—a group of communities sharing similar cultural characteristics—and emerges through a gradual process of specialization in building construction.

The two following examples illustrate the point about using building types to help analyse the carrying capacity of urban heritage areas. These examples are: the convent and the three-courtyard manor house, both common in Spanish Latin America. The convent responded to the need to house the members of the religious orders that came to evangelize the local population during the Spanish conquest and subsequent occupation of the Americas. A large number of convents were built in cities and towns. Those built in rural settings were termed convent-haciendas. Convents were the inheritors of a design taken from medieval abbeys. This building type usually has three major components: the church, the cloister, and the orchard. Depending on the importance and wealth of the religious order, and the place in which it was established, a convent varied in size. They could range from a modest establishment in a semi-rural setting to large and luxurious grouping of buildings occupying a whole city block (Saint Domingo of Oaxaca, San Francisco of Quito). A convent’s church can vary from a small praying place for a community of monks to a

large building capable of hosting a sizeable congregation. In places of pilgrimage, or in rural convents where large numbers of worshippers congregate on special dates, some of these churches have exterior altars for conducting open-air services. Likewise, cloisters vary from small arrays of cells surrounding a square yard or garden to large complexes of cells, refectories, libraries and meeting rooms all organized around ornate yards, which are in turn surrounded by colonnades and corridors. Independent of the wide differences in size and complexity that may exist among convents, they still share similar morphological and use characteristics. Thus, in terms of the definition provided above by Canniglia and Maffei (2001), the Latin American convent constitutes a building type.

The one- or two-story and three-yard-structured urban manor house is another widespread building type in Latin America. This building type is typically constructed with adobe walls and tile roofs, adobe and tile being the prevailing construction materials in most geographical locations. As a rule, this house type was designed to have numerous rooms, with undifferentiated uses (with the possible exception of the salon or dining room, two spaces that were always larger and outfitted with better finishes than the rest of the rooms). These urban manor houses all share a similar arrangement of spaces: the family's commercial activities around the front yard, the private rooms group around the second yard, and the services, situated in direct relation to the orchard and the water canal for irrigation and disposal of wastes that runs along the end of the city lot, in the third yard.

In respect to the components of the building type, Canniglia and Maffei (2000:54) argue that for any building type, the "...components can be summed up as three buildings constituents in the well-known Vitruvian triad: *firmitas*, *utilitas* and *venustas* ..." (emphasis in the original). This is as good a way of organizing the analysis as any, with the advantage that these characteristics cover the whole scope of topics of interest in analysing a building type and because they "...are inseparable and intermingle; ... [to the point that] ...the strength of one of their constituents to the decrement of the others is always indicative of a critical situation" (Maffei, 2001:XV). This proposal is grounded in the Vitruvius recommendation that in architecture, "All...must be built with due reference to durability, convenience, and beauty" (Vitruvius, s/d. Morgan Translation 1914:17) in the original in Latin: 'firmitas', 'utilitas' and 'venustas'.

Firmitas' refers to all the elements that support a building on the ground and prevent it from falling when confronted with natural hazards (earthquakes, floods, hurricanes, tsunamis). 'Firmitas' includes all the weight carrying elements: walls, pillars, slabs, beams, and buttresses. The capacity of the building to provide protection against the weather also depends on elements that fall under this constituent: walls and roofs, insulation, and space warming systems.

Figure 1.6 The Convent of San Francisco in Quito, Ecuador



Photo by Eduardo Rojas

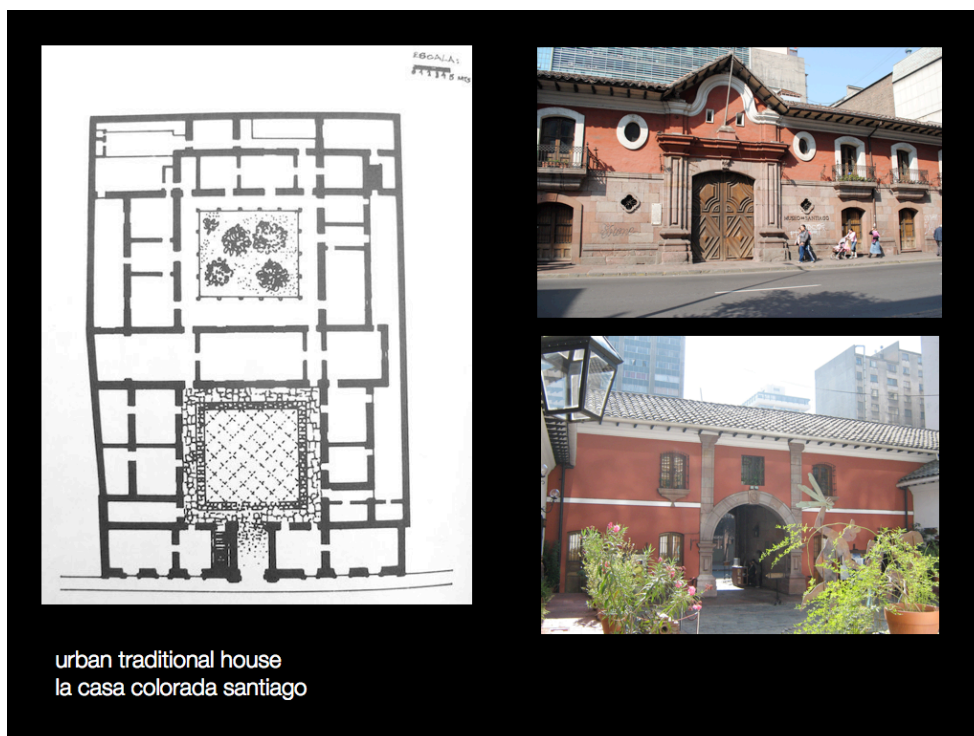
'Utilitas' refers to the original uses of a building, the purpose for which it was constructed. The size and shape of rooms, the distribution and size of the corridors and yards providing access to the building and its rooms, and the size and shape of the yards and open spaces are all key elements from this perspective. The orientation of the building is another factor to be considered, along with its concomitant relationship to and impact on concerns related to sun exposure, ventilation, and views. The key issue from the perspective of the adaptive rehabilitation of a building is that the spatial distribution of these elements—conceived to respond to the needs of the original uses—determines the type of new uses that can be accommodated within it.

Figure 1.7 The Santo Domingo Church and Convent in Oaxaca, Mexico



Photo by Eduardo Rojas

Figure 1.8 The two-storied Latin American urban house with two courtyards



Photos by Eduardo Rojas, Map taken from Benavides 1988 (page 220)

Venustas' refers to the aesthetics of a building, meaning its artistic or stylistic values. This is what Canniglia and Maffei (2001) call "delight". The design characteristics of a building are central to its aesthetics including: the layout and proportions of the different parts, the composition of openings and walls, and the decorations. Different historical periods favour different aesthetics. Design characteristics range widely in singular buildings, from the close adherence to classic models in the Renaissance, to the complex decoration used in the Baroque and Rococo, and to the return to classicism in the neoclassical period.

Table 1.7 Building Components for the Analysis of the Carrying Capacity

Constituent	Component	Key Elements
<i>Firmitas</i>	The structure and materials of the building and their durability	- Supporting elements: walls, pillars, slabs, beams, buttresses - Roofing: structure cover (tiles, shingles, slate...) evacuation of rainwater. - Weight bearing capacity - Spatial arrangement of structural elements (modulations of pillars, beam spans, distribution of openings: windows, doors, arches)
<i>Utilitas</i>	The use of the building and the comfort provided to its users	- Dimensions of the building parts: use areas, service areas, structural support areas - Distribution of rooms, corridors, and accesses - Orientation: sun exposure, ventilation, sights - Public utilities and other services: water, energy, waste disposal
<i>Venustas</i>	The aesthetics of the	- Basic design characteristics of a building: layout and proportions of the components, composition of openings and walls, decorations

Source: Author elaboration after Canniglia and Maffei (2001)

1.6.4 The Analysis of the Carrying Capacity of Urban Heritage Sites: Results

The analysis of the carrying capacity of urban heritage sites should lead to the identification of the building typologies that exist in an urban heritage site. Each type is characterized by its original use, by the uses to which it was adapted throughout its lifetime, and by both its morphology and building materials. Building types can be determined for edifices of a singular and of a repetitive nature, even in cases where there is only one case of a given building type. However, the typology analysis is most useful for the repetitive building types that are the most amenable for adaptive rehabilitation, and for the types of singular buildings that exist in abundance in an

urban heritage area. Thus, a typological analysis will most probably yield a variety of dwelling types and a lesser diversity of singular building types. Defining a typology for a unique, singular building located in the urban heritage area under analysis will require making reference to other buildings with similar characteristics located elsewhere in the same cultural area.

The analysis of the carrying capacity should furnish conservators with information enabling them to identify potential uses for a building, determine the transformations that are required to adapt the building to new uses, and ascertain whether these transformations would or would not detract from the socio-cultural values that are the reason for the building to be considered of heritage value. Two general sets of information are generated by the analysis. One set is related to the capacity of the building to accommodate people, equipment, and visitors. The size, shape and construction materials of the building determine the quantity of space that can potentially be obtained for its adaptive rehabilitation. The second set is related to the potential for adaptive transformation considering the restrictions coming from a building's spatial structure and construction materials, and the restrictions imposed to its adaptive rehabilitation that emerge from its socio-cultural values (aesthetic, historic, religious, social or symbolic). This information allows the analyst to identify the diversity of activities that can, given the building's morphology, potentially be accommodated within it. When combined with the knowledge furnished by the analysis of the demand for rehabilitated space in the neighbourhood, this information enables the conservators to identify the options for adaptive rehabilitation of a building for new uses. Such options should be evaluated against criteria that reflect the community's preservation priorities as they relate to selecting the building to conserve, and when choosing the most suitable new uses for the building that have been determined to have an effective demand in society.

1.6.5 Neighbourhood Typology and the Carrying Capacity

A similar analysis can be done for heritage neighbourhoods. According to Lombardi (2010:60), a neighbourhood is "...an urban area characterized by a measure of homogeneity and by the co-existence of different buildings in clusters, with building types developed over time, which can be considered to have acquired an historic

value.” The critical components of the neighbourhood that affect their capacity to accommodate new and expanded uses are those related to: the natural conditions of the place where the neighbourhood is located, the morphology of the neighbourhood, the capacity of the infrastructure—water, sewerage, energy, roads—and the capacity of the basic urban services for the population—schools, health services, parks. In heritage neighbourhoods, the carrying capacity is also bound by the heritage-value-protecting limitations imposed on the development of its buildings and public spaces. The protection of these values may call for restricting: the diversity of uses that can be accommodated in the neighbourhood, the density of use of the properties to protect the neighbourhood’s morphology, and the use and morphology of landmarks and places considered by its inhabitants or by the city, to have high social value. These last three restrictions tend to be the more stringent, as the limitations originating in the infrastructure and urban services can be overcome with new facilities while the natural conditions of the place are a fixed determinant.

Table 1.8 Information Supplied by the Analysis of the Carrying Capacity

Type of information	Purpose	Useful Data
Capacity	Determine the maximum quantity of rehabilitated space that can be obtained	- Covered surface - Semi-covered surface - Useful open space, surface, and shape - Other spaces (protected open, landscape areas)
Structure	Establish the capacity of the building to accommodate new activities and determine the limits to the transformations that can be introduced to its structure	- Construction materials - Maximum weight bearing capacity of the structure of the different sections of the building - Maximum number of openings that can be made in the walls - Maximum number and size of the structural components that can be eliminated or modified
Morphology	Identify how flexible the spatial configuration of the building is	- Number of rooms, size and shape - Circulation systems in the building: corridors, yards, accesses, and exits - Spatial distribution of the building components - Changes that can be introduced to the building’s morphology without altering the type
Potential Uses	Determine the variety of uses that can be accommodated in the building	- Space requirements of different uses with demand - Functional demands of the uses that depend on the morphology of the building

Source: Author elaboration

Restrictions to adaptive rehabilitation are particularly rigid for monuments and heritage areas that are designated for full or strict protection. Such elevated levels of protection only allow interventions for the full restoration of the monument or for minimal adaptations. They severely limit the transformations that can be introduced to the heritage buildings and their surrounding areas, thus limiting the contribution of the heritage to the carrying capacity of the neighbourhood. In terms of rehabilitated space, the contribution of heritage buildings and their surroundings is restricted to their original size (as modern extensions tend to affect the strict preservation of their heritage values) and to either their original uses or very similar uses. A less restrictive designation is the protection of the typological value of the heritage buildings or sets of buildings. This designation is usually applied to repetitive designs of domestic buildings that frequently represent the largest volume of built space and land use in a neighbourhood. As the protection of the typology focuses on the morphological features of buildings, it gives greater degrees of freedom to adapt the buildings: allowing more transformations to the components and structure of the building that, in turn, translate into the possibility of having more rehabilitated space than existed in the original, and to the building's ability to accommodate a greater variety of uses. The estimates of the carrying capacity of the different building typologies in the neighbourhood, added to the capacity of monuments and singular buildings, define both the upper limits of the volume of rehabilitated space that can be supplied and the variety of uses that can be accommodated in the area.

The maximum capacity of the infrastructure and urban services determines both the other upper limit for the total rehabilitated space that can be offered and the variety of uses that can be brought into the neighbourhood. In analysing these capacities, care must be taken to consider the actual capacity (as opposed to the design capacity) of the infrastructures and services. Often, lack of maintenance physical obsolescence of the facilities, and inefficient operation of key components (like water plants in potable water systems or wastewater treatment plants in sewerage systems) places (?) limits on the service capacities that may operate below their design capacity. While all of these limitations can be overcome with investments, the analysis must, however, take into consideration that expanding capacity takes time and requires the concerted efforts of a variety of institutions and levels of government. This response lag may therefore significantly modify the theoretical

carrying capacity of the neighbourhood as determined through the analysis of its design capacity and improvements.

1.7 Who Wants to Be There? Potential Demand for Space in Urban Heritage Sites

The feasibility of the adaptive rehabilitation strategy for the sustainable conservation of urban heritage sites rests on the presence of the types of urban activities that may find it advantageous to locate within these sites and that are prepared to pay for being located there. This potential presence of urban activities depends as much on the preferences of the consumers as it does in the dynamism of the urban economy and the conditions in the heritage site.

1.7.1 The Economic Dynamism of the City: A Critical Factor

The major determinants of the demand for built space in a city are the dynamism of the urban economy and the expectations of the city's population. The expansion of export- and domestic-oriented economic activities not only requires the space necessary to accommodate their production but also generates demand for other goods and services that are inputs for manufacturing, the production and distribution of which, in turn, also requires space (Richardson 1976). Furthermore, the income generated by these activities—wages and profits—supports the demand for goods and services of the resident population. Visitors to the city—for business or tourism—also add to the demand for space: directly by the business that provide hospitality services and indirectly through the demand generated by the entrepreneurs and workers in the industry. Increases in the purchasing power of the population due to the growth of income and the adoption of life styles and fashions of high-income households also expand the demand for space in cities. Families with more disposable income demand larger homes, purchase cars that in turn require more roads, boost the sale of commerce, make more use of personal services, and demand more and better open spaces and recreational and sports facilities; thus, these families demand more space.

The methods of urban economic analysis commonly used in real estate demand analysis are appropriate to identify the economic activities that may locate in a heritage area and estimate their space requirements and capacity to pay (Di Pasquale

and Wheaton 1996, Pagliari 1995, Miles and Weiss 2000). The challenge for the analyst is to identify the economic and residential activities that would have advantages in locating in the heritage area. If the area under study were an historic centre, the analyst would, for example, focus on those foot-loose economic activities that benefit from either central locations—typically as a result of having better access to a large and diversified market for their products—or from their proximity to related firms and services—as happens with sectors of the “new urban economy”, like informatics, software, and communications (Nevarez 2003). Specialized commercial and service activities are examples of the types of activities that benefit from central locations. Government activities are traditionally located in historic centres and often remain there. Residential activities pose a different problem. In most cities, the historic centre was originally the whole city; thus the entirety of the urban population lived there (Carrion 2001). Rapid urbanization and changes in preferences for high and middle-income households in the last decades of the twentieth century and the early years of the twenty-first century promoted suburbanization, however, and caused a major change in the residential role of the historic centre. The exit of high- and middle-income residents to new housing in the suburban areas of the city followed by the services and retail commerce that cater for their needs emptied many buildings of the historic centres. The buildings were later subdivided and let to new occupants mostly retail commerce, craft production and services for low middle and low-income households. The sub-letting of rooms in large houses of the historic centre offered low-income households an opportunity to live in low-cost housing located near their sources of income (mostly informal production and commercial activities).

The analysis of the potential demand for rehabilitated space in urban heritage sites is then a critical input for the design and implementation of such strategy. The first step in analysing the potential demand for a heritage site, and its buildings and related public spaces, is to assess the dynamism of the city economy. Although highly aggregated from the point of view of estimating the demand for an area of the city or a singular building, this analysis provides the context for the study of the specific sectors and subsectors of the city economy that are either already located in urban heritage areas or may that may find it convenient to move to one. The study of the past behaviour of the city’s economic activities provides historic data on employment and wealth generation that is the foundation for analysing economic trends (long-mid- and short-term) that are at the core of forecasting future demand. Projecting

economic activity is always difficult, but even more so at the city level. Most of the data on economic activity is compiled for either the nation or its regions and is rarely, if ever, done for cities. For instance, such is the case with the data on retail sales or tax returns from economic activities that, for cities, are almost never, if ever compiled, but that are usually published for administrative areas—regions or provinces. The institutions compiling the economic statistics find it more convenient to focus on administrative areas that have stable physical boundaries and not on cities sections of them where the dynamics of urban growth makes it difficult to define the city limits in any given period in time. Furthermore, official data on economic activity is usually disaggregated by industrial sectors and not always at a level useful for city economic analysis. One example is the data on construction activity that rarely separate housing from infrastructure and industrial plant or mining construction activities, thereby making it difficult to estimate the dynamism of urban activities through their investment in physical plant.

Despite the lack of compiled economic data available for examination for the analysis of the potential demand for rehabilitated space in urban heritage sites data exist with clear geographic references that make it possible to focus on cities or neighbourhoods. Data on real estate taxes is available for neighbourhoods and municipalities and is extensively used in analysing the city economy. In spite of all the ‘imperfections’ of urban land markets (asymmetric information, barriers of entry, lack of homogeneity of the products, urban land use regulations) urban land values are usually the result of a bidding process among the enterprises and individuals competing for the use of a give piece of real estate that has a unique location in the city. The interest of these parties in a specific piece of land is directly linked to the attributes provided to it by its location. The assumption is that the willingness to pay for this location (rental payments or purchase prices) indirectly reflects either the profits that can be obtained by enterprises as a result of using a given piece of real estate, or the comfort obtained by a household by living in this location. In economies where a significant volume of purchases are made electronically data on credit card usage is available at fairly high levels of spatial disaggregation through the companies specializing in gathering and processing this information. This type of data is useful in analysing trends in specific economic sectors, like retail and hospitality. Using what can be sometimes considered bold assumptions, the analysis can turn this data into information useful for studying the demand for rehabilitated space in urban

heritage areas. The analysis can then yield information on the total demand in the city for specific uses—retail, offices, houses per price level, productive activities, government activities, and recreation—and for different planning horizons—short-, mid- and long-term.

1.7.2 The Challenge of Allocating Demand to Heritage Sites

How much of this demand can be captured by urban heritage area? This is the next challenge for the analysis. The analysis of the behaviour of the real estate markets in the study area provides clues for this analysis. The volume and type of space for sale in the area show the current market demand. The building permits and business patent applications in the area are indicators of what the market perceives the future demand to be in the area. These permits and applications are the most direct, quantitative-based data available. What this analysis misses, however, are the economic activities and households that are not currently demanding space in the area (so there are no real estate transactions related to them and the market is not planning to supply space for them).

In the analysis, two types of economic activities are of interest: activities currently located in other areas of the city and that can be attracted to the heritage site and—more important for the city—new economic activities that can emerge in the heritage area. Identifying these activities requires a more qualitative type of analysis. The first group is composed of activities that benefit from the externalities provided by the urban heritage area: central location in the case of historic centres, the heritage values of the area in other cases, or the presence of day visitors or tourists. Bringing these activities into the urban heritage area is beneficial for sustaining its preservation and maintaining its vitality as a lived urban area. However, in moving to the heritage site, these activities vacate other locations in the city without adding employment or income to the urban economy—unless they expand as a result of the move.

Of utmost interest to the city and to the urban heritage area are the new economic activities that can emerge there. The heritage value of the area can provide opportunities to generate new economic activities, examples of which abound. The growing interest in preserving the heritage can give rise to companies providing preservation services: conservation of mobile and immobile heritage objects, training, and research (Rypkema 2005). In a similar fashion, the presence of a greater diversity

of visitors can lead to the development of new types of hospitality business: youth hostels, time share housing for retirees, low cost accommodation for budget tourists, or ethnic restaurants. The area's intangible heritage can also originate income-generating activities like arts and craft production and training facilities, and local and performing arts festivals. Urban heritage areas have advantages to housing knowledge-based and creative industries—music, theatre and literary production, publishing, advertisement, software development and the like—as the heritage values of the area are attractive to a very diverse set of creative and adventurous individuals. The dense urban structure of the area provides multiple opportunities for interaction, the old historic buildings provide ample spaces for integrating living and working spaces, and the heritage values provide added charm and uniqueness to the location.

Residential activities constitute a dominant land use category in cities and should also do so in urban heritage areas. Residences and their associated services—schools, health facilities, parks and recreation areas—use nearly 80% of the urbanized area of a city. In central areas where business and government activities abound, residential land uses can drop to 65% of the total and still remain a dominant use. Who is living in the heritage area? Who would be interested in moving there? Which types of dwellings would be preferred? What rents would heritage area residents be willing to pay and which services would they demand? Answers to these questions provide indications of the types of residential demand that exists for an urban heritage area. In deteriorated urban heritage areas, low-income households find low-cost housing in large houses rented by the room after their high-income original owners vacated them. This form of residential use is convenient for the households but detrimental to the preservation of the houses. Other large houses are turned into shops or storage for different types of commerce, thus serving profitable uses at the cost of the deterioration of the houses. Bringing into the heritage area new residents promotes the preservation of the housing stock and sustains the vitality of the heritage area. Data on both household sizes and formation trends in the city allow the analyst to estimate the total demand for housing. Knowledge of the preferences of households of different sizes and income levels further assists in the identification of the segments of this market that could be attracted to the heritage area. The demographics of and the preferences held by households vary from city to city. However, in urban settings household heads are usually young, household sizes are typically small, and income levels are generally middle- to upper-middle in range. The issues confronted by the

analyst are: to determine if affordable housing can be accommodated in rehabilitated heritage buildings, thus to determine if it will play a role in the sustainable preservation of the historic centre; and to determine whether new households of different income levels can be brought into the historic centre.

Together with the results of the carrying capacity of the urban heritage site that synthesises the preservation goals of the community, which, in turn, is a result of the value they assign to the heritage, all of the abovementioned information must be used in a coordinated fashion in order to design and implement public interventions and promote private investments, the key outcomes of a good governance process. This is the topic of the next chapter.

1.8 Gentrification: A Measure of Success and a Social Problem

The successful preservation of an urban heritage site through the adaptive rehabilitation of its buildings and public spaces attracts new residents, customers, business and visitors. These new users and uses replace those formerly existing in or operating at the site, and displace them to other sectors of the city. This process, called 'gentrification' by Glass (1964) in her study of the working class neighbourhoods of London, is present in all cases where there is a positive change in property values within a neighbourhood. Rojas and de Moura Castro (1999) state:

“This process, ...benefits municipal income and landowners, and boots economic activity. However, ... gentrification generates positive externalities for economic activities interested in locating in historic centers (for instance, commerce, recreation and tourism) contributing to expand demand for space in the historic center, and to the long-term sustainability of the conservation effort...

Gentrification affects the poorest members of the community that loose access to cheap housing and to the economic and social opportunities offered by the downtown location.” (Page 13)

There are different approaches to the understanding of gentrification. All are underpinned, however, by the operations of the housing markets. The gentrification process is the result of real estate investment seeking profits from areas where the potential rents are perceived as much higher than the actual rents obtained by landowners, the 'rent gap' (Smith 1996). There are views that question the capacity of

the concept of gentrification to capture the wide array of economic and demographic processes underway in the inner cities around the world. These views argue that the concept of 'reorganisation' might better capture these aforementioned phenomena (Buzar, Hall and Odgen 2007). Most urban heritage sites in Latin America are still stressed by functional and physical obsolescence and many suffer from abandonment and disinvestment. They may, however, soon move out of this condition and into more complex stages of redevelopment that may be closer to the concept of reurbanisation. For the time being, gentrification in its most original formulation still remains the preferred term because it adequately portrays the process of change that adaptive rehabilitation may trigger in the urban heritage sites of the region.

The strength of market forces makes gentrification difficult to avoid. What is possible though is to mitigate their ill effects over the low-income households and low-productivity economic activities. The low-income property owners in a heritage site benefit from the price increases when they sell their properties. Technical advice on the part of the institutions promoting the adaptive rehabilitation can help these property owners negotiate the best possible terms with investors. Those not willing to move and sell need help maintaining their properties and paying the increased taxes. Maintenance assistance and tax abatement measures can be included in adaptive rehabilitation programs and are very effective. In contrast to owners, renters in urban heritage sites pose a more complex problem. These individuals are displaced from their low-cost accommodations by the higher rents being charged, and in a rapidly changing heritage site, low-cost housing disappears quite rapidly. Heritage conservation programs need to consider the supply of affordable space for these households and producers as a necessary component. Such programs must also accept that supplying this space is an activity that requires subsidies to match the paying capacity of the beneficiaries with the costs of producing rehabilitated space for their use. The support of renters turns these subsidies in a recurrent expenditure that is complex to both manage and fund. Successful experiences in Barcelona (Dalmau 1998) and Bologna (Broomfield 1993) involved significant expenditures of public funds by the municipalities that were backed by strong political support from the population.

Gentrification issues rank high among the priorities of both community organisations and organisations of the civil society that oppose the displacement of residents and workers and advocate for more integrative approaches to the adaptive

rehabilitation of urban heritage sites. Rojas and de Moura Castro (1999: 13) state, “Side effects of gentrification may be so significant as to jeopardize political support for conservation”, thus presenting a critical challenge for the governance of the process.

Chapter 2

The Governance Challenges of the Preservation of Urban Heritage in Latin America

The discussion in Chapter 1 showed that communities in Latin America are both gradually moving toward a more integral appreciation of the values of urban heritage and the development of more effective ways of promoting its conservation. In most Latin American countries, the conservation of urban heritage is no longer only the ‘concern of the elite’ but also a ‘concern of the government’. Whether or not the process will move to a stage that this study consider a more sustainable stage of conservation by becoming a ‘concern of all social actors’ directly relates to whether or not the countries and cities can implement governance mechanisms that allow for this. Building on Chapter 1, this chapter discusses a selected set of topics that are central for instituting governance mechanisms in urban heritage areas that enhance the chances of such locations achieving sustainable conservation.

Based on Bell’s definition of governance as “...the use of institutions and structures of authority to allocate resources and coordinate or control activity in society or in any other relevant environment; including the economy.” (Bell 2002:1), this study propose that the governance structures for sustainable conservation of the urban heritage need to: (a) turn the community’s commitment to conserve the heritage into a set of rules for its use and upkeep—the structure of authority—capable of incentivizing the stakeholders to conserve the heritage sites, in addition to (b) developing institutions capable coordinating the activities and contributions of the different stakeholders to ensure that (c) sufficient resources are devoted to the task. The analysis of these topics leads to the proposal of a conceptual framework for the design and implementation of sustainable urban heritage preservation processes. The strength of the framework will then be tested in Chapters 3 and 4 by applying it to the analysis of the governance mechanisms used in four urban heritage conservation programs in Latin America. The study will compare the key propositions of the framework with the governance mechanisms used in these cases, and identify the likely causes for the results observed.

2.1 The Sustainable Preservation of Urban Heritage: a Governance Problem

Cities are forever changing and, according to Jacobs (1961), doing so in many interconnected dimensions. Batty (2005:8) strives to model this process arguing that, “...cities should be considered as layer upon layer of urban change...” and “...by representing the basic elements ...of the city in two distinct but related ways: through

cells, which represent the physical and spatial structure of the city, and through *agents*, which represent the human and social units that make the city work.” (page 6, emphasis in the original). Following this approach, it can be argued that urban heritage sites prosper and decay over time due to the actions of the agents that lead to changes in the physical characteristics and uses of the components (cells) buildings and public spaces (streets, squares, parks). The actions of specific agents underline the processes of the functional and physical obsolescence that affect the spatial components of the heritage sites of many Latin American cities. These forms of obsolescence are the main threat to the conservation of heritage sites. There is, however, another threat that is less pervasive but no less damaging. The rapid growth experienced by many cities in the last 50 years—as Latin America turned into the most urbanized developing region of the world—put pressure on the centrally located real estate assets of the historic centres, which prompted a third type of obsolescence—economic.

2.1.1 Types of Obsolescence Affecting Urban Heritage Areas

The combined effects of functional, physical and economic obsolescence lie at the core of the urban heritage conservation problem leading to the deterioration of historic buildings and their surrounding public spaces. A short discussion of these processes will help to calibrate their significance.

Functional obsolescence of buildings and public spaces arises when these structures become inadequate for the functions for which they were originally designed. This process affected many components of the urban heritage including: traditional houses of high-income families that are abandoned because their owners seek out modern amenities found in suburban dwellings; old hospital buildings that become obsolete as a result of new medical technologies, old libraries incapable of accommodating modern-sized book stocks or new information technologies, railway stations no longer used, and convents and churches that communities can no longer support.

Physical obsolescence refers to the deterioration of the structure, installations, or finishing of buildings and public spaces, and streets, to the point where they become incapable of accommodating the functions for which they were designed. Physical obsolescence is usually, the outcome of poor maintenance but it may also

result from natural disasters (for instance, earthquakes or floods), the general, sustained effect of the weather, or traffic congestion and its side effects (for instance, vibrations generated by vehicles). Since heritage buildings and public spaces are often among the most deteriorated structures in cities, they stand as extreme examples of physical obsolescence.

Economic obsolescence occurs when, given the physical characteristics of a building, it no longer remains profitable to keep it in operation. In such cases, the land on which a building sits is often found to be increasingly valuable. This phenomena, in turn results in an increase in pressure to tear the building down and put the land on which it stood to the market's 'best and highest use.' Although this phenomenon typically occurs in areas undergoing rapid changes in land uses, it also affects heritage sites—particularly those close to expanding office or commercial centres in rapidly growing cities where speculative real estate pressures lead to the rapid disappearance of fine heritage buildings.

2.1.2 Reversing Obsolescence: A Key Objective

Reversing these patterns of obsolescence is an essential objective of a sustainable urban heritage conservation process. This study proposes that the most effective way to achieve this objective is positioning the heritage assets to satisfy contemporary needs for space, provided that the new users have the capacity to pay for and maintain the assets and that the heritage buildings and public spaces are rehabilitated and used within their carrying capacity. This is the essence of the values-based adaptive rehabilitation approach to the conservation of the urban heritage. In Batty's (2005) terms, the adaptive rehabilitation of the heritage sites is possible if a change is induced in the behaviour of the 'agents' to improve the preservation of the cells (the physical and spatial structure of the city). Sustainable conservation of the heritage is then but another layer of urban change.

An understanding of the causes of the functional and physical obsolescence and the incorporation of the adaptive rehabilitation approach together provide the basis for the operational definition of sustainability used in this study. The preservation of an urban heritage site is considered sustained when the area is attractive to a wide variety of users who demand space for developing residential, commercial, service-related, cultural and recreational activities; private investments

are amply supplying the demand for space from these activities and maintaining the private buildings retaining the characteristics that makes them part of the community's heritage; and the public resources are primarily used for the provision of public goods (Rojas 2012).

The analysis in Chapter 1 supports the proposition that this outcome is more likely when urban heritage sites are devoted to the social and economic uses capable of undertaking the proper routine and preventive maintenance required to ensure that the buildings and public spaces permanently retain the structural, stylistic, and functional characteristics that give them their heritage values without requiring new investment in rehabilitation. The spontaneous operation of the real estate markets rarely leads to such a state of affairs in urban heritage areas—as proven by the deteriorated state that many evidence today. Thus, some form of government intervention is required, which then poses a governance problem. This governance problem stems from a coordination problem that stakeholders face, and which they cannot solve through the extant market mechanisms. Although it would be convenient for property owners to rehabilitate their heritage properties and devote them to uses capable of producing more economic benefits, their individual benefits will be diminished by the obsolescence of other properties, public spaces, and urban services in the heritage area. Under these conditions none of the property owners benefit from being the first to adapt and rehabilitate their properties. As a consequence, the rehabilitation process does not get started (Rojas 2004).

It is reasonable to state that with the right set of incentives, the stakeholders who directly benefit from the urban heritage sites will be inclined to invest in the site and demand from their government the investments needed for the additional urban services and infrastructures required by the heritage site. However, for this process to start, government intervention is needed to change the system of incentives that otherwise paralyses the private stakeholders and creates the conditions leading to the further deterioration of urban heritage sites. According to Rojas (2004), the key government interventions include: formulating an agreed vision of the future for the heritage area as to engage the imagination and energy of a wide variety of stakeholders; improving the infrastructures, public spaces, and urban services at the site in order to provide services that meet contemporary standards; and providing a stable regulatory environment so that stakeholders know what it is they can versus cannot do in relationship to urban heritage. A critical set of conditions required for a

heritage conservation program to reverse the deterioration of a heritage site includes: (a) a program that is capable of coordinating the interventions of the different stakeholders, including the coordination among public agencies, among public and private stakeholders, and among private actors; (b) interventions that are implemented in the right sequence: improvements to the infrastructure should precede the improvement of public spaces and other urban services, and these particular improvements normally precede the private investments that are dependent on the generation of favourable conditions in the heritage site; and (c) interventions that have a scale commensurable with the physical extension of the heritage area; preserving a building or a block in a large historic centre does little to launch a sustainable preservation process (Rojas 2004). Given these conditions, the coordination of the activities of the different stakeholders—public-public, public-private, and private-private—to attain the right scale of interventions (?) and to implement them in the right sequence is at the crux of the governance issues confronted by the preservation of urban heritage sites.

The discussion that follows will analyse both the basis for building the necessary structure of authority required to manage the preservation of urban heritage and the institutional arrangements needed to coordinate the actions of the different stakeholders. The underlying hypothesis of this analysis is that for the preservation process to evolve to a sustainable stage, existing structures of authority and institutional arrangements—as characterised in Chapter 1 in the discussion of the stages of evolution of the preservation efforts in Latin America—need reforms in order to advance the process to a level where it becomes a ‘concern of all social actors’. The foundations of these reforms lie in a more integrated appreciation of the multitude of values of the heritage and the convergence of the interests and resources of all the stakeholders.

2.2 Heritage Values as Drivers of the Preservation of Urban Heritage Sites in Latin America

In discussing the values of heritage as drivers of the preservation effort, this study will use the analytical schema and the definitions of values proposed in Chapter 1. These values are synthesised in Table 2.1.

2.2.1 The Role of Values in Advancing the Legitimacy of the Preservation of Urban Heritage

In Latin America, like in most of the world, the socio-cultural values of urban heritage sites were the first values to be recognized. Of the many socio-cultural values, the two that initially prompted historic conservation in Latin America were: the historic value of certain buildings and urban sites where national or local historic events took place, and the spiritual value of places of worship. More subtle and difficult to measure social values, like the aesthetic and social importance of the urban heritage, have entered into the debate more gradually and have not gained quick, widespread recognition. Economic values have also played a role, although minor. The direct use value of heritage sites as tourist attractions was an early motivator of investing public funds. However, the more varied economic use values that are significant motivators of historic conservation in the developed world—like uses for residences, services, and business—have yet to be embedded in Latin American society. This direct use value of heritage buildings for housing and commercial uses that mobilise significant private investment in Western Europe and the USA is still more the exception than the rule in the urban heritage sites of Latin America. Also, the donation or philanthropic value of heritage is scarcely a motivator for investment in Latin America, as the focus of philanthropic giving in the region is still centred on poverty alleviation and other social and religious concerns.

It is apparent that there is a limited appreciation of the values of the heritage in Latin America. This observation leads to the identification of a first area of policy development for Latin America concerning the preservation of the urban heritage: increase the awareness and appreciation for the urban heritage in the general population. The education system, the mass media, and social networks are suitable vehicles for disseminating the socio-cultural values and disseminating information about the potential role of urban heritage in the socio-economic development process through its use values. An enhanced appreciation of the values of the urban heritage among the population and a greater awareness of the importance of its conservation and development will give the urban heritage a public ‘voice’. According to Lefevre (2008), assuring that the issues pertaining to the urban heritage have ‘voice’ is a necessary condition for these issues to gain ‘political legitimacy’, that is to become objects of public policy and financing. The political legitimacy of the conservation of

the heritage not only provides the basis for government intervention and the allocation of public funds to the task, but it also importantly induces all the other stakeholders to both accept the public intervention and coordinate their actions accordingly. This willingness to act together provides the foundations for establishing institutions capable of coordinating the contributions of the stakeholders.

Table 2.1. Synthesis of the Definitions of Urban Heritage

Value		Definition
Socio Cultural Values		
Historic		Provides a connection to the past, revealing the origins of the present
Aesthetic		It has and shows beauty
Scientific		It is important for expanding knowledge
Spiritual		Contributes to the sense of identity, awe, connection to the infinite, is a space for worship
Symbolic		Contains meanings and information that help a community to establish and consolidate its identity
Social		Contributes to the identification of group values and the cohesion of a community
Authentic		It is valuable because it is real, not a fake, it is unique
Economic Values		
Use	Direct	Has the potential to accommodate contemporary uses and generates rents or provides social services
	Indirect	Generates benefits to passive users
Non use	Existence	It is valued because it exists, even if those who value the site have no intention to use it
	Option	It is valued because of the possibility of being used in the future
	Bequest	There is interest in ensuring that the site is transferred to future generations

Source: Author elaboration after Throsby 2012

A well-informed community that is aware of the many dimensions of the value of their heritage will be more prone to appreciate the existence and inheritance values; thus they will be interested in investing public and private resources in conservation and development of the heritage. Conversely, a community that barely knows about the values of the heritage is more inclined to accept its destruction in order to make room for new buildings. This assertion is proven by the attitudes toward funding, and by the implementing actions toward the conservation and development of the urban heritage in Latin America that closely mirrors the evolution of the appreciation of the value of heritage in these communities. The loss of urban heritage experienced by the large cities of Latin America in the mid-twentieth century

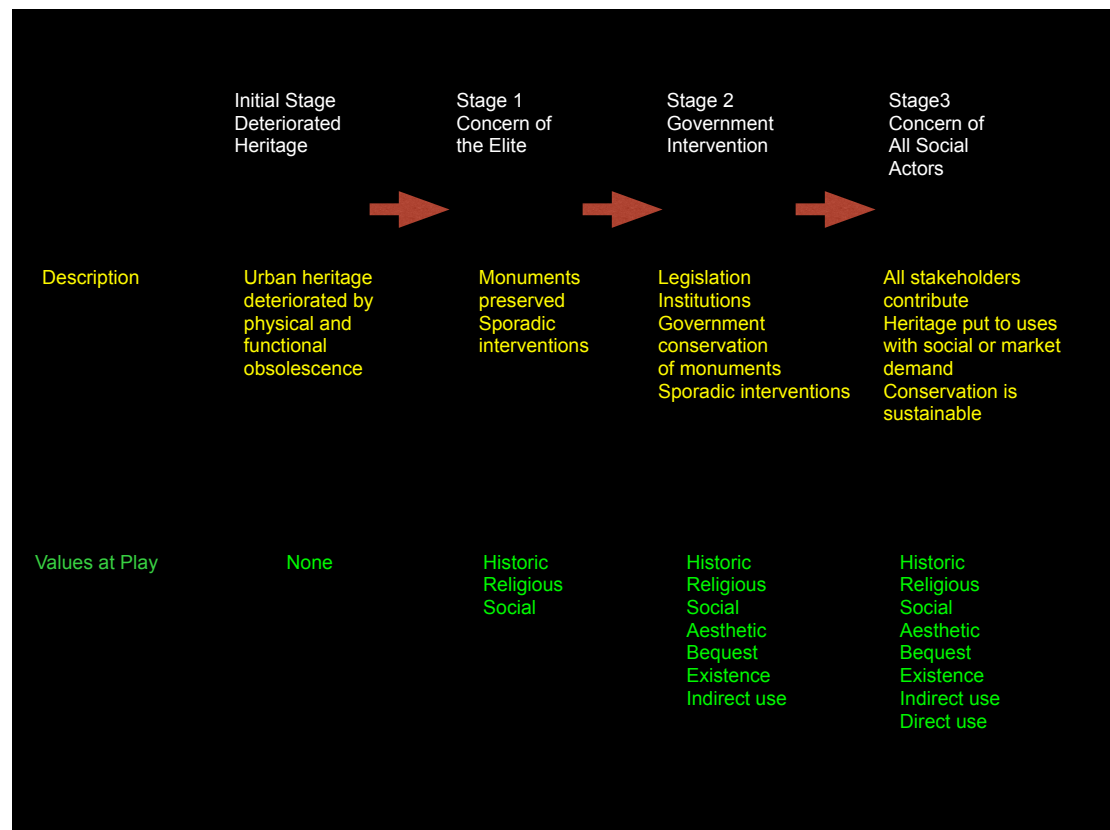
is only partially explained by the real estate pressures for the redevelopment of the central areas of the rapidly growing cities. The other part of the explanation lies in the attitudes of planners, politicians, and influential members of the community that considered the built heritage as a symbol of the backwardness of colonial rule and the prevalence of unequal and inefficient social structures and development models. In sum, the heritage represents for these parties all that the modern movement of architecture and urbanism was trying to overcome. Not surprisingly, in the 1960s and 1970s most urban development plans—particularly those of large, fast growing cities—declared significant portions of the historic fabric as “areas for urban renewal”, meaning that the existing historic structures could be removed to make way for new high rise buildings.

In countries that are still in the first phase of the movement towards preserving and developing urban heritage, which was described in Chapter 1, the preservation effort is still narrowly based around a few values of heritage, mostly of an historic or aesthetic nature. This focus primarily attracts the interest of select stakeholders, predominantly the cultural elite, and only mobilises a limited amount of resources provided primarily by philanthropies and government-funded cultural institutions. Some Latin American countries have moved to a phase in their efforts to conserve the urban heritage that this study terms ‘government intervention’. These moves can be considered the result of a broader understanding on the part of the community of the economic values of urban heritage and the concern of the government for the public good component of this form of heritage. In addition to the direct consumption use by tourism, many communities also grow to appreciate the non-use values of existence and bequest. Cognizant of the wider value assigned to heritage by the community, and responding to the interests of a wider set of stakeholders that includes not only the cultural and philanthropic elite and the local communities, but also organisations of the civil society, national governments enact preservation legislation, create national institutions to cater for the heritage, and devote some resources to its preservation and development.

Advancing to the stage that this study calls a ‘concern of all social actors’ requires widening the range of economic use values that can be realised in the urban heritage area. This move necessitates demonstrating the technical and financial viability of putting urban heritage sites to uses that have solvent demands in the real estate markets or that have full financing from government social programs. It further

requires attracting developers, business owners, households, and customers to invest, live, and trade in the heritage site. By expanding the range of interested stakeholder, this approach helps the preservation of the urban heritage gain ‘social legitimacy’. Figure 2.1 shows, schematically, the three stages described above, the values at play in each stage, and the key interventions required moving from one stage to the next.

Figure 2.1 Key Steps in the Expanding Role of Values as Drivers of the Governance of the Urban Heritage Process



Source: Author's elaboration

2.2.2 Stakeholder Mobilisation: Impacts on the Sustained Conservation of Urban Heritage

Positioning the urban heritage conservation process so that it gains social legitimacy requires incorporating a large set of stakeholder in the process. For simplicity, this study will work with a sub-set of the full list of potential stakeholders identified in Chapter 1. This sub-set includes the stakeholders most involved in the conservation process as it exists today in Latin America, being either in the stage of ‘concern of the elite’ or ‘government intervention’, plus those whose involvement is necessary to

reach the stage of ‘concern of all social actors’—the sustainable stage claimed by this study. Table 2.4 identifies these actors; the description of the type of involvement this study envisages for them is in Table 1.6

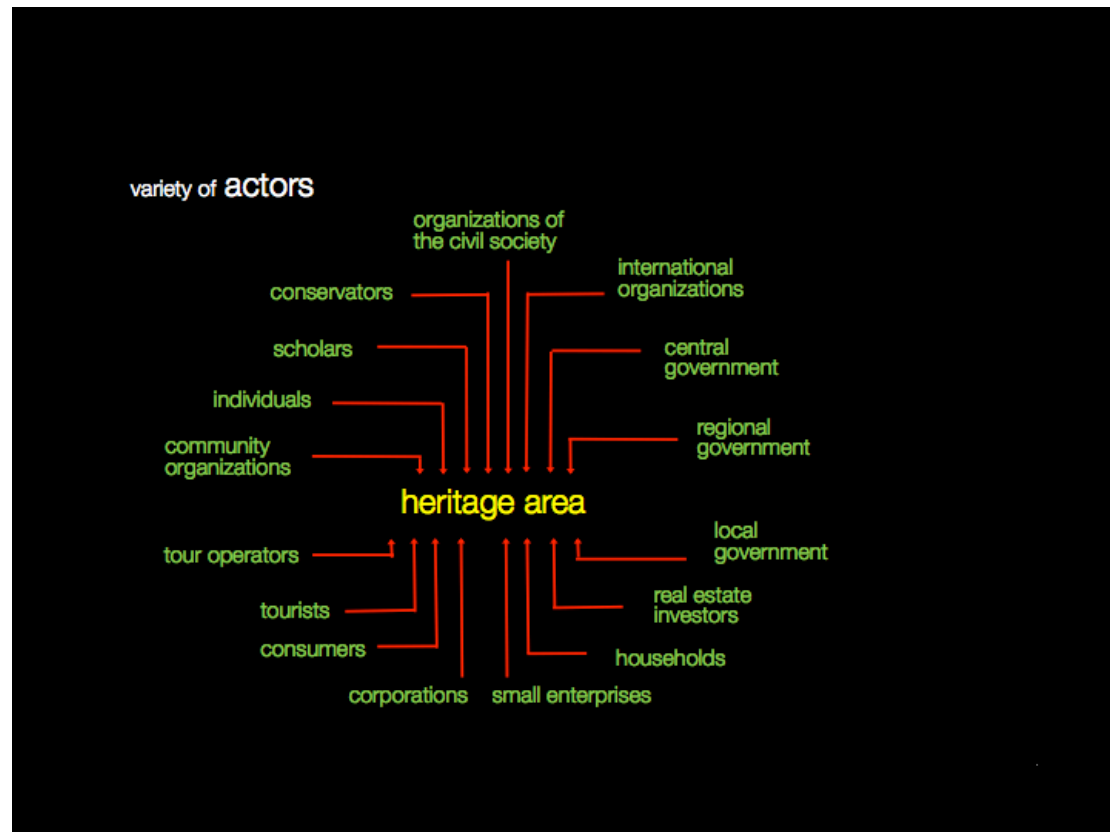
Each type of stakeholder will be interested in a particular set of values of the urban heritage. At the risk of oversimplifying the problem, a few examples are useful to illustrate the differences in these interests. The cultural elite is usually concerned with the preservation of specific socio-cultural values, primarily those that are either historic or aesthetic, and respond to concerns for the loss of unique pieces of the community’s inheritance. Organizations of the civil society, depending on their main purpose and the scope of their mandates, focus on symbolic or social values of the urban heritage. Religious organisations—whether church or secular—naturally pay attention to the spiritual values of the heritage and advocate and work for their conservation. There are two corollaries of this observation: the more values contained by an urban heritage site, the wider the variety of stakeholders interested in its conservation; and—following the discussion in Chapter 1—the wider the variety of stakeholders and values, the more diverse the sets of social interactions that are concerned with the preservation of the heritage.

Table 2.2 Key Stakeholders for a Sustainable Urban Heritage Preservation Process

Stakeholder
National government (federal or central government)
Regional (State) government
Local (municipal) government
Real estate investors
Entrepreneurs: formal traders and productive activities
Tourism entrepreneurs
Local users
Consumers
Households
Tourists
Scholars
Cultural elite
Philanthropists
Organizations of the Civil Society
NGOs (national and international)
Community organizations
International organizations

Source: Author’s selection from Table 1.6

Figure 2.2 Stakeholders in the Preservation of an Urban Heritage Site



Source: Author elaboration

These factors, which impact the long-term sustainability of the urban heritage preservation process, are related in several ways. For one, having a wide variety of stakeholders provides strong political support for the conservation effort and constitutes a solid base of potential contributors to the financing and implementation of the effort. If one set of stakeholders involved in one of these spheres of social interaction fails to reach agreement on a concrete action to be taken in relation to the conservation of a heritage site, there is always another set of stakeholders involved in its own social interaction processes that may succeed in allocating resources or implementing actions and sustaining the conservation process. This fact strongly supports the call to expand the range of values assigned by the community to the urban heritage sites, the 'voice' of the heritage. The adaptive rehabilitation approach to urban heritage conservation contributes to this objective by adding direct use values to values of urban heritage, a strategy that should attract a new group of stakeholders to the process. The new stakeholders will interact in the real estate

markets, adding a new realm of social interaction to the set already mobilised by the values held by the other stakeholders interested in the conservation of urban heritage. Under the best circumstances, real estate markets are fairly atomised and competitive in engaging the interest of a diverse set of social actors, an outcome clearly favourable for the sustainability of the conservation effort. In less favourable circumstances, that is in less atomised and competitive real estate markets, the use values of urban heritage will at least attract the interest of a set of actors who are not usually associated with the conservation of urban heritage: entrepreneurs, households, consumers, and real estate investors.

The variety and density of social interactions involved in the valuation of heritage is also a factor in the sustainability of the preservation process. Table 2.3 shows the significant increase in domains of social interactions involved in the making of decisions and the allocation of resources for the conservation of the urban heritage when more values are at play. Table 2.3 (a) shows how only a few domains of social interaction are activated when the historic value is the sole driving force of the urban heritage preservation effort. Table 2.3 (b) shows the increase in the diversity of domains involved when other socio-cultural values are driving the preservation effort. It is reasonable to expect that the latter situation would lead to a more sustainable preservation than the former. If the conservation process rests on the outcomes of only one domain of social interactions, any failure in the functioning of this domain will halt the corresponding conservation activity: for instance, if no agreement is reached with regard to allocating public funds for the conservation effort in the political domain, then no public investment will be made. A diversified set of social interactions, and particularly the synergies that exist among them, would increase the resilience of the conservation process. The example provided in Chapter 1 is significant in this respect. Sustained scientific research that improves the understanding of the values of the urban heritage mobilises the cultural elite to act and enhances the community's awareness about the importance of preserving the heritage. These developments can reinstate the political debate to allocate public resources to the preservation of the urban heritage.

Table 2.3 Stakeholders and Domains of Social Interaction Involved in the Conservation and Development of Urban Heritage Areas

(a) When Only Historic Values Act as Motivators.

Stakeholders	Domains of Social Interaction				
	Scientific enquire	Transaction of the elite	Grassroots	Market transaction	Political processes
National government					X
Regional government					
Local government					
Real estate investors					
Entrepreneurs					
Tourism entrepreneurs					
Local users					
Consumers					
Households					
Tourists					
Scholars	X				
Cultural elite					X
Philanthropy		X			
Organizations of the civil society					
NGOs		X			X
Community organizations					
International organisations					

(b) With Multiple Values at Play: Historic, Aesthetic, Spiritual, Social and Symbolic.

Stakeholders	Domains of Social Interaction				
	Scientific enquire	Transaction of the elite	Grassroots	Market transactions	Political processes
National government					X
Regional government					X
Local government		X	X		X
Real estate investors				X	
Entrepreneurs				X	
Tourism entrepreneurs					
Local users					
Consumers				X	
Households			X	X	
Tourists					
Scholars	X				
Cultural elite		X			X
Philanthropy		X			
Organizations of the civil society					
NGOs		X	X		X
Community organizations			X		X
International organisations					

Source: Author elaboration based on Rojas 2012.

These abovementioned observations have significant operational consequences for designing and implementing conservation programs for urban heritage sites. Creating and sustaining such programs calls for expanding the variety of stakeholders involved in the process by giving ‘voice’ to the importance of the heritage for the social and economic development of the community. This undertaking also requires giving impetus to the involvement of a diverse set of stakeholders in the widest possible variety of spheres of social interaction to enhance the resilience of the conservation process to changes in priorities of some stakeholders. The greater the variety of stakeholders and the greater the number of social interactions involved in the process, the more likely it will be for the conservation of the urban heritage to become a ‘concern of all social actors’.

2.2.3 Stakeholders Involvement in the Preservation of Urban Heritage Sites

The stakeholders of an urban heritage site become involved in the preservation process for different reasons, and do so in different forms. When discussing the governance of the preservation process, two stakeholder-related components of interest emerge. They are: to what extent do the stakeholders have permanent interests in the heritage site; and which are the resources—intellectual or political support, technical expertise, financial resources—that the stakeholders commit to the task.

With respect to the first dimension it is useful to distinguish three classes of stakeholders:

1. Core Stakeholders. These individuals or groups of individuals are fully and permanently invested in the urban heritage site because they:
 - a. Own property;
 - b. Live in;
 - c. Work in;
 - d. Hold political representation of residents;
 - e. Have administrative responsibility for the area;
 - f. Have long personal, business, or community ties with the heritage area.
2. Committed Stakeholder. These individuals or groups of individuals have a particular concern for the heritage area, thus being only temporarily committed to the site due to:

- a. Professional responsibilities (conservators, historians, preservation architects and planners);
 - b. Philanthropic interests;
 - c. Organizational objectives (national or local organisations of the civil society);
 - d. International mandates (UNESCO's World Heritage List).
3. Peripheral Stakeholders. These organisations or individuals have a marginal interest in the urban heritage area and its conservation, and make sporadic contributions.

Each of the aforementioned classes of stakeholders will bring to the process a unique perspective and set of demands. Each will also play a different role in the pursuit of the sustainable conservation of urban heritage sites. Core and committed stakeholders tend to have a constant presence and are more inclined to participate regularly in matters concerning the preservation and development of the site. On the other end of the spectrum, peripheral stakeholders tend to show sporadic interest in the urban heritage area and need stimuli in order to mobilise.

From the perspective of the involvement of the stakeholders, the conservation process will gain sustainability if core stakeholders predominate in the group involved in the process. In other words, the sustainability of the conservation process, in addition to benefiting from an expanded variety of stakeholders, also benefits from an increase in the presence of core stakeholders. In the urban heritage preservation efforts belonging to the first stage of the preservation effort in Latin America—preservation as a ‘concern of the elite’—there is a prevalence of ‘peripheral stakeholders’ and a conspicuous absence of ‘core stakeholders’. In such cases, the promoters of the preservation process are usually members of the cultural elite, who move on to other pursuits once the conservation activities are completed. Similarly, the financers of the efforts in these cases—governments or philanthropists— have other commitments for their resources and move on once the conservation-related task is completed. The only core stakeholders present in such cases are the different communities using the urban heritage site—residents, producers, and tour operators. When the preservation of urban heritage become a ‘concern of the government’, however, the national, regional, or local heritage preservation entities turn into core and committed stakeholders with clear benefits for the sustainability of the process. This shift is most likely to occur in situations where urban heritage conservation is

supported and stimulated by the local communities or organisations of the civil society that move to act as core stakeholders.

The second dimension of interest in the analysis of the stakeholders focuses on their contributions to the conservation process. Three classes of stakeholders are of interest here:

1. Promoters of the preservation of the heritage site. These are the individuals or groups that, conscious of the value of the heritage, endeavour to engage the stakeholders controlling the resources—financial, institutional and technical—and mobilise them to take action.
2. Financing stakeholders. This is the group controlling the resources needed to actively conserve heritage. The generic name used here emphasises the financial resources, as they are usually scarce and the harder of the resources to secure. However, this class of stakeholders can also include those controlling institutional and technical resources.
3. Beneficiaries. These are the individuals or the groups that receive the flows of benefits generated by the conserved heritage site. It is important to note that in addition to beneficiaries of the conservation process, there are also stakeholders who suffer some sense of loss as a result of the conservation process. Low-income renters impacted by the gentrification of a heritage area exemplify one such stakeholder group.

Individual stakeholders can fit into one or several of these above-listed categories depending on roles that they play in the conservation process. For instance, a local government (municipality or district) can be a promoter of the preservation process when it is lobbying the regional or national governments for listing a heritage site and for securing resources for its upkeep. The same entity will be a financing stakeholder if it contributes resources to the preservation effort. Similarly, a community can be just a passive beneficiary of the preservation effort if the process is led by other stakeholders and financed by yet another group. On the other hand, more proactive communities can act as promoters of the conservation efforts and, if they make contributions, they will adopt also the role of a financing stakeholder. The same can occur with all the key stakeholders listed in Table 2.2. The types of involvement and the roles played by the stakeholders will affect the outcomes of the preservation process.

This study proposes that the sustainability of urban heritage conservation is enhanced by the involvement of a large variety of core and committed stakeholders playing simultaneously the roles of promoters, financiers, and beneficiaries. The pool of resources available for conserving the urban heritage—financial, technical and institutional—would be larger if the heritage site has a large and varied pool of promoters, financiers, and beneficiaries. An example illustrates the point. The landowners who are core stakeholders—that is, those individuals with a stable interest in the flows of socio-cultural and economic benefits generated by a site—would certainly promote the preservation process but would not commit resources unless led to do so by government interventions designed to solve the coordination problem they face. If the government were able to succeed in bringing these landowners to contribute to the rehabilitation and adaption of their properties, then the resources of these landowners would be added to those of the other stakeholders, like the government and philanthropists.

Viewed from the perspective of the importance of involving a multiplicity of stakeholders in the conservation of urban heritage sites, the sustainability of the conservation efforts belonging to the first stage of the preservation effort in Latin America, called a ‘concern of the elite’ in this study, is negatively affected by a misalignment, or asymmetry, in the relations among stakeholders. Those individuals or groups who care about the heritage and promote its preservation, the cultural elite, are not those who pay for the conservation work. Such efforts are primarily funded by private philanthropists or by the average central-government taxpayer—those individuals or groups who are not the main beneficiaries of the heritage conservation efforts (see Figure 2.1 (a)). This funding predicament is another factor contributing to the spotty and discontinuous interventions that characterize this stage of the process that mobilises a reduced amount of resources under governance arrangements that fail to guarantee the long-term sustainability of heritage sites.

The situation is slightly better in preservation processes belonging to the second stage, the ‘concern of the government’, in which national governments—in addition to enacting conservation legislation and the creation of national institutions to list and protect the heritage—devote, with certain regularity, resources to urban heritage conservation and development. The cultural elite are joined by organizations of the civil society, and by non-governmental and community organisations, in promoting a greater government involvement in the conservation of urban heritage.

The budgets of national, regional, and local governments allocate funds for the conservation of urban heritage, albeit in limited quantities and with significant annual variations. Competing for resources with many pressing social and infrastructure needs and executed by institutions with little experience, these efforts do not fulfil the objective of installing sustained processes of urban heritage conservation. In this phase, most of the asymmetries that characterize the previous phase remain. Those who pay for the conservation of urban heritage assets—the national taxpayers—are neither those who promote the actions nor those who directly benefit from them (see Figure 2.1 (b)).

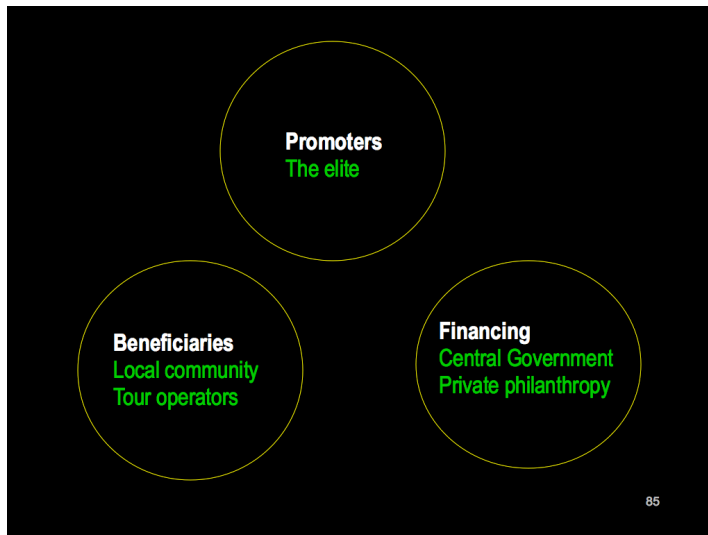
The consequences of this analysis are summed up by Rojas (2012:156) who states:

“...the volume and stability of the resources devoted to urban heritage conservation would increase with: (a) the diversification of the actors interested in the conservation of the urban heritage (stakeholders) due to the diversity of values that it holds, and (b) their active involvement in a wider variety of spheres of social interaction where financial and human resources are allocated to the task...Essential to establishing a long-term sustainable urban heritage conservation and development process is a better alignment of the contributions of the expanded set of actors so as to ensure that those that promote urban heritage conservation coincide to the greatest extent possible with those that pay for the required interventions and with those that benefit from the results.”

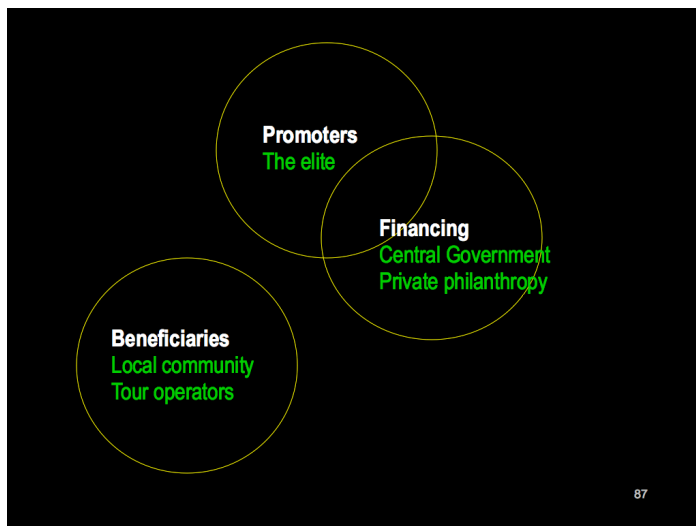
A condition such as that described by Rojas occurs when the preservation of urban heritage becomes ‘a task of all social actors’ and when a variety of social actors engages in the process as either core or committed stakeholders acting as promoters and financers, and directly receiving the benefits—the socio-cultural and economic flows generated by the preserved urban heritage (see Figure 2.3 (c)). To achieve this outcome, it is necessary to realign the interests of all the social actors involved in the process and allow for different, social-resource-allocation processes to work harmoniously towards a common goal. Figure 2.4 shows the variety of roles potentially played by key stakeholders when the preservation of urban heritage becomes a task undertaken by all social actors.

Figure 2.3 Alignments of Stakeholders in the Different Stages of the Preservation Effort in Latin America

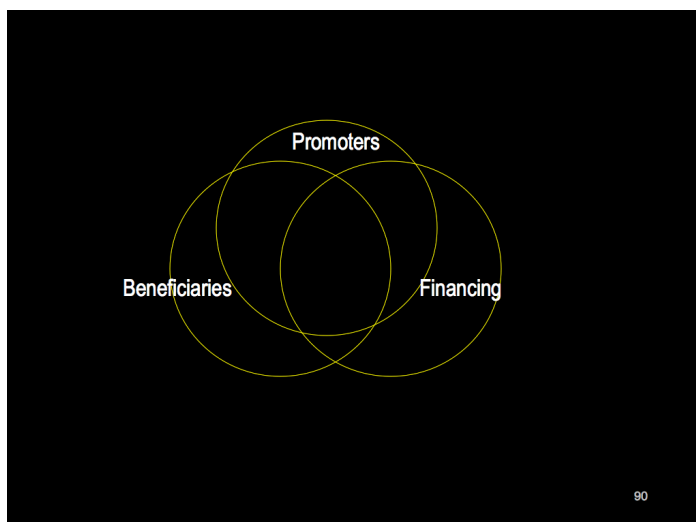
(a) Concern of the Elite



(b) Government Intervention

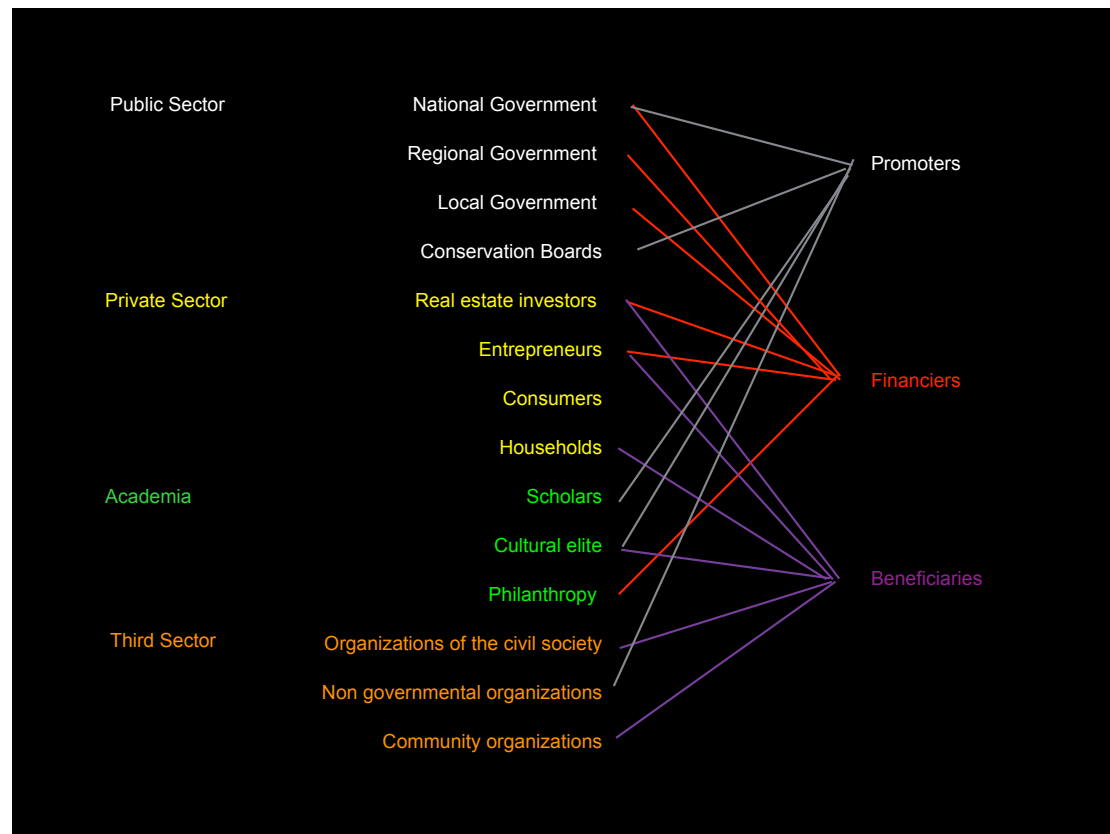


(d) Involvement of All Social Actors



Source: Author elaboration

Figure 2.4 Multiple Roles of Stakeholders in the Conservation of Urban Heritage



Source: Author elaboration

Tracing the contributions of the different stakeholders is then both an important step in assessing the sustainability of the heritage preservation process and an input for the design of effective measures to enhance the involvement of core and committed stakeholders and the convergence of their roles as promoters, financiers and beneficiaries.

2.3 The Coordination of the Interventions of the Stakeholders for the Sustainable Preservation of Urban Heritage Sites

The reduced number of urban heritage values driving the preservation process and the misaligned involvement of the different stakeholders constitute the primary difficulties experienced by most communities in Latin America that are seeking to mobilize financial, institutional, and human resources towards the sustained conservation and development. Most efforts to preserve heritage sites mobilise reduced amounts of financial resources and do so only sporadically, through poorly defined institutional and management arrangements. Even when governments adopt a more active role in the preservation process, the trend is still to focus on a limited set

of values and to rely heavily on public expenditures for financing the conservation effort. This approach has proven incapable of managing the vast urban heritage of Latin America and systematically runs short of resources.

The absence of appropriate management mechanisms for urban heritage is costly for the cities. Just one of many examples is the following: the unregulated use of public spaces by street vendors—a frequent occurrence in historic centres with tourism appeal—is one of the factors that leads to the physical obsolescence of public spaces. The overuse of streets by vendors not only impairs other uses, such as access to buildings and the flow of pedestrian and vehicles, but also deteriorates the pavement and the façades of the area's buildings. This outcome is strikingly similar to that which Garrett Harding presents in his essay on "The Tragedy of the Commons". In this work, Harding reveals how both the scarce resources of a common meadow open to all-comers are finally depleted and how this site is left in ruin by the herders (Harding 1968).

The management of commons has always been problematic for societies, and urban heritage is not an exception. Everyone owns the main square of an historic town, and no one can be denied the enjoyment of the beauty of the buildings facing the square. Similarly, individuals do not pay for the sense of belonging to the community that comes from participating in one of the public celebrations that take place on the square. As commons, these squares become the responsibility of the government. Unfortunately, governments are limited in their respective abilities to properly manage urban heritage, like commons. Markets do not manage the commons well as it lacks private owners and since most of the benefits that it produces cannot be priced. Heritage sites provide many examples of the type of management problems confronted in the commons. The conservation of the characteristics that make urban heritage culturally valuable require that special regulations be imposed on its use—limitations that are always regarded by private owners as barriers to development—and the investment of widely-competed-for public resources. Resistance to the rules and regulations, and to the allocation of public resources, is more active when such regulations are justified only on basis of the conservation of a few socio-cultural values (historic, aesthetic, symbolic, spiritual) that are the concern of a limited set of stakeholders. This narrow approach leads to a situation in which urban heritage is regarded as both an urban planning and a financial 'liability' for development. As

such, this approach is opposed or—in the best of circumstances—regarded with contempt by a large segment of the community.

The arguments advanced in this study indicate that a key element to sustainability lies in: expanding the range of values of the heritage that generate benefits to society; involving a variety of stakeholders on an on-going basis in the preservation process; and in putting the heritage sites to contemporary, social or market uses with solvent demand. When these conditions are attained, the heritage sites become an ‘asset’ for the social and economic development of the community instead of a ‘liability’. The community’s mobilisation to preserve their urban heritage for its bequest or option values is a move in the right direction. The adaptive rehabilitation of urban heritage sites, still incipient in Latin America, will put into play the economic use values of the heritage by also expanding the range of values at play.

The other key element for achieving sustainable preservation lies in aligning the stakeholder interventions so as to ensure that those that benefit from urban heritage preservation and development coincide to the greatest extent possible with both those who pay for the required interventions and with those who promote the process. This involves realigning the interests of all the social actors involved in the process and allowing for different social-resource-allocation processes to work harmoniously towards a common goal. More and better urban heritage research, and education that expands the appreciation of the values of the heritage in the community are necessary, but not sufficient conditions. Also required are reforms to the decision-making process leading to the allocation of resources to the conservation of the urban heritage and the introduction of institutional mechanisms capable of promoting the fruitful cooperation among stakeholders.

2.3.1 The Decision-Making Process for More Sustainable Preservation

The approach to urban heritage conservation that flourishes when it promotes the adaptive rehabilitation and development of heritage sites requires a more flexible approach to preservation than is currently common in cultural circles. This topic is analysed by Rojas (2012) when he draws a parallel between the traditional decision-making process for heritage preservation with a modified process akin to the needs of

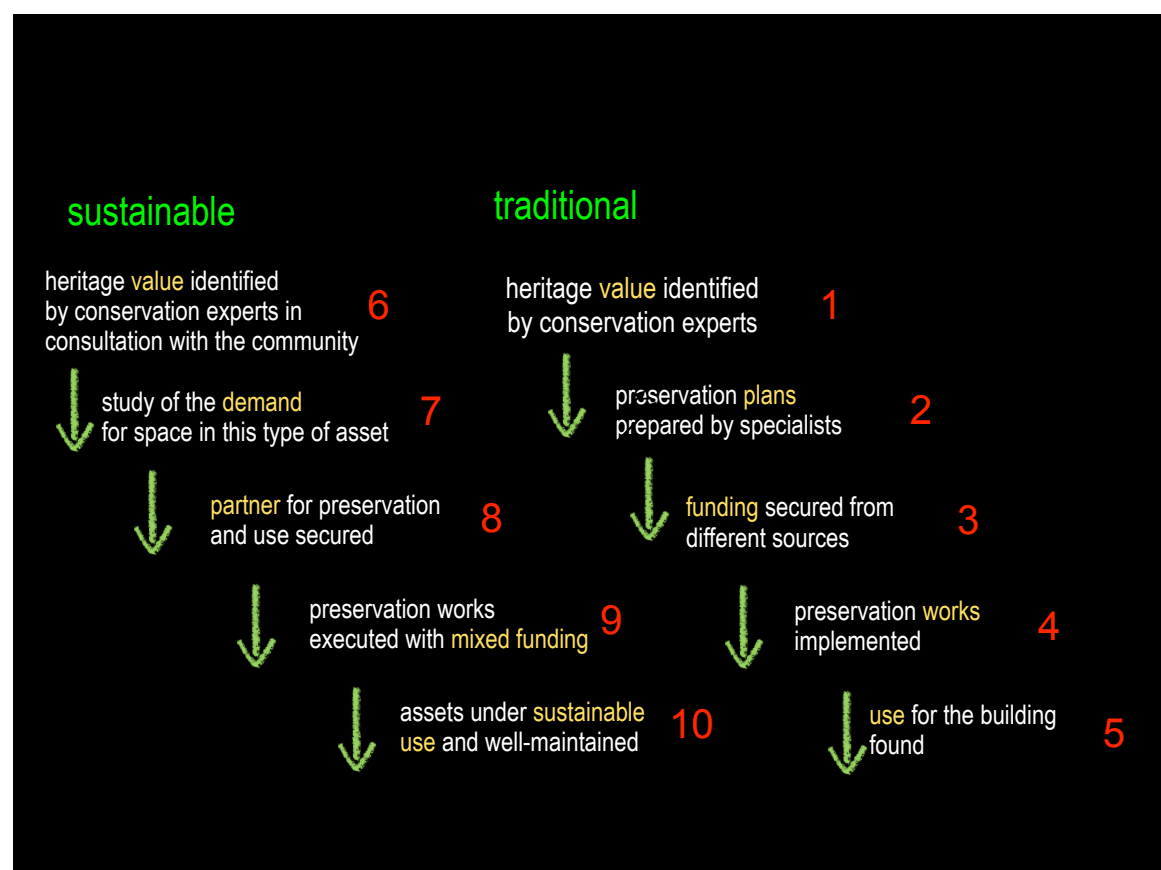
adapting the heritage sites to contemporary uses with solvent social and market demand. Figure 2.3 shows these two process side by side.

The traditional decision-making sequence starts with the identification of the heritage values of an urban site by members of the cultural elite—typically scholars and conservation experts (step 1 in Figure 2.5). Socio-cultural values are of major concern to this group of stakeholders who place priority on the historic and aesthetic values of heritage. This focus is consistent with the strongly rooted concern for the monuments that is characteristic of the early stages of urban heritage preservation. Conservation experts prepare preservation plans for the sites following the international practice codified in the different charters discussed in Chapter 1 (step 2). With the plans in hand and with broad cost estimates, the promoters approach philanthropists and government entities (step 3) as they seek financing for the physical works. Once the preservation works have been completed, (step 4) the promoters, observing the Venice Charter recommendation that prescribes putting the monuments to “some socially useful purpose” (ICOMOS 1964, article 5), look for suitable uses for the site (step 5). The results of this decision-making process do not, however, always lead to the sustainable preservation of the urban heritage sites. For one, monuments are often ineffectively used; hence they fall into disrepair and the sole reliance on donors or on public funds severely limits the available resources and leads to the preservation of only a handful of monuments.

The reformed decision-making sequence favoured in this study introduces two significant changes: (1) after the value of the urban heritage is determined with due consultation with the local communities (step 6) concerning the priorities for preservation, the promoters seek sustainable uses for the site through a market study (step 7 in Figure 2.5). They seek contemporary urban activities: the needs of which can be met within the carrying capacity of the site; those that have the resources to operate and maintain the heritage sites; and those that will find it convenient to locate in a preserved urban heritage site. With this information, the promoters look for a strategic partner to plan and implement the preservation works (step 8). The partner can be a potential user of the site, or either individuals or corporations that, with knowledge of the local markets, can assist in drafting the design brief for the project. The most suitable partners would be those who are also willing to contribute to the financing and implementation of the preservation project. The participation of this strategic partner provides more assurances that the design brief would incorporate the

needs of the potential users by improving the chances that a suitable use would be found for the urban heritage site. The preservation designs and implementation schedules are prepared only after the partner is secured. The works are implemented with financing and technical skills provided by all the partners in the project (step 9). By enhancing the sustainability of the preservation process (step 10), this reformed decision-making sequence enhances the chances that heritage sites will be effectively used.

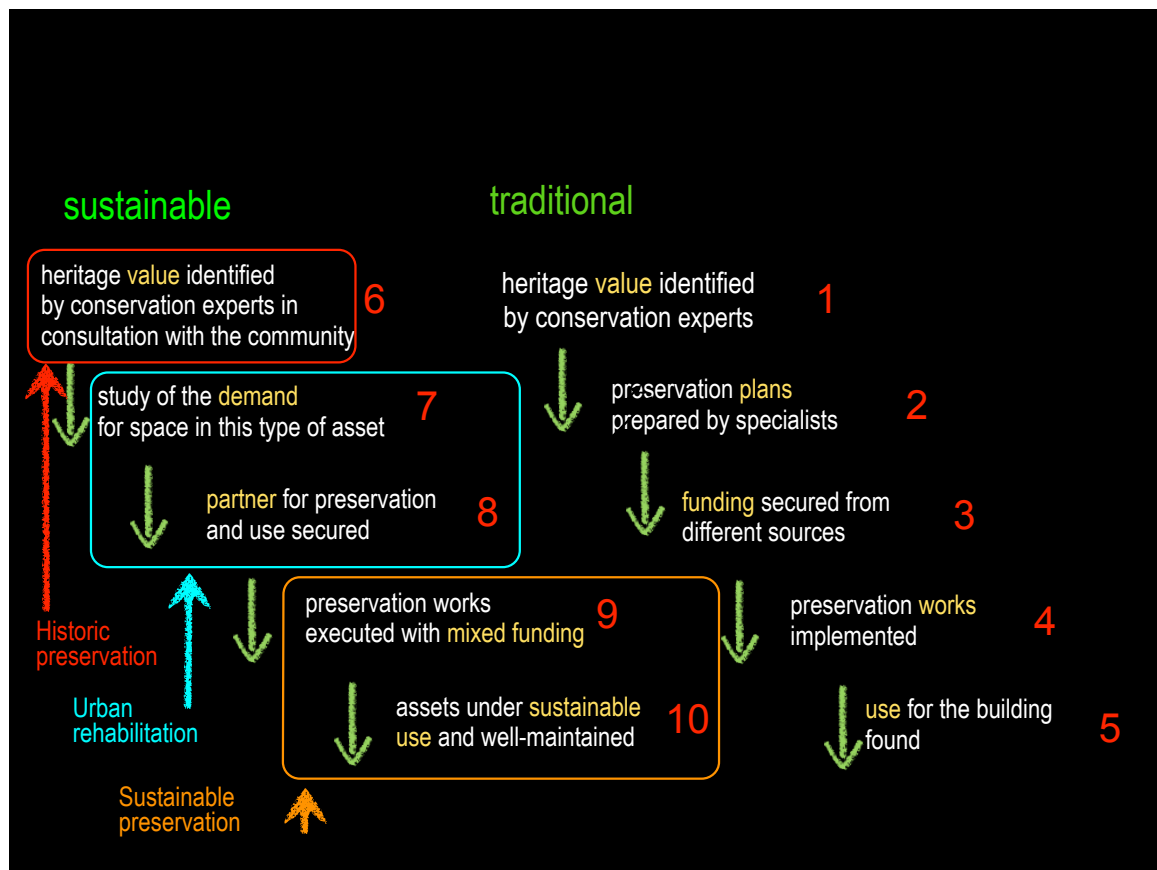
Figure 2.5 Traditional and Reformed Decision-Making Sequence for the Adaptive Rehabilitation of Urban Heritage Sites



Source: Rojas 2012 Figure 6.2 page 159

The first step of the sustainable sequence (step 6) in Figure 2.6—which it shares with the traditional (step 1)—uses methods and principles of historic preservation practice while the two following steps (7 and 8) are part of the activities typically undertaken in urban rehabilitation projects. The last two steps of the sequence (9 and 10) characterise the practice of the sustainable conservation of urban heritage (see Figure 2.6).

Figure 2.6 Historic Preservation and Urban Rehabilitation Activities in the Sustainable Conservation of the Urban Heritage



Source: Author elaboration

2.3.2 Institutions for Promoting Cooperation Among Stakeholders

To attain a situation where efficient cooperation exists among the stakeholders in the conservation of urban heritage sites, the institutional and operational mechanisms used should allow for each group of stakeholders to promote the urban heritage values it believes to be important, and should establish channels through which each group can contribute regularly so as to shoulder the burdens of financing and managing the conservation of these values. As discussed before, most of the Latin American conservation experiences that fall under the ‘concern of the elite’ approach are the result of circumstantial matches of interests between private and public stakeholders, and are mostly focused on a single project; thus the continuity and scope required for the conservation of urban heritage sites are not ensured. When governments intervene

more systematically as they do in the ‘government responsibility’ phase, government actions tend to take on all the responsibilities for selecting the sites, designing the interventions, financing and implementing the works crowd out other actors who may be willing to contribute. This outcome is by no small measure the product of the traditional decision-making sequence discussed in the previous section that puts emphasis on the conservation needs of the monuments and relegates concerns for their sustainable use to a secondary place.

The move toward a sustainable preservation process that is ‘the responsibility of all social actors’ calls for public-private cooperation, demanding complex governance structures that are akin to those used in urban rehabilitation projects. The need for these institutional arrangements is recognised by the Faro Convention (Council of Europe 2005) that, in its article 11, encourages governments to:

“...develop the legal, financial and professional frameworks which make possible joint action by public authorities, experts, owners, investors, businesses, non-governmental organisations and civil society” (item b); “develop innovative ways for public authorities to co-operate with other actors” (item c); “respect and encourage voluntary initiatives which complement the roles of public authorities” (item d) and “encourage non-governmental organisations concerned with heritage conservation to act in the public interest” (item e).

Stressing the need for these complex governance structures is also another contribution of conceptualising the sustainable preservation process as combining the concepts and methods of historic preservation with those of urban rehabilitation. However, as with public-private cooperation in any field of activity, in Latin America, where there is a deeply rooted reluctance to enter into such arrangements, it is difficult to efficiently organise the contributions of stakeholders with different objectives and outlooks on the conservation of the urban heritage. In order to design institutional mechanisms capable of governing these processes in Latin America, Western Europe’s, the United States’, and Canada’s respective, and rich experiences with the formation of public-private cooperation through structured partnerships—public private partnerships or PPPs—may be reviewed for their abilities to provide pointers.

According to Rojas (2004), an institutional structure capable of promoting cooperation among stakeholders needs to satisfy the following set of conditions. First,

the institutional mechanisms put into place must be able to channel the actions of the stakeholders into the types of activities for which they have the greatest comparative advantage. Second, these mechanisms must also assign the risks inherent in urban heritage conservation to those who are best suited to handle them and who have the most interest in assuming these risks in view of the potential benefits that might be generated. Third, the financing arrangements must be capable of enabling all those involved to contribute both in proportion to the benefits received and in accordance with their particular interests. For instance, taxpayer funds would pay for public goods and urban infrastructures and the funds of real estate developers would be applied to profit-making investments. These mechanisms must open opportunities for private philanthropic institutions, or for individuals, to find investment niches that satisfy charitable and public relations objectives (usually public spaces and buildings with strong features of, public -goods, such as religious monuments or museums). Furthermore, the financing mechanisms should allocate funds to compensate the individuals or groups negatively affected by the interventions. A well-implemented conservation program usually increases the value of the properties in a heritage area. Private owners capture this added value in the form of higher selling prices or higher rental prices although they contributed little or nothing to the conservation of the urban heritage site. Part of this value can be captured through real estate taxes, betterment levies, or capital gains taxes (Ingram and Hong 2013, Smolka 2013). These resources can contribute to the financing of the compensations. However, when such funding is available, estimating the amount of fair compensation and allocating these compensations in an equitable manner are significant management challenges.

An analysis by Cheong (2014) of the PPPs used in urban regeneration programs that implement interventions similar to those involved in the sustainable preservation of urban heritage sites notes that a critical characteristic of urban regeneration PPPs is that their operations are based on real estate investments and returns. Amirtahmasebi (2010) also indicates that in urban regeneration PPPs, the concept of the ‘private partner’ encompasses not only the private developer or construction partner, but also the numerous private property owners and other citizens. Moreover, regeneration projects are usually complex and multifaceted, involving the implementation of a variety of initiatives such as enhancing public spaces, improving infrastructure, and rehabilitating individual buildings. Cheong (2014) indicates that because of this complexity and in order to more correctly align

with the interests of the different stakeholders, increasing attention has been paid to the use of mixed-capital companies as tools for financing and managing the risks and responsibilities for carrying out urban regeneration projects—particularly those that involve publically and privately owned resources. In her analysis, Cheong distinguishes among ‘weak’ and ‘strong partnerships’ indicating:

“...PPPs are highly contextual, partnership arrangements vary according to government structure, public capacity, and the various partners’ needs. [There are] ...“weak” partnerships in which the majority of decision rights, risk, cost, and responsibility are concentrated in one partner within the partnership, and “strong” partnerships in which these elements are shared amongst partners” (Cheong 2014:12)

Cheong emphasises that these classifications are not evaluative interpretations of a partnership’s success or failure, but that they instead highlight the importance of the power-sharing structure in these institutional arrangements. Moreover, Cheong (2014:13) stresses that “... a weak PPP may be highly effective in economic conditions with limited access to stable markets, while a strong PPP may be ineffective if the partners are unable to effectively tolerate and share the necessary amounts of risk or responsibility.” The success or failure of a PPP is then highly dependent on the political environment in which it operates. Chapter 3 will again address the strengths of the partnerships and their political determinants when discussing the institutional arrangements used to govern the preservation process in the four cases considered in this study.

2.3.3 Leadership for Sustainable Urban Heritage Preservation

Partnerships of such varying interests not only require complex institutions, but also demand leadership on the part of the government. Given that most of the heritage values (existence, bequest, aesthetic, spiritual, social, historic, and symbolic values) are of interest to the whole community, they are made explicit through political processes that involve both citizen participation in the resource allocation process and the concurrence of elected officials. The social interactions processes leading to conservation action take place in the political realm in the agencies that manage the interests and resources of the communities. In a democratic context, the elected government bodies manage these interests and resources.

The main legal instrument available to governments for providing this leadership is the urban development plan, the law that regulates the growth of the city. This plan defines the long-term vision for the development of the city and determines the location of the structural infrastructures and major land uses. It also sets the allowed and forbidden land uses in the different neighbourhoods, and sets land use and building regulations. A well-formulated urban development plan should include provisions for the conservation of the urban heritage. The plan should define the planning and conservation regulations applying to heritage buildings and public spaces, the procedures for reviewing and approving adaptive rehabilitation proposals affecting them, and both the incentives and support for inducing compliance by the stakeholders. A democratically approved plan is a ‘social contract’ that spells out the community’s long-term objectives concerning the heritage area and defines the actions required to attain them. These actions include the restrictions that the community imposes on landowners and investors for the rehabilitation and use of heritage sites; that is the conditions that private investments in heritage sites must fulfil—specifically, what can be done and what should not be done to a heritage building (or public space) for the site to retain its heritage-character. The plan restrictions are important determinants of the carrying capacity of the heritage site as they define the level of protection the community wants to achieve for its specific piece of urban heritage: full, strict, typological, or contextual preservation. The plan also identifies the public investments required to attain the community’s objectives for the urban heritage.

A preservation plan also provides intervention guidelines for different types of buildings. The guidelines should strive to match the development goals of developers interested in rehabilitating heritage sites for contemporary uses with the preservation goals of the community, as expressed in the plan. Additionally, a plan defines the level of preservation that a community wants for each of its heritage site. As discussed before, five general levels of preservation are commonly used. They are presented in a schematic form in Table 2.5, where pictures of heritage buildings from Cartagena de Indias in Colombia help to illustrate them. The levels of preservation lie on a continuum, from the full conservation required by monuments of significance (the picture in Table 2.5 is that of the Clock Tower, the main entrance to the city through the colonial fortifications) at one end, to restrictions imposed on new construction to fit into the cityscape of the heritage site (the corresponding picture in

Table 2.5 is a house build by architect Rogelio Salmona for the Nobel laureate Gabriel Garcia Marquez in an empty lot) at the other. Intermediate protection safeguards are given to significant buildings whose conservation is not affected by careful adaptive transformations to put them to new uses. These include: allowances for minor adaptations of monumental buildings (in the picture is the cloister of Santa Clara monastery, which is now used as hotel); greater degrees of freedom for the adaptive rehabilitation of the interiors of buildings that contribute to the heritage site because they preserve an example of a particular typology (the picture in Table 2.5 corresponds to a two-storey courtyard house that, in order to retain its typology, must abide closely to the rules listed in Figure 2.5); and even greater degrees of freedom to modify the interior design and size of contextual buildings, the facades of which help comprise the cityscape (the picture is of one-storey house in Cartagena's San Diego neighbourhood).

The intervention guidelines need to be comprehensive and cover the different types of buildings found in the heritage area. The different typologies of buildings in Cartagena are mapped as shown in Figures 2.7 and 2.8 show the planning rules for intervention in one of the types; the two-storey house. As can be observed in Figure 2.8, the regulations define the maximum extension of the type that is consistent with preserving the typology and the contribution of the property to the heritage cityscape. These regulations impose a limit on the carrying capacity of the buildings in the urban heritage area and are themselves a ceiling that developers are not supposed to surpass. The implementation of a preservation plan and related guidelines is a complex administrative task requiring technical judgement and negotiations with, among other stakeholders, the community, developers, and conservationists.

Table 2.4 Guidelines for Determining the Type of Protection Required by Urban Heritage Assets

Type of preservation	Permitted interventions	Type of urban heritage assets	Values	Examples
Full preservation	Full preservation of existing features. In qualified cases, reconstruction	Monuments of national, regional, and local importance	Historic Aesthetic Spiritual Symbolic Scientific Social Authentic	
Rigorous Preservation	Minor adaptive interventions (i.e. sanitation)	Monuments and emblematic buildings, and public spaces, the most significant features of which require preservation to retain their socio-cultural values	Different combinations of values	
Typological preservation	Adaptive interventions within clearly established design guidelines	Buildings and public spaces that are authentic expressions of a typology. Adaptive rehabilitation interventions must retain the key characteristics of the type (inner courtyards, gables, façade features, etc.)		
Contextual preservation	Adaptive interventions may change the interior distribution and uses of the buildings	Buildings that contribute to the urban landscape of the heritage area. Adaptive rehabilitation interventions must retain the characteristics of the type that contributes to the urban landscape (façade, roof)		
No preservation	New construction conforming to design guidelines	Empty lots or irrecoverable ruins. New buildings can be erected following strict design guidelines that ensure that the new construction is compatible with the heritage of the area	Located in or in the proximity of urban heritage areas	

Source: Author elaboration

Figure 2.7 Planning Regulations for Heritage Properties in the Historic Centre of Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, 1991–2010

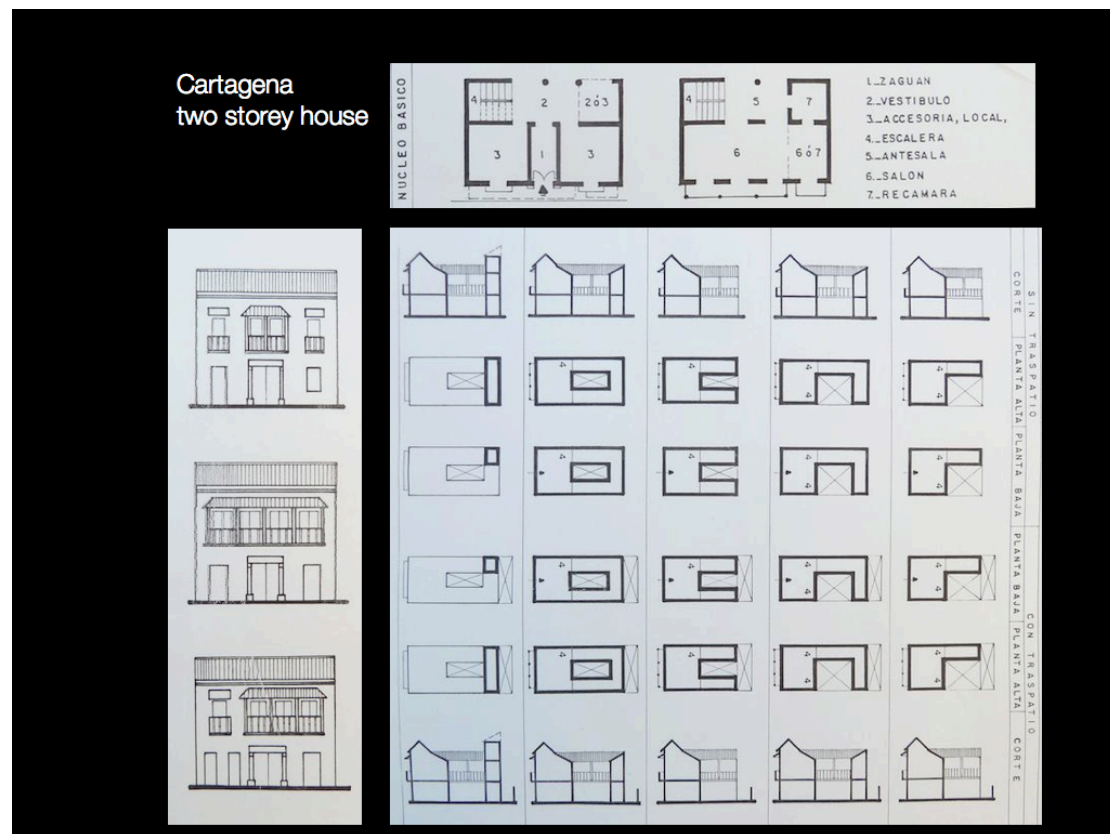


Legend

CONVENCIONES	
3- TIPOLOGIAS ARQUITECTONICAS	
CASA BAJA	[Pattern: Horizontal lines]
CASA ALTA	[Pattern: Diagonal lines (top-left to bottom-right)]
CASA DE DOS ALTOS	[Pattern: Diagonal lines (bottom-left to top-right)]
CASA ALTA POR SOBREELEVACION	[Pattern: Vertical lines]
CASA ALTA CON ENTRESUELO	[Pattern: Horizontal lines with dots]
ACCESORIAS	[Pattern: Cross-hatch]
EDIFICIOS ESPECIALES RELIGIOSOS	[Pattern: Solid black]
EDIFICIOS ESPECIALES CIVILES	[Pattern: Solid black with small squares]
EDIFICIOS ESPECIALES MILITARES	[Pattern: Solid black with small squares]
EDIFICIOS CON TIPOLOGIAS ESPECIALES	[Pattern: Grid]
EDIFICIOS CONTEMPORANEOS RESIDENCIALES	[Pattern: Grid with dots]
EDIFICIOS CONTEMPORANEOS COMERCIALES	[Pattern: Grid with dots]

Source: Municipalidad de Cartagena (1991)

Figure 2.8 Rules for Intervention on Heritage Properties per Building Type in Cartagena de Indias, Colombia. Two-Storey House Type.



Source: Municipalidad de Cartagena (1991)

2.4 Governance and the Implementation of a Sustainable Urban Heritage Preservation Process

In summary, this chapter focused on the governance issues involved in the implementation of a values based urban-heritage-conservation approach centred on the adaptive rehabilitation of urban heritage sites to uses with community-relevant, social or market demand. The discussion stressed the need to expand and diversify the core stakeholders operating in the heritage site by promoting economic use values in addition to expanding the range of socio-cultural values. The analysis argued for efficient structures of authority and institutions to both coordinate the interventions of the expanded set of stakeholders and to control their activities to ensure the attainment of socially acceptable goals defined in a democratically approved plan. This chapter also advocated for establishing institutional arrangements to coordinate the contributions of the different stakeholders and allocate their inputs (financial, knowledge, implementation capacity) to the activities where they can contribute the

most to the social objective of conserving the heritage on a sustainable basis. The study recognises that governance arrangements are idiosyncratic; thus their efficacy is highly dependent on the political context in which they operate. However, there are some general rules that apply to all cases. The institutional arrangements must always be capable of assigning the different tasks involved in the conservation effort to the stakeholders best capable of handling them. Close public-private cooperation sharing of the costs and benefits of the conservation process should be considered to manage the size and complexity of urban heritage. This strategy can overcome the limitations of pure government intervention (lack of resources to conserve all the urban heritage) and of elite-driven interventions (sporadic intervention efforts focused on monuments).

The analysis documented the significance of six factors for the governance of the urban heritage preservation process. These include:

1. The diversity of the socio-cultural and economic-use values that are the drivers of the efforts of the community to preserve urban heritage sites;
2. The diversity of stakeholders involved in the process including public, private, and third-sector actors;
3. The commitment of the stakeholders to the heritage area, whether they have permanent or intermittent interests in the site;
4. The roles played by the stakeholders in the preservation process, whether they act as promoters, financiers or beneficiaries or different combinations there within;
5. The institutions that coordinate the contributions of the different stakeholders, particularly by promoting public-private cooperation and the sharing of costs and benefits;
6. The social validity of the planning instruments that regulate private investments and allocate public resource.

The study encourages all parties involved in the design of a conservation program for an urban heritage area to pay attention to this list of factors. Their significance for attaining the objectives of such programs will be discussed in Chapter 3, where this analytical framework is used to analyse four heritage preservation programs in Latin America.

Chapter 3

Governance Mechanisms in Action: Four Latin American Urban Heritage Conservation Programs

The frame of reference presented in Chapter 2 has several implications for the design and implementation of the governance structures for urban heritage preservation programs. This chapter begins the discussion of the significance of this frame of reference through the analysis of the governance structures used in urban heritage preservation programs that are underway in the historic centres of four cities of Latin America. The cities are: Oaxaca, Mexico; Quito, Ecuador; Salvador de Bahia, Brazil; and Valparaíso, Chile. Each is a mid-sized city that has an historic centre that is included in UNESCO's World Heritage List (WHL).

3.1 Rationale for the Use of the Cases

The analysis undertaken in this chapter is based on the data and information presented in the following case studies: Oaxaca in Quartesan and Romis (2011), Quito in Jaramillo (2011), Salvador de Bahia in Mendes Zancheti and Gabriel (2011), and Valparaíso in Trivelli and Nishimura (2011). These cases are included in the Monograph published by Rojas and Lanzafame (2011) that also contains four case study in Europe: Edinburgh, Scotland; Porto, Portugal; Syracuse, Sicily; Italy and Verona, Italy; and one each in North Africa: Marrakesh, Morocco and in the Middle East: Aleppo, Syria. The information provided by the case studies included in the Monograph are of interest to the discussion in this Chapter because collectively, their main aim is to gain a better understanding "...of factors that lead to the sustainable preservation and development of urban heritage areas that can have a significant and positive impact on the design and implementation of urban heritage preservation efforts by national, state, and local governments" (Rojas and Lanzafame 2011:6). As a consequence, the cases provide relevant information for testing this study's frame of reference. The cases of Oaxaca, Quito, Salvador de Bahia (hereon referred to as Salvador) and Valparaíso discuss the recent evolution of the urban heritage conservation programs for the historic centres of mid-size Latin American cities with populations between 200,000 and 3 million inhabitants—the fastest growing group of cities in Latin America—whose heritage areas are facing significant development pressures. The historic centre of each of the four discussed cities is inscribed in the WHL, a fact that, according to Rojas and Lanzafame (2011:7), "...provides external verification of their heritage values under comparable criteria and standards."

From the perspective of this study, the cities of Oaxaca, Quito, Salvador, and Valparaíso are also of interest because their conservation programs are implemented in different institutional settings: federal and unitary governments that also have with different levels of decentralisation in the management of urban affairs. That is, each differs in terms of the manner in which the power for managing the territory is delegated within the institutional structure.

A federal government is a political entity that is formed by the voluntary union of partially self-governing states or regions that transfer part of their powers to a central government, which is commonly called the ‘federal government’. In a federation, both the powers of the component states and the division of power between the federal and state levels of government are defined in a constitution and cannot be altered by any unilateral decision made by one of the parties. In the cases studies discussed here, the characteristics of the two federal governments—that of Brazil and that of Mexico—vary in relation to both the responsibilities of and the resources held by the different levels of government. Brazil has 26 states and a federal district, Brasília. The country also has 5,565 municipalities that comprise the lower-tier territorial government institution that is responsible for most urban affairs (OECD 2013). The Brazilian constitution gives the country’s three levels of government the same status as federal institutions, providing each with political autonomy and sources of revenue. The federalist structure of Mexico is slightly different from that of Brazil. The country is a federation of 31 states and a federal district containing the capital city, Mexico City. The Mexican constitution gives the states the power to define the responsibilities of and resources held by the municipalities. The country also has 2,424 municipalities that have slightly different responsibilities and control over different volumes of resources (OECD 2003).

A unitary state is governed as one single unit by a central government that holds all the powers and resources. In this institutional arrangement the territory is typically managed by administrative entities (subnational governments) that exercise only the powers that are explicitly delegated to them by the central government. Ecuador is managed under a unitary form of government and has 24 provinces that are grouped within 7 regions for planning purposes. There are 221 cantons (lower-tier administrative structures) and 1,500 parishes. The city of Quito is situated in the canton of the same name and is managed by the mayor of the Metropolitan District of Quito, which has both the authority and the resources to manage most urban matters.

Chile, the other unitary government found within this grouping of Latin American case studies, is divided in 15 administrative regions and 346 municipalities. In this country's case, most of the resources and powers are controlled by the central government and their execution is partially delegated to the regional governments. Chile's municipalities have political autonomy, and a limited set of responsibilities over the management of urban affairs including: land use control, patents and traffic permits, garbage collection, primary education, parks, street lighting, and the maintenance of part of the street system. To discharge these responsibilities, the municipalities have access to both the resources provided by the land tax and the charges for patents and traffic violations. However, Chile's municipalities are highly dependent on central government transfers to cover the costs of primary education and other high cost urban services (OECD 2009).

The levels of decentralisation discussed refer to the autonomy given to territorial governments to collect and allocate public resources. According to Daughters and Harper (2007), in Brazil—a large and highly decentralised country with a federal system of government—the subnational government (states and municipalities) determines the allocation of more than 50% of the total national public expenditures. In Mexico—also a large country with a federal system of government—the states and municipalities make decisions regarding the allocation of 35% of the total public expenditures. The smaller unitary states of Latin America are less decentralised: in Ecuador, just a little over 20% of the total public expenditures are decided on by the states and municipalities, and in Chile, the least decentralised of the four, this figure drops to just over 18%.

Table 3.1 Institutional Frameworks Under Which the Selected Cases of Preservation Programs Are Implemented

	Federal	Unitary
Decentralised	Salvador de Bahia, Brazil	Quito, Ecuador
Centralised	Oaxaca, Mexico	Valparaiso, Chile

Source: Author elaboration

A final, but nerveless important reason why the four cases selected for this study are of interest is the fact that each city's program adopted markedly different approaches to the implementation of its urban heritage preservation programs. In a

nutshell, the Oaxaca and Quito programs are led by the municipalities, with some assistance coming from other levels of government, while the Salvador and Valparaíso programs are led by upper tiers of government: the State of Bahia in the case of Salvador and the Central Government of Chile in Valparaíso's case. The governance characteristics of the programs and their implications for the sustainability of the urban heritage preservation process are discussed in detail in both the following sections and in Chapter 4.

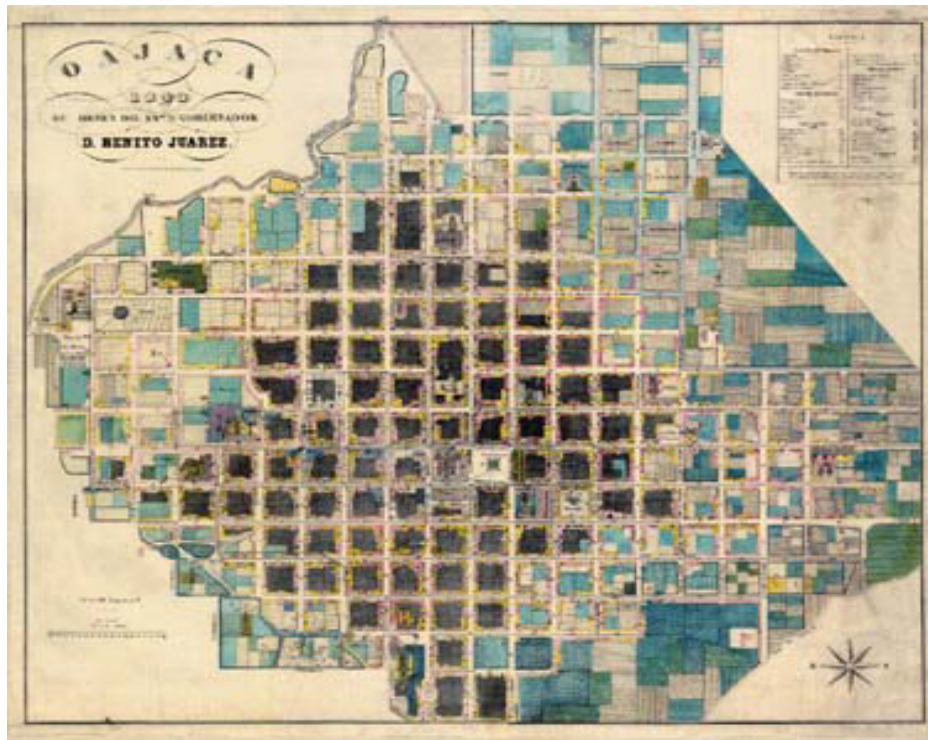
3.2 The Historic Centres of Oaxaca, Quito, Salvador, and Valparaíso: Basic Characteristics and Recent Evolutions

The historic centres considered in this analysis are the foundational areas of cities established by the conquistadores in the sixteenth century, and are those that, until the mid-twentieth century, functioned as the multi-use central areas of the cities.

3.2.1 The Inherited Urban Structure

The urban structure of two of the historic centres, Oaxaca and Quito, are quite strict examples of the Spanish foundational tradition and each has a reticular-based urban structure of perpendicular streets and square city blocks (CEHOPU-CEDEX 1997) (See Figures 3.1 and 3.2). Valparaíso, although established by the Spanish conquistadores, has an organic type of urban structure, the result of the complex topography of the location, which is a narrow landing surrounded by steep hills (see Figure 3.3). Salvador is one of the few examples of a planned city in Portuguese America, one located on a site "...carefully chosen ... 60 meters above the sea level in a concavity of the *Todos os Santos* bay due to the easiness of protection and visual control of the whole region" (Nobre 2002:110). However, Salvador's urban structure was pressed to accommodate the complex morphology of the site, ending with the partial winding of streets and the construction of city blocks of different shapes and sizes (see Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.1 The Urban Structure of the Historic Centre of Oaxaca



Source: Quartesan and Romis 2011:18

Figure 3.2. The Urban Structure of the Historic Centre of Quito



Source: Rosero 2012:64

Figure 3.3 The Urban Structure of the Heritage Site of Valparaiso



Source: Google Maps

Figure 3.4 The Urban Structure of Salvador



Source: Google Maps

3.2.2 The Values of the Urban Heritage: Considerations Leading to the Listing of the Historic Centres in the World Heritage List

The socio-cultural importance of the historic centres under analysis here is well defined by the considerations leading to their respective inclusions in the World Heritage List (WHL). In the case of Oaxaca, the WHL took notice of the fact that the historic centre contains nearly 1,500 buildings and open spaces with heritage value. The listing called attention to the

“...major religious monuments (cathedral, Santo Domingo, San Francisco, San Agustín, San Filipo Neri Soledad, etc.), the superb patrician town houses (home of Cortés), and whole streets lined with other dwellings combine to create a harmonious cityscape, and reconstitute the image of a former colonial city whose monumental aspect has been kept intact. Fine architectural quality also characterizes the 19th-century buildings in this city that was the birthplace of Benito Juárez...” (UNESCO 2014)

As important as Oaxaca’s monuments also it is the traditional and popular domestic-use architecture of the city that has heritage values for bearing testimony to the way of living of past times and that contributes to the cityscape that frames the grand monuments. This traditional and popular architecture mostly consisting of one- or two-storey houses with continuous façades and two or three courtyards, stand as fine examples of the type of town homes build during the Colony. As can be observed in Table 3.2, these latter two categories of domestic architecture represent three-quarters of the heritage of Oaxaca. A similar situation occurs in the other three cases discussed in this study.

Table 3.2 Classifications of Heritage Buildings in the Historic Centre of Oaxaca

Classification	Number of buildings	Percent
Monumental Architecture	22	1.48
Relevant Architecture	182	12.27
Traditional Architecture	544	36.69
Popular Architecture	735	49.56
Total	1,483	100

Source: Municipalidad de Oaxaca 1998

In listing the historic centre of Quito, the World Heritage Committee took notice of the fact that...

“The historic centre is an harmonious ensemble sui generis, where the actions of man and nature are brought together to create a work unique and transcendental of its kind. With its historic centre and its buildings the city is an outstanding example of the Baroque school of Quito, a fusion of European and indigenous art.” (UNESCO 2014)

In addition to a large and varied set of Colonial monuments, the historic centre of Quito possesses a significant number of residences and commercial buildings from the Republican era that provide the monuments with an homogenous urban setting.” There are numerous examples of the courtyard-type of residences whose uses span from Colonial times to well into the twentieth century. The public spaces of the historic centre are also notable examples of Colonial urbanism, although some were later altered to include nineteenth-century gardens of French design.

Figure 3.5 Oaxaca: A City Manor House Along Calle Alcalà



Photo: Eduardo Rojas

In Salvador, the considerations for the listing highlighted the historic importance of the city, state that:

“As the first capital of Brazil, from 1549 to 1763, Salvador de Bahia witnessed the blending of European, African, and Amerindian cultures. From 1558 it was also the first slave market in the New World, with slaves arriving to work on the sugar plantations. The city has managed to preserve many outstanding Renaissance buildings. Special features of the old town include the brightly coloured houses, often decorated with fine stuccowork” (UNESCO 2014).

The urban and architectural heritage of the historic centre—commonly called the ‘Pelourinho’ in reference to the Portuguese symbol of power and justice (a pole set at the central square) set in the site at the time of its founding—are enhanced by the site where the city was located—a hilly and winding overlook to the port and the lower town located sixty meters below.

Figure 3.6 Quito: The Courtyard of a Republican-era Residence in the Historic Centre.



Photo: Eduardo Rojas

Figure 3.7 Salvador: Church of the Franciscan '*Orden Tercera*' Framed by Colourful Traditional Houses



Photo: Eduardo Rojas

In Valparaíso, the WHL also focused on the city's historic values. It did so, however, for slightly different reasons than in the cases of Oaxaca, Quito and Salvador, stating that:

“The city forms part of an early phase of globalization in the late nineteenth century when it became the leading mercantile port for the shipping routes on the Pacific coast of South America. The vernacular urban fabric and its layout, infrastructure, and architecture characterize the seaport city, which has a unique geographical and topographical environment. In Valparaíso, the geographical conditions are so severe that the adaptation of the streets, public spaces, and buildings to the environment gave rise to an entirely original urban structure.” (UNESCO 2014).

The WHL places emphasis on the unusual urban structure of the city, a feature long highlighted by scholars and architects. The dense and often disjointed massing of residential and civic buildings that are interconnected by steep streets, long stairs, and funiculars on the hilly site of the city is one of the main touristic attractions of the historic centre.

Figure 3.8 The Complex Urban Morphology Valparaíso's Historic Centre



Photo: Eduardo Rojas

The considerations leading to the listing of the four historic centres discussed in this study focus on the historic and aesthetic values of the heritage: history playing a major role in the valuing of two of the centres, either for political importance in the case of Salvador de Bahia, or for commercial significance in the case of Valparaíso; and aesthetic considerations, being prominent in the cases of Quito and Oaxaca. The fact that only historic and aesthetic values were considered shows that there is but a narrow range of heritage values put into play in assessing the value of these historic centres. In the listing of heritage sites in the WHL, no reference is made to other socio-cultural values—like the religious value of the outstanding churches of Oaxaca, Quito, and Salvador—even though they play a significant role in the local communities' valuations of these monuments. The values considered by the WHL do not include the economic use and no-use values, except implicitly, by the desire of the governments to preserve the heritage due (most probably) to its bequest value. As will be discussed later, the narrow range of values considered by those promoting the listing of the heritage in the WHL directly impacts both the variety and the commitment of the stakeholders involved in the preservation effort.

3.2.3 Twentieth Century Decay

During the second half of the twentieth century, each of the historic centres discussed in this study underwent a gradual loss in importance within its respective city: from being ‘the whole city’ (Carrion 2001) at the end of the nineteenth century, each became only a part of a greater city in the mid-1950s, and further, a deteriorating part of a fast growing city in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

As a result of this process, the historic centres of all the cities studied lost population and business to new residential subdivisions on the periphery (see Table 3.3). This process was particularly acute in Salvador, but less so in Valparaiso and Quito, both of which have, to this day, retained government and financial activities. However, in all of the studied cases the demographic importance of the historic centres in the cities or metropolitan areas diminished; in some cases, as with Salvador and Valparaiso, to date (2014) the population of the historic centres represents a minute proportion of the total population of their corresponding metropolitan areas (see Table 3.4). The case of Oaxaca stands out because, with the exception of the early-twenty-first-century move of the State Government offices to a location on the periphery of the city, the historic centre never lost its central activities. However, each of the four historic centres under analysis lost population both in the second half of the twentieth century and beyond. Figure 3.9 shows the dynamics of the population losses by the historic centres that run at rates of -5% to -1% during the 1990–2000 period, a stretch of time when the cities continued to grow at rates of 2% per year.

Table 3.3 Population of the Historic Centre Versus the Metropolitan Area: Oaxaca, Quito, Salvador and Valparaiso (circa 1990, 2000, 2010)

City	Area	Circa 1990	Circa 2000	Circa 2010
Oaxaca	Metropolitan area	331,200	460,350	
	Historic centre	48,700	39,000	36,000
Quito	Metropolitan area	1,105,500	1,400,000	1,650,000
	Historic centre	58,300	50,900	39,000
Salvador	Metropolitan area	2,500,000	3,000,000	
	Historic centre	10,900	6,900	
Valparaiso	Metropolitan area	585,300	593,600	
	Historic centre	4,400	2,900	

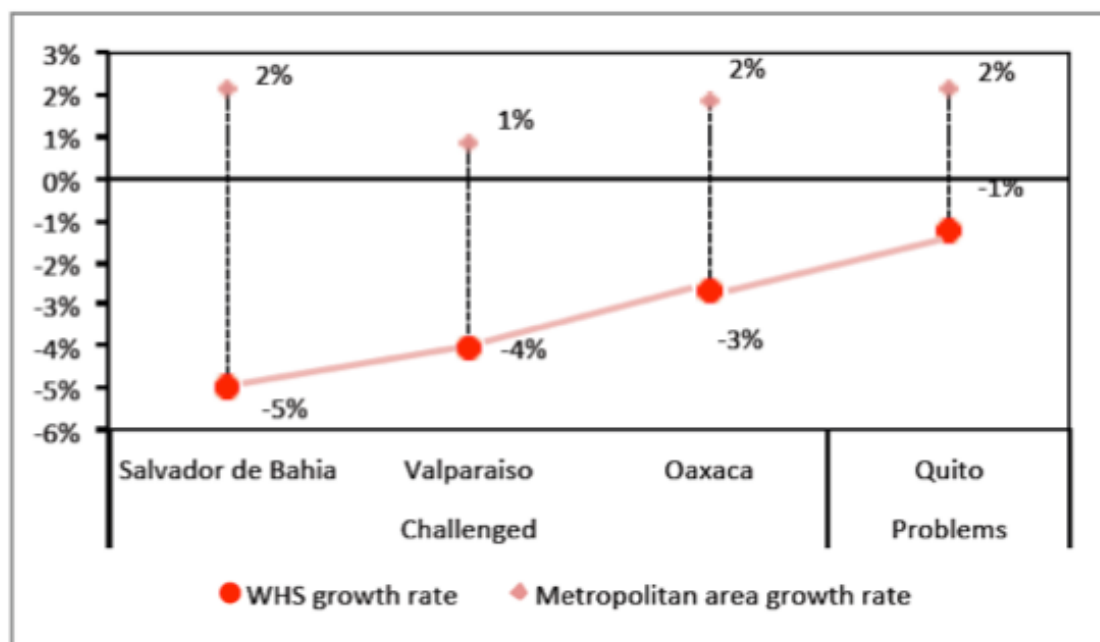
Source: Author elaboration from data taken from the case study included in Rojas and Lanzafame 2011

Table 3.4 Population of the Historic Centre as Per cent of the Total Population of the Metropolitan Area: Oaxaca, Quito, Salvador and Valparaiso (circa 1990, 2000, 2010)

City	Circa 1990	Circa 2000	Circa 2010
Oaxaca	14.7	8.5	
Quito	5.3	3.6	2.4
Salvador	0.4	0.2	
Valparaiso	0.8	0.5	

Source: Author elaboration from data taken from the case study included in Rojas and Lanzafame 2011

Figure 3.9 Oaxaca, Quito, Salvador, and Valparaiso. Population Dynamics 1990–2000 of the Historic Centre (WHS) versus the Metropolitan Area



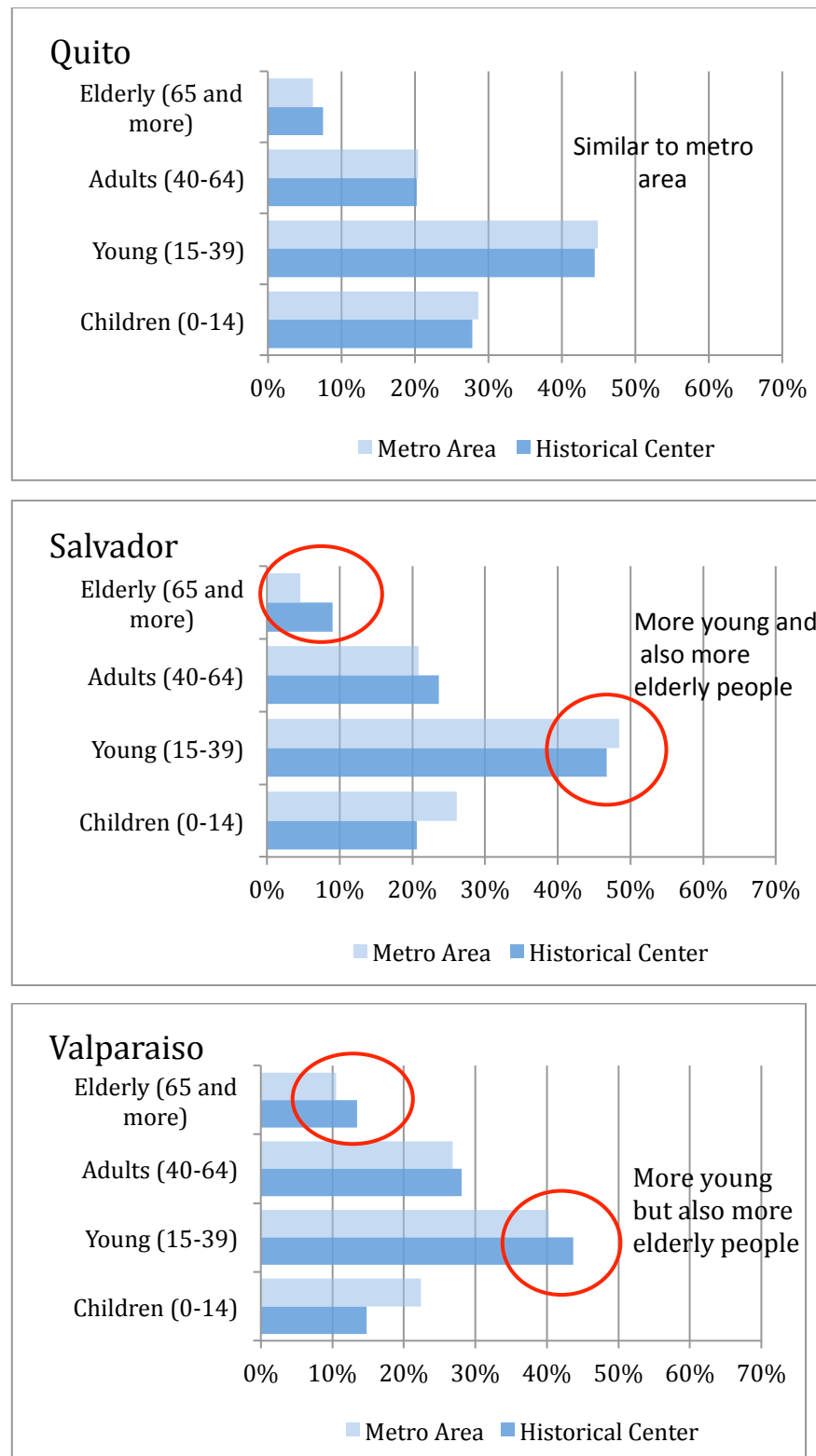
Source: Rojas 2012 Figure 6.4 Page 163

In addition to the losses discussed above, each of the four historic centres suffered a change in the composition of its resident and business population. In the early 2000s, the historic centres of Oaxaca, Quito, Salvador, and Valparaiso each had a larger population of elders than did the rest of the city. In two of the cases—Valparaiso and Quito—the historic centres also had higher percentages of younger populations than did their respective metropolitan areas (see Figure 3.10). Also, during the period discussed in the case studies, the historic centres had larger concentrations of both low-income households and users than did the rest of the city (see Figure 3.11). This phenomenon is the result of the physical deterioration of the residential and commercial buildings that forces landowners to charge lower rents, thus attracting both low-income residents and low-productivity informal economic

activities to dwell on the heritage buildings. Furthermore, informal commercial and craft activities occupied public spaces during this period due to the lack of government control over the use of such areas. Most of these uses then overtaxed the carrying capacity of the heritage sites, furthering the physical deterioration of buildings and public spaces. A vicious cycle of abandonment and physical decay ensued, seriously affecting the preservation of the physical characteristics that provided the heritage sites with their socio-cultural values.

The majority of the population living in the historic centres have income levels that fall into either the very-low or the low-income category. The income structure shown in Figure 3.11 is based on each listed country's respective definitions of poverty, all of which roughly correspond to the categories used by the World Bank (2013) that identifies four economic classes: (1) the poor (very low income), being those who have a per capita income below US\$ 4 per day; (2) the vulnerable (low income), with US\$ 4 to \$10 per day; and (3) the middle class, with US\$10 to \$50 (all in 2005 purchasing power parity). The population earning more than US\$ 50 per day belongs to the fourth class, the high-income class, and represents less than 3 per cent of the population in most countries. It is interesting to note that the income structure of inhabitants of the historic centres under study is not significantly different from that of the inhabitants of their corresponding metropolitan areas. For instance, Rosero (2012) notes that in 2010 the proportion of the population in poverty in Quito—measured using the Basic Needs Index—was 17.5%, a figure similar to that of the urban area of the Quito Metropolitan District. However, the impact of the income distribution structure on some critical aspects of the use and preservation of the historic centres differ; for instance, in relation to the house tenure situation. The historic centres have higher incidences of rental and non-pecuniary forms of use of the housing stock than does the rest of the city.

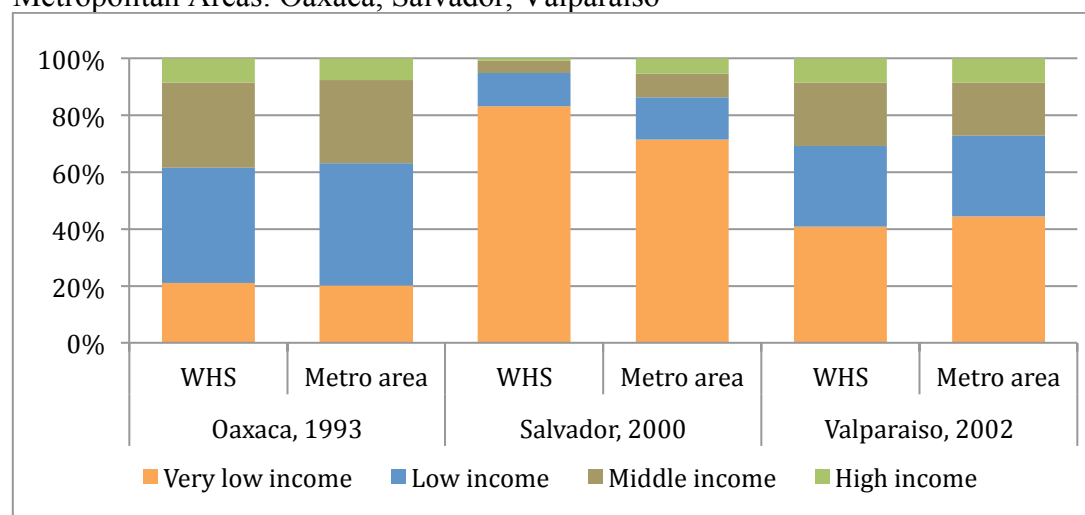
Figure 3.10 Comparisons of the Age Structure of the Population of Quito, Salvador, and Valparaiso (circa 2000)



Source: Author elaboration from data taken from the case study included in Rojas and Lanzafame 2011

There is high proportion of rental housing in the historic centres and all but Quito have a larger proportion of renters than their metropolitan areas (see Figure 3.12). The presence of this high percentage of rentals may be the result of the socio-economic composition of the population with a higher proportion of low- and low-middle income households than the rest of the city. The income of these households does not allow these residents to purchase a house in the historic centres. By choosing to live there they relinquish the path to home ownership that would be otherwise open to them through the purchase of lots in informal subdivisions and the incremental construction of their houses (Bouillon 2012) on the periphery of the cities. In order to live in the historic centres these households resort to renting, usually one or two rooms with shared facilities in deteriorated buildings. The relatively high incidence of rented houses is also an indication that a significant proportion of the residents have temporary (or opportunistic) reasons for living in the historic centres, which makes them at best peripheral stakeholders of a heritage conservation effort.

Figure 3.11 Income Structure: Historic Centres and Their Corresponding Metropolitan Areas: Oaxaca, Salvador, Valparaiso



Source: Author elaboration from data taken from the case studies included in Rojas and Lanzafame 2011

The above-discussed factors led to the deterioration of the physical fabric of the historic centres in the second half of the twentieth century. Abandonment and misuse were the most prevalent issues. In 2003, the special plan for the historic centre of Quito (Municipalidad de Quito 2003) reported that only just over half of the built space in the centre was used and that almost one fourth of the houses in the centre were either in a poor state (11.5%) or in ruin (12.6%). A similar situation existed in

Oaxaca in the mid 1990s. In this case, within the city's historic centre only 30% of the buildings were well preserved while 19% stood in ruin; the rest, totalling half of the built space of the centre, were classified as having conservation problems (Quartesan and Romis 2011). Similar processes affected the historic centres of Salvador and Valparaíso. In Valparaíso half of the houses were in poor condition in 2002 (Trivelli and Nishimura (2011) while in the case of Salvador, Nobre (2002:116) states:

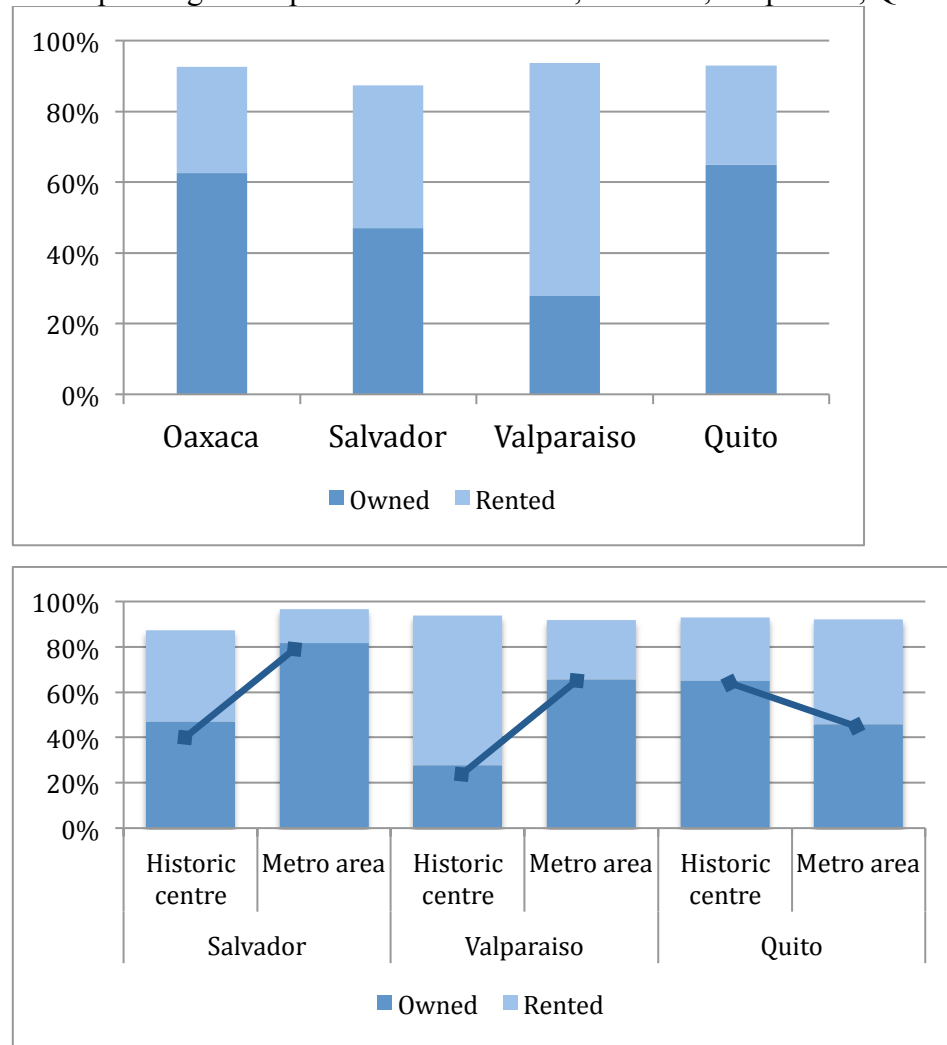
“By the 1980s most of *Pelourinho* constructions have arrived to a greater process of decay and degradation, with the *casario* (a row of terraced houses) tumbling down...The *Polourinho*...was perceived as a dirty and dangerous place, home of people and activities marginal to society such as prostitution and drug traffic”.

There is no significant evidence that planning blight was a contributing factor in the deterioration of the building stock of the four historic centres under analysis. Salvador and Quito had heritage preservation regulations of the traditional sort, meaning that those declaring the heritage buildings under protection burdened the owners with the responsibility of the upkeep of the heritage buildings. The traditional conservation regulations are known to encourage owners to abandon the heritage buildings in the hope that the physical deterioration of the structures will then allow their demolition based on public safety concerns, thus opening the opportunity to re-use the sites for their highest and best use. It seems that at the time of the enactment of the traditional urban heritage preservation regulations the physical deterioration process was already so advanced that they prevented the regulations from having a major impact. The exemptions to this rule were Valparaíso, which in 2013 still lacked heritage preservation regulations, and Oaxaca, which retained many central urban functions that contributed to the maintenance of its building stock and which did not suffered from acute and widespread physical deterioration in the period under analysis.

3.3 The Preservation Programs of Oaxaca, Quito, Salvador, and Valparaíso

The discussion that follows analyses the evolution of the urban rehabilitation efforts in the four cases examined in this study. Two aspects are reviewed: the sequence of public and private actions leading to social interventions in the urban heritage areas; and the urban rehabilitation approached followed to attain the three key conditions for successful interventions presented in Chapter 2: sequence, coordination and scale.

Figure 3.12 Comparisons of House Tenure Structure: Historic Centres and the Corresponding Metropolitan Areas: Oaxaca, Salvador, Valparaiso, Quito.



Source: Author elaboration from data taken from the case study included in Rojas and Lanzafame 2011

Figure 3.13 Deteriorated Houses in the Hills of the Historic Centre of Valparaíso



Photo: Eduardo Rojas

3.3.1 The Launching and Consolidation of the Programs: A Timeline

Concern for the loss of the heritage assets contained in the historic centres emerged soon after the process of functional and physical deterioration started, but took a long time to crystallise into concrete actions. Figure 3.14, which contains four separate timelines—one for each of the actions implemented for the preservation of the urban heritage in the four cases studied—details this development. The timelines separate the actions executed by the public sector—central, regional, or local governments, and specialised government institutions—from the actions executed by private entities—individuals, organisations of the civic society, or community organisations. The analysis of the timelines shows four significant aspects that are common to all the cases discussed in this study.

The first significant aspect to be discussed relates to the fact that during the initial stages of the preservation process the cultural elite—individuals, academics, or organisations of the civil society concerned for cultural issues—is the most likely promoter of collective action. These stakeholders primarily operated by lobbying the national or local government for interventions, and by joining forces at times with philanthropists in order to secure adequate financing for the preservation of significant monuments. In Oaxaca, the study conducted by Quartesan and Romis (2011) reported there being three private institutions linked to the cultural elite that

were very active in promoting the conservation of the historic centre: Fundación Harp Helú; the NGO Casa de la Ciudad (City Home); and the Defensa del Patrimonio Cultural y Natural de Oaxaca (Cultural and Natural Heritage Pro Defence Council) led by Francisco Toledo, a renowned local painter. These three institutions worked together with the Municipality to both list the historic centre as a national heritage site and to later secure the centre's inclusion in the World Heritage List. Similarly, members of the cultural elite in Quito were the first to recognise and disseminate the value of the city's urban heritage. It was their work that moved the Municipality to demarcate the heritage area in the Master Plan as early as 1943 (Rojas 1999). In Salvador, the cultural and political elite of the State of Bahia called attention to the plight of the 'Pelourinho' in the early 1970s, prompting the Major of the city (who later became Governor of the State) to initiate action. A similar situation occurred in Valparaíso, where academics and architects spent many years studying the city's architectural and historic values. It was their work that provided the arguments for the listing of the historic centre in the National List of Monuments and later, in the World Heritage List of UNESCO. These examples attest to the fact that the conservation of the urban heritage in the four cities under study followed the path discussed in Chapter 2, starting with a first stage in which the urban heritage was a 'concern of the elite'. The analysis that follows shows that the heritage conservation experiences discussed here then moved to the subsequent stage—a 'concern of the government'—but reveals that none has yet reached the stage in which the conservation of the urban heritage is a 'concern of all social actors.'

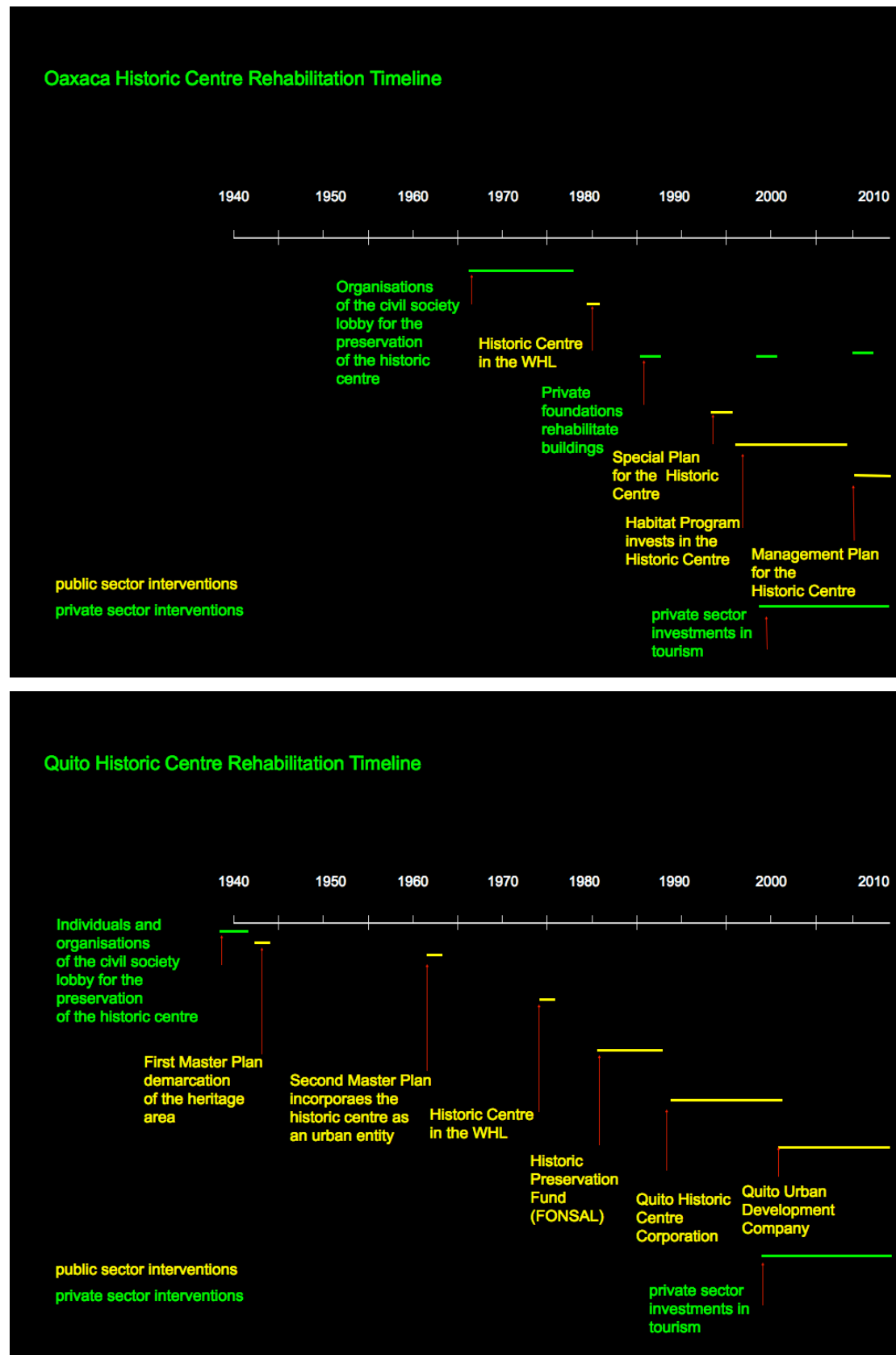
A second feature common to all the cases—and something that is another feature of the first stage of the concern for the conservation of the heritage—is that in the early years the heritage preservation interventions were few, sporadic, and principally focused on enacting heritage conservation regulations. Until the late 1990s, when the State and Federal Government began investing in the preservation of the public spaces and monuments of the historic centre of Oaxaca, all preservation actions were promoted and implemented by private philanthropy, and benefited only monuments. These interventions preserved significant pieces of the urban heritage but lacked both the scale and scope necessary to impact the whole heritage site. In Quito, the initial interventions that spanned almost thirty-five years focused on the delimitation, inventorying, and regulation of the urban heritage, with only sporadic and limited preservation works being implemented in the cases of the most significant

monuments. This period of limited and intermittent action was shorter in Salvador due to the commitment of the political leadership, whereas in Valparaíso, for almost thirty years the concern for the urban heritage took the form of academic studies conducted on the historic, aesthetic, and scientific values of the heritage sites, with either little or no conservation interventions ever being implemented.

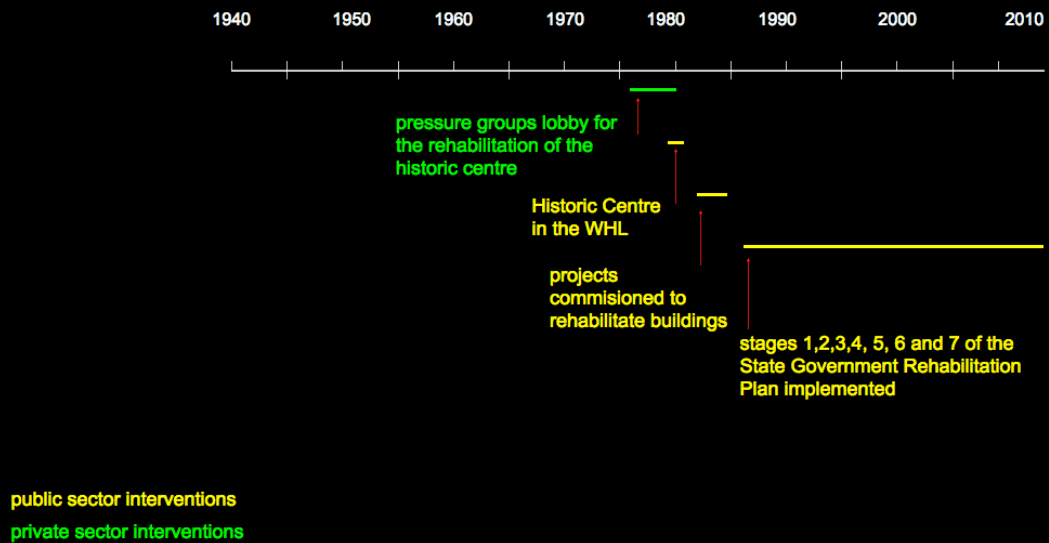
The third aspect that all the urban conservation processes discussed in this study have in common is that the process takes a long time to bear fruit. In Oaxaca, nearly fifteen years elapsed from the time that the first signs of concern for the historic centre were expressed to the completion of the first significant conservation works financed initially by the private philanthropy. In Quito, almost forty years elapsed from the time that the first signs of concern were shown until the central government established the Fondo de Salvamento del Patrimonio (Heritage Rescue Fund, FONSAL) to finance the preservation of the main monuments of the historic centre that had been damaged by an earthquake in 1987. The preservation efforts of Salvador and Valparaíso have now been underway for over 15 years and each city still has a long way to go in order to have a well-conserved historic centre.

The fourth feature common to all four of the cases under analysis is the private sector's late entry into the preservation process. In Quito, the private investors most typically followed the lead of the Empresa del Centro Histórico (Historic Centre Corporation, ECH), a mixed capital corporation set by the Municipality to implement innovative investments in the historic centre. Also, in addition to arriving after that the public sector made significant investments to improve the infrastructure and public spaces, rehabilitate monuments, and demonstrate the feasibility of investing in retail and office space, the private sector investments primarily focused on tourism ventures—after a short-lived attempt at directing their efforts toward the adaptive rehabilitation of heritage buildings for housing. A similar situation existed in both Oaxaca and Valparaíso, where private investment was shown to focus primarily on tourism and second homes. In Salvador, the private sector did not invest in the adaptive rehabilitation of heritage buildings. Instead, it only operated tourism and commercial business in buildings that had been completely rehabilitated by the government.

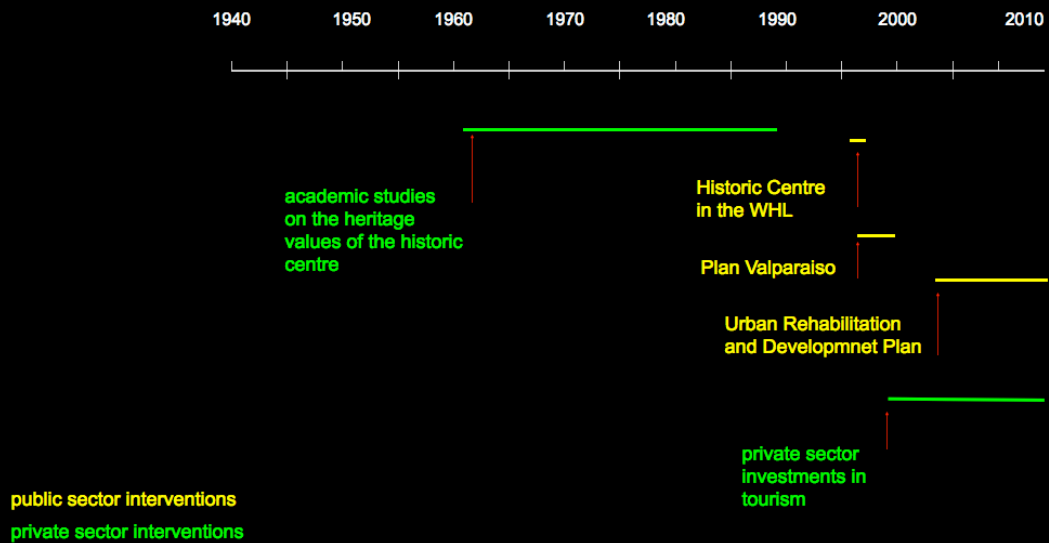
Figure 3.14 Comparisons of Timelines for Urban Heritage Preservation Activities Implemented in Oaxaca, Quito, Valparaiso, and Salvador 1940–2010.



Salvador de Bahia Historic Centre Rehabilitation Timeline



Valparaiso Historic Centre Rehabilitation Timeline



Source: Author elaboration from data taken from the case study included in Rojas and Lanzafame 2011

3.3.2 Operational Approaches to the Rehabilitation of Historic Centres

The agencies in charge of the conservation interventions in the cases under analysis in this study used different operational approaches to design and finance the heritage conservation programs. The chosen operational approaches largely responded to the opportunities and constraints arising from the institutional framework under which they operated and which determined the responsibilities and resources allocated to the institutions involved. The analysis in this study discusses the approaches used by the implementing agencies using the conceptual frame of reference presented in Chapter 2. In relation to the design and programming of the interventions, the analysis focuses on the basic conditions necessary for an effective intervention in urban rehabilitation. The conditions are that the interventions:

1. Must be implemented in the right sequence, involving the following in this particular order: improvements to the infrastructure, followed by improvements to the public spaces, and lastly, the rehabilitation of monuments and emblematic buildings that almost always precede the adaptive rehabilitation of private properties;
2. Are executed with sufficient coordination in terms of the timing of their execution and in relationship to the territory where they are implemented so that these actions reinforce each other and allow for taking full advantage of the synergies that exist among them;
3. Have sufficient scale to change the social and economic forces that are fuelling the deterioration process.

In relation to the financing arrangements, the analysis focuses on the diversity and stability of the sources of finance, differentiating their final use, particularly if they were used to finance interventions on public or private properties.

The remainder of Chapter 3 and all of Chapter 4 are devoted to the analysis of these operational aspects within the context of the four cases. Two different operational approaches were used in the design and programming of the interventions: one favouring the focus on territorial units (city blocks or group of blocks) to plan and implement the interventions, and the other working along an urban axis that connects monuments in order to achieve coordination and scale. The Salvador and Valparaíso heritage conservation programs used territorial units to coordinate, sequence, and provide scale to the interventions while Oaxaca and Quito each operated along a city

axis that contained significant monuments. These differences in approach, in and of themselves were of marginal importance to the long-term sustainability of the urban heritage conservation process. However, the differences in the financing arrangements were more significant from the perspective of the sustainability of the preservation process, fundamentally: the types of investments implemented and the sources of funding. As the following sections will discuss, both are directly linked to the priorities of the stakeholders involved in the preservation process and to the willingness of the stakeholders to contribute to the financing and implementation of the interventions. The evidence gathered in this study indicates that the differences in the variety of stakeholders involved, and the level of commitment that each set of stakeholders brings to the preservation effort originate in the heritage values that are driving the process (socio-cultural and use) and in how the interests of the different stakeholders are aligned during the implementation process. The analysis in Chapter 4 will discuss in detail the significance of these factors for the long-term sustainability of the preservation process—a process which is guided by the proposition made in Chapter 2 that postulates that the wider the variety of stakeholders interested in the socio-cultural and use values of the heritage, and the more stakeholders with resources and technical capacities that there are contributing, then the more sustainable the urban heritage preservation process will be. The remainder of this chapter will describe the operational approaches and financial mechanisms used by the implementing agencies as inputs to the analysis undertaken in Chapter 4.

3.3.3 Operational Approaches and Types of Investments in Salvador and Valparaíso

In Salvador, the Instituto do Patrimônio Artístico Cultural da Bahia (Cultural and Artistic Heritage Institute of Bahia, IPAC) devised an implementation procedure structured around the city blocks of the historic centre. Based on an inventory of the physical condition of the buildings in the different blocks of the ‘Pelourinho’, the IPAC identified both priority blocks and buildings for intervention. Highly deteriorated buildings in blocks near or framing the main monuments were given priority over more distant and less damaged buildings. The IPAC divided the historic centre into three areas according to these priorities (see Figure 3.15). The inventory also allowed the Institute to make estimates about the rehabilitation costs per block.

This information, together with amount allocated to the IPAC in the budget of the Government of the State of Bahia, allowed the Institute to define the number of buildings or city blocks to rehabilitate in a given budgetary cycle. Each cycle made a ‘Phase’ in the process. Investments in each Phase included:

1. Improvements to the infrastructure: water, sewerage, and electricity;
2. Rehabilitation of streets and public spaces: pavements, lighting, signage, urban furniture and tree planting;
3. Rehabilitation of monuments;
4. Adapting courtyards and other spaces in the centre of the blocks for public and private uses;
5. Rehabilitation of private buildings, mostly houses and commercial buildings.

Figure 3.15 Historic Centre of Salvador: Intervention Areas



Source: IPAC, maps compiled by Mendes Zancheti and Gabriel 2010

Table 3.5 shows the budget allocations and the number of city blocks and properties that benefited from the rehabilitation investments. It can be observed that, depending on the volume of resources available to the implementing agency, there were wide variations in terms of both the number of city blocks and the number of properties benefiting from the rehabilitation effort; the amount of resources allocated

to the program were always affected by the competing claims to the State Government budget made by other areas of government spending, a fact that explains the wide variations in the volume of rehabilitation activities that occurred from Phase to Phase.

Table 3.5 Salvador: State Government Investments in the Preservation of the Historic Centre

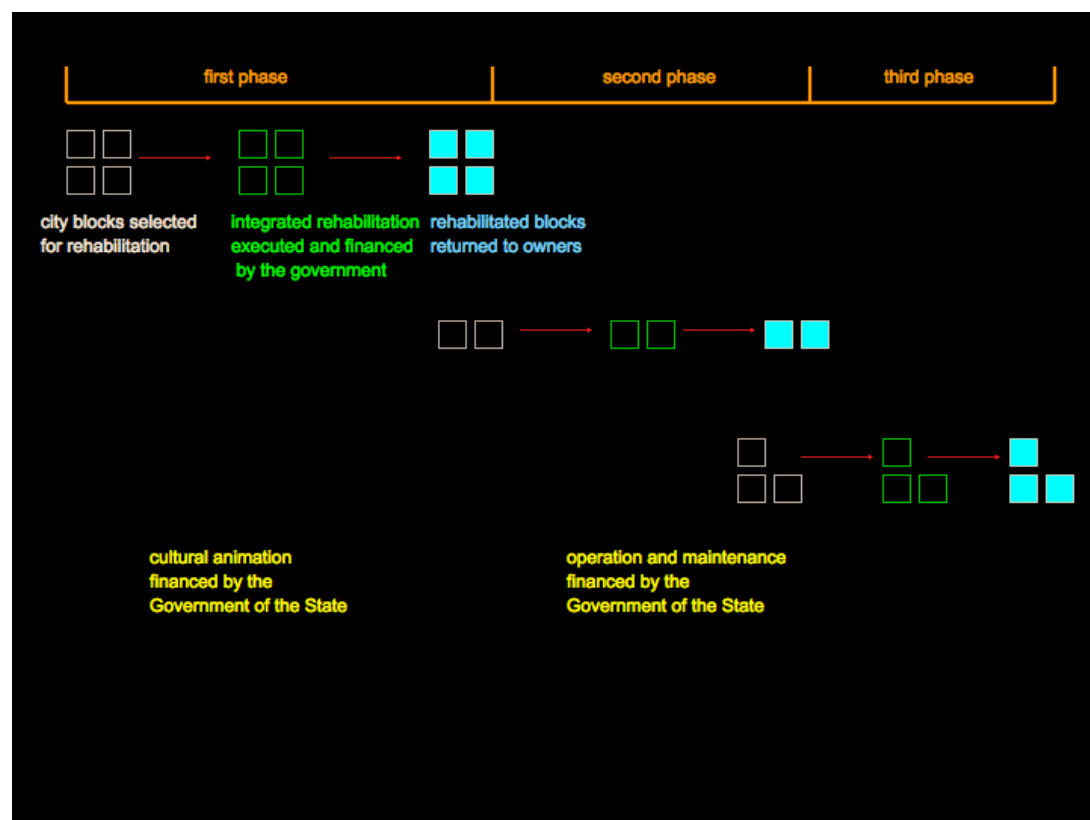
Phases	Implementation period	Number of city blocks	Number of properties	Special works	Investment Contracted amounts US\$
1	1992–1993	4	89	3 courtyards rehabilitated in city blocks	11,221,701
2	1992–1993	2	47		2,805,811
3	1992–1994	3	58	Restoration of a church	3,010,136
4	1992–1994	8	183		12,512,766
5	1996	2	48		10,245,607
6	1997–2006	6*	83	Rehabilitation of the Praça da Sé, plaza and cinema façade	7,103,112
7	1999 +	10	88	Rehabilitation of 7 individually listed properties	8,624,614
Total		35	596		55,523,750

Source: Mendes Zancheti and Gabriel 2011, Table 7 page 97

Once the blocks and properties to be rehabilitated were identified, the IPAC—and later the Companhia de Desenvolvimento Urbano do Estado da Bahia (Urban Development Corporation of the State of Bahia, (CONDER)) that took over the implementation of the program—entered in negotiations with the landowners to both secure control over the properties during the implementation of the works and agree on the conditions for handing back the rehabilitated properties. The Government of the State of Bahia expropriated many properties, the ownership of which could not be associated with any known individual, group, or legal entity, and reached an agreement with all identified landowners for the repayment of the investments made by the government in their properties. The latter situation usually involved the IPAC maintaining control of the properties for a limited period of time in order to benefit

from the rents generated by the rehabilitated properties leased to merchants or tourist-related business. Mendes Zancheti and Gabriel (2011:102) report that by the year 2000, the Government of the State of Bahia owned 430 rehabilitated properties, 32% of a total of 1,350 properties in the area, and that the IPAC had another 133 (9.9%) under loan for use. Mendes Zancheti and Gabriel's report further indicated that the religious orders controlled 104 properties (7.7%), and that less than half of the properties were in private hands (47.2%). Figure 3.16 shows the sequencing of the interventions in the Salvador experience as the process moved through the different phases. It is worth noting that the Program also financed festivals and frequent street events in an effort to attract customers to the rehabilitated centre.

Figure 3.16 Implementation Process for the Rehabilitation Plan for the Historic Centre of Salvador.

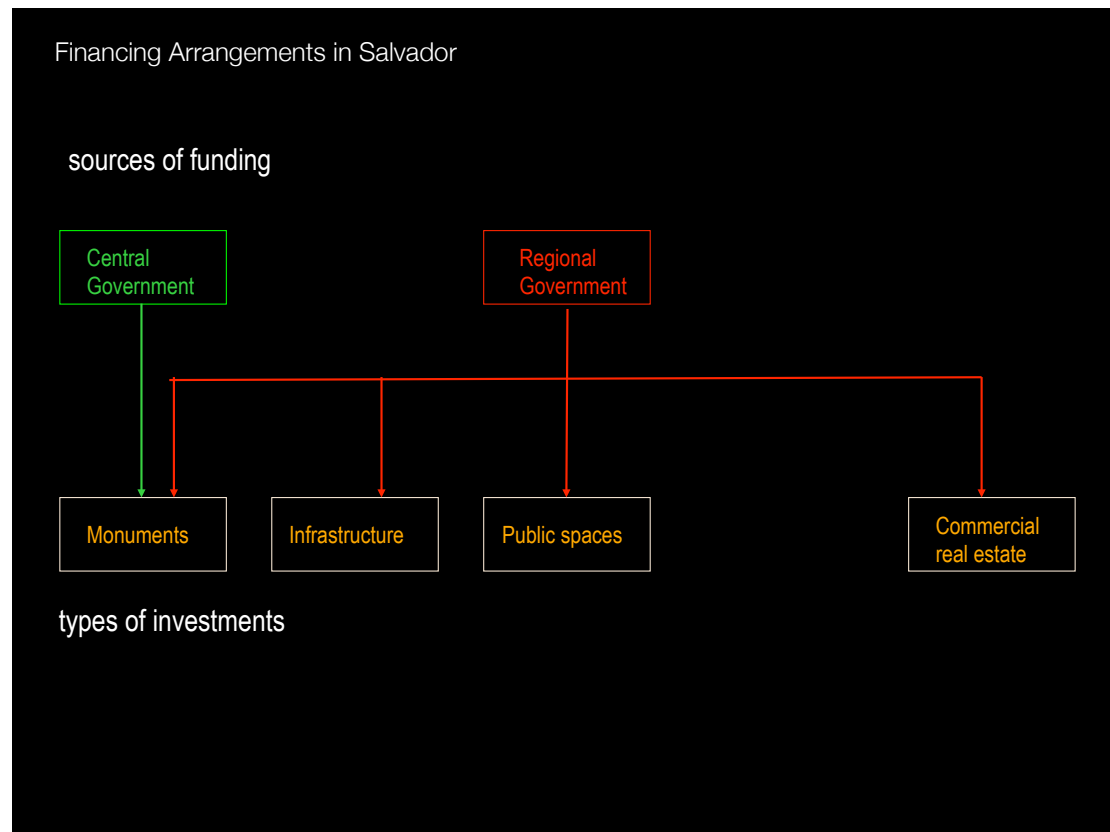


Source: Author elaboration

The flow of resources for the preservation of the historic centre of Salvador depicted in Figure 3.17 shows the dominant role played by the Government of the State of Bahia (the regional Government level), which was the sole financier and implementer of the urban heritage preservation program. The Municipality did not

participate in Phases 1–6 of the program. This was the result of a combination of inadequacy of resources and institutional capacity, and lack of political will on the part of the Municipality to cooperate with the Government of the State. The implementation mechanism used by IPAC, and later by the CONDER, left no room for private involvement.

Figure 3.17 Salvador, Resources Flow

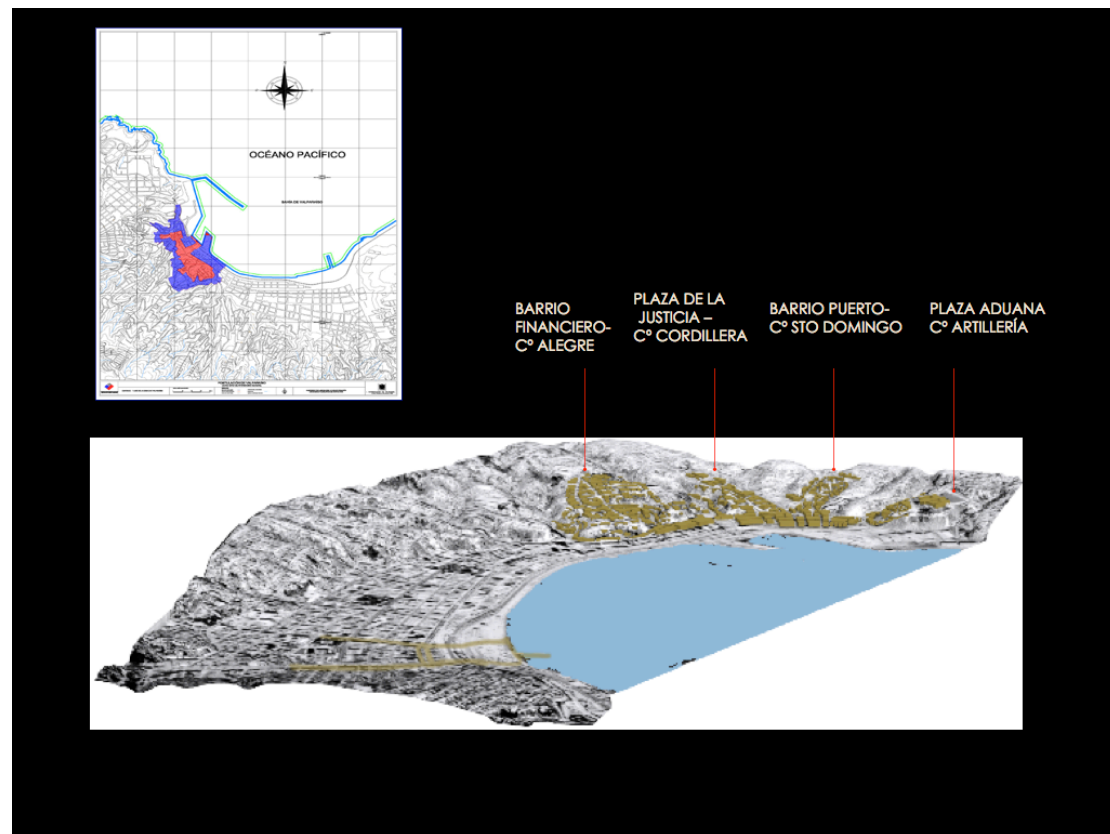


Source: Author elaboration based on Mendes Zancheti and Gabriel 2011

In Valparaíso, the Urban Revitalisation and Development Program (from hereon the Program) concentrated investments in four “integrated rehabilitation areas” that coincided with the most significant neighbourhoods included in the urban heritage site listed in the WHL (see Figure 3.18). The boundaries of these neighbourhoods are well defined by the creeks that cut through the heritage area and drain from the hills to the sea. The neighbourhoods constitute the Western section of the amphitheatre framing the harbour and the port, the most distinctive feature of the city. The objective was to coordinate the interventions in these territories according to the schedule shown in Figure 3.18. The Plan focused on improving the urban

infrastructure, the public spaces, and the municipal services in the area in order to attract the new residents and economic activities that, in turn, were expected to lure private investors into rehabilitating heritage properties for contemporary uses. The combination of a territorial focus of sufficient size and the detailed schedule of implementation was aimed at both ensuring the coordination of the interventions and achieving a sufficient scale, and at establishing the right sequence in the implementation of the interventions.

Figure 3.18 Valparaíso's Integrated Rehabilitation Areas



Source: Author elaboration based on data from Ministerio de Interior, Chile. 2006

From 2007 through 2014, the Central Government of Chile invested US\$ 62 million in the rehabilitation of the historic centre of Valparaíso and in improving the urban services of the city and increasing the institutional capacity of the Municipality. The main objective of the program was to improve the living and working conditions in the historic centre in order to attract new residents and economic activities. Investments in urban rehabilitation included both traditional improvements made to streets and public spaces and the rehabilitation of the public elevators that link the

lower part of the historic centre with the promenades in the hills. The Program also invested in the promotion of new economic activities subsidising the rehabilitation of heritage properties for commercial or productive purposes. During the Program's implementation period, the historic centre of Valparaíso, and in particular the Cerro Alegre (see Figure 1.18), became fashionable destinations for both the economic and cultural elite of the capital city of the country, the Metropolitan Area of Santiago with its 6 million inhabitants located just 120 kilometres away. Member of these elite groups bought and rehabilitated houses in the historic centre to use on weekends and holidays as second homes. These transactions on the real estate market brought private investment into the historic centre through channels quite unrelated to the Program, but were indirectly assisted by the general improvement in the living conditions of the historic centre that the Program brought about.

Table 3.6 Valparaíso, Urban Revitalisation and Development Program, Investments 2007–2012 (in US Millions)

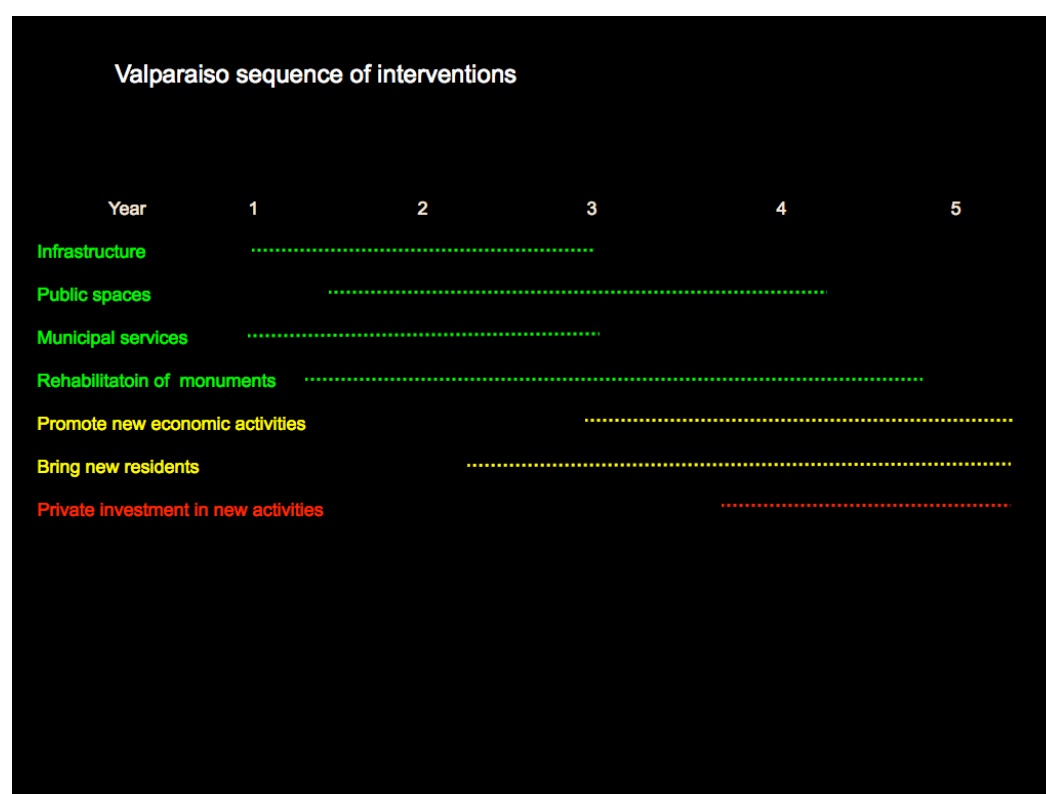
Investment	\$
Urban Rehabilitation	47.49
Economic and Socio-Cultural Development	5.43
Institutional Strengthening of the Municipality	8.69
Community Involvement and Communication	1.34
Total	62.95

Source: Author elaborations with data from IADB 2013

The implementation of the investments in Valparaíso was delegated to an Executing Unit linked to the Ministry of the Interior of the Central Government—the entity that was providing the resources for the Program. The responsibilities were to be gradually transferred to the operational units of the Municipality of Valparaíso, the local government charged with responsibility of the management of the heritage area. However, due to institutional problems within the Municipality, the transfer of responsibilities was very limited during the implementation of the Program. At the closing of the Program in 2013, the Municipality was the only institution remaining with responsibility for the management of the heritage area, yet it lacked the institutional and financial resources needed to continue the investments. The flow of resources chart in Figure 3.20 shows the dominant position of the Central Government both in the financing of the investments and in controlling the implementation agency. As in the case of Salvador, the overarching role of one

agency taking care of financing and implementation crowds out the possible involvement of other actors. Two circumstances mitigated this problem in Valparaíso. One was the decision-making power of the Mayor over the distribution of the resources allocated by the Central Government to the Program and the other, the interest on the part of the cultural and economic elite in investing in the historic centre.

Figure 3.19 Valparaíso Implementation Sequence



Source: Author elaboration based on data from IADB 2005

The investments financed by the Program were identified in 2005 without the benefit of an urban heritage preservation plan. The preparation of such a plan was included among the activities financed by the Program in the first year of implementation and under the responsibility of the Municipality. As of 2014, this plan is still under preparation. In the absence of a legally binding set of land use norms, building regulation, and detailed schedule for the implementation of the works, the year-to-year investment decisions were made the responsibility of an ‘ad hoc’ directorate composed of members of the central government (Ministry of the Interior and Budget Office) and the Municipality (IADB 2005). Regarding the yearly

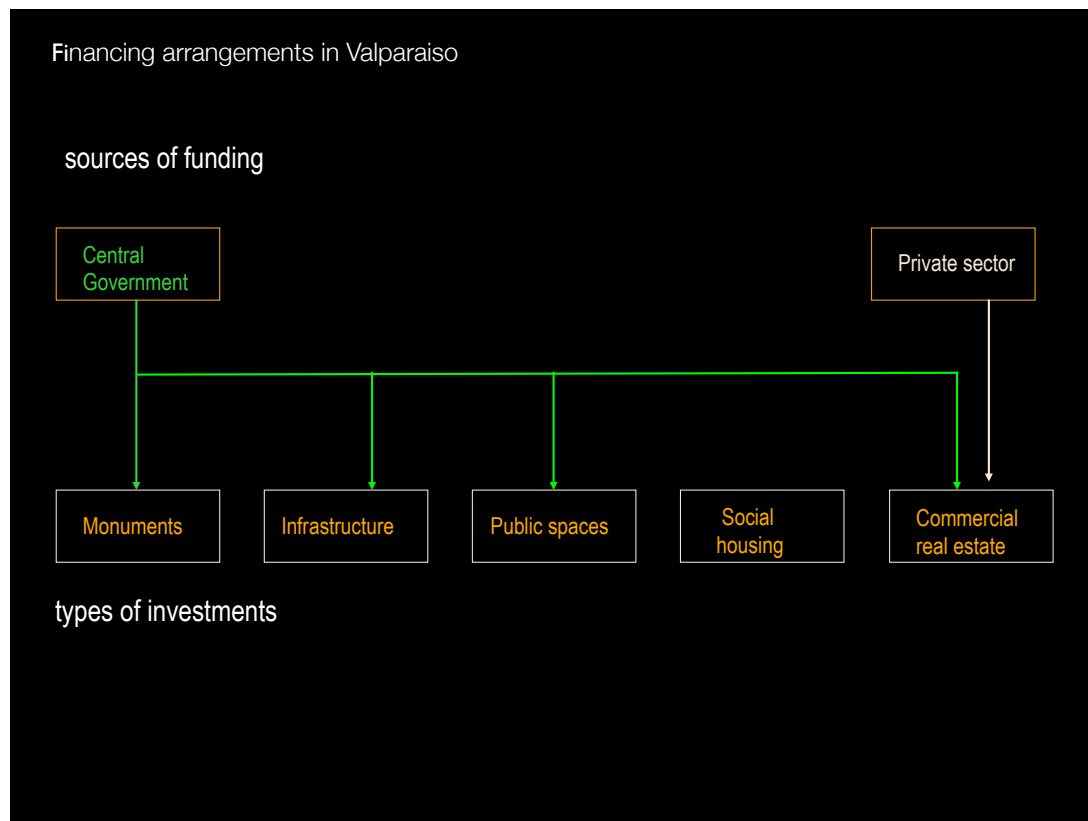
allocation of resources, this arrangement left significant room for adjustments to be made to the initial agreement reached within the directorate in 2007, at the beginning of the implementation. This original agreement is complied with the sequence of interventions shown in Figure 3.19. In the end, the Major was positioned to exert a definitive influence over the investment decisions of the directorate although the Municipality was neither contributing to the financing of the investment nor implementing the projects for which the financing was earmarked. The reason for this ‘anomaly’ was that the representatives from the Central Government institutions in the directorate were concerned only for supra-level issues: the Ministry of the Interior for compliance with the national contracting regulations and procedures and the Budget Office for the Program not to overspend the allocated funds. The governance consequences of these implementation arrangements are discussed in Chapter 4.

3.3.4 Operational Approaches and Types of Investments in Oaxaca and Quito

Oaxaca and Quito each chose an axis-based approach for the territorial coordination of the investments, focusing heritage conservation expenditures along streets or on series of aligned city blocks in which the most significant monuments were concentrated. Most significant to the long-term sustainability of the preservation process was the fact that the program in each of these two cases was both led and implemented by the municipality, an entity which was supported by higher tiers of government. It is also significant that the private philanthropy in Oaxaca contributed from the beginning to the financing of the preservation effort.

In planning the investments, both Oaxaca and Quito’s respective municipalities achieved the right scale of the interventions. In the case of Oaxaca, improvements to the infrastructure, streets, and public spaces were made to the entire heritage area included in the WHL. In Quito’s case, a significant portion of the historic centre was earmarked for improvements. Figures 3.21 and 3.22 show the location of the main monuments and the axis along which investments in the rehabilitation of significant buildings were concentrated. Oaxaca and Quito also implemented a varied set of investments, and did so with sequencing similar to that used in Salvador and Valparaiso.

Figure 3.20 Valparaíso Resources Flow



Source: Author elaboration based on data from IADB 2005 and IADB 2013

Support from higher tiers of government in the case of Oaxaca came from the historic centre's conservation component of the Habitat Program, which is under the purview of the Secretaría de Desarrollo Social (Social Development Secretariat, SEDESOL). In the case of Quito, the central government support came from the special rehabilitation fund—the Fondo de Salvamento (Heritage Rescue Fund, FONSAL)—established for the historic centre. Tables 3.7 and 3.8 show the sources of funding and the estimates and actual investments for the 1995–2000 and 2000–2005 periods for the heritage conservation program in Quito. Table 3.9 shows both the volume and sources of financing for the heritage preservation activities implemented in Oaxaca from 2003 to 2009.

Figure 3.21 Axis Concentrating Investment in the Rehabilitation of Significant Buildings in Oaxaca



Source: Author elaboration on Quartesan and Romis 2011 Figure 5 Page 27

Table 3.7 Quito Historic Centre Rehabilitation Project, Planned Investments 1995–2000 (US\$ millions)

Investment	Public	Private*	Total
Public	17.8		17.8
Public-Private Partnerships	12.0	10.4	22.4
Social Sustainability	1.2		1.2
Total	31.0	10.4	41.4

* Expected

Source: IADB 1994

Table 3.8 Quito Investments by Type 2000–2005 (US millions)

Type	Public	Private	Total
Investment	4.8	4.9	9.7

Source Jaramillo 2011 Table 5 Page 73

Figure 3.22 Axis Concentrating Investment in the Rehabilitation of Significant Buildings in Quito



Source: Author elaboration on Rojas 2004 Figure 4.8 Page 154

The participation of the private sector in these programs is worth noting. In Quito, the expectation at the launch of the program in 1994 was that the private sector would contribute approximately one-quarter of the investments in the 1995–2000 period (IADB 1994). The information provided by Jaramillo (2011) indicates that in the 1995–2000 period the private sector actually contributed to half of all the investments made in the historic centre. However, the volume of investment in the 2000–2005 period was just one-quarter of what was invested in the former. In the case of Oaxaca, the resource allocation rules of the Habitat Program required contributions from the State Government and the Municipality as well as some contribution from the beneficiaries. As shown in Table 3.9, the largest contributions came from the Federal Government and the Municipality. This is presented graphically in Figure

3.23, which traces the flow of funds for the Oaxaca program and also shows the contributions made by private philanthropy that are not accounted for in Table 3.9. In the case of Quito, the flow of funds shown in Figure 3.24 includes those contributions made by the private sector investors for the adaptive rehabilitation of heritage buildings for a variety of uses—most being adapted for tourism-related activities, but some also being adapted to meet housing and commercial needs.

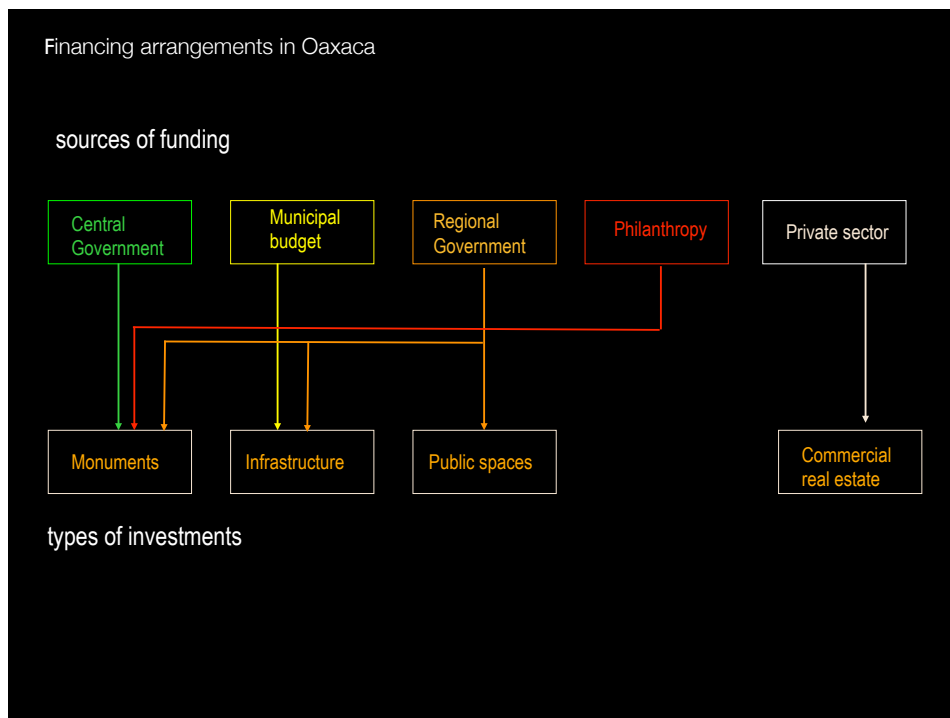
Table 3.9 Oaxaca Habitat Program Investments 2003–2009 by Sources (US\$ Millions)

Total	Federal Government	State Government	Municipality	Beneficiaries
13,405,385	7.812	0.55	5.03	0.05

Source: Quartesan and Romis 2011 Table 10 Page 44

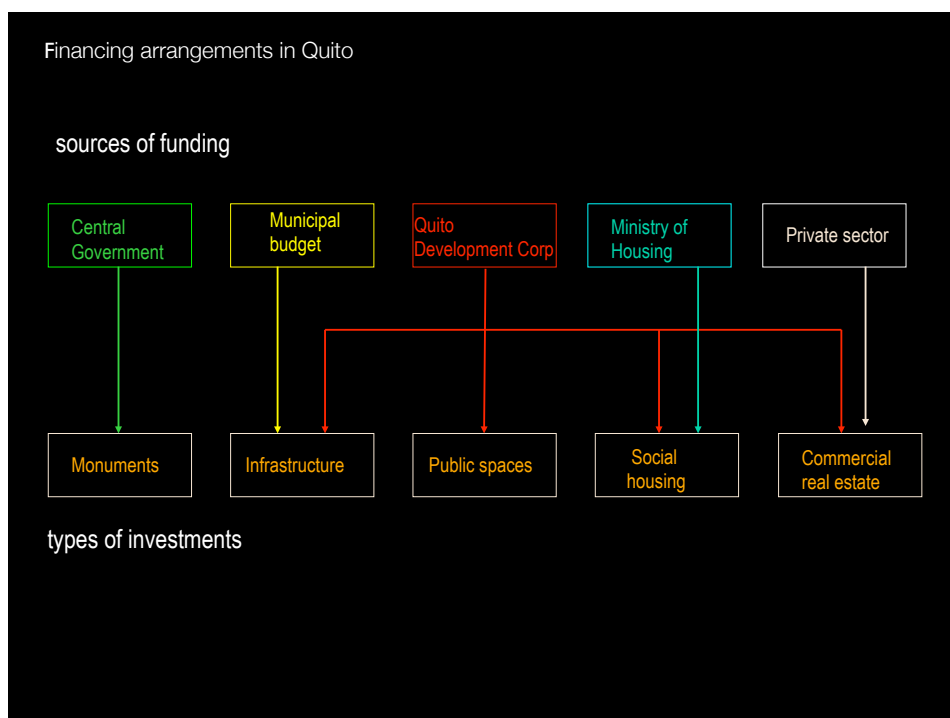
The preservation experiences of Oaxaca and Quito are characterised by being designed and managed by the municipalities and by the involvement of higher tiers of government in their financing. As in Valparaiso, in these cases the private sector is also present and both taking advantage of the opportunities made available by the increase in tourism lured by the inclusion of the historic centres in the WHL and by the improvements financed by the urban heritage rehabilitation programs. Additionally, in the case of Oaxaca, it is worth noting the leading role that private philanthropy played in terms of lobbying for the site's WHL listing, regulating development in the historic centre and also financing the adaptive rehabilitation of emblematic buildings and monuments, thus fulfilling a public purpose.

Figure 3.23 Oaxaca Heritage Preservation Program: Flow of Funds



Source: Author elaboration based on Quartesan and Romis 2011

Figure 3.24 Quito Heritage Preservation Program: Flow of Funds



Source: Author elaboration based on IADB 1994

In Chapter 4, the information and analysis of this chapter will be combined with the analytical framework developed in Chapter 2 in order to assess the governance issues impacting the long-term sustainability of the urban heritage preservation efforts. The discussion in Chapter 4 will focus on both the roles and contributions of the stakeholders to the conservation effort and the likelihood of their continuous involvement in the process.

Chapter 4

The Governance of the Urban Heritage Preservation Process in Latin America, Strengths and Shortcomings

The heritage conservation programs discussed in Chapter 3 provide several lessons for the governance of the urban heritage conservation effort; in particular, for the better use of institutions and structures of authority, and for better collaboration among stakeholders in order to realize the sustained conservation of the urban heritage. As presented in Chapter 2, the conservation of urban heritage can be considered sustainable if the heritage buildings and public spaces are well preserved on a continuous basis as a result of being used by all social actors to satisfy contemporary needs. Based on the operational definitions of governance and sustainability discussed in Chapter 2, the present chapter will analyse the main features of the heritage preservation processes of Oaxaca, Quito, Salvador, and Valparaíso, which were presented in Chapter 3, in order to draw general conclusions about how best to improve the governance of urban heritage preservation efforts undertaken by cities to achieve more sustainable outcomes. In line with the framework presented in Chapter 2, the focus of the analysis in this chapter is on both the processes through which the heritage values of the historic centres are uncovered and on how these processes motivate different social actors to contribute to the financing and implementation of the conservation interventions. Therefore, the discussion to follow will focus on: the values of the urban heritage that motivate the different stakeholders to conserve it; the degree of convergence of the interests and contributions of the stakeholders; and the institutional mechanisms available to coordinate the efforts of the various stakeholders into a fruitful cooperation towards the sustained conservation of the urban heritage. Considering the paucity of information available about the final outcomes of the preservation efforts discussed in this work, the analysis will focus on two results that, according to the frame of reference laid out in Chapter 2, are characteristic of a sustainable urban heritage preservation process: the diversity of uses of the urban heritage sites and the state of conservation of the heritage buildings.

4.1 Stakeholders Involved in the Preservation Process¹

The timeline of the cases studied shows that the initial concern for the deterioration of the historic centres emerged in members of the cultured elite who mobilized

¹ Part of this analysis is included in Rojas 2012. The present version expands and completes the data and analysis already published.

governments to protect the urban heritage areas but who otherwise acted only intermittently and did so primarily to preserve outstanding monuments. In more advanced stages of the processes, both the participation of the national institutions in charge of conserving the urban heritage and the intervention of the central, regional, and municipal governments expanded the range of stakeholders involved in the processes and, in some cases, advanced the preservation process to the second stage discussed in Chapter 2—a stage in which the conservation of the urban heritage heavily dependent on ‘government intervention’.

The discussion in Chapter 3 made it clear that while the inclusion of each city’s historic centre in the WHL helped the promoters of the conservation effort to both gather more support from the government and attract investments in tourism, this listing did not directly promote a movement toward a more advanced stage in the preservation effort—the stage where the conservation of the heritage becomes a ‘concern of all social actors’. Inclusion in the WHL is always proposed by the national governments that are the official members of the World Heritage Convention. The nomination process is usually led by the national heritage agencies and promoted by members of the cultured elite. In the best of cases, these agencies seek the opinion of local groups but rarely do they either inquire with or consult the resident community. In Salvador, the resident community had little involvement in the process. In Quito, organizations of the civil society were active supporters of the Municipality in promoting the nomination but the local communities were not involved in the process. In Valparaíso, the Municipality worked with the national government in pursuing the inclusion of the historic centre in the WHL with sporadic and inconsistent involvement of stakeholders within the community, and in Oaxaca, the nomination was promoted by local organizations of the civil society but the community had little input in the process. Listing in the WHL is often pursued with little clarity of purpose outside of the prestige that listing would engender, and this action’s expected, positive impact on tourism. Predictably, local communities typically see few advantages coming from the WHL listing of their heritage site, as was noted by Mendes Zancheti and Gabriel (2011) when analysing the case of Salvador.

Even after all the years of concern for the urban heritage reported in the timelines, the range of stakeholders involved in the different cases is still limited and their interventions are still uncoordinated. The conceptual framework used in this

study suggests that this state of affairs is the result of both the limited set of heritage values at play in the preservation process and the deficiencies of the institutional mechanisms to coordinate their interventions. These topics are the subject of this chapter.

4.1.1 Diversity of Stakeholders

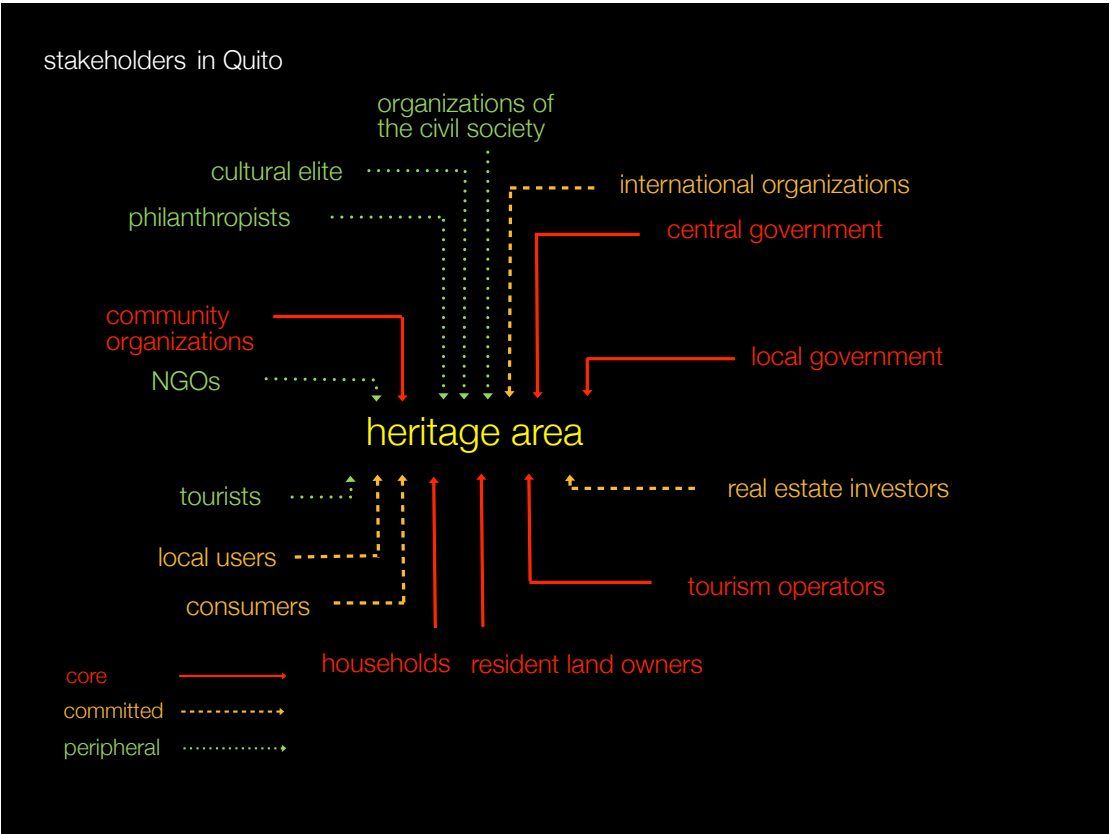
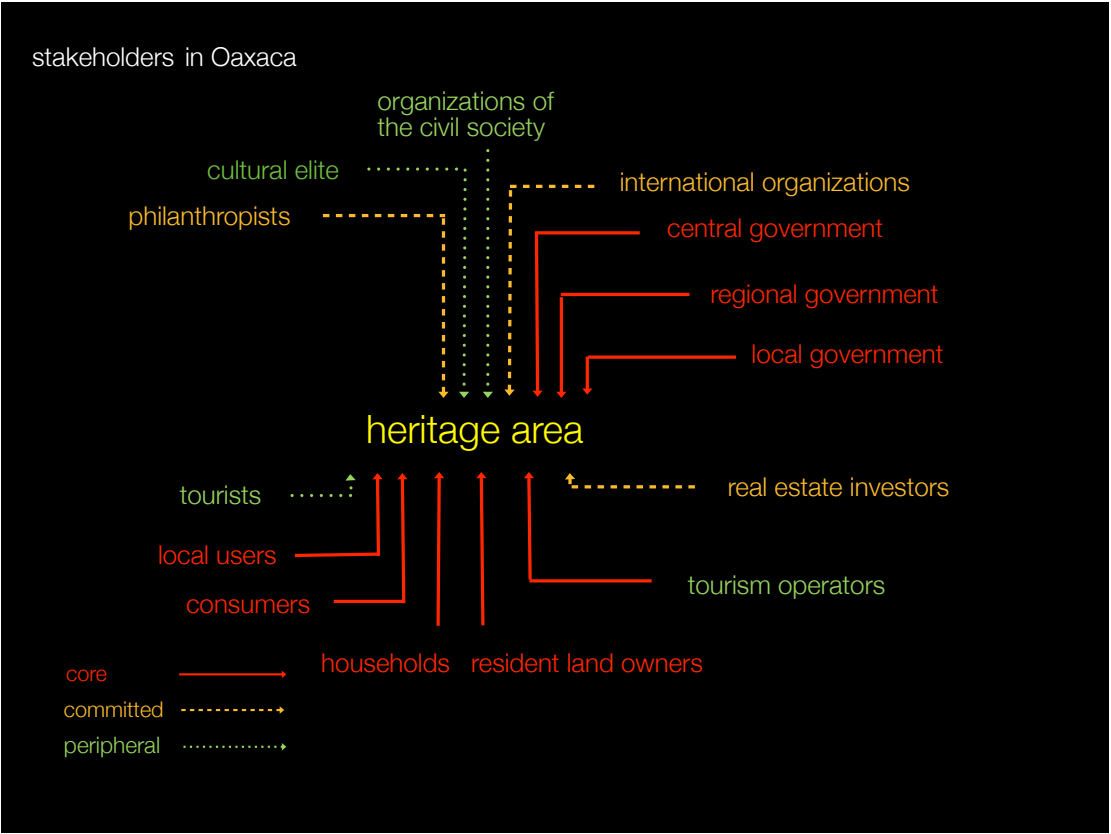
Figure 4.1 presents the variety of stakeholders involved in the urban heritage preservation process in the four cases under analysis. The diagrams are based on Figure 2.2 and the analysis uses the definitions contained in Table 1.6. Figure 4.1 presents the cases in a descending order of the diversity of stakeholders involved in the conservation effort. As it can be observed, there are significant differences among the cities in terms of the variety of stakeholders involved in each. Most significantly, there are considerable differences in both the number and diversity of stakeholders who are fully and permanently engaged in the preservation of the historic centres and who therefore qualify—in accordance with the definitions given in Chapter 2—as core and committed stakeholders. In the cases of Salvador and Valparaiso, there are not only very few core stakeholders, but also a reduced number of committed stakeholders. Of the few stakeholders involved, most are peripheral and liable to entering and leaving the conservation process in response to short-term concerns and motivations. The stakeholders are more diversified in the cases of Oaxaca and Quito, and there exists in each of these two cases a more significant presence of core and committed stakeholders than there does in either Salvador or Valparaiso.

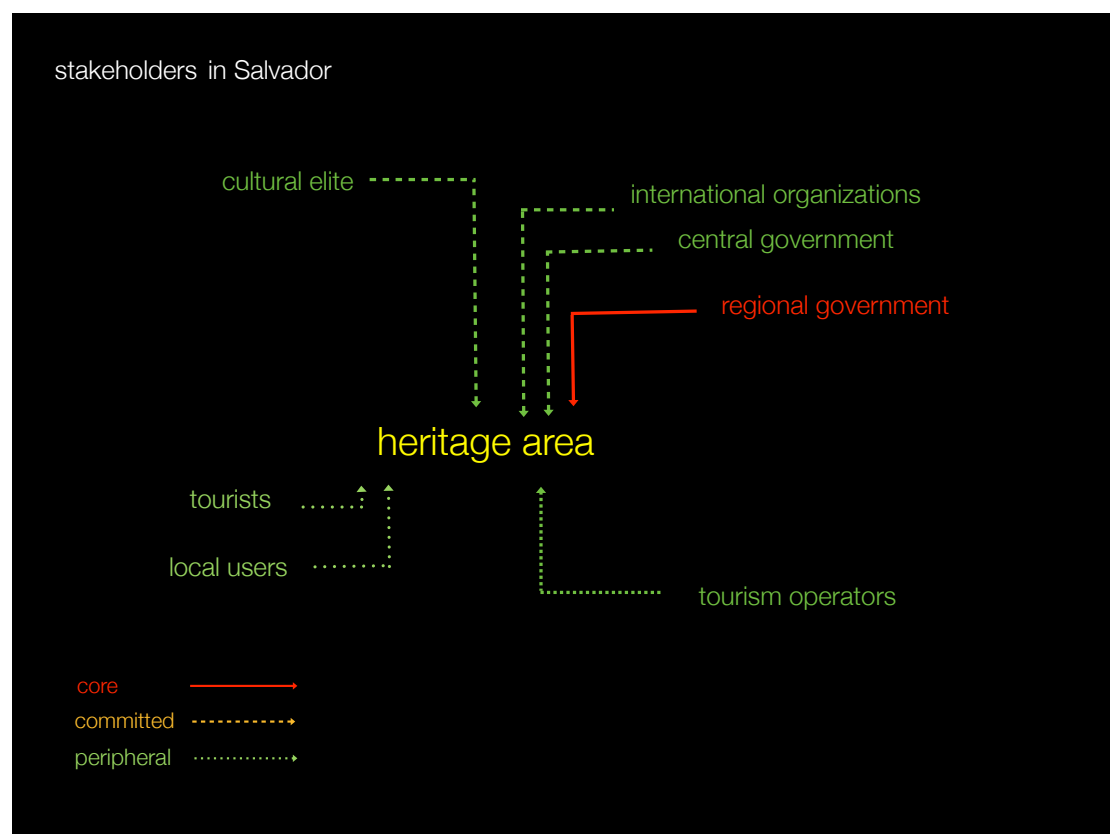
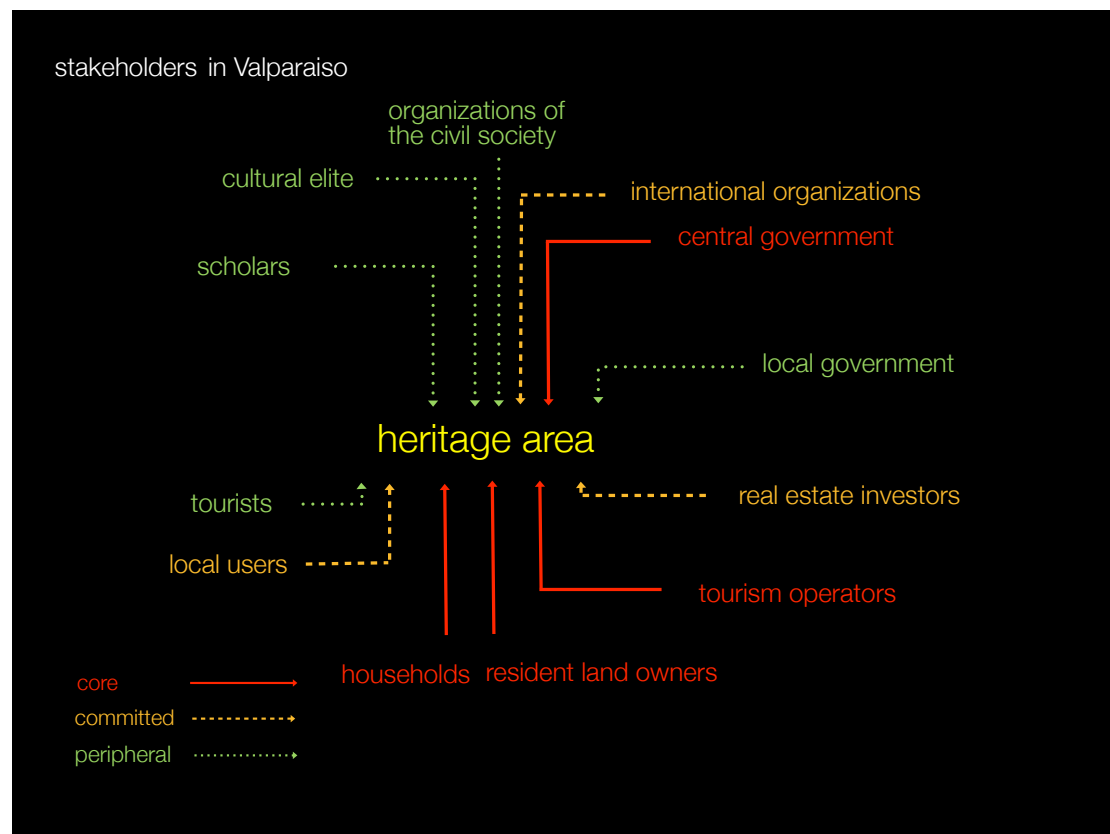
The frame of reference presented in Chapter 2 suggests that the differences in both the number and the diversity of the stakeholders can have significant effects on the long-term sustainability of the preservation process. The fewer the number of stakeholders involved, the more highly dependent the heritage preservation process becomes on the drive provided by the reduced set of values regarded as important by this limited stakeholder base—for instance, socio-cultural values linked to history that lead a national government to solely focus its efforts on the preservation of the historic monuments located in an historic centre—and the continuity of the preservation effort is affected by the vagaries of the availability of resources to these stakeholders. This was the scenario that occurred in Salvador, and, to a great extent, in Valparaiso. In the case of Valparaiso, however, the city's private sector exhibited a

higher-level of commitment than did Salvador's private sector. This occurred because there were real estate investors in Valparaíso who were rehabilitating both heritage houses as second residences for tourists from the Santiago Metropolitan Area and other buildings for the tourism-related services lured to the site by the economic use values of the heritage related to tourism.

A more varied set of stakeholders puts into play a more varied set of values and brings additional resources. A diversified base of core and committed stakeholders expressing concern for a diversity of socio-cultural and use values provides a more stable political support for introducing planning regulations and financing interventions for the preservation of urban heritage; two basic conditions for its sustainability. This assertion is attested by the cases of Oaxaca and Quito, where each respective government's concern for the existence value of the heritage originating in its socio-cultural values is matched by the interest of some private investors who are motivated by the use value of the historic centres. This situation is evident in Oaxaca, where resources provided by private philanthropic institutions are still supporting the adaptive rehabilitation of monuments and where private real estate developers have continued to be active with regard to adapting heritage houses for commerce and tourism services. In Quito, the preservation actions implemented by the Municipality are matched by both contributions from the Central Government and the investments of private entrepreneurs who are interested in the use values linked to tourism and commerce. However, as the discussion that follows indicates, even with a larger and more diverse stakeholder base, Oaxaca and Quito still face significant challenges to attaining long-term sustainability.

Figure 4.1 Comparisons of the Diversity of Stakeholders Involved in the Preservation of the Historic Centres of Oaxaca, Quito, Salvador and Valparaíso





Source: Author elaboration from data taken from the case study included in Rojas and Lanzafame 2011

4.1.2 The Stakeholders' Commitment

This study's frame of reference indicates that the direct and sustained contributions of the stakeholders to the financing and implementation of the urban heritage preservation process is a solid sign of their commitment. These characteristics, first and foremost, are representative of a heritage area's 'core stakeholder' group. The stakeholders that contribute more sporadically with resources, knowledge, and political support, are shown in Figure 4.1 as 'committed stakeholders'. Finally, there are both the intermittent users of a heritage area and the distant supporters of a heritage area's preservation. It is the members of these last two parties who only qualify for the status of 'peripheral stakeholder'. The information presented in Figure 3.17 for Salvador, 3.20 for Valparaíso, 3.23 for Oaxaca, and 3.24 for Quito, that traces the flow of funds of the heritage conservation programs in each of the four historic centres during the period covered by this analysis allows for a characterisation of the different types of stakeholders. When viewed together, the Figures show the marked differences that exist among the cases in terms of both the variety of stakeholders and their contributions to their city's conservation effort. These differences are discussed in the following section. However, at this stage it is worth calling attention to two significant characteristics of the cases.

The urban heritage conservation processes in Salvador and Valparaíso are dominated by the contributions of the upper tier government and are implemented with almost no involvement on the part of the local authorities or communities. The case of Oaxaca shows a more significant involvement of private philanthropic institutions, and real estate investors and businesspersons interested in capturing the market that was opened by the growing tourism in the historic centre and which was partly motivated by the centre's listing in the World Heritage List. Quito also has a varied set of stakeholders, with some involvement of the private sector, but this stakeholder base is less diversified than that found in Oaxaca.

Central governments usually commit to the conservation of the historic centres by reacting to pressures from the cultural elite, and in the cases analysed hereafter, the central (or federal) governments succeeded in placing the historic centres in the World Heritage List. In two of the cases analysed—Salvador and Valparaíso—this commitment resulted a situation in which the government ended up fully funding the

planning and implementation of the conservation programs. This high level of financial and operational involvement on the part of the higher tiers of government can be excessive for several reasons. For one, government financial and institutional resources, no matter how sizeable, are always insufficient; thus they are unable to attend to the preservation of large historic centres. Furthermore, high-tier government agencies almost invariably confront difficulties when dealing with local concerns and interests (Rojas 2004). The overwhelming presence of the higher-tier government in the historic centres of Salvador and Quito crowds out other stakeholders. In both cases the local governments are not contributing to the effort, and private investors are primarily playing role of peripheral stakeholders and are at best involved only in the most profitable neighbourhoods in the case of Valparaíso, and not at all in Salvador. Moreover, the large scale of the problem and the many private benefits that the preservation of the urban heritage generates makes its full public funding impractical, inefficient, and unequal. Full funding on the part of the public sector is impractical because not even the combined resources of all levels of governments can bear the whole cost of the conservation effort—given the size and complexity of the historic centres. It is inefficient, as public investment crowds out private investments when applied to assets that have use value with demand in the real estate market. It becomes unequal when funds benefiting private-sector owners and users are not returned to the public treasury.

The conservation of the historic centre of Oaxaca received support from both the federal and the state governments, which complemented the funds provided by the local government. In Quito, the central government contributed with resources from the rescue fund for monuments (FONSAL) to the rehabilitation of the monuments. However, the municipality provided most of the funding for the rehabilitation of the historic centre. The municipalities of Quito and Oaxaca managed to partially avoid the pitfalls of the full-public finance of the conservation effort as more private investment came to their historic centres than did in Valparaíso and Salvador. The reasons for the enlarged role of private-sector stakeholders vary: in the early stages of the heritage preservation effort in Quito, this was one of the accomplishments of the institution in charge of the conservation and development of the historic centre, the Historic Centre Corporation (Empresa del Centro Histórico de Quito, ECHQ) (Rojas 1999); in Oaxaca, private philanthropy invested in the preservation of monuments from the early stages of the preservation process and private investors sought to

capture the benefits of increased tourism (Quartesan and Romis 2011). The consequences of the different levels of public involvement are noticeable in the sustainability of the preservation efforts, as discussed in the corresponding section of this chapter.

4.1.3 Individual Champions: A Mixed Blessing

In the cases analysed there were individual champions of the cause of preserving the historic centres. Powerful and enlightened individuals contributed in an effort to increase the general public's awareness about both the values of the urban heritage and the need to conserve it for future generations. The rehabilitation effort in the historic centre of Salvador began in the late 1960s as an initiative of Antonio Carlos Magalhães, then major of Salvador, who financed a socio-economic survey of the area. The process gained momentum in the 1990s, when Magalhães—by then Governor of the State of Bahia—launched the Regeneration Plan for the Old Downtown of Salvador with State funds (Gurza Lavalle et al 2013). In Oaxaca, the activities of local painter Francisco Toledo and philanthropist Alfredo Harp Helú provided a strong private leadership for the preservation process. These leaders not only promoted the preservation of the historic centre but also took action through local foundations and organisations of the civil society to rehabilitate and adapt for cultural uses the significant monuments located in the historic centre (Quartesan and Romis 2011). The rehabilitation of the historic centre of Quito experienced a boost with the significant involvement of the Municipality under both the leadership of Major Rodrigo Paz (1988-1992) and the cooperation of Ecuadorian President Sixto Durán Ballén (1992-1994), the latter having also been a major of Quito. The inclusion of Valparaíso in the World Heritage List and the subsequent creation and financing of the urban heritage preservation program by the central government owes a great deal to Chile's President, Ricardo Lagos (2000-2006), who showed great interest in the city.

The vision and capacity of these champions to mobilise resources are significant assets for the conservation programs. The influence that these champions or other similarly influential individuals exercise in national or local political spheres can be decisive in passing protective legislation, authorising the use of public resources for the preservation of the urban heritage, and in inducing other social

actors to join forces in the preservation effort. The influence of the champions can be negative if it is overpowering, particularly if the conservation effort becomes excessively identified with the champion figure. This was the case with the conservation of the historic centre of Salvador, which became almost entirely identified with the political agenda of Governor Magalhães, and therefore caused the politicians in charge of the Municipal government (at the time in the opposition) to reject the conservation efforts and which led to the detachment on the part of the cultural elite, especially in the initial phases. The preservation program of Valparaíso was not continued after the central government resources allocated during the Lagos administration were exhausted, and the continuity of the effort after 2013 is in doubt (IADB 2013). Quito was luckier in that the city's subsequent majors took on the leadership of Major Paz and continued, wholeheartedly, with the preservation process (Jaramillo 2011). In Oaxaca, the champions of the city's heritage preservation are still at work, lobbying the elected authorities and undertaking projects (Quartesan and Romis 2011).

4.1.4 Stakeholders and their Commitment in Each of the Four Cases

The considerably different situations encountered in the case studies concerning the stakeholders' involvement provide insights into the factors that affect the long-term sustainability of the efforts to preserve the urban heritage. In Salvador, the preservation process is dominated by the interventions designed and financed by the regional government. In the six phases discussed by Mendes Zancheti and Gabriel (2011), the Government of the State of Bahia made all the decisions and financed all of the interventions through its agencies, which initially included the *Instituto do Patrimônio Artístico e Cultural da Bahia*, (Culture and Artistic Heritage Institute of Bahia, IPAC) and later, the *Companhia de Desenvolvimento da Região Metropolitana de Salvador* (Metropolitan Development Company of Salvador, CONDER). The dominance of the State institutions is more remarkable if consideration for the roles played by other stakeholders in Salvador is taken. The only 'core' and 'committed' stakeholder in this case was the Government of the State. Other stakeholders played mostly 'peripheral' roles: the Federal Government provided some support via the national urban heritage preservation programs operating in other heritage sites (the Monumenta and the PAC Cidades programs) (IPHAN, 2014), and the UNESCO's

World Heritage Centre listed the historic centre in the WHL. The Municipality was an extreme latecomer to the process driven away in the early phases by both political differences with the Government of the State and a lack of resources. Landowners did not participate in the preservation process, as they temporarily transferred the properties to the State institutions and later received them back, with minimal repayment obligations, having been fully rehabilitated. Tour operators and merchants are still poorly invested in the historic centre. They rent rehabilitated space to conduct business for as long as it is profitable to operate in the heritage site and easily leave their rented spaces if convenient. An indication of their peripheral role is the turnover that exists among tourism-related business in the historic centre (mostly souvenir shops and restaurants), where nearly 40% of the businesses have been established for less than five years (Mendes Zancheti and Gabriel 2011).

The stakeholder situation is different in the other three cases; they each have a larger and more diversified set of core and committed stakeholders. In Valparaíso, there are other relevant social actors involved in the conservation process even though the Central Government financed and implemented the preservation investments. The historic centre still retains a group of residents, many of whom own their homes and are highly interested in the future of the heritage area. Similarly, tourism entrepreneurs (hotel and restaurant owners) have made significant investments in and are concerned for the sustainability of the heritage conservation process. These entrepreneurs are listed as core stakeholders in Figure 4.1. The study conducted by Trivelli and Nishimura (2011) reports of the presence of another group of stakeholders in Valparaíso that can be considered committed. These stakeholders have a significant, yet less permanent concern for the heritage area. They are listed in Figure 4.1 as local users and include the Regional Government, the Navy whose headquarters are located in the centre, shoppers from the rest of the city, and students from the universities. All of these social actors are concerned for the heritage site, effectively for as long as they use it. The private developers that take advantage of the demand for rehabilitated houses as second homes and for commercial space to service the growing influx of tourists brought by the inclusion of the historic centre in WHL also have a temporary interest in the site, which lasts through the time that they complete their investments and sell the rehabilitated space. As in the other historic centres discussed, in Valparaíso, there is also a group of absentee landowners that, because they typically show no interest in the fate of the historic centre—despite

being likely to benefit from its conservation—will not be considered stakeholders for the purposes of this analysis. Surprisingly, the Municipality of Valparaiso is very minimally involved in the preservation effort. As can be observed in Figure 3.19, the Municipality did not participate in the execution of most investments, reportedly due to a lack of institutional capacity; thus the Project Execution Unit established by the central government to execute the funds allocated to the Program was forced to implement the rehabilitation and conservation activities through agencies of the regional Government. For example, in order to implement the investments in the public spaces, the Urban Development Service (a dependency of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development) was used. Similarly, improvements to the environmental conditions in the creeks and hills of the city were executed by means of the Forestry Corporation (a dependency of the Ministry of Agriculture). Under normal circumstances, the municipality would implement these interventions.

More than one level of government is committed to the preservation of the historic centres in Oaxaca and Quito, and Quartesan and Romis (2011) and Jaramillo (2011) respectively report of instances of fruitful cooperation among these stakeholders. In Oaxaca, the Federal Government provided resources that required matching funds from the State and Municipal governments for improving the infrastructure and the public spaces of the historic centre. In Quito, the Municipality invested in the infrastructure, public spaces, monuments, and heritage properties through the activities of the Quito Historic Centre Corporation and coordinated these investments with those of the FONSAL, which were financed by the Central Government and devoted to the rehabilitation of monuments. A paper by Moreira (2001) reports the active involvement of the community organizations representing local households and shows their long-term commitment with the fate of the historic centre. For these reasons they are shown in Figure 4.1 as core stakeholders, together with tourism operators who invested in hotels and hospitality services located in the historic centre. As in the case of Valparaiso, local users—merchants, craft persons, and government employees—are considered committed stakeholders, while the rest of the stakeholders have a more peripheral involvement.

Figure 4.1 shows that in comparison to the other analysed cases, Oaxaca has both a larger number and variety of core and committed stakeholders. In this case, three levels of government are involved as core stakeholders in addition to the local users and consumers who rely on the historic centre as the place to shop, obtain

services, and access government services. These core stakeholders are additional to the resident landowners, households, community organisations, and tourism operators that stand as the core stakeholders in other cases. Furthermore, Quartesan and Romis (2011) report that Oaxaca's cultural elite and its philanthropists have more than a passing concern for the historic centre and that they not only lobby the different levels of government for preservation interventions but also finance and implement urban heritage conservation projects of their own in the city.

4.2 Heritage Values Activating the Preservation Process

The justifications for incorporating the historic centres under analysis in the World Heritage List that are discussed in Chapter 3, are primarily concerned with the socio-cultural values of the heritage sites and, in particular, with the historic and aesthetic values of the heritage areas. The narrow set of values are examined through a limited set of social interactions that primarily consist of academic studies and transactions among members of the cultured elite, this latter group being the early promoters of the preservation of the heritage in all of the discussed cases. The frame of reference discussed in Chapter 2 indicates that a limited set of values and social processes provides a feeble basis for supporting the large investments and complex urban operations required to sustainably conserve historic centres. The analysis of the cases presented in Chapter 3 also shows that other values are at play in some of the historic centres, and that in these cases the urban operations implemented to conserve the historic centres have stronger value-based and social interaction-based foundations.

4.2.1 The Values at Play in Oaxaca, Quito, Salvador, and Valparaiso

The considerations leading to the inclusion of the historic centres in the WHL indicate that the government entities that proposed the sites to UNESCO and that later acted as core stakeholders in the four case studies (central, regional, and local governments, depending on the case) were chiefly motivated by the historic value of the historic centres. The socio-cultural historic value of the historic centres confers them a bequest value, the desire of the communities or of some of its members to bestow the historic centres to future generations. In the cases of Oaxaca, Quito, and Salvador, the cultural elite and scholars advocated for the conservation of several monuments in the

historic centres due to their aesthetic value, another instance of a socio-cultural value conferring the centres bequest value. In both Oaxaca and Quito there are significant numbers of buildings and public spaces that have experienced few to no interventions over the years, something which has lead scholars to prize their authenticity, authenticity being a socio-cultural value that is closely attached to the historic and aesthetic values as motivator of preservation interventions. Valparaiso is included in the WHL, for what can be considered fundamentally historic and scientific interests, as a testimony of one of the globalisation processes experienced by the world economy. Thus in Valparaiso, the socio-cultural scientific value of the heritage site also played a role as a motivator of the preservation process.

The local religiosity and the presence of numerous churches and religious buildings confer to the historic centres of Quito and Oaxaca—and particularly to this class of monuments—spiritual values appreciated by resident households and local users. In Salvador, the presence in the historic centre of civil associations interested in traditional music, performing arts, and afro-Brazilian dances represent an intangible heritage that bestows the heritage site with spiritual and social values for local users. Intangible heritage also plays a role—albeit a more sporadic one throughout the year—in establishing the socio-cultural values of the historic centres that host the annual festivals of ‘La Guelaguetza’ in Oaxaca, and ‘Las Fiestas de Quito’, in Quito.

The growth of tourism in all the historic centres discussed in this study created opportunities for the emergence of economic use values, primarily direct use values, by adapting heritage buildings to accommodate tourism-associated services. The historic centres of Oaxaca, Quito, and Valparaiso still retain government functions that make use of rehabilitated buildings and bring users to the heritage sites, this retention being a significant contribution to the conservation of the sites. Furthermore, the historic centres of Oaxaca and Quito have commercial activities (formal and informal) supplying the needs of the lower-income inhabitants of the city and attracting large numbers of customers who bring income to the historic site and make use of its buildings and public spaces. The historic centres also provide affordable, albeit sub-standard, housing to low-income households. These last two economic use values of the heritage sites predominantly contribute to their deterioration rather than their preservation.

Table 4.1 Values Motivating the Preservation and Development Processes of the Historic Centres of Oaxaca, Quito, Salvador, and Valparaiso

Type		Values	Historic Centres			
			Oaxaca	Quito	Salvador	Valparaiso
Socio-cultural		Historic	XX	XX	XX	XX
		Aesthetic	x	x	x	
		Scientific				x
		Spiritual	X	X		
		Symbolic	x	x	x	
		Social				x
		Authentic	x	x		
Economic	Use	Direct	XX	XX	x	X
		Indirect		X		
	Non use	Existence	XX	XX	XX	XX
		Option				
		Bequest				

XX Motivator of core stakeholders

X Motivator of committed stakeholders

x Motivator of peripheral stakeholders

Source: Author elaboration from data taken from the case study included in Rojas and Lanzafame 2011

Table 4.1 traces the socio-cultural and economic values that act as the motivators of the core, committed, and peripheral stakeholders involved in the preservation of the heritage values of the historic centres analysed in this study. It can be observed that none of the preservation processes is motivated by the full set of socio-cultural and economic use and non-use values. Oaxaca and Quito have more values at play than do Salvador and Valparaiso. Also noticeable are the differences among the historic centres in terms of the stakeholders motivated by the different values. In each of the analysed cases, committed stakeholders—mostly the government entities financing the preservation processes—are driven by the socio-cultural historic value and the economic non-use bequest value of the heritage site. These are the common motivations of the stage when the preservation effort is a ‘concern of the government’. However, the direct economic-use values—whose full appreciation is central to turning the preservation process into a ‘concern of all social actors’—are not fully at play in all the cases. They are primarily of interest to peripheral stakeholders in Salvador (tourism-related commerce and services that come and go with the changes in demand) and to some committed stakeholders in

Valparaiso (commerce and service activities using the historic centre). Only in Oaxaca and Quito are there core stakeholders interested in the economic direct use value of the historic centres. The government entities promoting the preservation of these centres use them to perform their activities and to actively promote a greater appreciation of the direct use values of the heritage.

4.2.2 The Social Interaction Processes Activating the Heritage Values in Oaxaca, Quito, Salvador, and Valparaiso

The identification and evaluation of the socio-cultural and economic values of the heritage take place in different domains of social interaction. The diversity and strength of these interactions are of significance for the sustainability of the preservation of the urban heritage. The analysis in Chapter 2 suggests that a diversified set of social interactions, in conjunction with the synergies that exist among these interactions, would increase the resilience of the preservation process: the logic behind this assertion is that if the preservation effort rests entirely on the outcome of one domain of social interactions, then any failure in the functioning of that domain will halt the corresponding conservation activity affecting the whole process. Conversely, the parallel presence of several social interaction processes taking place in multiple domains will sustain the conservation process, even in the event that the functioning of one domain fails. Different stakeholders concerned with different values of the heritage operate in different domains; thus in order to be sustainable, it is important for a preservation process to involve a diversified set of stakeholders. Based on the structure proposed in Table 2.3, Table 4.2 traces both the stakeholders and the domains of social interactions in the cases under analysis.

Table 4.2 presents, in decreasing order, the number of social interactions present in each of the four cases under analysis. In the case of Salvador, it is immediately noticeable just how few interactions are present and how there is almost a complete absence of market interactions. This is the consequence of a conservation process dominated by the interests and actions of one stakeholder group pursuing the preservation of a limited set of heritage values. On the other end of the spectrum is the case of Quito, with a significantly larger number of social interactions involving a wider variety of stakeholders— including organisations of the civil society and community organisations, in addition to the cultural elite and the local and national

governments. The presence of a variety of interactions occurring in the domain of market transactions is also noticeable; this is an advantageous feature in itself, but it is even more so in Quito's case because there are a variety of stakeholders participating in these interactions. Thus, it can safely be said that the heritage preservation process of Quito would have greater chances of continuing than would that of Salvador if, for instance, the political processes in Quito would deny the Municipality the resources to continue investing in the historic centre. Such an outcome would bring the Salvador process to a halt and, and such a posed scenario also casts doubts about the continuity of Valparaiso's conservation effort. The Oaxaca case study presents another situation where a solid base of stakeholders were found interacting in a variety of spheres of social action, including a strong presence of private sector stakeholders who were operating in the real estate services and the commercial markets of the city.

Making the connections suggested in Chapter 2 among the values, stakeholders, and domains of social interactions, the preceding analysis suggests that Salvador and Valparaiso correspond quite closely to the case of a heritage preservation process driven principally by the historic and aesthetic socio-cultural values of the heritage, while in Quito and Oaxaca the combination of actors and processes correspond more to the processes driven by a diversified set of values of the heritage—including use and non use economic values. The difference is visible in the number of actors involved—limited in the former, more diverse in the latter—and in the diversity of the spheres of social interaction where values are put to play: mostly political and linked to transactions within the elite in Salvador and Valparaiso, but including the market and the grassroots spheres in Oaxaca and Quito.

The more varied sets of actors operating in the cases of Oaxaca and Quito and their engagement in preserving assets holding a wider variety of values broaden the scope of conservation activities and attract resources from a more varied set of stakeholders, thus providing a more solid basis for a sustainable conservation processes. However, this diversity of stakeholders poses a more complex governance challenge: the coordination and the correct sequencing of the contributions and interventions of all stakeholders. A closer look at the institutional arrangements used in the conservation efforts of the four historic centres under study allows for a better understanding of the challenges of expanding both the set of stakeholders and the values supporting the process.

Table 4.2 Comparisons of Stakeholders and Spheres of Social Interaction Involved in the Conservation and Development Processes of the Historic Centres of Oaxaca, Quito, Salvador, and Valparaiso

Salvador

Stakeholders	Domains of Social Interaction				
	Scientific Enquire	Transaction of the elite	Grassroots	Market transactions	Political processes
National government					
Regional government		X			X
Local government					
Real estate investors					
Entrepreneurs					
Tourism entrepreneurs				X	
Local users					
Consumers					
Households					
Tourists				X	
Scholars	X				
Cultural elite		X			X
Philanthropy					
Organizations of the civil society					
NGOs					
Community organizations					
International organisations					X

Valparaiso

Stakeholders	Domains of Social Interaction				
	Scientific enquire	Transaction of the elite	Grassroots	Market transactions	Political processes
National government		X			X
Regional government					
Local government			X		
Real estate investors				X	
Entrepreneurs					
Tourism entrepreneurs				X	
Local users				X	
Consumers				X	
Households					
Tourists				X	
Scholars	X				
Cultural elite		X			X
Philanthropy					
Organizations of the civil society					
NGOs					
Community organizations			X		X
International organisations					X

Oaxaca

Stakeholders	Domains of Social Interaction				
	Scientific enquire	Transaction of the elite	Grassroots	Market transactions	Political processes
National government					X
Regional government					X
Local government		X			X
Real estate investors				X	
Entrepreneurs				X	
Tourism entrepreneurs				X	
Local users				X	
Consumers				X	
Households				X	
Tourists				X	
Scholars	X				
Cultural elite		X			X
Philanthropy		X			
Organizations of the civil society					
NGOs		X	X		X
Community organizations			X		X
International organisations					X

Quito

Stakeholders	Domains of Social Interaction				
	Scientific enquire	Transaction of the elite	Grassroots	Market transactions	Political processes
National government					X
Regional government					
Local government		X	X		X
Real estate investors				X	
Entrepreneurs				X	
Tourism entrepreneurs				X	
Local users			X	X	
Consumers				X	
Households			X	X	
Tourists				X	
Scholars	X				
Cultural elite		X			X
Philanthropy					
Organizations of the civil society	X				
NGOs		X	X		X
Community organizations			X		X
International organisations					X

Source: Author elaboration from data taken from the case study included in Rojas and Lanzafame 2011.

4.3 Institutional Arrangements for Coordinating the Interventions of the Stakeholders

The arguments in Chapter 2 supported the conclusion that the sustainable conservation of the urban heritage is an activity that requires the coordinated use of tools from both the urban rehabilitation and the historic preservation fields. One consequence of this proposition is the need to adopt decision-making processes that balance the need to preserve the characteristics that give buildings or public spaces their heritage value with the need to alter the buildings and spaces so as to adapt them to accommodate contemporary uses with social and market demand. A second consequence of this proposition is the need to set up institutional mechanisms capable of coordinating the contributions of a variety of stakeholders—those interested in the conservation of the heritage and those interested in the development of the city—so that these groups can then promote the preservation of the urban heritage values that they esteem, whether socio-cultural or economic. As discussed in Chapter 3, the institutional mechanisms also need to ensure that the interventions towards the conservation of the heritage are coordinated, both in time and in the territory. This coordination means that to be effective the interventions need to be implemented in the right sequence and that they must be of a scale sufficient to modify the social and economic forces that are triggering the functional and physical obsolescence of the heritage sites (Rojas 2004). The analysis of the institutional arrangements used in the cases discussed in this study show the markedly different outcomes generated by different institutional arrangements. The following sections will discuss these four cases in relationship to the main topics identified in Chapter 2: the tools for planning and controlling development in the historic centres, and the mechanisms for coordinating the interventions of the different stakeholders.

4.3.1 Planning and Development Control

The four cases analysed are very diverse in terms of the instruments that they used to plan and control development in the historic centres. The cases range from those following a defined urban heritage preservation plan to those in which no plan was followed. At one end of the spectrum are the Municipalities of Quito and Oaxaca, which, since the late 1980s, have approved and implemented consecutive heritage

preservation plans for their respective historic centres. For instance, in 2014 the Municipality of Quito is revising the 2003 Special Plan for the historic centre—the plan that replaced the 1992 Master Plan for the Integrated Rehabilitation of the Historic Areas of Quito that defined the original objectives, norms, and rules for the conservation of the WHL site. At the other end is the Rehabilitation Plan for the Historic Centre of Salvador that, in spite of its name, was not a plan but a sequence of historic conservation projects intended for a varying numbers of city blocks. The Urban Rehabilitation and Development Program for Valparaíso (IADB 2005) had a vision and an implementation schedule but neither was followed during the implementation of the Program and the Municipality is still to approve an urban heritage preservation plan for the area included in the WHL (IADB 2013). None of the cities studied had a plan and regulations similar to those of Cartagena, Colombia, which was discussed in Chapter 2. The reasons why none is similar to Cartagena are not clear. The most likely reasons are, however, that none of the four cities studied reached a social consensus regarding the long-term vision for the historic centre and that none was capable of integrating the conservation of the urban centre as a component of a validated social contract—a plan—setting the rules for the adaptive rehabilitation interventions in the heritage buildings and public spaces within the limits consistent with the preservation of the socio-cultural values that give the site its heritage status.

In the cases of Quito and Oaxaca, the planning department of the municipality is charged with the responsibility of approving preservation and development proposals. For these particular purposes, the Municipality of Quito has an office dedicated to the historic centre. In Valparaíso, the approval of preservation and development proposals rests in the hands of the development control unit of the Municipality that, until 2014, operated without the benefit of an approved heritage preservation plan. In Valparaíso private investors interested in the adaptive rehabilitation of heritage properties must negotiate what is and what it is not allowed on the properties in conjunction with the development control staff, leaving the outcome of the process quite uncertain. In terms of attracting more private stakeholders to work in the historic centre, this may be a significant hurdle since uncertainty about the regulatory environment is always a deterrent of private investment in urban rehabilitation areas (Rojas 2004). Knowing what can be done to a property is an essential input for developers, as it is a key input to estimate the returns

on the investment: a central determinant of the market value of the undeveloped property.

In Salvador, all of the decisions concerning the rehabilitation of the urban heritage are the responsibility of the implementing agencies; initially the IPAC, and later the CONDER. These agencies identified the city blocks to rehabilitate, and prepared the construction drawings and contracted the physical works. The actual use of the rehabilitated buildings was left to the demand in the real estate market, but initially, it was indirectly induced by activities financed by the implementing agency—such as festivals and shows designed to attract tourists to the historic centre. These same activities were attractive to the members of the local population, who grew to outnumber the tourists, and who, by regularly taking part in these activities, turned the historic centre into a leisure area for the city. Recent interventions under the seventh phase of implementation in Salvador are attempting to bring residents to the western sections of the historic centre and are reducing the dependency of the heritage site on tourism for its economic dynamism.

4.3.2 Stakeholder's Cooperation

The diagrams showing the flow of funds in the cases under study—Figure 3.16 for Salvador, 3.19 for Valparaíso, 3.23 for Oaxaca and 3.24 for Quito —provide clues to the involvement of the different stakeholders in the conservation programs and allow for an assessment of the level of public-private cooperation that existed in the cases under analysis. The financing structure of the preservation of the historic centre of Quito suggests that a great deal of cooperation among stakeholders took place. In contrast, in Salvador the Regional Government took on all the responsibilities in the initial stages of the conservation process and very little private investment took place. Although in Valparaíso there was a more varied set of stakeholders at play than in Salvador, these stakeholders operated in a largely independent fashion, missing the development opportunities that may have existed in a more coordinated effort that could take advantage of the potential synergies between public and private interventions. The case of Oaxaca is something of an outlier as the private sector—particularly private philanthropic and cultural institutions—lobbied for the listing of the historic centre and invested, in parallel to the government involvement, in the preservation of some of the monuments.

In the case of Quito (figure 3.24), it is interesting to note the appropriate correspondence of the sources of funds with the activities financed:

1. The municipal resources were used to finance the factors that generate positive externalities and that can attract new residents and private investors—improvements to the infrastructures and public spaces—that in Ecuador are the responsibility of the municipal government);
2. The central government contributed to the rehabilitation of monuments of national interest effectively recognising the public good component of the urban heritage; and
3. The private sector financing the adaptive rehabilitation of heritage properties for uses with demand in the markets.

Oaxaca shows a similar structure of financing for its heritage conservation effort. The arguments advanced in this study provide substance to the argument that the virtuous confluence of these sources of finance—that from the perspective of this study results from the complementarity and multiplicity of the heritage values held by the different stakeholders—supports a more sustainable conservation effort. The previous assertion is grounded on the observation that in circumstances where a good convergence of sources of finance exists, the funds go toward financing activities that are central to the interest or the mission of the different stakeholders; thus there is less likelihood of the resources drying out. For instance, municipalities will always devote resources to finance public goods and urban infrastructures and services; the challenge for the sponsors of a conservation effort is to get a share of these resources allocated to the historic centre in time to support private investments in the rehabilitation of private properties in the heritage area. The more supporters that exist for the conservation of the urban heritage, the likelier it is for the resources to be allocated to the corresponding programs. Private resources will flow into the historic centres as long as the stakeholders perceive there to be profits in investing there. The improvements made to the living conditions in the historic centres by the conservation programs are directly correlated to the interest of private investors to work there. Private philanthropy would also invest resources in the historic centre as long as in spending their resources in this area they would be assured public relations gains. It can be argued that together with both the diversification of the stakeholders and sources of finance comes a more stable preservation effort: as stated before, if one of the stakeholders fails to mobilise resources in a given period, then others acting under

their own systems of incentives would continue doing so, thus keeping the urban heritage conservation process going.

In terms of stakeholder involvement, there is more involved than just financing. The way in which the contributions of the different stakeholders combine is also important. The framework proposed in Chapter 2 suggests that the convergence of the interests and contributions of stakeholders playing roles as promoters, financiers, and beneficiaries contributes to the sustainability of the preservation process. The proposition is that the conservation of urban heritage becomes more sustainable when those who promote its conservation are highly motivated to contribute to its financing and implementation and when these same promoters directly benefit from the results. The data contained in the case studies analysed point to different forms of misalignment between the actions of the different stakeholders that move them away from the optimum situation, where the roles of promoters, financiers, and beneficiaries of the different stakeholders overlap (see Figure 2.3). Figure 4.2 shows the alignment of the actions of different stakeholders in the cases under study. They are shown in increasing levels of convergence.

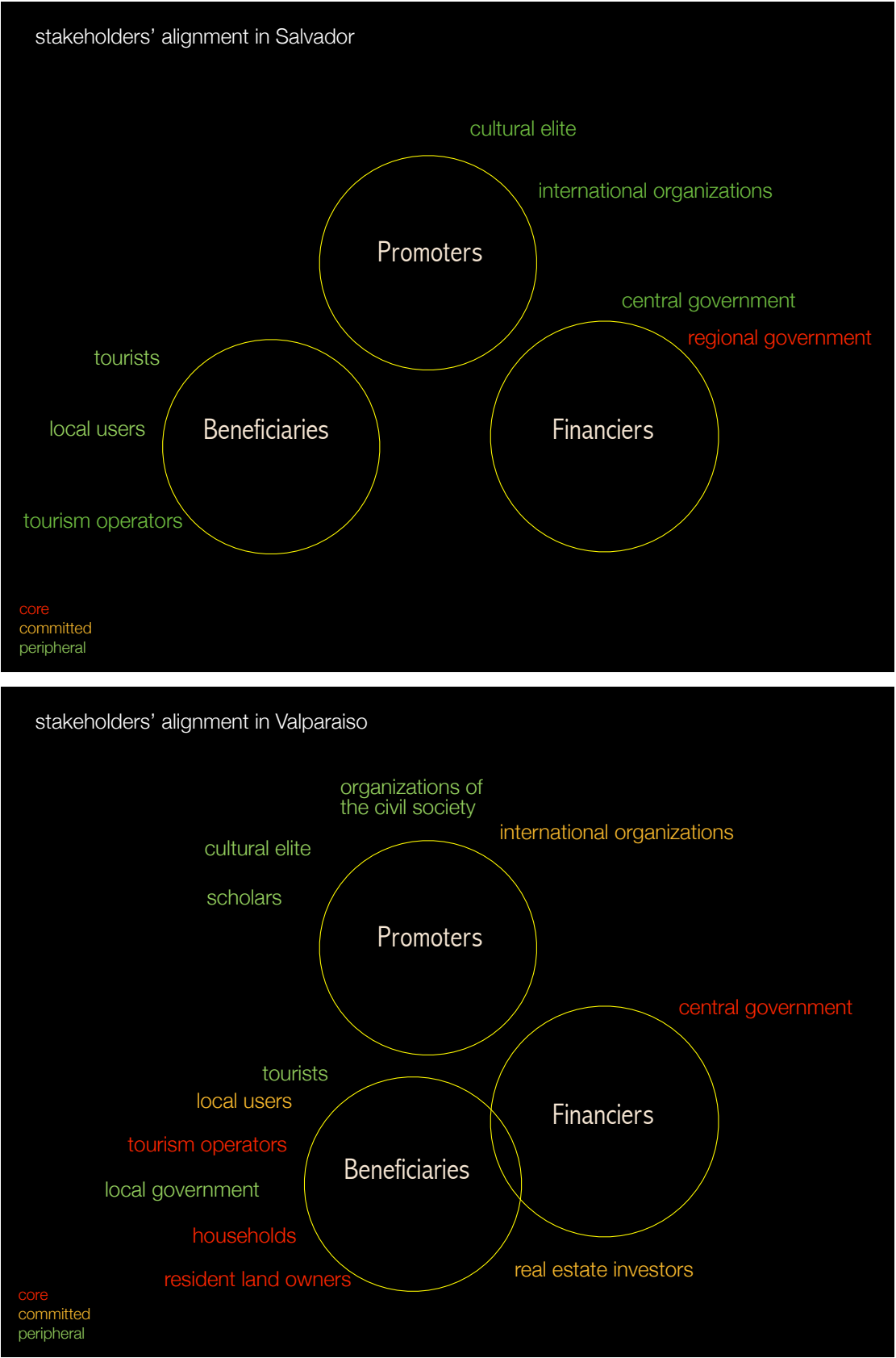
The cases of Quito and Salvador stand out for radically different reasons. In the early stages of its implantation of the urban heritage conservation program for Quito's historic centre, the public and private providers of funds cooperated in tackling some of the most complex issues affecting the heritage site. Rojas (1999) discusses the embryonic forms of public-private cooperation that took place in Quito in the second half of the 1990s. One of the partnerships attempted in the early stages of the program tried to overcome the reluctance of the private sector to invest in the rehabilitation of spaces for formal commercial activities with the argument that there was no proven demand for this type of space. The implementing agency of the time—the Quito Historic Centre Corporation (ECHQ)—was willing to share risks with landowners and investors in order to prove the feasibility of selling or renting space for commerce to return to the historic centre. This form of cooperation between the municipality and landowners is registered in the overlap of promoters, financiers, and beneficiaries shown in the Quito diagram in Figure 4.2: the Municipality promoting and financing the adaptive rehabilitation of commercial space with the historic centre benefiting from the project, and the landowners contributing their properties to the scheme and benefiting from the rehabilitation. This form of 'hard coordination' proved difficult to sustain and in 2007 the ECHQ was turned into a Metropolitan

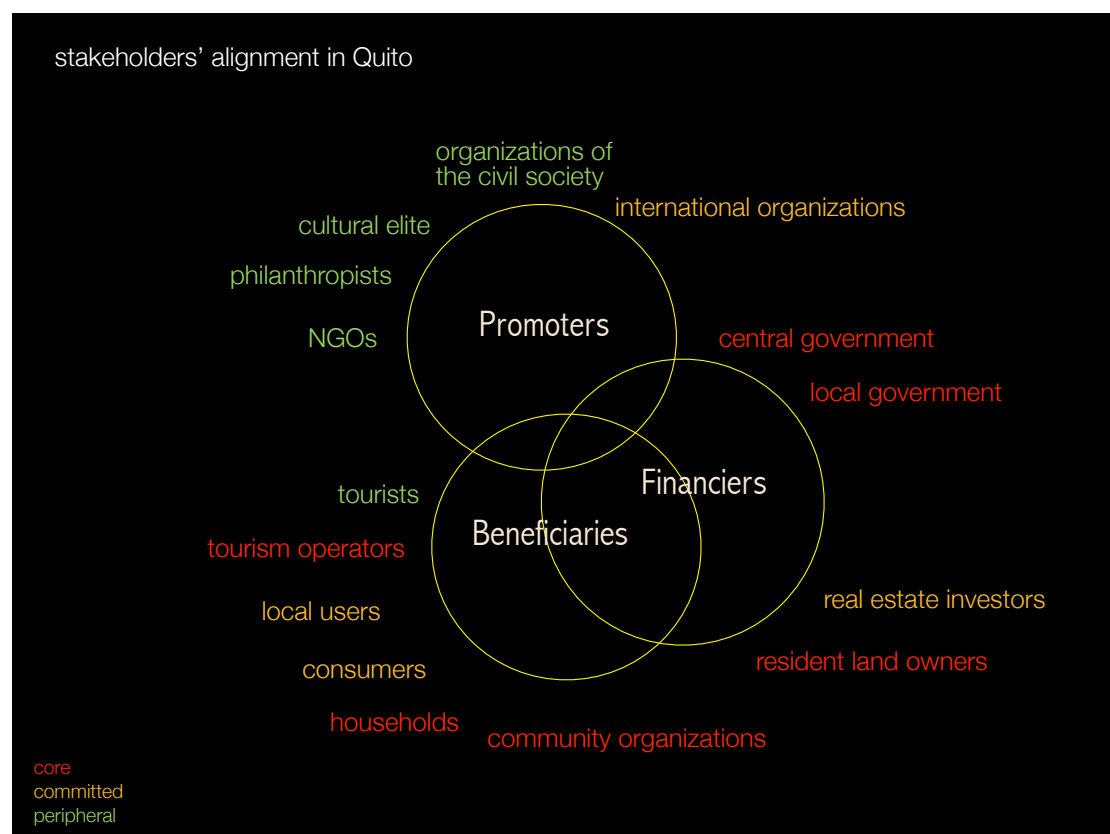
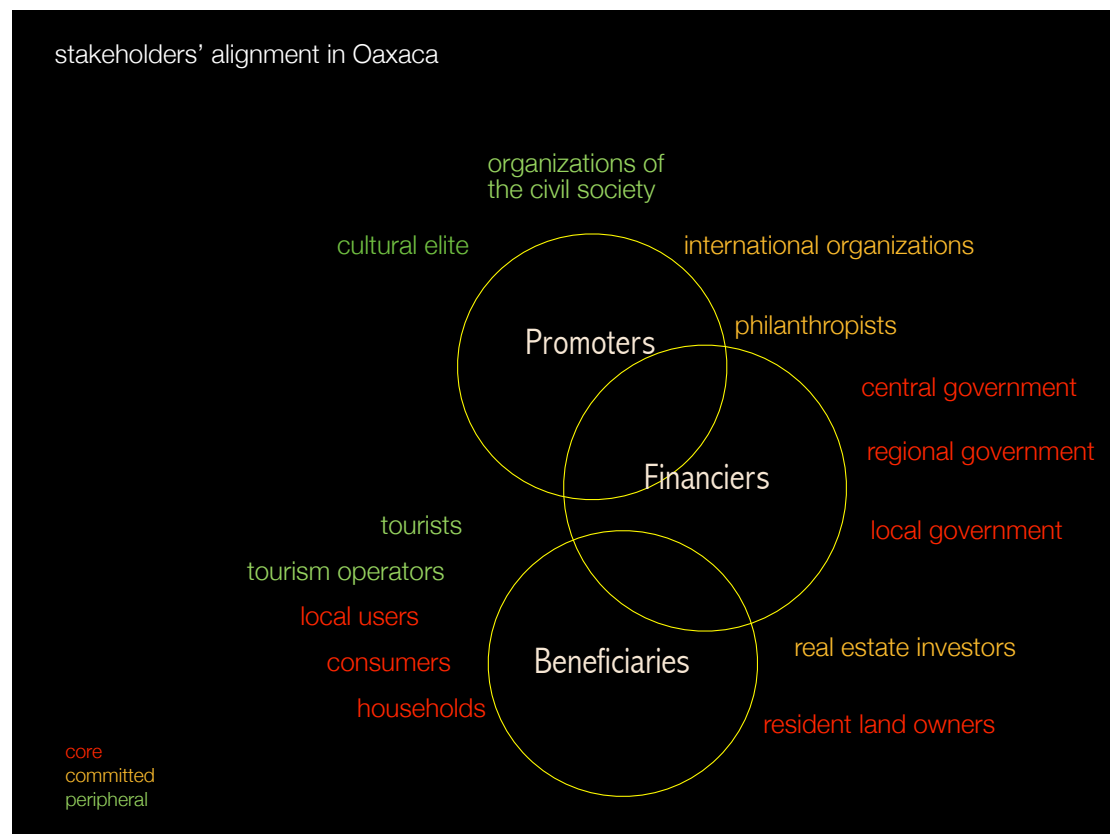
Development Corporation, losing its focus on the historic centre. In contrast, in Salvador, there was no such cooperation between the public and private stakeholders, the latter was simply profiting from the investments of the former.

Valparaiso and Oaxaca both relied on ‘soft coordination’ mechanisms that were based on the indirect impact of public spending in attracting private investors. In Oaxaca, the initial involvement of the private philanthropy in the heritage conservation effort and the work that this group did in parallel with the municipality and the regional (state) and federal governments shows that from the beginning there was convergence between promoters and financiers. In Oaxaca, this convergence occurred earlier than what it happened in Quito where the convergence occurred only when the Municipality showed its willingness to share with private investors the commercial risk of investing in the rehabilitation of heritage buildings for commerce, offices and housing. In Valparaiso, the public and private stakeholders operated independently, the result of which was a reduced territorial and sector scope of the private involvement in the conservation of the heritage. Most private investment concentrated in two sectors of the real estate market—second homes for weekend use and tourism-related commercial and service activities—and in the two neighbourhoods of the historic centre—Cerro Alegre and Cerro Concepcion—that are coveted by high-middle income consumers from Santiago who are looking for second homes, but which comprise less than one-fourth of the heritage area included in the WHL.

It is important to note that none of the cases reached the full convergence of stakeholders that, according to the arguments advanced in Chapter 2, is required for the sustained preservation of the urban heritage. There was no convergence in Salvador, and in Valparaiso real estate investors involved in the adaptive rehabilitation of heritage buildings for second homes and tourism-related businesses provided only a feeble example of convergence between financiers and beneficiaries. In Oaxaca, the three levels of government involved acted as promoters and financiers of the preservation effort, a role they shared with the private philanthropy, while the landowners and real estate investors financed and benefited from their investments. Even in Quito, where a more complex convergence of stakeholders took place, there is still a large group of beneficiaries that is not contributing to the preservation effort.

Figure 4.2 Comparisons of the Alignment of Stakeholders' Roles in Oaxaca, Quito, Salvador, and Valparaiso





Source: Author elaboration from data taken from the case study included in Rojas and Lanzafame 2011

4.4 Sustainability of the Urban Heritage Preservation Effort in Each of the Four Cases

As the discussion in the previous section foretold, institutional arrangements used to implement a heritage conservation effort affect both its outcomes and sustainability. In discussing the most traditional approach to urban heritage preservation in Latin America that relies almost exclusively on government interventions Rojas (2012:170) states:

“The dominance of one institution over the process tends to crowd out other interested parties, hence reducing the essential social support base that could bring vitality, creativity, and innovative approaches to the project concept design, and additional funds to the project. This leaves the sustainability of the conservation process subject to the vagaries of having a single institution making decisions and finding funding sources”.

The focus of the analysis of the sustainability prospects of the four cases is based on this rationale, which follows the framework presented in Chapter 2 that favours expanding the diversity of stakeholders caring for and contributing to the preservation of the urban heritage and coordinating their contributions towards the attainment of a socially defined goal.

4.4.1 The Governance Factors in the Sustainability of the Heritage Preservation Cases

Looking at the diversity of stakeholders involved and at the coordination of their interventions, the case with fewer signs of sustainability is that of Salvador, where the IPAC was charged with the full responsibility for the rehabilitation and conservation of the historic centre and followed a fully government-financed and top down approach. From the point of view of this study, the Salvador heritage preservation program's most negative features are that it did not allow space for the involvement of other stakeholders, whether private or public, and that it even alienated the municipal government in the initial stages and left the IPAC with the responsibility of both maintaining all public spaces and policing the area for a long time. The operational and financial approach used did not open space for private financing and the involvement of the landowners and residents in the design and implementation of the conservation effort. The program promoted the historic centre as a place for

tourism and recreation for the city, and organised festivals and concerts to attract visitors. The rapid expansion of leisure and tourism-related business created negative externalities (noise, overcrowding of the public spaces, petty crime) detrimental to the development of other central urban functions (offices, diversified commerce, temporary and permanent residences), thus reducing the variety of potential users and investors. The preservation process displaced the majority of the original residents who could not return to the area due to the higher rents paid by commerce and tourism-related services for the use of the rehabilitated properties.

In sum, Salvador did not expand the range of actors involved in the process and managed to develop only one economic value of the heritage, the use value for tourism and recreation. Other urban uses like local commerce, services, government institutions, and housing remained largely absent. Further, the institutional structure was unable to tackle the central governance issue of coordinating the action of a wider possible set of stakeholders; the regional government was left acting alone. One result of this approach can be observed in Table 3.5, which both shows that the amount invested per year varied widely, in accordance with the capacity of the IPAC to secure financing from the state government, and that its sustainability is, to this day, dependent on these allocations.

The conservation program of Valparaíso runs the risk of experiencing similar problems, as the implementation and financing mechanism relied almost exclusively on central government funding and the services of regional government sector agencies for the execution of the works. Private investments for the adaptive rehabilitation of heritage properties are taking place without coordination with the government preservation program; thus they tend to benefit only the most sought after areas of the historic centre. Because the Central Government is likely to be opposed to continuously favouring one city over the other 346 municipalities in the country, as long as the preservation effort fails to engage the contributions of a more varied set of stakeholders, including the Municipality, the preservation program will neither gain in strength nor sustainability. The WHL status of the historic centre provides some justification for the Central Government to provide continuous support. However, this status only provides justification to a point since this support neither assures that there will be a steady allocation of funds required to sustain the preservation effort nor confirms that the amounts of funding available will be sufficient to tackle all of the problems. As the Salvador case shows, the funds coming from upper-tier government

budgets that are allocated to the conservation program can change abruptly from one year to another, providing a feeble basis for the sustainable conservation of the urban heritage.

Quito tried from the beginning of the conservation process to attract other sources of funding and to lure private investors to the historic centre. The latter objective was one of the main considerations for establishing the Quito Historic Centre Corporation (ECHQ). This mixed-capital corporation was capable of assuming all the functions of a real estate developer and entering into partnerships with private landowners and real estate investors. The Corporation entered into partnerships with land owners and investors to develop several pioneering projects: new retail commercial space; rehabilitated office space for private business and public institutions; new cultural facilities in emblematic buildings; boutique hotels, restaurants, art galleries, and craft shops intended to attract tourists and citizens alike; theatres and cultural facilities. There was even a project for affordable housing that was designed to both retain part of the local population and attract new residents. These investments attracted a limited number of private investors that undertook projects on their own in order to take advantage of the opportunities demonstrated by the projects undertaken by the ECHQ. The Municipality went further and coordinated the interventions of its agencies in the historic centre. This act resulted in the historic centre rehabilitation and conservation projects benefiting from the harmonized action of the planning office, the municipal district administration for the historic centre, and the ECHQ. The central objective was to turn the heritage area into a well-served, accessible, and diversified centre that, due to its amenities and heritage values, was capable of attracting a variety of users.

The preservation of the historic centres of Quito and Oaxaca, and to a lesser extent Valparaiso, benefited from the government activities located there: the central and municipal government in Quito, and the State or the Regional and municipal governments in Oaxaca and Valparaiso. The government activities not only demand rehabilitated space in the historic centres but also brought in a large number of employees and citizens who demanded services and shopped in the area. However, this advantage may not be permanent; Quartesan and Romis (2011) report on the move of the State Government offices out of Oaxaca's historic centre and into a new 'campus-like' establishment on the outskirts of the city. Similarly, in Quito the central government is planning a territorial decentralisation of its offices which will entail

moving to sector-focused (finance, defence, education) ‘government platforms’ in the South and North of the city. These moves may be justifiable from the perspective of the operations of the government institutions, but are detrimental for the preservation of the historic centres as they pull contemporary uses out of these core heritage areas.

Oaxaca can rely on its wealth of intangible heritage to continue conserving its urban heritage. The private philanthropy’s strong commitment to the historic centre and its heritage values does not seem to diminish and several foundations and organisations of the civil society continuously support cultural institutions and the adaptive rehabilitation of monuments. Having not-for-profit private sector institutions committed to the dual roles of promoters and financiers of the heritage preservation process is a very valuable governance asset for the historic centre. The continuous commitment of the three levels of government (Federal, State and Municipal) is another source of strength of the governance structure of Oaxaca that provides several sources of public funding that can join with the private philanthropic funding to undertake interventions of the right scale and with the appropriate coordination.

4.4.2 Signs of Sustainability

A good indication of the results attained by the urban heritage conservation processes is the state of the buildings in the historic centres. Urban heritage areas that are the concern of a variety of social actors willing to invest in the preservation of their socio-cultural values tend to have only a small proportion of buildings and public spaces in ruin or in a poor state of maintenance. The stakeholders would have most buildings adapted for contemporary uses and it would be in their best interest to keep them in good condition. The data in Table 4.3 shows that Oaxaca is in this condition, as it has a very small percentage of buildings in ruin or with major problems; the great majority of the buildings in the historic centre are reported as being well preserved or as having only minor problems. This situation stands in sharp contrast with that found in Salvador, where only half of the historic centre buildings are in good condition. Although it is not possible to make a direct inference between these results and the governance of the heritage preservation process in each of these four cities, the vast differences noted among the cases in terms of the states of the preservation of the heritage buildings are as striking, as are their differences in the

governance of the historic preservation process; Oaxaca engaging the contributions of a variety of public and private stakeholders and Salvador relying on only one.

Table 4.3 Oaxaca, Quito, Salvador, and Valparaíso: State of Preservation of the Building Stock of the Historic Centres (circa 2010)

City	State of preservation of buildings (% of total)			
	Well-preserved	With minor problems	With mayor problems	Ruins
Oaxaca	97.6	1.0	0.9	0.5
Quito	75.9	11.5	12.6	
Salvador	49.7	37.9	6.2	6.2
Valparaíso	79.0	8.3	8.0	4.7

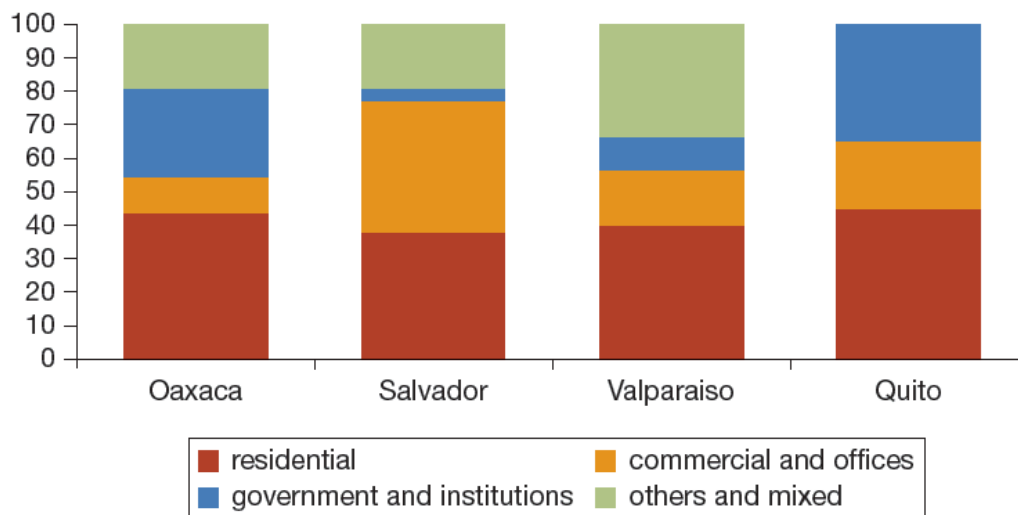
Source: Author elaboration from data taken from the case study included in Rojas and Lanzafame 2011

By comparison, Quito, Salvador and Valparaíso each have over 12 per cent of their buildings in ruin or very poor condition. The historic centres of these cities are still challenged and require sustained conservation efforts. The large size of the historic centre of Quito—encompassing more than 300 hectares—may explain why in spite of 15 years of well-executed public and private investments there is still a significant number of buildings in a poor state of conservation. For Salvador and Valparaíso the explanation may be more in the shortcomings of the conservation programs, particularly in terms of their inability to engage the resources and resourcefulness of actors other than the state or central government.

Oaxaca and Salvador also differ widely in terms of the variety of urban activities that use their historic centres. Figure 4.3 shows that Oaxaca’s historic centre has an equilibrated presence of diverse uses while the ‘Pelourinho’ of Salvador has a marked presence of commercial uses. The diversity of uses that are present in an historic centre is an indicator of the site’s attractiveness to a wide variety of users who, by using the centre, expand the diversity of stakeholders interested in the successful operation of the site. An urban heritage conservation process that is capable of engaging the interest of a variety of stakeholders would be expected to attract a diversity of uses to a historic centre. The diversification of uses is a condition of stability, as it is the result of the interest of different economic activities to locate in

the historic centre. The presence of a diverse set of economic activities in a historic centre reduces the chances that a fall in one activity will drive the historic centre into a spiral of deterioration and abandonment. Stability of use and investment in the provision of space to accommodate the activities is the very definition of sustainable heritage conservation used in this study

Figure 4.3 Land Uses in the Case Studies (in per cent)



Source: Rojas 2012 Figure 6.7 Page 175

4.4.3 The Road Ahead: Expanding the Range of Residents and Users of the Historic Centres

Although it is not possible to establish a direct causality between these results of the conservation efforts and the governance issues discussed in the cases studied, certain points are worth mentioning. From the governance perspective, the conservation efforts that managed to engage the interests of a wider group of actors are those of Oaxaca and Quito. In both cities, the conservation process is putting into use urban heritage assets that—on top of having historic, aesthetic, spiritual and social values—also have economic use and non-use values. These heritage sites are occupied and maintained by a variety of stakeholders—enterprises, households, consumers and public and private institutions—that contribute to the sustainability of the conservation of their socio-cultural values. The greater diversification of uses and users favours the sustainability of the conservation process, as the process no longer depends on the fortunes of only one activity or on the budget of one institution.

As a stakeholder group, residents of an historic centre are critical to the site's sustained preservation. The loss of the residential population in all the historic centres under analysis is a concern, as both the retention and increase of the residential population in the historic centres and attracting new residents are critical objectives of the conservation processes. The expansion of the residential land uses—and the concurrent increase in resident population—brings stability to the conservation process in a variety of ways. Homeowners in rehabilitated heritage buildings have the necessary incentives to maintain them. Furthermore, the resident population generates demand for both local commerce and for other services relevant to the residential community. The most challenging objective is to attract new households to live in the historic centres. Who would like to live there? The answer varies from city to city but households likely to relocate to historic centres would be those that value the possibility of living, working, and engaging in leisure-time activities in the same neighbourhood. This approach challenges the traditional approaches to historic preservation in more than one way, particularly stressing the need to adapt heritage buildings and public spaces to satisfy the needs of contemporary households that can choose where they wish to live. Under this approach, the availability of children's playgrounds and other recreational or leisure-time facilities in the neighbourhood, and both easy car access to the houses or amenities making it possible to have a car-free daily life become important and their provisions make the heritage site attractive to new residents.

The fact that the historic centre of Oaxaca never lost its central functions and that it is still the administrative, shopping, and services centre of the metropolitan area may be a factor in the better preserved state of its buildings, with less than 2 per cent of the buildings of the historic centre being either in ruin or in very poor condition. This is a scenario that could be expected in any dynamic area of a city where the private sector provides residential, commercial, and service space, and the government cares for public spaces and basic urban services. Therefore, at least in this matter, it can be argued that the historic centre of Oaxaca has attained a level of conservation that fits the concept of sustainability proposed in this work. It is also worth noting that the retention of the central functions in Oaxaca is in part due to the willingness of the population and the business community to use for their everyday activities buildings that are not equipped with all the modern amenities. However, not all actors in Oaxaca have behaved in this way: The state government moved its

offices to a suburban location, allegedly to decongest the historic centre, but also in order to move to new buildings. It is to be hoped that the inhabitants of Oaxaca will not find the trade-offs of comfort for heritage values too taxing in the future.

Figure 4.4 Salvador Night Life in the ‘Pelourinho’ Where Tourism and Leisure are the Dominant Activities



Photo: David Mangullian for the IADB

Figure 4.5 Oaxaca: Traditional House Rehabilitated for Commerce, Restaurants, and Offices



Photo: Eduardo Rojas

Figure 4.6 Valparaíso: House in the Cerro Alegre Rehabilitated as a Small Hotel



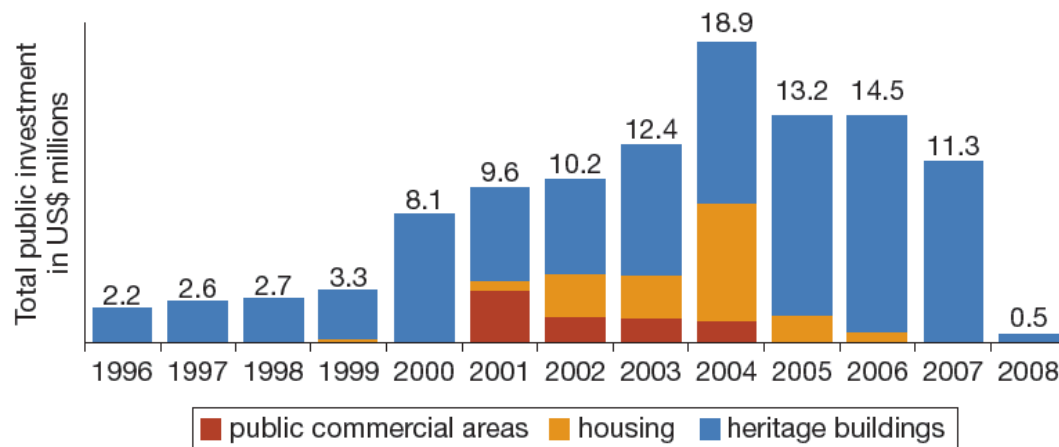
Photo: Eduardo Rojas

4.5 Sustainable Preservation of Urban Heritage: a Fragile Equilibrium

The governance of the historic centre of Quito changed drastically in the late 1990s with the dismantling of the Quito Historic Centre Corporation and its incorporation into the Metropolitan Urban Development Corporation. The change occurred at a point when the conservation and rehabilitation of the historic centre was gaining traction—as was evident from the increase in property values that occurred during the latter 2000s (Jaramillo 2010). Taking advantage of the success attained by the CCHQ in the conservation of the historic centre, the mayor at the time transformed this institution into a metropolitan urban development corporation, outfitted with various new functions that encompassed the whole territory of the Metropolitan Municipality. The new corporation's mandates included the implementation of settlement upgrading, low cost housing, public transportation, and new park projects throughout the whole city (Jaramillo, 2011). The management structure of the new corporation was then overstretched by many pressing and complex tasks and, as a consequence, activities in the historic centre were postponed. The lack of focus on the historic

centre brought public investment in conservation to a standstill, halted public-private partnerships, and further discouraged private investment, which had already been affected by the rise in land prices. Figure 4.6 shows the fall in investment that has taken place since 2004 and that almost came to a halt in 2008. Also noticeable in Figure 4.7 are the efforts made by the ECHQ to diversify the uses for the rehabilitated buildings. From 2001 to 2006, there were investments in the rehabilitation of heritage properties for commercial and housing purposes in addition to the sustained investment in the rehabilitation and preservation of monuments. The Municipality continues to invest in the historic centre and is still working today to strengthen its residential functions. As of 2014, there are several housing projects at different stages of preparation and implementation, all oriented to middle-income households with financing provided by private banks and subsidies from the Ministry of Urban Development and Housing.

Figure 4.7 Quito Investments 1996–2007 by Use (USD millions)



Source: Jaramillo 2011 quoted in Rojas 2012 Figure 6.8 Page 177

Figure 4.8 Façade of a Rehabilitated House in the Historic Centre of Quito



Photo: Pedro Jaramillo

A sign of the weakening of the governance structure of the historic centre conservation program is that market forces—which have been more freely at play in the heritage site since the early 2010s—are returning the centre to its late-twentieth-century role as the supplier of goods and services for the lower income households of the city. Field observations in early 2014 indicate that these commercial and service activities keep the centre bustling but are bringing back an old problem affecting the use of the heritage properties: a limited variety of commercial and service establishment operating in the centre, and the abandonment of the second and third floors and the inner courtyards of the buildings that do not get the rental prices of the street front stores. This is a recurrent problem in the historic centres studied and merits more consideration. The same problem was observed in field visits to the heritage sites of Valparaíso and Salvador, each of which also has a large number of properties with empty second and third floors. In the most active commercial, tourism, and recreation sections of the historic centres analysed in this study, property owners are apparently quite satisfied with the rents provided by the street front stores and do not care much about the rest of the building. As a consequence, a large proportion of the space on second and, in some cases, additional upper-floors of the heritage buildings is left empty, or is used by the street fronting store renters for

storage space. In Quito and Valparaiso, residential functions are losing ground, particularly in the core area of the historic centres—the area that is dominated by institutional functions and which has a weaker tradition as a residential neighbourhood. No recent studies of this problem have yet been conducted, so no hard data exists to document these field observations.

The recent outcomes in Quito show the fragility of the governance mechanisms that could easily lose their capacity to balance the interests of a diverse set of stakeholders to ensure the long-term sustainability of an urban heritage conservation process based on the adaptive rehabilitation of heritage assets. This particular (?) case also highlights the need to establish and provide continuous support-specialized institutions to manage these programs—as they require a territorial focus and a complex mix of skills in order to undertake many interrelated actions that require the close collaboration of the public and private sectors.

Conclusão

Sítios urbanos patrimoniais bem-geridos para o desenvolvimento social e económico sustentável

É amplamente aceite que o desenvolvimento sustentável precisa de cidades sustentáveis: não só porque a maioria da população vive em cidades, mas também porque as áreas urbanas produzem a maioria dos bens e serviços que garantem boas condições de vida para as populações (McKinsey, 2011). Os argumentos e propostas metodológicas avançados neste estudo têm como objetivo contribuir para o desenvolvimento sustentável das cidades, garantindo que os seus bens patrimoniais são bem preservados e permitem uma utilização adaptada às necessidades contemporâneas.

As propostas apresentadas neste estudo baseiam-se no fato de que o património urbano inclui mais do que monumentos e sítios arqueológicos, abrange uma grande variedade de locais culturalmente significativos que são valorizados pelas comunidades e que podem ser disponibilizados para atender algumas das suas necessidades. A evidência apresentada neste estudo mostra que a herança urbana inclui: centros históricos e cidades, edifícios vernáculos, espaços públicos de diferentes tipos (ruas, praças, mercados), áreas industriais, e paisagens. Esta ampla variedade de componentes do património urbano, não só representa uma reserva de infraestruturas, espaços públicos e edifícios com uso valorizado como também fornecem um fluxo de benefícios socioculturais para a sociedade que assume um papel importante nas suas funções diárias. Estes fluxos, de benefícios principalmente intangíveis, como a ligação à história ou fruição estética, conjugadas com outras dimensões da cultura - tradições, artes performativas, práticas sociais, conhecimento, rituais e eventos festivos - são os principais proporcionadores de significado e geradores de identidade para as comunidades - sendo o significado e a identidade dois pilares da interação e da estabilidade social. Esta conceção do papel do património urbano é central nos argumentos apresentados pela UNESCO na "Recomendação sobre a paisagem urbana histórica" (UNESCO 2011), que defende uma abordagem holística para a conservação do património urbano considerando a inter-relação entre os benefícios sociais do património imaterial e o património material das cidades versus considerar estes dois aspetos não interdependentes, logo de forma separada.

A paisagem urbana histórica promove uma abordagem à análise e intervenções no património urbano que consideram a sua expressão material conjugadamente com as práticas culturais intangíveis, os valores e as dimensões da memória. Este estudo mostrou que integrar esta abordagem no processo de decisão, quer público quer privado, faz com que os processos que moldam o desenvolvimento

das cidades tragam, não só uma nova perspetiva para a contribuição do património urbano para o desenvolvimento sustentável como também oferece uma útil ferramenta metodológica e de implementação para a gestão do património.

O Património Urbano: Um Bem Comum que Apoia o Desenvolvimento Sustentável das Cidades.

O património urbano é, em essência, um conjunto de ativos que foram oferecidos a uma comunidade urbana por gerações anteriores. Alguns desses ativos são propriedade privada, outros são propriedade do Estado e outros são propriedade comum. Independentemente da entidade proprietária o facto desses ativos possuírem importância patrimonial –que toda a comunidade valoriza e que, através de um processo de governança se tenta garantir a possibilidade de apreciação por todos– constitui o património urbano como um bem comum.

Como discutido no Capítulo 1, alguns, se não todos, os membros da comunidade, o valorizam os bens materiais porque estes produzem um fluxo de benefícios socioculturais. Esses ativos constituem os locais onde os eventos históricos aconteceram, eles são locais de oração, ou são quaisquer outros símbolos físicos com que a comunidade identifica. Eles fornecem à comunidade conexões com a sua história e ajudam a fomentar um sentimento de pertença podendo cumprir, para os membros da comunidade, uma função educativa. A valorização pela comunidade dos benefícios dos fluxos socioculturais gerados pelo património material e imaterial transforma essa herança em bens patrimoniais, a herança sociocultural das cidades.

Para além dos benefícios socioculturais o património urbano possui valores económicos. Os centros históricos, e outros patrimónios urbanos, proporcionam espaços para a produção de atividades e serviços como também para habitação e serviços relacionados. Os edifícios históricos, que acomodam frequentemente serviços governamentais ou instituições culturais, escritórios, lojas - onde muitas vezes se efetua a produção artesanal - estão tradicionalmente localizados nos centros históricos das cidades. Os centros históricos são os locais onde as pessoas vivem e, nas grandes cidades, estes centros históricos deteriorados fornecem habitação a preços acessíveis a famílias com baixos rendimentos.

O património imaterial também é valorizado uma vez que faz parte da cultura da comunidade, permitindo aos seus membros comunicar, produzir e cooperar

na gestão dos seus assuntos. O conhecimento, a linguagem, as capacidades e os valores permitem aos membros das comunidades urbanas, quer produzir quer organizar-se para a distribuição e consumo dos bens e serviços. O património imaterial inclui as instituições e as tradições que definem a vida como ela é usualmente partilhada e vivida pelos habitantes das cidades – algo essencial ao desenvolvimento sustentável da cidade.

A análise realizada neste estudo demonstra que o esgotamento do património cultural urbano pode acarretar significativos impactos negativos no desenvolvimento social e económico das cidades. A perda de monumentos irá privar as comunidades de símbolos valorizados, ou dos elementos que atestam a história da comunidade. A perda de propriedades, residências, escritórios ou comércio nas áreas urbanas patrimoniais nega à comunidade os valores estéticos e históricos e aos proprietários o usufruto desses valores, i.e., a capacidade de fornecer habitação, espaço de trabalho ou de comércio. Além disso, a perda de tais propriedades vai forçar a comunidade a construir estruturas de novo, com o consequente consumo de recursos. Da mesma forma, a perda de património imaterial tem consequências sociais e económicas. A quebra de valores individuais, como a justiça ou a indústria, ou a maior incidência de crime que resulta de uma perda de capital social na comunidade, reduz a capacidade da cidade para produzir e fornecer condições de vida adequadas para a sua população. Uma cidade com a comunidade fraturada, composta por um arquipélago de indivíduos que puxam em direções opostas, não funciona e não é capaz de criar e produzir o necessário para sustentar o seu desenvolvimento.

Em resumo, o património urbano material proporciona suporte físico para as atividades produtivas e não-produtivas e o património urbano intangível fornece os fundamentos duma sociedade integrada e inclusiva. O património urbano é um importante ativo para o desenvolvimento social e económico sustentável das cidades. A gestão adequada do património urbano – a sua conservação, desenvolvimento e bom uso – é, então, fundamental para a sustentação do desenvolvimento social e económico das cidades. Estas considerações fornecem uma forte razão para a inclusão do património urbano como uma componente central de uma agenda de desenvolvimento que promova o desenvolvimento social e económico sustentável e a redução das desigualdades. Esta é uma meta que expande a contribuição do património urbano para o desenvolvimento, indo para além da conceção tradicional do património como um provedor de significado e um cultivador de identidade para as

comunidades. Mais importante, o património urbano fornece o significado material e imaterial da produção que, por sua vez, melhora a globalidade da qualidade de vida. Este é um aspeto fundamental quase sempre arredado da agenda de desenvolvimento social e económico dos Estados.

A Gestão do Património Urbano

Encontrar um lugar para o património urbano na agenda de desenvolvimento, por si só, não é suficiente. Há também a necessidade de garantir que os bens materiais e imateriais fornecidos pelo património urbano sejam corretamente geridos, ou seja, que são colocados a trabalhar no sentido de providenciar desenvolvimento. Este estudo argumenta que a boa gestão desses ativos deve garantir que o património material e imaterial das cidades contribui para melhorar a qualidade de vida das populações: Que o património material providencia espaço para apoiar novas atividades económicas, habitação e espaço urbano qualificado; Que o património imaterial continua a melhorar a capacidade dos membros das comunidades para trabalhar e cooperar na produção e distribuição de bens materiais e culturais.

As características do património urbano material –o tema principal deste estudo– colocam desafios importantes para alcançar este objetivo. Apesar de alguns edifícios serem propriedade privada, e o acesso a alguns fluxos socioculturais gerados pelo património urbano serem transacionados em mercado, e tenham um preço, os atributos mais importantes deste património cultural –aqueles que geram a maior parte dos valores socioculturais– estão disponíveis a todos os membros da sociedade urbana e, em grande medida, são mantidos em comum; são um bem comum. A gestão de bens comuns sempre foi problemática para as sociedades, o património urbano não é exceção.

Os mercados não gerem os bens comuns, estes não possuem um proprietário e a maioria dos benefícios produzidos não podem ser taxados. Este estudo fornece muitos exemplos deste problema, dois dos quais ilustramos de novo aqui. Por exemplo, todos os espaços possuem a praça principal da cidade histórica e a ninguém pode ser negado o seu usufruto. Outra característica comum é a de que os indivíduos não pagam o sentido de pertença à comunidade que vem da participação numa das suas celebrações públicas.

Infelizmente os Estados são limitados no que respeita à capacidade de gerir adequadamente o património urbano como um bem comum. A conservação das características que fazem do património urbano culturalmente valiosa exige que sejam impostos regulamentos especiais no seu uso, limitações que são sempre sentidos como entraves ao desenvolvimento pelos proprietários. As regras e regulamentos são principalmente justificados em relação à conservação de alguns valores socioculturais (histórico, estético, simbólico, espiritual) e a conservação do património urbano é tentada, quase invariavelmente, com recurso ao investimento público. Esta abordagem leva a uma situação em que o património urbano é considerado como um passivo urbano e financeiro para o desenvolvimento e é contra, ou na melhor das circunstâncias ignorado pelos campeões do desenvolvimento económico.

Com frequência os Estados falham nos recursos humanos, institucionais e financeiros necessários para preservar e manter os monumentos da comunidade, pelo menos nos sítios urbanos patrimoniais mais complexos. Raramente os Estados conseguem ajudar os proprietários a preservar os atributos que conferem às suas propriedades o valor de património e, também raramente são capazes de regular o uso e conservar os espaços públicos de uso diário nas áreas patrimoniais das cidades. O resultado é um laxismo na regulamentação e a ausência de ações diretas cujo resultado é a deterioração e frequente abandono do património material.

Quando nem o mercado nem o Estado isoladamente podem gerir adequadamente um bem comum como o património urbano, é necessário encontrar mecanismos institucionais capazes de assegurar a continuidade do fluxo de benefícios socioculturais e económicos que o património urbano oferece à sociedade.

Fundamentos para a Gestão Adequada do Património Urbano

Os indivíduos tentam cuidar bem o valorizam e estão dispostos a dedicar tempo, conhecimento e recursos para a sua salvaguarda. Se faltam recursos eles procuram ajuda. Da mesma forma, as comunidades que valorizam o seu património urbano esforçam-se para protegê-lo; se necessário exigem regulamentos e investimento governamental, e envolvem os interesses de outros que podem fornecer recursos como filantropos e outros doadores. Em casos qualificados, estariam dispostos a emprestar fundos para financiar a conservação e a boa gestão do património. A ocorrência mais comum é para a elite cultural – aqueles que dão grande importância

aos valores socioculturais, estéticos e históricos do património material –que mobilizam doações tanto para a conservação como para a manutenção dos monumentos que possuam esses atributos. Os membros da elite cultural são os que, muitas vezes, pressionam os Estados para ajudar com recursos públicos. Organizações da sociedade civil, que se importam com os valores espirituais de lugares sagrados, fazem o mesmo. No entanto, as preocupações isoladas de alguns atores levam apenas a intervenções desconexas e, muitas vezes, insustentáveis. Este estudo conclui que há uma necessidade urgente de ampliar o leque de interessados dispostos a apoiar e contribuir para a conservação e desenvolvimento do património material e imaterial das cidades. O argumento é de que, quanto maior a variedade de valores socioculturais que a comunidade reconhece no património urbano – por exemplo, monumentos com valores socioculturais históricos, estéticos e simbólicos – maior será a diversidade dos que estarão interessados e dispostos a contribuir para a conservação e boa gestão do património.

O mix de valores socioculturais e económicos que se combinam num sítio histórico urbano atrai o interesse de uma grande variedade de agentes que mobilizam os seus recursos e capacidades para a sua conservação e desenvolvimento. A mobilização de uma diversidade de atores resulta numa prática mais sustentável de conservação e valorização do património urbano. Como este estudo demonstrou, ampliar a base de agentes interessados e contribuintes para a gestão adequada do património urbano é importante para a conservação sustentada do património. No entanto, esta prática é muitas vezes arredada da agenda de desenvolvimento urbano. Se a maioria dos atores sociais de uma comunidade podem ser mobilizados para contribuir para a conservação sustentável do património urbano, a questão que se segue é a de encontrar os mecanismos de governança mais adequado para onde possam canalizar as suas contribuições. Esta é a combinação de instituições, regulamentos, normas e procedimentos capazes de combinar eficazmente os interesses e as contribuições de todos os interessados para a conservação e desenvolvimento sustentável do património material e imaterial urbano.

Mecanismos Sustentáveis para a Conservação e Valorização do Património Urbano

Este estudo defende que, assim como na gestão de quaisquer outros bens comuns, a conservação e desenvolvimento sustentável do património urbano requer superar tanto as deficiências do mercado como as do Estado. Este melhor cenário só pode ser alcançado através da cooperação; por um acordo social que combina as vantagens de boa governança pública com as dos mercados eficientes; por envolver a cooperação de todos os agentes e atores; tornando a gestão do património urbano uma tarefa empreendida por todos os atores sociais.

Legitimação as Contribuições do Património, o Ponto de Partida. O passo mais básico para melhorar a gestão do património urbano é proporcionar uma "voz" quer para as contribuições para o desenvolvimento socioeconómico das cidades quer para os desafios colocados à sua conservação e desenvolvimento sustentável. As cidades precisam de se envolver num amplo debate sobre o seu património, promover a análise de seus vários valores, identificar as ameaças à sua conservação, e valorizar as suas contribuições para o desenvolvimento sustentável da cidade. O segundo passo é dar "legitimidade política" à preocupação social do património urbano. Um debate de grande alcance e ponderado sobre a contribuição do património para o desenvolvimento sustentável da cidade alterará as percepções erradas que consideram a sua proteção como uma responsabilidade financeira e de planeamento e induzem os interessados a agenda de desenvolvimento para que a vejam como uma mais-valia para o desenvolvimento da cidade.

Promover a cooperação dos interessados: a condição necessária. Este estudo sugere que as comunidades urbanas precisam de rever o papel e a posição das instituições no cuidado do seu património histórico. O papel das instituições deve evoluir de uma preocupação excessiva para a conservação do património monumental para um foco no uso sustentável da conservação e no desenvolvimento de uma vasta gama de bens patrimoniais urbanos que podem ser colocados em prol do desenvolvimento sustentável da cidade. A posição das instituições que cuidam do património urbano nas estruturas de governo da cidade deve ser transferida para o grupo de agências que promovem o desenvolvimento social e económico da comunidade. Os regulamentos que afetam o uso dos sítios património urbano devem progredir de impedimentos a alterações aos seus atributos para uma posição no

sentido de promover a reabilitação sensível, adaptável do património material – edifícios e espaço público – para que satisfaçam as necessidades atuais. Os procedimentos para a gestão do património material urbano necessitam de se afastar de transferir todos os custos de conservação para os proprietários privados para se aproximarem do encontro de mecanismos que permitam a coordenação das contribuições de todos os agentes e atores interessados na preservação e desenvolvimento dos bens patrimoniais, incluindo o Estado, os privados, filantropos e as comunidades beneficiárias. O corolário desta afirmação é que a conservação do património urbano deve deixar de ser responsabilidade única do Estado, seja ao nível municipal, regional ou nacional.

Implicações para a Política

A governança bem-sucedida do processo de conservação do património urbano –em particular se tentar alcançar a reabilitação adaptativa dos patrimónios urbanos, como defendido neste estudo– requer alcançar um equilíbrio delicado entre a conservação e o desenvolvimento, entre conservação dos valores socioculturais do património e a permissão de intervenções que lhes permitam aceitar os usos contemporâneos. Tal como acontece em qualquer situação em que há significativas transações, alcançar esse equilíbrio exige acordos entre as partes interessadas sobre: a importância relativa dos valores socioculturais que podem ser afetados num processo de conservação com base na adaptação dos locais patrimoniais para novos usos; e a contribuição para a conservação sustentável do património feita pelos novos utilizadores. Noutras palavras, esse esforço requer pesar as transações entre conservação, adaptação e desenvolvimento.

Este estudo argumenta que o equilíbrio defendido acima seria alcançado como resultado de transações que ocorrem em diversas esferas de interação social: aqueles onde os valores socioculturais de património são descobertos e estimados – estudos académicos, científicos, históricos, antropológicos e sociológicos – e aqueles em que os usos são alocados aos sítios do património urbano e a recursos públicos e privados para a conservação e desenvolvimento – negociações políticas, mercados imobiliários, mercados de bens e serviços, filantropia, e movimentos de base. Ambos os processos são fortemente influenciados pelo sistema de incentivos estabelecidos pelas regras instituídas pelos Estados. Estes incluem os incentivos (positivos ou

negativos) colocados em prática pelas leis e regulamentos de conservação do património, pelo uso do solo, regulamentação de construção, sistema de planeamento da cidade e pelos códigos de fiscalidade.

Este estudo também discute as implicações de governança de diferentes tipos de legislações relativas à conservação do património e de diferentes tipos de mecanismos institucionais. Num extremo estão as estruturas jurídicas mais simplistas para a conservação, aqueles através dos quais o Estado lista os sítios patrimoniais urbanos para proteção mas que deixam aos proprietários o ónus da preservação dos bens. O resultado observado em tais situações é a de que a conservação efetuada é reduzida. Os Proprietários tendem a abandonar os bens patrimoniais, na esperança de que a decadência física desse património, o perigo de derrocada, venha a forçar as autoridades locais a exigir a sua demolição, liberando assim os proprietários das suas obrigações. No outro extremo do espectro estão os mecanismos legais e administrativos que permitem ao Estado – além de colocação de património urbano sob proteção – liderar o processo de conservação e envolver neste esforço uma grande variedade de interessados que possuem as capacidades financeira e de gestão. Argumenta-se que a última abordagem é mais sustentável.

A análise dos quatro casos considerados neste estudo indica que, para efetivamente implementar programas de conservação do património urbano, favorecendo a abordagem de reabilitação adaptativa, os mecanismos institucionais postos em prática para a gestão do processo é tão crucial para o sucesso do esforço como o são os recursos financeiros. O dinheiro, por si só, não pode resolver o problema. A eficácia dos recursos financeiros para atingir os resultados esperados depende muito do bom funcionamento dos mecanismos institucionais que permitem que todos os intervenientes contribuam de acordo com os seus melhores interesses e vantagens relativas, e fazendo-o de acordo com sua capacidade individual para suportar os riscos e colher os retornos socioculturais e económicos do processo de conservação.

Em resumo, a sustentabilidade do processo de conservação do património urbano é reforçada quando esse património urbano se tornar atraente para uma ampla diversidade de atores sociais interessados numa variedade de valores do património. Portanto, os esforços de conservação devem ser direcionados para promover os valores económicos do património urbano, como uma forma de apoiar a conservação dos valores socioeconómicos. Este estudo discutiu as muitas implicações desta

abordagem, indicando que a sua concretização exige uma abordagem flexível para a conservação para permitir adaptar os sítios património urbano – públicos e privados – a novos usos que têm demanda social ou de mercado. Esta é apenas a tradução, para o campo da conservação do património urbano, do princípio do desenvolvimento urbano em que a mudança é a essência das cidades e que as cidades e seus bairros estão em constante mutação. Congelar as características físicas e os usos de patrimónios urbanos não contribuem para a adaptação e mudança podendo facilmente transformar o processo de conservação, passando de uma reabilitação adaptativa sustentada de áreas património urbano para novos usos para a promoção do seu abandono e decadência física. A análise neste trabalho indica que, para evitar o último sempre exige a realização do primeiro.

Progressos Encorajadores

Este estudo analisou as estruturas de governança utilizadas nos programas de conservação patrimonial de Oaxaca, Quito, Salvador, e Valparaíso, e encontrou um motivo para o otimismo entre as deficiências e os desafios identificados em cada um dos locais. Entre os diversos e fragmentados esforços, onde os atores públicos e privados não se relacionam, este estudo revelou os ganhos obtidos pelo esforço do centro histórico de Oaxaca, cuja evolução foi o resultado da participação inicial de cidadãos preocupados, que organizaram e financiaram uma fundação para promoção e investimento na conservação do centro histórico e moveu os diferentes níveis do Estado para que contribuíssem para esse esforço.

O Município de Quito, prosseguiu no envolvimento de uma grande variedade de atores sociais na conservação do centro histórico, tentando organizar os seus esforços, através da criação de um mecanismo de coordenação forte, na forma de uma sociedade anónima de economia mista, para trabalhar em conjunto com os proprietários privados e investidores. Estes são apenas dois exemplos dos tipos de cooperação frutuosa que aconteceram entre os membros dos diversos grupos de interesse que se esforçaram para proteger o património urbano transformando-o num contributo significativo para a riqueza da cidade, mantendo ao mesmo tempo os valores culturais do património que, juntos, compreendem os bens comuns dos cidadãos. O que estes dois exemplos têm em comum é o facto de que cada um deles ter conseguido criar instituições, regulamentos e procedimentos que estabelecem um

processo de cooperação frutífera entre uma grande variedade de partes interessadas e, também, por terem conseguido canalizar as suas contribuições para a conservação e desenvolvimento sustentável do seu património. Como resultado, as cidades foram capazes de incorporar ativos adicionais nos seus planos/agendas de desenvolvimento económico e social com impactos positivos na melhoria sustentada da qualidade de vida de suas populações. Se eles colocaram os seus melhores esforços nesta tarefa todas as cidades podem alcançar os mesmos resultados.

O Caminho Pela Frente

Há certa urgência em fazer com que os gestores urbanos, conselhos locais, associações comunitárias, investidores privados, famílias e consumidores apreciem a contribuição que o património urbano pode dar ao desenvolvimento sustentável das cidades. Ações antecipadas pelas cidades significam que menos património será perdido, decaia na destruição e que mais bens do património material estarão disponíveis e capacitados para contribuir ativamente para o desenvolvimento sustentável das cidades. A conservação ativa do património imaterial das comunidades urbanas permite maior capacidade individual e capital social que contribuem para o desenvolvimento económico e social das cidades.

O fato de existirem histórias de sucesso, envolvendo património urbano bem gerido que está a contribuir para a economia das cidades e para a qualidade de vida dos habitantes, prova que há benefícios a apreender destes esforços. As ferramentas para o desenvolvimento social e económico incluem a gestão inteligente de ambos os bens comuns representados pelo património das cidades bem como de outros bens comuns, como o meio ambiente e o uso eficiente do capital produtivo das empresas e do investimento sábio dos recursos poupados e emprestados.

Conclusions

Well-Managed Urban Heritage Sites for Sustainable Social and Economic Development

It is widely accepted that sustainable development needs sustainable cities: not only because the majority of the population lives in cities, but also because urban areas produce the majority of the goods and services that ensure good living conditions for the population (McKinsey 2011). The arguments and methodological proposals advanced in this study aim at contributing to the sustainable development of cities by ensuring that their heritage assets are well preserved through its use for contemporary needs. The proposals made in this study are based on the fact that urban heritage includes more than monuments and archaeological sites encompassing a large array of culturally significant places that are valued by the communities and that can be put to use to serve some of their needs. The evidence presented in this study shows that urban heritage includes: historic centres and towns, vernacular buildings, public spaces of different types (streets, squares, markets), industrial areas, and landscapes. This wide variety of components of the urban heritage not only represents a stock of infrastructures, public spaces, and buildings with use values but that they also provide a flow of socio-cultural benefits to society that play a significant role in its everyday functioning. These flows of mostly intangible benefits, like connection to history or aesthetic enjoyment, together with other dimensions of culture—traditions, performing arts, social practices, knowledge, rituals and festive events—are the major providers of meaning and generators of identity for the communities—meaning and identity being two pillars of social interaction and stability. This conception of the role of urban heritage is at the core of the arguments advanced by UNESCO in its “Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape” (UNESCO 2011), which advocates for a holistic approach to urban heritage conservation that takes into consideration the interconnectedness between the social benefits of the intangible heritage and the material heritage of cities versus looking at these two aspects as separate, non-interdependent aspects.

The historic urban landscape promotes an approach to the analysis and interventions into the urban heritage that consider its material expressions together with its associated intangible cultural practices, values, and memorial dimensions. This study has shown that integrating this approach into both the public- and the private-decision-making processes that shape the development of cities brings not only a new perspective to the contribution of the urban heritage to sustainable development, but also provides useful methodological and implementation tools for managing the heritage.

The Urban Heritage: A Commons that Supports the Sustainable Development of Cities

Urban heritage is, in essence, a set of assets that have been gifted to an urban community from previous generations. Some of these assets constitute privately held resources, some are government property, and others are common property. Regardless of ownership, the fact that these assets possess heritage value—meaning that the whole community prices these values and that the governance process tries to ensure that they can be enjoyed by all—makes the urban heritage a commons.

As discussed in Chapter 1, some, if not all members of the community, value the material assets because they produce a flow of socio-cultural benefits. These assets constitute the locations where historic events took place, they are sites of worship, or they are any number of physical symbols with which the community identifies. They provide the community with connections to its history, help foster a sense of belonging, and can fulfil an educational function for its members. The valuation by the community of the socio-cultural flows of benefits generated by the material and intangible heritage turns this heritage into heritage assets, the socio-cultural heritage of cities.

In addition to having socio-cultural benefits, urban heritage has economic use values. Historic centres and other urban heritage sites provide spaces for production and service activities, and also for housing and related residential services. Historic buildings frequently accommodate government offices or cultural institutions, and a city's offices, shops, and often its sites of craft production, are traditionally located in its historic centres. The historic centres are the locations where people live and in larger cities, the deteriorated historic centre provides affordable housing to low-income households.

The intangible heritage is also valued because it forms part of the community's culture, allowing its members to communicate, produce, and cooperate in the management of their affairs. Knowledge, language, skills, and values allow members of urban communities to both produce and organize themselves for the distribution and consumption of the goods and services they produce. The intangible heritage includes the institutions and traditions that define life as it is commonly

shared and experienced by a city's inhabitants—something which is essential to the sustainable development of the city.

The analysis made in this study shows that the depletion of urban cultural heritage can have significant negative impacts on the social and economic development of cities. The loss of monuments will deprive communities of valued symbols, or of those elements that attest to the community's history. The loss of residential, office, or commercial properties in urban heritage areas will deny both the community of their aesthetic or historic values and their owners of their use values: that is the capacity of these types of properties to provide housing, workspace, or commercial space. Also, the loss of such properties will force the community to build structures anew, with the consequent consumption of resources. Similarly, the loss of intangible heritage has social and economic consequences. The breaking of individual values, like righteousness or industry, or the higher incidence of crime in a city that results from a loss of social capital in the community, reduce the city's capacity to produce and provide adequate living conditions for its population. A city with a fractured community, and one that is composed of an archipelago of individuals each pulling in their own direction, does not function and is not capable of creating and producing what it needs to sustain its development.

In summary, material urban heritage provides physical support for productive and non-productive activities and the intangible urban heritage provides the foundations of an integrated and inclusive society. Urban heritage is a significant asset for the sustainable social and economic development of cities. The appropriate management of urban heritage—its conservation, development, and good use—is then critical to sustain the social and economic development of the cities. These considerations provide a strong rationale for including urban heritage as a central component of a development agenda that promotes sustainable social and economic development and the reduction of inequalities. This is a goal that expands the developmental contribution of the urban heritage, going beyond the traditional conception of the heritage as a provider of meaning and a cultivator of identity for communities. Most importantly, urban heritage provides both the material and the intangible means of production that, in turn, improve the overall quality of life. This is a critical aspect that is almost always left out of the social and economic development agenda of governments.

The Management of Urban Heritage

Simply finding a place for urban heritage in the development agenda it is not sufficient. There is also the need to ensure that the material and intangible assets provided by urban heritage are well managed—that is, that they are put to work for their developmental purposes. This study argues that the good management of these assets should ensure that the material and intangible heritage of cities contributes to enhance the quality of life of the population: That the material heritage provides space to support new and expanded economic activities, good quality housing and urban amenities; That the intangible heritage continues enhancing the capacity of the members of the community to work and cooperate in the production and distribution of material and cultural goods.

The characteristics of material urban heritage—the main focus of this study—pose significant challenges to the achievement of this goal. Although some buildings are privately owned and access to some of the socio-cultural flows generated by the urban heritage are transacted in markets and have a price, the most important attributes of this cultural heritage—those that generate the bulk of the socio-cultural values—are available to all members of the urban society and to a great extent are held in common; they are a commons. The management of commons has always been problematic for societies. Urban heritage is no exception.

Markets do not manage the commons well as it does not have private owners and because most of the benefits that it produces cannot be priced. This study provides many examples of this problem, two of which are again illustrated here. Everyone, for example, owns the main square of a historic town and no one can be denied its enjoyment. Also, individuals do not pay for the sense of belonging to the community that comes from participating in one of its public celebrations.

Unfortunately, governments are limited in their abilities to properly manage urban heritage as a commons. The conservation of the characteristics that make urban heritage culturally valuable requires that special regulations be imposed on its use, limitations that are always regarded by private owners as barriers to development. The rules and regulations are mostly justified only in relationship to conservation of a few socio-cultural values (historic, aesthetic, symbolic, spiritual) and the conservation of the urban heritage sites is attempted almost invariably by calling for the investment of public resources. This approach leads to a situation in which the urban heritage is

regarded as an urban planning and financial liability for development and it is opposed or—in the better circumstances—regarded with indifference by the champions of economic development.

More often than not, governments lack the human, institutional, and financial resources necessary to preserve and maintain the community's monuments least the more complex urban heritage sites. They are rarely capable of assisting private owners to preserve the attributes of their properties that confer them their heritage value, and are seldom able to even regulate the use and upkeep the public spaces of daily use in the heritage areas of the cities. The result is a laxity in imposing regulations and the absence of direct action that leads to the deterioration and often abandonment of the material heritage.

When neither the market nor the government in isolation can properly manage a commons like urban heritage, it is necessary to find institutional mechanisms capable of ensuring the continuity of the flow of socio-cultural and economic benefits that urban heritage provides to society.

Foundations for the Appropriate Management of Urban Heritage

Individuals try to take good care of what they value, and are willing to devote time, knowledge, and funds to its up-keeping. If lacking resources, they seek help. Similarly, communities that value their urban heritage will strive to protect it; if necessary, they will demand regulations and government spending, and will engage the interests of philanthropists and other donors who can provide resources. In qualified cases, they would be prepared to borrow funds in order to finance the conservation and good management of the heritage. The most common occurrence is for the cultural elite—those who assign great importance to the aesthetic and historic socio-cultural values of the material heritage—to mobilise donations for both the conservation and maintenance of monuments found to have these attributes. The members of the cultural elite are the ones who often pressure governments to help with public resources. Organisations of the civil society that care for the spiritual values of sacred places do the same. However, the isolated concerns of a few actors lead only to unconnected and often unsustainable interventions. This study concludes that there is an urgent need to expand the range of stakeholders willing to support and contribute to the conservation and development of the material and intangible heritage

of cities. The argument is that the greater the variety of socio-cultural values that the community recognizes in the urban heritage—for instance, monuments holding historic, aesthetic, and symbolic socio-cultural values—the greater the diversity of stakeholders there will be who are interested in and willing to contribute to the conservation and good management of the heritage.

The mix of socio-cultural and economic use values that combine in an urban historic site attracts the interest of a wide variety of stakeholders and mobilises their resources and skills towards its conservation and development. The mobilisation of a diversity of stakeholders results in a more sustainable practice of the conservation and development of the urban heritage. As this analysis has shown, enlarging the base of stakeholders interested in and contributing to the appropriate management of the urban heritage is important for the sustained conservation of the heritage. However, this practice is often a forgotten element of the urban development agenda. If most of the social actors in a community can be mobilised to contribute to the sustainable conservation of the urban heritage, then the ensuing issue is to find the most suitable governance mechanisms into which they can channel their contributions. That is the combination of institutions, regulations, rules, and procedures capable of effectively combining the interests and contributions of all the stakeholders towards the sustainable conservation and development of the material and intangible urban heritage.

Sustainable Mechanisms for the Conservation and Development of Urban Heritage

This study argues that like in the management of any other commons, the sustainable conservation and development of the urban heritage requires overcoming both the shortfalls of the market and the government. This best scenario can only be achieved by means of cooperation; by a social accord that combines the advantages of good public governance with those of efficient markets; by engaging the cooperation of all stakeholders; by turning the management of the urban heritage into a task undertaken by all social actors.

Legitimising the Contributions of Heritage, the Starting Point. The most basic step in improving the management of the urban heritage is to provide a “voice” for both its contributions to the socio-economic development of cities and for the

challenges posed by its sustainable conservation and development. Cities need to engage in an extensive debate about their heritage, promote the analysis of its multiple values, identify the threats to its conservation, and value its contributions to the sustainable development of the city. The second step is to give “political legitimacy” to the social concern for the urban heritage. A wide-reaching and pondered debate about the heritage’s contribution to the sustainable development of the city will turn around the ill-based perceptions that regard its protection as a *planning and financial liability* and induce stakeholders concerned with the development agenda to view it as a *development asset* for the city.

Promoting Stakeholder Cooperation: the Necessary Condition. This study suggests that urban communities need to revise the role and the position of the institutions caring for their heritage. The role of the institutions should evolve from an over- concern for the conservation of the monumental heritage to a focus on both the sustainable use of conservation and the development of the wide array of urban heritage assets that can be put to work towards the sustainable development of the city. The position of the institutions caring for urban heritage within the city government structure should move to the core of the group of agencies promoting the social and economic development of the community. The regulations affecting the use of urban heritage sites must progress from preventing *au trance* changes to its attributes and uses towards promoting the sensible, adaptive rehabilitation of the material heritage—buildings and public space—to satisfy contemporary needs. The procedures for managing the material urban heritage need to move away from transferring all of the costs of conservation to the private owners of monuments and buildings towards mechanisms that coordinate the contributions of all stakeholders interested in preserving and developing the heritage assets, including the government, private philanthropy, and the beneficiary communities. The corollary of this statement is that the conservation of urban heritage should cease to be the sole responsibility of the government, whether local, state, or federal.

Policy Implications

The successful governance of the urban heritage conservation process—particularly if attempting to achieve the adaptive rehabilitation of urban heritage sites as advocated by this study—requires achieving a delicate balance between conservation and

development, between conserving the socio-cultural values of the heritage and allowing for interventions that will position them to accept contemporary uses. As with any situation in which there are significant trade-offs, achieving this balance requires reaching agreements among the stakeholders concerning: the relative importance of the social-cultural values that may be affected by a conservation process based on the adaptation of the heritage sites for new uses; and the contribution to the sustainable conservation of the heritage made by the new users. In other words, this effort requires weighing the trade-offs among conservation, adaptation, and development.

This study argues that the balance advocated for above would be attained as a result of transactions taking place in several spheres of social interaction: those where the socio-cultural values of heritage are discovered and esteemed—scientific, historic, anthropological, and sociological academic studies—and those where uses are allocated to urban heritage sites and to public and private resources for conservation and development—political negotiations, urban real estate markets, urban goods and services markets, philanthropy, and grass roots movements. Both processes are strongly influenced by the system of incentives established by the rules instituted by governments. These include the incentives (positive or negative) put into effect by the heritage conservation laws and regulations, by the land-use and building regulations of the city planning system, and by the tax codes.

This study also discussed the governance implications of different types of heritage conservation legislations and institutional mechanisms. At one end there are the most simplistic legal structures for conservation, those through which the government lists urban heritage sites for protection but which leave the owners with the burden of preserving the assets. The observed outcome in such situations is that little conservation takes place. Owners tend to abandon the heritage properties in the hope that physical decay will force local authorities to order their demolition, thus freeing the property owners from their obligations. At the other end of the spectrum are the legal and administrative arrangements that allow the government—in addition to placing urban heritage site under protection—to lead the conservation process and to involve in this effort a wide variety of stakeholders possessing both financial and management capabilities. It is argued that the latter approach is more sustainable.

The analysis of the four cases considered in this study indicates that to effectively implement urban heritage conservation programs favouring the adaptive

rehabilitation approach, the institutional mechanisms put in place to manage the process are as crucial to the success of the effort as are the financial resources. Money alone cannot solve the problem. The effectiveness of the financial resources in achieving the expected results depends heavily on the efficient operation of the institutional mechanisms that allow all actors to contribute according to their best interest and relative advantages, and to do so according to their individual capacity to bear the risks and capture the socio-cultural or economic returns of the conservation process.

In summary, the sustainability of the urban heritage conservation process is enhanced when the urban heritage site become attractive for a wide diversity of social actors interested in a variety of values of the heritage. Therefore, conservation efforts must strive to promote the economic values of the urban heritage as a way to support the conservation of the socio-economic values. This study discussed the many implications of this approach, indicating that its concretion requires a flexible approach to conservation to allow for adapting urban heritage sites—public and private—to new uses having social or market demand. This is only the translation into the urban heritage conservation field of the urban development principle that change is the essence of cities and that the cities and their neighbourhoods are constantly in transition. Freezing the physical characteristics and uses of urban heritage sites does not contribute to adaptation and change, and can easily turn the conservation process from fostering the sustained adaptive rehabilitation of urban heritage areas for new uses to promoting their abandonment and physical decay. The analysis in this work indicates that avoiding the latter always requires accomplishing the former.

Encouraging Developments

This study reviewed the governance structures used in the heritage conservation programs of Oaxaca, Quito, Salvador, and Valparaiso, and found cause for optimism amidst the shortcomings and challenges identified in each. Among the various and fragmented efforts where public and private actors did not connect, this study revealed the gains made by the conservation effort of the historic centre of Oaxaca whose progress was the result of the early participation of concerned citizens who organized and financed a foundation to promote and invest in the conservation of the

historic centre and moved the different levels of government to contribute to this effort.

The Municipality of Quito pursued the involvement of a wide variety of social actors in the conservation of the historic centre and tried to organize their efforts by establishing a strong coordination mechanism under the form of a mixed-capital corporation to work in conjunction with both private owners and investors. These are but two examples of the types of fruitful cooperation that took place among members of the various stakeholder groups that endeavoured to protect the urban heritage and turn it into a significant contributor to the wealth of the city while simultaneously maintaining the cultural values of the heritage that together comprise the commons of its citizens. What these two examples have in common is the fact that they each managed to set up institutions, regulations, and procedures that established a fruitful cooperation processes among a wide variety of stakeholders and also channel their contributions to the sustainable conservation and development of their heritage. As a result of these achievements, the cities were able to each incorporate additional assets into their social and economic development plans/agenda with positive impacts for the sustained improvement of the quality of life of their populations. If they put their best efforts to the task, all cities can achieve results such as these.

The Road Ahead

There is some urgency in getting city managers, local councils, community associations, private investors, households, and consumers to appreciate the contribution that urban heritage can make to the sustainable development of cities. Early action by cities means that less heritage will be lost to decay and destruction, and that more material heritage assets will be both available and capable of actively contributing to the sustainable development of cities. Active conservation of the intangible heritage of urban communities allows for more individual skills and social capital to contribute to the economic and social development of the cities.

The fact that success stories exist, involving well-managed urban heritage that is contributing to both the economy of cities and the quality of life of the urban inhabitants, proves that there are benefits to be reaped from these efforts. Tools for social and economic development include the wise management of both the commons represented by the heritage of cities and other commons like the environment, and the

efficient use of the productive capital of the enterprises and the wise investment of the saved and borrowed resources.

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