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OpenHeritage: Deliverable 3.6

Finalized Report on European Adaptive Reuse Management Practices

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This deliverable, D3.6, the Finalized Report on European Adaptive Reuse Management Practices is a comprehensive overview of successful adaptive heritage reuse models in Europe with a focus on mechanisms that enable and support civic initiatives and how they come to realise socially added values.

The deliverable presents an analysis and evaluation of adaptive reuse practices and related policies. The research is based on the work of WP1, WP2, the interim deliverables of WP3 (D3.3 on community and multi-stakeholder integration, D3.4 resource integration, and D3.5 regional integration) and additional external cases and literature. To integrate the findings, in particular of the interim deliverables of WP3, we looked at five cross cutting themes that emerged within all of them. The analytical chapters present the thematic analysis on the intersections of stakeholder, resource and regional integration. The themes are heritage, co-governance, responsible funding, inclusion and flexibility.

These themes were found to be relevant fields of practice and policy and relate to all three pillars in OpenHeritage. At the same time, they cover a broad spectrum of practice and policy related to the projects, internal and external organizational aspects, social and material relationships, tangible and intangible dimensions, economic, political and cultural considerations.

The report demonstrates the complexity of opportunities and challenges adaptive heritage reuse projects face. The theme chapters show that virtually all practices have relevance across the three OpenHeritage pillars.

In other words: how people collaborate and co-govern in and around a project, influences and in influenced by which resources they have access to, and how they are used, as well as how they collaborate in, and benefit from, wider networks and regional contexts.

The theme chapters are full of cross-cutting insights, allowing to differentiate in a more nuanced fashion and assess the consequences in different respects. This report is not a recipe book though, but an overview of strategies, practices, and challenges within the particular thematic areas.

Whilst we have a set of assumptions underpinning the research, the chapters also show that these not necessarily always work in the same way, or at all, in the wide variety of settings and circumstances included in OpenHeritage. The report presents these assumptions, the thematic reflections on them, and concludes with a range of critical questions, that need to be considered in their context. As such, it is a set of adaptive heritage reuse strategies and practices in Europe that in many cases have been successful, but do not guarantee success. They need the specification,

context, and critical reflection we tried to include here to become successful as a 'model'.

1. INTRODUCTION

Authors: Markus Kip and Loes Veldpaus

This deliverable, D3.6, the **Finalized Report on European Adaptive Reuse Management Practices** is a **comprehensive overview of successful adaptive heritage reuse models** in Europe with a focus on mechanisms that enable and support civic initiatives and how they come to realise socially added values. The aim of this deliverable is to integrate the findings of the previous interim deliverables of WP3, i.e., D3.3 on community and multi-stakeholder integration, D3.4 resource integration, and D3.5 regional integration. In the following, the integration is made possible by **five cross-cutting themes – heritage, co-governance, responsible funding, inclusion and flexibility –** for analysing the interim deliverables as well as other relevant research material on outside cases in a cross-cutting fashion.

Within the Open Heritage project, the deliverable is situated to provide an important synthesis of research that has been conducted so far and to offer important inputs for the deliverables D3.7 (The Transferability Matrix) and D3.8 (Policy Recommendations and Roadmap) as well as for the development of the toolbox in WP 5. In addition to this project-internal audience, this deliverable was also written with policy-makers, professionals and academics in related fields of applied research in mind.

1.1. Six normative baseline assumptions

As a deliverable concerned with an analysis and evaluation of adaptive reuse practices, it is important to clarify the normative baseline assumptions on which we evaluate good practices and success, on the one side, and bottlenecks and failures, on the other. Six baseline assumptions function as yardsticks – and the normative criteria presented in the interim deliverables can be subsumed under them.

- **Local commons initiatives**

Local actors know best about their own collective needs. Because of their physical proximity, the interwovenness of their everyday lives, and how they are directly and often affected by the quality of the conditions of their

immediate surroundings, they are well positioned to jointly decide about collective needs. It is from this experience of a common good on the basis of shared needs and interdependencies that local residents and communities may develop a sense of co-responsibility to contribute to the ongoing re-creation, management and distribution of collective resources, aka local commons.

Democracy should start with the polis, the gathering of neighbours and residents who share a common space, as thinkers from Plato, to Murray Bookchin have already argued. Evaluating the civic-led adaptive heritage reuse projects from a local commons perspective (Iaione et al. 2017; Kip et al. 2015) highlights the importance that such heritage sites (and their variety of values and histories) can play for collective needs as well as the local capacities for self-governance on the basis of solidarity rather than political, legal or financial considerations.

Adaptive reuse project of heritage are concrete instances in which residents of a neighbourhood or village as well as members of a heritage or other communities can come together to define what this space means to them and what needs and interest they relate to. As a space of relevance in their everyday lives, these questions have particular weight for collective deliberation: How is the heritage to be defined and what does the site mean to the local identity? What kind of functions should the site fulfil for residents and heritage communities, how should it be adapted, what new uses should it make possible? Who is supposed to benefit from the site and how? Who is supposed to be responsible for its maintenance and management? Important for the local commons initiatives is, if these questions can be asked in the first place, and if they can have a variety of answers. Moreover, it is important how differences and possibly even conflicts are negotiated.

The main mode of working together in a commons is unsalaried work, contributions that are not remunerated, in kind, obtained through crowdsourcing, or other non-monetary aid. Local commons initiatives can also seek to tap into, develop or enhance circular economies focused on the local and regional scale. It is therefore important that civic initiatives at this level mutually support each other and create synergies. Strong civic societies at local level are the most important political advocate of local needs, safeguarding them also against political-administrative imperatives formulated at higher scales as well as against the seductions of a capitalist market in which collective needs dissipate into individual competition over resources.

Relevant normative criteria

- o Improves the quality and use of the built environment in the instant surroundings of the site
- o Promotes exchange (economic, knowledge, civic support, etc.) with other not-for-profit and non-governmental organizations

- **Co-creation with public actors**

Local needs and developments are often intensely interwoven with realities in other places, with other people. In addition to the above-mentioned assumption that civic initiatives are better off when they mutually support each other and create synergies, we also see importance in the way they collaborate with public actors (governmental bodies), and especially the possibility and presence of co-creative practices. Adaptive reuse projects can also promote democratic processes, and partnerships with civic initiatives can benefit governmental bodies too in understanding and reaching a wider group of people.

Civic initiatives benefit from transparent institutional and administrative processes and an integration different levels of government. However, even if this is not present, what is important is a facilitative and supportive – and ideally well-funded – administration that is attentive to the circumstances of civic initiatives and their needs. In the case of adaptive heritage reuse, this often requires a degree of flexibility and local administrative discretion and a willingness to support civic experimentation, while simultaneously guaranteeing long-term outlook and reliability.

Adaptive heritage reuse projects often require substantial investments to rehabilitate old sites and make them fit for new uses. These investments can be difficult to mobilize on the basis of volunteering, crowdsourcing or other civic engagements only. It is also for this reason that these initiatives have to rely on funding from and collaborations with public actors. Cases considered in OpenHeritage are located in peripheral and structurally disadvantaged areas, whose histories of public neglect and disinvestment are tied up with broader processes of uneven urban development that has privileged other areas within the same city or region. It is often for this reason that public administrations are called upon to make such investments as a contribution towards ensuring equitable living conditions across its relevant territories. The risk of such partnerships, however, involves an over-dependence of the civic initiative on public authorities (or vice versa), or the eventual co-optation of the initiative by the political government agenda. This is why we suggest co-creative practices, they are not the solution per se, but tend to be better at keeping more balanced collaborations.

Relevant normative criteria

- o Combines policy with the necessary resources and regulation
- o Supports the integration of policies on various governance levels and/or between various departments
- o Creates spaces for experimentation

- **Civic-partnerships with private actors**

Civic initiatives also collaborate with private actors, i.e. for-profit businesses, small entrepreneurs, or not-for-profit foundations, trusts, and charitable organisations and knowledge institutions (including universities), to create mutually beneficial outcomes. Adaptive heritage reuse projects often require substantial investments in order to rehabilitate old sites and make them fit for new uses. For these investments they can also work with or ask for investments from private actors, who show long-term interest in the development of the site. Private actors can play an important role in the sustainability of civic adaptive reuse projects and in its positive reach through more equitable forms of neighbourhood or regional revitalization. Small businesses and entrepreneurs connected to adaptive heritage reuse can provide local services or goods that are vital to the area, and create employment opportunities. Often, they are social enterprises, or community interest companies. Their collaboration with a civic-led adaptive reuse project can be an opportunity for them to increase their impact on the development of a disadvantaged region, while also drawing on the economic potential of revitalizing a cultural heritage site. For third sector organisations, civic-led adaptive heritage projects can be function as useful partners in co-applying for grants and leveraging investments because of their emphasis on social cohesion and long-term outlook.

The risk for civic actors to enter partnerships with private actors is that civic actors become overly dependent on the business of these private actors for their own survival. In a bad case scenario, the economic leverage of private actors creeps into and determines decision-making processes in the civic initiative.

Relevant normative criteria

- o Creates (quality) jobs and promotes small business development

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- **Community involvement and inclusion**

Neither commons-initiatives nor publicly supported projects are guaranteed to be inclusive of everyone who is (potentially) affected. Lines of exclusion and inclusion may run along various lines of social categorization, such as race, gender, class, ability, sexuality, religion, language, citizenship status and the like. Therefore, even when promoting inclusiveness explicitly, projects may still reproduce existing exclusions. As a key orientation for involvement and inclusion is that people affected by decisions and its consequences should have a substantial power in the deliberation, decision-making, implementation, and management processes that is proportional to the degree of their affectedness. In OpenHeritage, we assume that co-governance structures will allow for such inclusion sustainably more than traditional governance structures.

Advancing more inclusive forms of community development, however, is social justice work and requires conscious efforts, since it is an uphill battle when the playing field is unequal. Community involvement, strategies for inclusion, and the creation of truly public spaces is a continuous process of testing, trying, and reinventing. Projects that are more diverse and equitable are better at adopting and developing new social innovations and forms of encounter that are enriching in view of engaging a diversity of ideas, aesthetics, perspectives, expressions. And, by involving more people through inclusion, new participants also bring in their skills, capacities, time, material, and other resources. At a social level, inclusive processes will have to negotiate conflicts and perspectives, and actively work to create a safe and inclusive atmosphere, overcoming fear, distrust, policing, and repressive measures.

As sites that are shared as common histories and everyday landscapes, adaptive heritage reuse projects can have the potential of creating interest and drawing people together by symbolizing a common identity in a world of fleeting fashions and interchangeable non-places. The considerations around which histories, adaptations, and new uses can be brought together on a site, if done conscientiously, can create opportunities for social inclusion by addressing different needs of social groups while simultaneously creating spaces for encounter and communication. Reaching even deeper, adaptive reuse sites may be opportunities to raise awareness of the heritage in terms of how it has been implicated in practices of social inequality and discrimination in the past and how this legacy has also shaped the present – as, for example, in its complicity with a social order that is patriarchal, racist, and ableist etc. On that basis, reflections of undoing and discontinuing this legacy can be made for future uses that remain cognizant of its uncomfortable heritage.

Relevant normative criteria

- o Builds on co-governance arrangements inclusive of different communities and stakeholders
- o Engages neighbourhood and heritage communities to participate
- o Fosters social sustainability
- o Values a diversity in cultural expressions and heritage branding
- o Fosters participatory approaches to cultural heritage and tourism
- o Makes essential social services and learning programs accessible to disadvantaged communities

- **Openness of heritage**

While heritage is still widely framed in public discourse as an objective issue that experts have a privileged perspective on, the baseline assumption of this project is that heritage should be understood as the result of a participatory but pluralist process. In fact, heritage has never been fixed and absolute but has always been subject to powerful historical and geographical transformations. There is no final or absolute definition of what heritage related to a particular site, object, or immaterial issue (practices, narratives, etc.) is, but rather an ongoing process in which heritage meanings are being worked, and reworked, sometimes in diverse ways by different heritage communities (van Knippenberg 2018).

In relation to adaptive reuse projects dealing with cultural heritage, an open approach to heritage thus implies an invitation to heritage communities and other stakeholders to take part in this process of working and reworking, of creating heritage value. Openness thus has a conceptual dimension and affects past, present and future. It is open towards different and contested pasts to be mobilised in the present, them being complicated, oblique and uncomfortable, or more celebratory. It is also open in terms of not predefining the conceptual outcome of the process. At the same time, this openness is oriented towards the future and a reflection on ways to keep the heritage, in its physical and immaterial aspects, open for future uses and new experiences and needs, values, and meanings the next generations to attribute to them. Openness of heritage also has a social dimension in view of an implied attitude and commitment towards an inclusive process, in view of inviting and accommodating different stakeholders to define, discuss, interpret, manage – that is "to use" – heritage in accordance with their own value systems, and of mediating and negotiating contestations and conflicts around heritage. In this sense, openness also entails a strategy to keep the process open, even in the face of distrust and inimical

relationships between different actors. In contrast to laissez-faire, openness requires that the process is actively prevented from becoming closed towards certain (disadvantaged) groups. Openness, in this sense, thus is a conscious effort to engage these differences, to clarify what is at stake, and even when not quickly resolving mutually exclusive positions on the use of heritage, at least to work towards a mutual understanding.

Relevant normative criteria

- o Protects, promotes, and creates multiple heritage values related to an object
- o Raises awareness and educates critically about the local heritage
- o Heritage policy supports not only physical conservation but also its related social and intangible aspects
- o Creates a flexible regulatory environment towards adaptive-reuse
- o Values a diversity in cultural expressions and heritage branding;
- o Fosters participatory approaches to cultural heritage and tourism.

- **Responsible Area Development: Anti-Gentrification and Resilience**

As development initiatives, a key consideration for adaptive heritage reuse is the wider impacts and results. How can these projects address their needs with a sense of responsibility for the consequences of the development? This both in terms of (unintended) negative outcome, and in terms of enabling future users to adapt the site to new uses and without greater constraints than faced in the present. Two aspects are particularly striking to consider for such adaptive reuse initiatives that are spatially integrated in the community: First, as hubs for revitalizing neighbourhoods or villages and for upgrading civic spaces, creating new economic opportunities, adaptive heritage reuse sites may inadvertently also foster promote processes of gentrification. With growing desirability of the area through the project, real estate prices rise and can render rents or the provision of services increasingly unaffordable and inaccessible to some of the residents. It is therefore important for such civic initiatives to be conscious of this risk and possibly take preventive measures. Such measures may include promoting forms of mutual aid, community sharing and solidarity building, as well as broader policies on circular economy or value capture. Second, in the face of risks that come from instabilities created by the political or financial systems, who may withdraw support, investments, or change interests, initiatives will probably benefit from developing their own

'resilience' strategies. Resilience in this sense implies particularly the ability to not be overly dependent on one source of income or support, to be able to adapt to a situation in which political agendas of governments change or collaborating private actors withdraw their investments. This can for example mean a sufficiently broad and diversified funding strategy of adaptive reuse projects and sufficient independence from political parties and governments.

At the same time, policies for regional and area development should be formulated to give priority to civic initiatives such as adaptive reuse of cultural heritage. Particularly in the case of abandoned buildings and sites, policy should allow for civic and third-sector initiatives to stand a chance in acquiring and appropriating these sites next to other (for-profit) developers. Long-term leases can ensure that sites and areas are taken out of real-estate speculation and reliably dedicated to the common good of the area.

> Relevant normative criteria
>
> - o Ensures economic sustainability
> - o Relies on multiple funding sources (that are geared towards sustainability)
> - o Supports ownership acquisition of the site/object by a community organization
> - o Prioritize the use of assets by civic actors against neglect or speculative purposes

- **Environmental sustainability**

Social and economic sustainability cannot be divided from environmental sustainability. Though the latter is not a specific focus of OpenHeritage research, we need to add it to the normative baselines of adaptive heritage reuse. In this respect, it is more relevant to talk about sustainable development as a process, since adaptive heritage reuse projects in the focus of OpenHeritage have the potential to contribute to a broader process of working towards environmental sustainability as a universal goal.

The concept of sustainable development was described by the 1987 Bruntland Commission Report of the UN as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." The three dimensions of sustainable development – society, environment, and economy – were complemented with the fourth one, culture, by the Hangzhou International Congress of UNESCO in 2013. The four dimensions are inseparably intertwined, and their balance is needed when defining the priorities of development in order to improve the quality of life. Consequently, when considering social equity as an objective

in the context of adaptive heritage reuse, and the economic feasibility of AHR enterprises, it is essential to acknowledge that the goals cannot be reached in these two respects either if environmental responsibility is not among the basic principles.

The perspective of environmental sustainability appears in OpenHeritage through the analysis of planning policies, as spatial and urban planning is one of the most important areas where environmental studies and heritage management intersect (see e.g., the issues of the Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development published since 2011). As, however, advocated also by ICOMOS, cultural heritage has a general role in achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (ICOMOS 2020) and various initiatives explore how culture and cultural heritage can contribute to a better future as defined in the SDGs (see kiculture.org and McGhie 2019a, 2019b).

We have identified various topics which are relevant when discussing AHR, and, though not in the specific focus of OpenHeritage research, are correlated with stakeholder integration, regional integration, and resource integration, and might be directions for future projects in cooperation with environmental sciences.

When considering the benefits of reusing old buildings, one of the most plausible considerations along the principle of reduce – reuse – recycle is the energy benefits. Since buildings embody non-recoverable energy invested into their construction, the longer they are used the less energy is wasted. Another benefit of building reuse in spite of new construction is reducing CO_2 emission and waste. Experiment with a Life Cycle Assessment of buildings serve to calculate the total environmental impact of a building from "cradle to grave" (Watson 2012). Modern building codes apply to the renovation of old buildings too. Adaptation in AHR means adapting to new social needs, perception of comfort and safety, new technological requirements and also opportunities (e.g., passive methods for heating, cooling, and ventilation, insulation, water or solar energy generation). Old buildings often perform better than new ones exactly because they were built for long term and under different technological conditions, e.g., traditional building materials and thick walls are more resistant for temperature changes. Architectural and environmental sciences are increasingly exploring traditional knowledge in this respect. The combination of AHR with nature-based solutions in urban environment is also a promising direction. Nature-based solutions address societal challenges by managing natural or restores ecosystems. Since nature is also seen as culturally constructed from the perspective of humanities and social sciences, the management of natural and built environment, both inherited

from the past and passed on to the future, are essentially interlinked and require solutions which can benefit from the knowledge developed in the framework of adaptive heritage reuse.

Adaptive heritage reuse is often combined with area revitalization, especially in former industrial areas. Revitalization includes ecological rehabilitation with a new biodiversity, new aesthetics of nature and social opportunities for local recreation, combined with the development of new narratives (Eiringhaus 2020). The most well-known examples are the Duisburg Nord Landscape Park in the Ruhr Area, and The High Line in New York. The principles of stakeholder integration (inclusiveness), regional integration and resource integration of OpenHeritage are relevant in such cases too, as demonstrated by the Grünmetropole Observatory Case analysis.

The term "toxic heritage" refers to poisonous waste, but this always overlaps with the concept of "dark" or "difficult" heritage. The rehabilitation of such sites is a special area of adaptive heritage reuse and combines the task of dealing with environmental and social impacts (Wollentz et. al. 2020).

Relevant normative criteria

- o Fostering ecological sustainability

1.2. Results from the interim deliverables (D3.3/3.4/3.5)

Resource integration, community and stakeholder integration, and regional integration are the three pillars of OpenHeritage, and they underpin the assumption that adaptive heritage reuse benefits from these forms of integration, and their various combinations. The summaries below reflect the previously interim reports produced on each of these pillars.

Resource Integration

We conceptualise resource integration as much broader than integrating financial sources such as funding, donations, crowd funding, and investments. It also includes non-financial resources such as knowledge, skills, expertise, time, policy frameworks, and material assets and conditions. Resource integration also assumes a level of mixing of resources from civic, public and private stakeholders – under the condition that the use of these resources does not compromise the pursuit of project aims, e.g., by creating dependencies or giving disproportional influence to powerful actors.

Thus, under ideal circumstances, this integration of resources from different stakeholders adds up to more than the sum of its parts. In OpenHeritage we are particularly interested in bottom-up or civic initiatives and civic engagement in adaptive reuse projects as a key dimension in the revitalization and regeneration. Analysing and evaluating our case studies from this perspective, we highlight internal factors (e.g., motivations, skills and experiences of project members, the architectural conditions and geographical location of the asset etc.) and external factors (e.g., policies, regulatory frameworks, funding and economic opportunities etc.) as possible strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats for such resource integration. The research thus focused on understanding how community-led adaptive reuse projects successfully integrate resources, drawing on the various external and internal factors.

In the analysis we highlight certain policies and practices as 'inspirational'. For example, the policies they underpin the governance of the Urban Commons as a framework to promote adaptive heritage reuse for civic purposes. And the formal and informal practices of co-governance arrangements and their use of solidarity mechanisms, participatory and volunteer involvement as well as other 'resourcing' strategies that are not directly related to market exchange or dependency on state actors.

The report shows there is significant diversity in terms of how these civic initiatives of adaptive heritage reuse mobilize and integrate resources, the purposes to which they are put, the actor-networks involved, and the legal, policy, and political contexts that regulate access and use of these resources.

What emerges very clearly is: 1) that adaptive reuse projects demonstrate real inventiveness in the ways they manage to mobilize resources, including non-financial ones; their ability to govern resources across many stakeholders on the basis of solidarity rather than relying on market or state imperatives is also impressive in this regard; 2) that adaptive heritage reuse projects with a civic intent benefit hugely from supportive regulations, policies and programs and a cooperative public administration (be that heritage authorities, local planning authorities, or other regulating public bodies). This support required can be financial but also includes administrative and institutional measures to e.g., guarantee legal reliability, enable entrepreneurial activities, or facilitate negotiating the complex landscape of regulations, programs, and interests. The benefits are not one-directional, as also public stakeholders gain from the impacts of such projects that revitalize buildings, sites and entire neighbourhoods.

We found that resource integration is supported by 1) offering financial support as well as (free) access to expertise, training, networks and brokerage; bring governance close to those who are directly affected, e.g., an institutional framework for democratic control through neighbourhoods and local communities; 2) prioritising the use of assets by civic actors and protect the buildings and the civic actors against neglect and speculation. This can for example be done by separating ownership of land and buildings; offering a framework for long-term leases with a 'built-in' purpose for real-estate development; and making sure the community (of users, neighbours) has a direct say in the democratic management of the asset/service/infrastructure; 3) developing strategies that counter uneven development, for example regional and urban regeneration programs, policies, and funding e.g., through tourism, agriculture, leisure, or regional identity and facilitating and fostering such regional collaborations.

Regional Integration

We conceptualise regional integration as all mechanisms that allow for the integration of adaptive reuse practices within the wider urban and regional governance, contributing to the environmental, social, and economic sustainability of the region, and making sure the benefits of adaptive reuse practices benefit a larger area. Region here refers to an area of influence,

which can be territorial (a neighborhood, a cluster of municipalities), as well more conceptual, a thematic network of sites or organizations.

The main mechanism we identified to establish regional integration are: 1) multi-level governance (governance integration between levels of governance); 2) policy integration (sectoral, e.g., heritage and planning policies); and 3) supportive resources and tools that foster inclusive and collaborative practices, which can help build the connections and collaborations that are necessary to actualize the integration of policies and governance levels. Analysing and evaluating the country policies, resource, and practice contexts from these three perspectives, we identify the various 'regions' (looking at thematic, territorial, and organisational connections) our case studies operate in, and how governance and policy frameworks facilitate or hamper these. We looked both from the perspective of how (a lack of) regional integration contributes to, or hampers, community-led adaptive reuse projects, but also these projects contribute to, or hamper, regional integration.

The report shows that reuse projects can benefit from being part of wider regional network or identity. Moreover, a well-designed regional policy and collaborative governance framework can substantially increase, amplify, or share the benefits of an adaptive reuse project. It, however, also shows that such policy and governance framework alone are not enough, they need the active building, nurturing, and funding of local civic involvement and cooperation on institutional and societal level. Integration in and between neighbourhoods, as well as wider partnerships, can be fostered by a dialogical or co-creative approach between the involved groups, developing a continuous process of engagement that helps to (re)focus emerging needs and priorities.

A sensitive area-based approach, to urban and socio-economic regeneration, with a focus on stimulating and supporting adaptive heritage reuse can be successful, but can also be victim to its own success, for example through overt focus on place branding, or identity building, stimulating gentrification, touristification, or commodification. In most cases, regional integration outside of a governmental context builds on a set of shared values within the context of developing these initiatives as well as their areas of influence. These collaborations and networks can raise awareness, create community, and attract new audiences, and even offer an alternative to an unsupportive or underfunded government, and operate as a way to "tackle" a lack or withdrawal of political support policy integration or financial support. Shared values can also help address a shared 'enemy', e.g., fight issues such as gentrification and commodification.

What emerges clearly is that regional integration needs human, territorial, and policy connections, whether institutional or not. Integration can also be improved by mechanisms (e.g., tools, regulations, permits) that allow a wide variety of initiatives to gain access to heritage resources from an economic, physical and cultural viewpoint; narratives of regional identity; communities engaging in the overall adaptive reuse process (decision making, construction, management, organisation, etc.). These are variously integrated into those dominant topics emerging from the evaluation (e.g., urban speculation, affordable housing, public and private-led approached, etc.), impacting on regional integration dynamic in a dialectic and multidimensional way.

Community and Stakeholder Integration

We conceptualise 'community and stakeholder integration' as a multi-stakeholder governance arrangement whereby communities emerge as key actor, and partner up with at least one of the other four actors of the "quintuple helix" governance scheme of urban innovation: the public, public administration, private (entrepreneurial) actors, NGOs, and knowledge institutions. So local communities are working with business, civic, public, and/or academic organisations, using a "co-governance" model by setting up a body or organizational structure specifically for the management and implementation of project activities. In other words, adaptive reuse project benefit from the involvement of a wide range of actors – from national government to civil society groups, from bureaucrats to artists, from entrepreneurs to unemployed, marginalized social groups, young people, to create an 'open heritage'. Communities are now an integrated part of dealing with heritage and we use actor-network theory to conceptualise those connections.

The community and stakeholder integration we see as relevant for heritage, also requires non-hierarchical organization and co-management, wherein the various stakeholders as well as the various forms of heritage (materials, processes, and practices) are mutually supporting and affecting each other to steer the adaptive heritage reuse project.

This evaluation of 'community and stakeholder integration' in adaptive heritage reuse projects looked at the networks and interactions within and between the distinguished 'societies' (or communities). Communities do not only constitute the social ties amongst each other, but also with the cultural objects or processes as the central intermediary within the actor-network. Moreover, following actor-network theory, we looked not only at who or what is involved, but also at how their interaction came about and co-

evolved, and at their future directions. Change in time has been highlighted as of the upmost importance.

As such the analysis focusses on the following research questions: How open and adaptive is the actor network in relation to the factors (of importance) and time? What type of governance arrangements between the different communities and other stakeholders strengthen the project? How does the project influence current institutional systems (socially, spatially etc.)?

For the cases looked at, few looked at four phases in the process of communities- and stakeholder integration:

1. **problematization:** the initiator makes other actors aware of a common viewpoint. The actor tries to express the problem and the possible solutions.
2. **interessment:** an actor or group of actors tries to involve new actors in a viewpoint. By this, old networks will gradually be replaced by new ones.
3. **enrolment:** a multilateral political process leads to a stable network with new supporting groups, new roles and definition.
4. **mobilization of allies:** wider acceptance of the solution, which gained stability through institutionalization in order to become taken for granted. It becomes 'black-boxed'.

Each actor-network (composed of the relationships between human actors and cultural heritage) is highly situational; there is no one-size fits all. Nevertheless, what becomes of real importance over here is not so much a predefined checklist or handbook, but the focus on a strategy or tactic towards the best fit; taking into account the ambition of the initiating actors, the powerplay in the actant-network and its surrounding or (institutional) time-space context. The analysis also highlights how a range of different 'tactics or strategies for community involvement' were adapted in response to the shifting constellations of opportunities, constraints and coalitions.

1.3. Methodology

In order to integrate the findings of the previous interim deliverables of WP3, i.e., D3.3 on community and multi-stakeholder integration, D3.4 resource integration, and D3.5 regional integration, we had developed a methodology. Our goal was not just to repeat the insights of the previous deliverables and bring them together into one document, but also to use this opportunity to deepen the insights from the interim deliverable by bringing them (and the respective authors) into conversation with each other. In the end, adaptive reuse practices and policies cannot be neatly partitioned into three distinct sections called community and stakeholder integration, resource integration and regional integration. Our distinctions of the interim deliverables were analytical and presupposed, as they are the pillars of the whole project. At an empirical level, the concrete practices and policies that we are considered usually have relevance for all three analytical aspects "simultaneously" and other aspects may have disappeared through this particular focus. Thus, the challenge for this deliverable, D3.6, the Finalized Report on European Adaptive Reuse Management Practices was to look at these practices and policies comprehensively and consider adaptive heritage reuse practices in light of all three pillars simultaneously. The evaluation in this report thus considers the intersections of stakeholder, resource and regional integration and aims for an integrated assessment.

The methodological challenge that had to be confronted thus was to find an approach to integrate the insights from previous pillar-based evaluations. The methodology chosen took insights from Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967) in which we did not impose predefined conceptual approaches for the analysis, but rather to have broader perspectives or concepts emerge from the diverse insights gained in the three interim deliverables. We looked at the interim deliverables as 'raw' data without imposing preconception for how these insights related to each other – or not.

The emerging themes were noted down by the individual researchers in this research. They were then further discussed throughout a 3-day workshop. The twelve compared the emerging themes and developed a common understanding, as well as an integrated framework for analysis. The disciplines of the scholars involved were diverse, involving archeology, architecture, business management, conservation practice, heritage studies, planning, policy and governance, and sociology. This posed a challenge to arrive at a common understanding of the insights but also raised the promise for cross-fertilization and the development of insights and evaluations that have a relevance beyond disciplinary boundaries. As a

first step, we presented the main insights from each deliverable to the entire group of partners in order to arrive at a common overview of the insights that we are seeking to integrate. In a next step, we asked each participant to frame insights, ideas, or questions about adaptive heritage reuse that they understand as key from previous deliverables in short statements or terms on (digital) "sticky notes". On a shared digital board ("Miro" software on miro.com), we collected these "sticky notes" on a board that was pre-structured into different fields where sticky notes could be tentatively positioned. These fields were related to (1) normative goals or the achievement of project targets, (2) inspirational practices, (3) inspirational policies and programs, (4) themes/topics, (5) "What is missing?" and (6) inspirational conceptual/theoretical approaches.

This report is not a recipe book. We learned to appreciate the uniqueness of every initiative that we studied. What this report does offer, is an elaboration of a strategic compass for adaptive heritage reuse projects based on our normative assumptions. The diverse set of initiatives and contexts across Europe contributed to our understanding of navigating to the challenges in marginalized or peripheral geographic conditions. The projects we looked at, illustrate how – when done well - civic life can be enriched through the engagement of heritage, opening up new social spaces for encounter and experimentation, and creating new economic opportunities.

Figure 1.: Screenshot of D3.6 workshop to identify themes, January 2021

With 12 people participating, this exercise took us several hours to do, including the presentation, and discussion. As a result of this reflection, we found that several insights and ideas clustered into different themes with

relevance across all three pillars. Eventually, we determined these five themes as

- heritage
- co-governance
- sustainable funding
- inclusion
- flexibility and adaptation

These themes were found to be relevant fields of practice and policy and relate to all three pillars. At the same time, they cover a broad spectrum of practice and policy related to the projects, internal and external organizational aspects, social and material relationships, tangible and intangible dimensions, economic, political and cultural considerations.

Having come to terms with a first approximation of these cross-cutting themes for the integration of the analysis, we then delegated the work of specifying the concepts and approaches to small teams of two to three researchers for each theme. To ensure some coherence across the theme chapters, we developed a common template to collect the data (i.e., insights and ideas) primarily from the interim deliverables. Other sources of data, were the deliverables from WP1 and WP2 as well as possible cases outside of Open Heritage. A common structure for each theme analysis chapter was also agreed on with the task to first clarify and define the theme concept in relation to the state of the art and to come up with an operationalization of the term. Second, the theme analysis should identify emerging clusters or patterns in view of practices and policies. The analysis should differentiate between the different aims that the projects express and pursue in relation to the theme, strategies that these projects devise, the practices that they implement, the policies that they draw on as well as the impacts that they make. Throughout this analysis and identification of patterns, it is important to pay attention to shifts and changes over time (i.e. in view of aims, strategies, practices and impacts.) The third required part of the theme chapter is the concluding evaluation in view of the key lessons learned. In what ways have certain strategies been successful in view of aims? What (intended or unintended) impacts have realized the aims, and how? What were the most important conditions for success (in view of realizing the aims)? Under what circumstances have bottlenecks and conflicts appeared? And what have been ways to deal with them constructively? Throughout these theme analyses, we asked each team to consider cases outside of Open Heritage as well to compare and deepen the insights of the analysis with.

2. HERITAGE

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2.1. Conceptualization of heritage

Adaptive heritage reuse gives a new life to a building by finding a new function. While it includes an element of preservation (Rabun and Kelso 2009; Bullen and Love 2011), it also involves physical changes and a conscious or less conscious dealing with the past uses and structures, and reflecting on, communicating about these. The term "adaptive" refers to adjusting to a changing context, such as the changing social environment, technologies, new standards of environmental sustainability (Misirlisoy and Günçe 2016; Plevoets and Sowińska-Heim 2018).

Buildings were adapted to fit changed needs or new functions also in the past (Orbasli 2008; Plevoets and Van Cleempoel 2011; Plevoets and Sowińska-Heim 2018). A more theoretical approach towards adaptive reuse and heritage evolved in the 1970's, discussing the proper functions and acceptable level of changes in various types of historical structures. This discourse has been centered around the issue of values – such as historical value; age value; value for collective memory, nostalgia, physical contribution to the built environment, aesthetic, artistic or creative quality, character, uniqueness – and how these values can be preserved and amplified (Foreword by Sally Stone in Plevoets and Van Cleempoel 2019). Parallel with this, a different discourse evolved as well, on environmental sustainability: the mottos of "reduce – reuse – recycle" and "trash to treasure" have inspired many to explore how old built structures could be turned into a resource. In the past few decades, relicts of the past have increasingly been understood as a resource in a different sense as well: to be appropriated as cultural or economic capital (Graham et al. 2000; for a summary, see van Knippenberg 2019).

In the non-material sense, heritage is constantly "used" as an essential phenomenon in human life, to define where we are coming from and where we belong. To understand the choices available and made in adaptive reuse projects as well as their impacts, it is important to identify by whom heritage is used – and not used – and for what it is used – and not used. In this chapter, we analyze the various approaches, policies, and practices within OpenHeritage cases in order to understand the different aims for and ways how heritage is used, the various roles heritage is given, the strategies applied to deal with heritage, and the impact of various heritage-related processes.

2.1.1. **Academic state of the art on heritage**

This latter understanding of "use" distinguishes the concept of adaptive reuse – the physical conversion of a building to suit the requirements of new functions mostly seen as an architectural task (see Douglas 2006; Wilkinson et al., 2009; Heritage Council Victoria 2013; Plevoets and Van Cleempoel 2019) from adaptive <u>heritage</u> reuse. The latter implies an element of interpretation (Heritage Council Victoria 2013) or communication (Pendlebury and Wang 2020) of heritage-related values, and the new use should support this process.

Interpretation or **communication** is an essential element in every reuse program: some elements of heritage are preserved and amplified while others are downplayed or even eliminated. This process, however, is often based on an implicit value system and a very limited set of attributes and values (e.g., Dicks 2000; Meskell 2015). Built heritage is mostly understood as objects to conserve and material assets that represent a particular set of historic and aesthetic values (Veldpaus 2015).

The discursive and performative turn in heritage studies from around the 2000s brought a more inclusive approach to adaptive heritage reuse too. Rather than just a material asset with inherent values, heritage is conceptualised as a process, and a practice of selecting, interpreting, and presenting the past (Smith 2006). Heritage values are created contextually and in a dialog with the material or immaterial assets, other humans, and their environments. Since the context is continuously changing, values are changing too (Harrison, 2012). Accordingly, adaptive heritage reuse is seen as a stage or a layer in the life of a site, not a final outcome, and understanding heritage processes is seen as an important way to make informed and "future-proof" decisions (Harrison et al. 2020).

Heritage understood as a process or practice also **has the potential to change, to "do" things**: it is (re)enacting, (re)producing and mobilizing some past(s) in the present. Through an affective turn in heritage studies, a body of work around the "doings" of heritage is emerging (Crooke and Maguire 2018; Egberts 2017; Sinclair-Chapman 2018; Tolia-Kelly et al. 2017). The potential of adaptive heritage reuse in creating value has been recognized and heritage is increasingly termed as a resource in this respect in value-based development (e.g., Berger and High 2019). Heritage as a resource also links adaptive reuse to other domains such as economy, sustainability, or culture (Shen & Langston 2010; Conejos et al. 2011; Tweed and Sutherland 2007; Bullen and Love 2011). Various studies have aimed to conceptualise how heritage is dealt with in regeneration strategies (e.g., Janssen et al. 2017; Knippenberg 2019).

2.1.2.   Definition of heritage used for the analysis

When defining how heritage is understood within OpenHeritage, three approaches were distinguished: physical (heritage as a thing), representational (heritage as a representation), co-evolutionary (heritage as an ongoing process – Knippenberg 2019, with further literature). This third approach was identified as best fitting to analyze community-heritage engagement because it allows to include a multiple set of relations with other heritage sites, practices, memories, emotions as well as the aspect of change in time and the potential of value creation. This approach to heritage is also in alignment with the way current EU policies approach heritage: as a common good, a shared resource, a catalyst for environmental, economic, cultural and social regeneration (Knippenberg 2019).

For the purpose of this deliverable, building on the definition of these three approaches and on the observations in D1.4 (Policy Typology, Mérai et al. 2020) we distinguished **three main approaches with respect to the way how heritage is used and with what aim**. These three approaches also link to the ones identified by Janssen et al. with respect to how heritage is dealt with in planning: as a spatial "sector" preserving heritage but isolated from development, as a "factor" stimulating regeneration, or as a "vector" determining the direction of development (Janssen et al. 2017).

1. When heritage is seen as a "thing", the aim is generally to protect it for the future generations and to raise awareness about its values. These values are seen as inherent, stemming in the past, and they are attributed significance in defining collective identities such as national or regional identities. This approach is close to what Janssen et al. (2017) calls "heritage as a sector", and it is present in the heritage policies of most of the countries but dominates in Group 3 (Mérai et al. 2020).
2. The second approach sees heritage as a resource for development in the economy and environment, including branding, tourism, urban planning, and education. The heritage sector, in its effort to become central to discussions on regeneration, economic development and planning, has made itself reliant on financial and market incentives. This approach is close to what Janssen et al. calls "heritage as a factor" and it is present in all three policy groups.
3. The third approach sees heritage as a direct source of social, mental, and emotional wellbeing of the communities. This is an "open" approach to heritage which means a continuous adaptation to the needs of the community, continuously mapping its potential new segments and needs; taking into consideration the interests of the future generations too, leaving space for them in decision-making (in accordance with the principles of the SDGs). This approach only partly

corresponds to "heritage as a vector" as conceptualised by Janssen et al., and it is present in Policy Group 1.

In accordance with our co-evolutionary understanding of heritage in OpenHeritage, we see heritage as an actor in all these processes, including those aiming for protection or economic profitability. It is not only humans who have the power to preserve or utilise heritage as a resource, but heritage also shapes individuals, communities, and their environment. This is a dynamic interaction between heritage, individual, society, and environment. How heritage is used, and connected to that, selected to be preserved, restored, reused, reiterated, redesigned, and ultimately, seen as heritage, affects the material and immaterial reality. Such heritage processes, however, can also have unintended consequences: heritage can "do" unwanted things too. Consequently, we are not only looking at how heritage is managed but also how (and whether) heritage-related <u>processes</u> are managed in order to mitigate risks concerning the impacts.

2.1.3.   **Operationalization of heritage**

This chapter examines how heritage is used and what heritage is used for in adaptive heritage reuse projects, how heritage processes can support regional, stakeholder, and resource integration, and how these three influence – in an intended or unintended manner – heritage processes.

The analysis is based on the interim reports (D3.3, D3.4, and D3.5) from the OpenHeritage project combined with D1.4 (Policy Typology) a review of the 16 observatory cases (WP2) and the Lab materials (WP4).

Information was collected from these documents to answer the following questions:

- How do the Observatory Cases formulate their aims with heritage?
- What are their strategies to work towards these aims?
- What are the practices and policy frameworks that support these strategies?
- What are the intended and unintended impacts of their dealing with heritage in terms of regional integration, resource integration, stakeholder integration, and heritage itself? Which are the bottlenecks they must cope with, the conflicts they generate, and the respective mitigations and solutions?

Since we are working with a co-evolutionary understanding of heritage, and exploring heritage processes and what they "do", when answering the above questions, we specifically address the following issues:

- How is heritage used, by whom?

- What is heritage relevant for? Which values have been put to the core of the project by the stakeholders, and how do they relate to the heritage values they attribute to the asset?
- How inclusive is the heritage that is highlighted? What was the aim of selection and highlighting? For whom does it create a sense of belonging, and who is being excluded; for whom is it a resource for economic development, and who is being displaced?

2.2.   Analysis

2.2.1.   **Aims of adaptive heritage reuse in terms of heritage**

The aims of adaptive heritage reuse can vary greatly, and in most Observatory Cases, there are multiple aims and approaches to heritage. The overall motivation to start an adaptive heritage reuse project always involves the aim to use heritage, and it can be combined with various other aims which are closer to or further from the heritage domain in the strict sense, depending on the profile of the initiator and further stakeholders: preservation of old buildings by reuse, environmental benefits, social, cultural benefits, economic benefits (see also Wallace 2018).

Approaches to heritage in adaptive heritage reuse projects

We distinguished three main aims of adaptive heritage reuse in the Observatory Cases in terms of the stakeholder's approach to heritage. These approaches are not exclusive for any project, but various stakeholders have different aims within the same project and aims and approaches can also change with time.

a.) to preserve

This approach aims to preserve the heritage asset for the present and future generations. All the reuse projects we look at in OpenHeritage, whether they address legally designated heritage or not, have the aim to preserve heritage in a certain sense. In certain cases, this means a so-called "original" or "authentic" state, or as close to that as possible referring mostly to material authenticity; here conservation is an important part of the aim. In other cases, the concept of authenticity also includes the intangible aspects. Reuse is a tool to preserve not just the physical structures but also the related traditions, stories, and uses, and restoring the building serves this purpose too. (For a historical overview of the two approaches towards authenticity, and some alternative concepts of what to preserve - e.g., the *genius loci* - see Wong 2017, Plevoets and Cleempoel 2019, Stone 2019.)

Preservation by use is an important element in heritage policies in various countries, such as in the UK (see eg. English Heritage 2011), in order to have people who take care of the site, and to ensure the financial background for the preservation. Along these lines, the aim of the Sunderland High Street project is defined as developing a viable future for buildings through restoration. The Heritage@Risk conservation area is part of a national program also contributing to the revitalization of the neighbourhood, but the preservation of the built structures by reuse is a strong element. The risk of abandonment and decay is often emphasized in this approach as a process against which adaptive heritage reuse must act.

It is an important question who defines the values that guide the preservation. Often heritage experts define which are the relevant attributes and elements to preserve and restore, that is, which are the heritage values. These values are considered inherent even if contextually recognized (e.g., relevant for a certain region or nation), and rooted in the past. As in the case of the Potocki Palace and Citadel in Alba Iulia, the architectural and historical values are seen as inherent and the task of the stakeholders is to protect these values and pass them on to the public in the present and the future generations. In contrast, in the Lisbon Lab, entire community has been involved in defining the heritage values of the site by a participatory research process. In the case of Hof Prädikow, heritage authorities and the future users all have the aim to preserve the monument and to fill it with new life, but they are not always in agreement about what are the – tangible and intangible – values to preserve, so they had to develop strategies how to bridge this gap. The specific legal and policy context largely impacts who can make such decisions and what the consequences of these decisions are. In the Jewish District, a bottom-up initiative by experts as civic actors lead to the official protected status of buildings as heritage, which, in turn, has very much limited how these buildings can be reused and has contributed to a process which is ultimately unfavourable for the residents.

b.) to utilise

In several cases, heritage is instrumentalised in addressing specific issues and producing specific benefits, e.g., by increasing touristic potential, contributing to the image of an area, serving as the basis of city or regional branding, producing direct or indirect economic benefits. This type of use can involve both the material structures and the intangible heritage: stories, narratives, traditions, knowledge, etc. The Stará Tržnica observatory case is strongly characterized by this approach where the heritage of the market serves as the basis of re-branding and revitalizing the area.

As in the previous approach, it is an important question here too who has the power to decide about the uses and the direction of development, and whose heritage is used by whom for exactly what purpose; also, whose

heritage and which elements of heritage are neglected or hidden. Since a certain (group of) stakeholder(s) define the expected benefits and coordinate the process accordingly, there is always a risk of exclusion and cultural appropriation (for example, as it has happened with black heritage in Washington, DC's Shaw/U Street, see Hyra 2017). In the case of Alba Iulia, tangible heritage and history serves as the basis of city branding strategy, but the process is managed by the city leadership with limited community involvement at the level of tokenism, so many layers of the heritage remain hidden in the process, and minorities feel excluded. Connected to tourism, often there is a danger of heritagization, and the so-called Bilbao-effect (Crawford 2001).

c.) to create cohesion

Adaptive heritage reuse can be a way to link individuals, groups, their environment, certain material assets, and contribute to producing communities, social and cultural infrastructures, networks of sites. This appears explicitly as an aim or mission in adaptive heritage reuse, such as at LaFábrika, where the initiators wish to rewrite the memories connected to the site as a part of a healing process for the community, and create a symbol of a new and bright future. In most cases this approach is in the service of area regeneration where social regeneration is seen as the core of the process. Adaptive heritage reuse can support the rehabilitation of a common past by a focus on particular sites, linking them in their cultural landscapes (e.g., industrial sites, mining sites, villages, agricultural sites) and with a common vision for the future usually also strengthening the identity of the region or locality (e.g., in tourism, or in the cultural sector; see e.g., Berger and High 2011).

Identity formation is a complex process of both internal and external factors, and performative processes connected to heritage can shape, express, and create identities. This process will benefit from, for example, the development of a stronger and more integrated heritage governance across the region, and can also help develop one. However, it makes a difference who controls these processes and who is involved into the group whose identity connects to the heritage reuse in any respect. The Amsterdam Navy Yard revitalization is a heritage value-led development where present values and themes determining the decisions were defined based on heritage values. However, the heritage narrative chosen for constructing the identity of the area pushed into the background other, less popular narratives of marginalised groups. The Grünmetropole project aimed at a heritage-based rehabilitation of a transborder region connected by the common mining past, to renew the post-industrial landscape, to strengthen the common identity of the region, and to create a touristic impulse. It was a crucial issue in the (lack of real) success that experts

decided about these aims without making sure that they are relevant for the local communities and their understanding of their identities.

Aiming for social and spatial cohesion, adaptive heritage reuse projects can be used to advocate for alternative approaches to real estate and urban development, and for example fight against gentrification, or promote community ownership and commons approaches, such as the Praga Lab, Largo, London CTL, and the Lisbon Lab do. Many of the projects use approaches that aim to enhance the value of the building for a community (whether direct neighbours or a wider or sectoral community or both) by opening up, restoring and making the heritage asset useful to them again, as well as by (re) creating connections in terms of identity and belonging. ExRotaprint aims to create a different idea of ownership, preserve heritage buildings, and generate social, economic, and cultural capital; to advocate for alternative approaches to real estate and city development. While building on the architectural and local historical values of the site as a resource for developing a communal identity, they choose a future-proof financial model that prevents property speculation and a governance model that ensures social diversity within the project. The adaptive reuse of Hof Prädikow, in addition to the preservation of a protected heritage site, is also part of a counter-movement of the actual trends by repopulating a rural place, and aims to create a cohesion between the old and new communities as well as the site based on the heritage values.

How the use of heritage connects to the three pillars

In the process of adaptive heritage reuse, **heritage is seen as a resource**. Adaptive reuse is happening because the heritage assets are expected to generate some sort of positive social, economic, and/or cultural impact. What varies is what aspects of the heritage are mobilised and preserved. When the aim of the project is to care for and showcase a particular heritage asset, it will likely focus on different heritage aspects then when the aim is to create a community hub, or a housing project. Heritage reuse and restoration focusses not only on materiality, but integrates community values, uses, and intangible heritage as resources.

Heritage can be just one of the angles to spark an interest in a project (e.g., housing project also gets funding through its historic connections with the neighbourhood) to help attract funders (the character or heritage status of a building can help with fund-raising; or a way to promote crowdfunding) and to mobilise community support, buy-in, funding, or interest (heritage as a local resource of identity and belonging).

We can see across the projects that **heritage has the capacity to integrate** (but then also by default to divide!) a wide coalition of

institutional stakeholders, education, skills, regeneration, culture, arts, music, academia, business etc. Heritage is important in narratives of local and regional identity, and a way to link specific sites and assets to wider stories and histories (or highlight their distance and uniqueness - e.g., a site of resistance - from them), and subsequently it is also a driver of territorial development and cultural tourism. Heritage can be a common good for a neighbourhood or region undergoing structural changes (e.g., post-industrial region), to create a new identity built on some form of a shared past. The aim for heritage in OpenHeritage project policies and practices is to bring (likeminded) people together and facilitate collaborations between civic, public, and private stakeholders who are invested, and preferably also investing in heritage. The common assumption seems to be that shared heritage means shared values, and heritage provides an opportunity to make a case about specific values and how they "materialise" in the heritage asset.

2.2.2. **Strategies, Processes and Impacts**

We identified various strategies leading to the three groups of "aims" we distinguished – broadly – for heritage. The same strategy can, however, serve to work towards different aims. For example, the preservation of heritage by using the heritage asset, or by raising awareness about it, are heritage-related processes that characterize every AHR project we analyzed. However, some go beyond that, aiming for a more "open" and inclusive process by creating connections between heritage and people, so apply different strategies too. It is the combination of various strategies that distinguishes projects which prioritize the preservation or the utilization of heritage as their aim or focus on creating cohesion in some sense.

Below we present a series of strategies we identified in our Observatory Cases, and discuss how the related practices, policies, and aims for heritage create variations in their outcomes (impacts). The significance of presenting such strategies is not just to offer options, but to explore those assumptions regarding heritage which define various processes within the adaptive heritage reuse projects, as well as the influence of policy contexts.

Strategies to work towards the aims in terms of heritage based on the dominant values attributed to that:

a.) Strategy: get a formal heritage status for a site

Gaining a special protected heritage status (whether on local, national or World Heritage -level) contributes to the "heritage status" of an object/neighbourhood. This can increase the focus on heritage and make it part of an international discourse (WH) or a thematic one (e.g., on industrial heritage, religious heritage) and can help to share experiences about

adaptive reuse for cultural purposes. Moreover, such a status can provide access to specific resources / incentives / tax breaks to compensate for additional net costs related to the care for the heritage. In most cases, formal protection (e.g., through listing) will prevent demolition but not necessarily decay, as in many countries there is no guarantee there will be funding or other forms of investment for restoration and maintenance. Formal listing can also impede the adaptive reuse process, when regulatory frameworks are inflexible, and listing prevents from making any changes to the building that might be (reasonably) needed to make reuse possible.

Policies and practices:

- Post-renovation listing is a solution to avoid some of the legal implications of formal listing.
- A local authority could donate or lease an asset to a community group, or a third sector organization for use, or for restoration (e.g., a Heritage Trust). In some countries this could only happen *because* it is a formal heritage asset and the involved partners are interested in cultural/ heritage and work on a not-for-profit base; yet in other countries, formally listed heritage cannot be alienated from the state, and in such case long term leaseholds or low-rent might be options.

b.) Strategy: preservation of heritage by use

Finding a (new) use, and thus users for a building is seen as one of the most effective ways to take care of a heritage asset in the long run, whether these users come in post-renovation, or as part of the process. Developing a community around the site from an earlier moment in the process, can be a way to make sure that the restored buildings are part of the community, and they are taken care of as such in the future.

Policies and practices:

- In the case of the Potocki Palace and Alba Iulia the practices are that they start with renovation paid from EU grants, then find occupants.
- In many cases (Sunderland, Pomáz, Rome Lab, Naples OC) we see practices of creating a network of local organizations and actors, match-making between empty buildings and organizations and reaching out to already existing organizations with the aim of finding a way to use the heritage assets in order to preserve them.
- Policies that support adaptive reuse projects tend to start from the assumption that using heritage is better than leaving it empty.

- Policies can support heritage reuse projects when they create a level of flexibility and provide discretion to the policy officers, to allow for a tailored approach to projects (e.g., in their consent / permit systems). This is most directly useful when available on the government level closets to the project. However, discretion and flexibility in the protection process might also mean that choices are made 'against' heritage value, or in favour of recognising only some heritage significance.

c.) Strategy: raise awareness about heritage

In many cases we see that raising awareness about heritage is a way to start the adaptive heritage reuse process. Temporary uses and events can raise interest and establish effective relationships with the site and enable people to explore heritage and as such to raise awareness.

Policies and practices:

- In the Praga Lab making some of the forgotten history visible (exhibition, book, website, workshops, lectures) is a way to spark awareness. Other ways this was done across cases, is by opening up the site for visitors; forging links with existing heritage narratives; inviting people to tell their own memories and stories; heritage dialogues (online, on site); education; developing touristic routes; connecting sites stories but also (public) transport and free transport.
- Local authorities and other heritage building owners can support this by agreeing on a temporary use to allow various groups to share their histories, memories. In the case of Naples, Scugnizzo Liberato, a group of young people had a clear social, political and cultural mission. The lease was not asking for money, but they were asked to deliver 'other' value in exchange (e.g., inform people about the heritage value of the site).

d.) Strategy: connect heritage with people

Going beyond awareness raising, this strategy is about facilitating connections between people and place. Combining the material restoration of the building with its social reuse and reintegration in the community is a way to develop impact (for instance on a deprived urban area as we saw in the Lisbon Lab). Yet, the ways to connect people with place, and involve them in the related processes vary in different contexts and per stage of the process. One kind of involvement is not necessarily better than the other; sometimes a good and transparent informing will do, while in other situations co-creative processes or mutual partnerships would give the best

results. Applying community involvement can also be(come) tokenistic (e.g., the Alba Iulia case), and there are many faux engagement and consultation processes when it comes to heritage and planning. Since heritage means different things to different people, contestations are not uncommon, and facilitating connections can thus also mean being open to new and different interpretations of this heritage and reconsidering which histories and values should be foregrounded.

Using a broad interpretation of 'what is heritage' is the most used strategy to create 'space' and 'openness' for adaptive heritage reuse to happen and to connect heritage and people. A broad interpretation of heritage means a focus beyond the material, the aesthetic and the 'old', and incorporating immaterial heritage, capturing local knowledge and memory, looking at a wide range of local histories (and making them accessible by research, exhibition, booklets, websites, social media etc.). The immaterial heritage can focus on practices, production, processes, competences, knowledge and more. A broad interpretation of heritage acknowledges that heritage is not 'in the past', but a way to mobilise the past in the present, and to set out pathways for the future. This way of understanding heritage is potentially building on the emotional attachment of the locals to a heritage asset. This can help mobilise people and good will, but can also be exploitative, and whether people are getting involved in these heritage processes or not, should not be a factor in defining who is a 'good citizen' or not. Places have different values, and different emotional attachments to different people, and the memories and emotions they bring about can be traumatic, problematic, or simply not of interest to people. People should be allowed to 'refuse' to participate or engage, and there should be space for people to contest and question the heritage that is mobilised, for the narratives to become more inclusive and diverse.

Policies and practices:

- Policy can support the aim to secure certain assets for civic-minded, social-oriented actors and initiatives.
- Facilitating connections can be done through a range of tools, including community engagement tools or temporary use and events, to listing a building as an 'asset of community value' (e.g., London CLT), and co-creating heritage research, exhibitions and walkabouts.
- Some heritage funders are moving from funding aimed solely at material restoration towards more people-oriented projects, where the focus is on use and integration e.g., workshops, engagement programmes, skills building, knowledge sharing, community involvement that support heritage buildings, processes, or practices.

- Connecting heritage and people can also be the result of the building itself, or its function. In London CLT heritage reuse is combined with housing, whereas in other cases social-oriented initiatives are prioritized in competitive bidding (e.g., Stara Trznica). In the case of ExRotaprint, the project was built on emblematic architectural heritage: the architectural heritage values of the building made the identity of the place more explicit and helped to reinforce the place-attachment.
- A variety of funding sources can foster wider connections between people and heritage sites (e.g., London CTL, but also Hof Prädikow, LaFábrika). Yet, having to rely on a variation of resources (e.g., mix of funding) also means these projects probably need a variation of stories and people involved, and this can mean they must be to be more inclusive and creative about their heritage. However, it can also mean they are more selective around what is the heritage that is useful to them.

e.) Strategy: align heritage values and socio-economic values for long term sustainability

Both the generic 'heritage designation' and specific selections of heritage values can be used as motivators in attracting people and resources to projects and areas. The way heritage is interpreted influences who or what is attracted. Different values and stories can be relevant for different sectors, levels of government, other governance and funding bodies. An open idea of heritage can lead to the involvement of a wide and diverse range of actors – from all levels of government to civil society groups, from bureaucrats to artists, or from entrepreneurs to unemployed, marginalised social groups and young people, as well as future generations. This involvement will spark interest, and motivate people to contribute or spend their time and/or money. Heritage values aligned with broader socio-economic values can also help community-oriented development schemes to keep focus on the social aspects, and not lose the project to speculation.

Policies and practices:

- This strategy can help focus funding applications. It can also be strategic to differentiate between funding for material heritage aspects (capital works, restoration) and immaterial aspects (traditions, uses, histories, memories) or funding for the (future) use, the community of users, or wider area regeneration. Generally, projects have used this approach to help them combine multiple funding options and resources, and /or to build a phased approach.

- The local needs of a community can be used as a starting point for programming (e.g., Stara Tržnica), also in order to create a framework for social sustainability. Inviting local NGOs to the site is a way to attract the local community (example: Alba Iulia).
- Other ways to work towards economic sustainability are to opt for temporary (new) use that highlights the history and heritage of the site, as this can help to establish (new) relationships with the site, and other people and (heritage) sites in the area, and it can help to pilot uses (Examples: Sunderland, Scugnizzo Liberato). A phased approach, interim strategies, or temporary use can allow for alternative forms of construction service exchange and compensation, with the aim to favor the acquisition of capital resources by disadvantaged communities. However, such meanwhile uses can also easily lead to problematic and precarious situations for the temporary users and contribute to processes of gentrification (example: Jewish District).
- "Heritage" can potentially be found in the relationship between a community and a public asset, and the social practices or "civic use" related to the heritage asset (e.g., a public square and a dance ritual) which can be long existing, or being build up as a "right to use and/or manage" a common resource.
- Projects can also (partly) base their financial sustainability on the heritage values of the site: e.g., by developing a heritage-based touristic offer, or using the heritage status to get baseline maintenance funding. Heritage and urban planning policies and tools can support bottom-up initiatives and enable resource integration, e.g., strategic planning on how a site can be used and redeveloped, as well as (tax) incentives, preferential treatment, engagement processes, controls, process guidance, and fines. Local planning regulations and heritage protection are key in providing a stable framework of operation for adaptive reuse projects, as resource integration benefits from stability and opening up opportunities. Capacity at local level for a case-based and flexible approach (within a stable and transparent framework) allows supporting 'unusual' actors in bottom-up initiatives as well as a tailored approach to heritage assets.
- Heritage is used to develop skills programmes and volunteer programmes in which community members share or gain skills, whilst participating actively in the restoration and management of a heritage asset. This can be in formal / skilled / training capacity, or as DIY, volunteer project, informal construction processes. This participation in the restoration and

management process can in turn contribute to establishing a sustainable financial model.

f.) Strategy: amplify the heritage links

Many of the projects in OpenHeritage use or benefit from partnerships to amplify and connect the very localised heritage assets and their values and link them into wider networks.

- Building connections with similar sites (e.g., industrial sites in the region, ruin bars across Europe, designated policy areas across the country): Hof Prädikow with a network of future places, Cascina with neighbourhood houses, Szimpla with ruin bars, Sunderland within the Heritage Action Zone, and between HAZ areas as well. This can be done by building narratives between heritage sites, projects, and/or organisations, to increase the role of the site in the historical narrative of the entire area, and/or to strengthen the identity of the area. Sometimes it is about integrating storylines better into existing wider landscapes and histories, and thus develop shared identities. It can also mean peacebuilding, de-escalation, or other collaborative work, by working across (cultural, municipal, national) borders. Depending on the aim of the partnership, added values will be different. Often there is the hope for income generation for the actors involved e.g., in tourism, through cultural routes and tours, promoting shared practices (in food, religion, traditions, culture, agriculture), attracting new residents, creating an aesthetic and cultural atmosphere that attracts certain groups (e.g., bars; creative industries).

g.) Strategy: platform heritage thematically

Making heritage a main theme of a period by national, regional or local governments can be a smart strategy to mainstream heritage, and invest in its development as a sector as well as its integration in other sectors and policies.

Policies and practices:

- The European Year of Cultural Heritage has been a plentiful resource. It has strengthened the EU's steer, and thus, national and local commitment to community in the heritage sector, and has made the integration of heritage in wider (planning, funding, sustainability, development, regeneration, etc.)

strategies more common. It also led to more heritage and adaptive heritage reuse programmes (funding, knowledge sharing, research, peer-networks) in EU context, and to better integration of heritage and reuse in other relevant programmes (e.g., culture, agriculture, sustainability, regional development).

- Investing in e.g., the European Heritage Days across a city can also contribute to thematizing heritage, and it is a part of the "amplify the heritage links strategy" too.

h.) Strategy: explore multiple layers and voices of heritage

The aim to be more inclusive in heritage projects, tends to focus on strategies around incorporating (immaterial) heritage and capturing local knowledge. Stories and intangible heritage can be very important in the inclusion of people in a project. Heritage can attract, create a sense of belonging, bring together, and be inclusive, but it can also divide and exclude. Both qualities may be used, sometimes strategically, sometimes with less awareness.

Policies and practices:

- Heritage can be translated into broader project values (such as values that underpin organisational structures; e.g., openness; inclusivity etc.) which can be reflected in legal / formal structures and means e.g., commons; bylaws. The co-management of the asset and the co-production of offered services can be based on or strengthened by having connections to how past users organised, and/or shared (heritage) values and intangible heritage. In ExRotaprint and Cascina, research is done on the architectural heritage of the site by involving the community and their understanding of heritage. In the case of Cascina, the site is also a carrier of local memory and heritage, since it hosts the Local History Interpretation and Documentation Centre. This centre is conceived as an Ecomuseum, that is, a place where local historical memories are archived and made accessible to citizens.
- When a project mobilises specific histories and heritage values, it will likely appeal to specific audiences, and can be unattractive, uninteresting, or even traumatic to other audiences. Projects open to the variety of potentially conflicting and contested heritage narratives, values and histories, can appeal to and involve a larger group of actors. Mechanisms need to be in place to be able to openly and safely discuss and negotiate the different perspectives.

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i.) Strategy: explore and reflect on the different understandings of heritage

When looking at a project, the issue who is involved – e.g., who is seen as responsible for its maintenance – can tell something about how heritage is perceived.

Policies and practices:

- In some countries the "public" nature of heritage means public authorities have the main responsibility (example: Potocki Palace). This can mean a fairly inflexible approach to (formally designated) heritage assets, following an inflexible legal system, and focussing on materiality, aesthetics, and a very narrow set of values. Yet, both private and public ownership can be an obstacle in accessibility and participatory heritage processes.
- When heritage is seen as a public good, a commons, it can help create different ideas of ownership, e.g., communal and societally shared rights and responsibilities. Seeing heritage as a public good means that the resource is shared by a collective or a more general stakeholder group. Commons-related resources are the contributions that individuals or groups make to produce, maintain, care for and manage the commons. In many community-based projects, particularly when it comes to adaptive reuse, these contributions need to be coordinated within the collective to ensure the sustainability of the collective endeavour.
- Civic contributions foster the sense of community ownership of the initiative and can strengthen the engagement within the initiative as people involved will feel comfortable with the heritage mobilised and the heritage narratives recognized.
- Creating a democratic understanding of heritage can also be reached by researching the architectural values and/or heritage narratives. In many cases, research on the architectural values became an opportunity to re-discover identity and symbolic values for the community and the entire district, to map people and places, and to promote the spatial and social heritage of the area. This is also a process of creating heritage by promotion; co-creative projects on heritage meaning, create a sense of belonging, and raise awareness.

j.) Strategy: use, or become part of, a wider area-based approach

In AHR projects integration of the site within its wider context is often seen as an important aspect. This can be done by incorporating an area-based approach in the AHR project, or by actively reaching out to existing structures, organisations and communities. There are many supporting policy programs that support the integration of the site into its environment. An integrated approach between regional development and heritage preservation is often based on regional identity building, for tourism strategies or to attract new residents. Heritage is a resource and can be integrated in a wider network of resources to make the area more attractive.

Policies and practices:

- Policies / governments can address regional discrepancies and provide funds for restoration and adaptive reuse to support more disadvantaged areas, mainstreaming adaptive reuse within certain other sectors, e.g., regeneration, sustainability, tourism.
- Policy programs aimed at investing in wider area regeneration, to integrate various concerns, including employment opportunities, development perspectives for small businesses, essential social and physical infrastructure, and heritage-protection. The BIP/ZIP program in Lisbon that provides funding to civic projects, including heritage preservation, in a number of socio-economically disadvantaged ("priority") neighbourhoods. The HAZ area in the Sunderland case provides a funding focus on heritage areas/ buildings, with the aim to socially regenerate the area. Funding and other resources directed to these Heritage Action Zones allow access to experts, partnerships, networks; later it also led to the designation of Sunderland as a "good practice" HAZ, which brings further support and an opportunity to share knowledge and peer-learning.

2.3. Key learnings: Bottlenecks, conflicts, and solutions

Heritage as source of contestation and differentiation

By putting a greater emphasis on a variety of heritage values and on the social and cultural-political aspects of heritage, differences are highlighted, and heritage might become a source of contestation or differentiation (see Harrison 2012). Even within one heritage re-use project, there are multiple and potentially **competing or conflicting values** and ideas of which history is important or even about what heritage is in the first place. Not all these ideas can be equally represented, and unless this process of heritage making is done very carefully, it is usually those whose values and ideas are existing outside the dominant heritage discourse that are excluded (see Smith 2006).

The goals of the Grünmetropole project to create a strong local identity and linking heritage to socio-economic development were only partly reached. The main reason was the limited room for a plurality of stakeholders and their ideas of heritage, since only a few people could participate in the design process, and their opinions were subordinated to the – already set – agenda of creating a mining-past route.

The heritage values represented in heritage reuse projects are often more or less fixed, single, and agreed upon solutions, in which only some (and often dominant) values are incorporated. Conflicts may arise within a heritage reuse project, but also in relation to the interaction between different communities, working with a fixed and limited understanding of heritage in some cases leads to conflicts on heritage ownership and values between different groups. In the Hof Prädikow project, initiatives and programs to engage the "newcomers" who run the AHR and the locals, are set up to provide opportunities to meet each other and come to a shared understanding of heritage. Investing in **co-creating a set of shared values** can help to avoid or overcome conflicts, and heritage can become a tool for a new group/community, to create a connection to the existing/wider community.

Heritage discourses and questionable incentives

Conflicts may also arise as a result of fixed definitions of heritage in the process of identification of heritage as such. Declaring heritage status, for instance, is a rather top-down organized, authoritarian act, often accompanied by a strong tendency towards safeguarding a physical heritage asset. In this respect, heritage listings rarely incorporate the communities' values attributed to and understandings of heritage. A fixed

system of value attribution, in which values are inherent and unchanging, is not compatible with an understanding of values as evolving within societal dynamics.

The project in Alba Iulia is set-up around a notion that heritage is a thing to conserve and protect. This is underlined by a heritage management approach strongly focused on the preservation of the object. The Citadel has been on the tentative list for UNESCO World Heritage Sites, and it is one of the most strictly protected areas of archaeological and built heritage in Romania. In this case, however, the conceptualization of heritage as a tangible object leads to little interaction with other heritage values. Only one heritage narrative – of political and ecclesiastical history – is addressed, whilst the narratives focusing on the everyday lives of the multiethnic and multicultural population hardly appear.

International funding and the discourse of EU projects in some cases strengthen this process of hiding certain conflicts which, thus, leaves stories of certain groups untold or focusses on very particular minorities /marginalizations (that correspond to the agenda of the EU project or are "useful" in terms of tourism, branding, identity etc.).

Heritage and the problem of memory

A growing emphasis on the intangible and personal values of heritage, and the process of widening the scope of what is defined as heritage has led to a profusion of remembering and collecting heritage objects. Integral to this process of remembering is the process of forgetting, meaning that one cannot properly form memories and attach value to heritage without selecting some things also to forget (see Harrison ed. 2020). Some kind of "strategic forgetting" occurs when it concerns heritage assets that address so-called dark, difficult, dissonant or conflict heritage (i.e. uncomfortable heritage), such as in the cases of London CTL (psychiatric hospital and workhouse) and the ruin pubs in the Jewish District (former Ghetto). In contrast, in the case of Scugnizzo Liberato, the uncomfortable heritage is embraced and incorporated in the name and social mission statement of the adaptive reuse project. Likewise, Sargfabrik uses its uncomfortable heritage in branding. There is an interesting interplay between the name and symbolic forms referring to death and a mission and vision about creating an environment for a "good" life. Praga Lab also deals with a difficult heritage due to a stigmatization of the area, but they turn this into a discourse on authenticity.

Uncomfortable heritage and the problem of memory can lead to conflicts, especially when some unwanted storylines are left out at the expense of certain communities or individuals. However, this could also be used the other way round, by turning uncomfortable storylines into a key element of

the branding strategy or by recognizing it in the heritage reuse plans, reaching out to communities who own dark or difficult heritage.

Unintended outcomes

Adaptive heritage reuse projects sometimes struggle with unexpected and undesired side-effects, or intended impacts becoming "larger than life". Heritage adaptive reuse is often tourism-oriented and it strongly relies on heritage branding and identity, leading to a process of heritage-lead gentrification, touristification, heritagization, as well as an overt focus on specific (more usable) parts of the heritage. This poses a challenge for local communities as their heritage narratives and identity are not necessarily recognized or incorporated, and can easily become exploited and appropriated. Initiatives should be based on large alliances to counter such territorial disparities. In the case of the Jewish District, we saw a clear example of the process of rewriting the narrative by reuse, turning the area into a party district. This reuse resulted in a stronger local economy but a changing local identity, and heritage-lead gentrification. Jewish heritage tourism is another type of reuse yet focusing on very much selected narratives. This posed a threat of erasing certain histories. This case illustrates that what appears as a strength at national (or international) level, can be a threat at local level if there is no control over qualitative/distributive aspects of the transformation.

These processes of gentrification, touristification, and heritagization can even become worse when a project aligns itself with international organisations such as UNESCO. World Heritage listing seems desirable in many respects but in most cases leads to typical impacts, such as UNESCO heritagization and touristification.

The impact of heritage policy and financial incentives

Heritage protection regulation can be used to prevent slash-and-burn developments or strategic disinvestment – thereby limiting the power of real estate speculators, e.g., by imposing penalties or fines, even with compulsory purchase or expropriation of an asset or by offering integrated expertise (financing expertise and renovation works – particularly in peripheral areas and for low-income or not-for profit owners), matchmaking, and appropriate flexibility. Yet, heritage protection does not prevent for-profit real estate developers to engage in adaptive reuse and to turn it into a successful business – as observed in cities like Stockholm. Such a situation requires additional political and regulatory prioritization for civic initiatives.

Fragmented and weak institutional frameworks can also have a negative impact on heritage reuse projects. Heritage protection, for instance, can work against civic initiatives of adaptive heritage reuse as it imposes too many requirements, limitations, burdens and costs on the civic initiatives on adaptive reuse. Heritage status is often framed as an additional burden in terms of finances and time even though protection policies also serve the goal of protecting the monument from demolition. The complexity of heritage and planning framework can be seen in other ways too: the scale and typology of the building is too much for a small town (Potocki Palace) or there is no interest in cooperation on behalf of the municipality or they have a rather laissez-faire approach (Budapest, Jewish District). This complexity of heritage and planning framework can be navigated more successfully by engaging "skilled players" or introducing more nuanced limits of acceptable change in relation to ownership, community relevance, and financial input.

Similar bottlenecks can be identified when looking at financial incentives. There are very different financial incentives (or disincentives) for (formal) heritage – some are tax-based, many are competitive (grant funding), some are thematic (and competitive) e.g., only for religious, highstreets, villages; or only for specific actors (e.g., community groups, heritage groups, academics, cultural organisations, etc.). Whilst heritage status can lead to financial advantages as it can help to get low interest mortgages, loans, funding, or to reach out to investors, programmes for funding or heritage preservation are not equally available and accessible in various areas. Besides, in general, the availability of financial resources is often limited, and they are often focussed on the preservation of tangible cultural heritage.

Funding mechanisms are also heritage processes: public funding for instance supports the idea that heritage belongs to the entire society, whereas pool funding leads to a situation that everyone can personally possess heritage. International funding strengthens the international embeddedness of the local heritage and hence leads to upscaling of heritage values. It is necessary to be aware of these effects of funding mechanisms as heritage processes, and to act on this by for instance incorporating social responsibility in contractual agreements.

3. CO-GOVERNANCE

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3.1. Conceptualization of co-governance

The concept of co-governance is central in the definition of the adaptive re-use and heritage valorization, as the complexity of the adaptive reuse practices require different players to collaborate. The following paragraphs will provide an overview of the state of the art of the co-governance definition and they will describe what the term refers to in this report.

3.1.1. Academic state of the art on co-governance

The discussion on collaborative and democratic forms of governance started with the body of theory developed by **Elinor Ostrom**, which aims to define innovative governance mechanisms that can structure **cooperative action between and among different types of actors**. Ostrom has defined a new way to imagine the governance which rely on collaboration, cooperativeness and co-ownership. Starting from her works, scholars have discussed and defined differently this new multi-actor governance arrangements, developing different names and definitions, which include **collective governance** (Ostrom 1990), **self-governance** (Ostrom 1990; Harvey 2012), **shared governance** (Laerhoven and Barnes 2019), **collaborative governance** (Freeman 1997 Ansell and Gash 2007; Bingham 2009 and 2010), **cooperative governance** (Wilson 2003), co-governance (Kooiman 2003), depending on the role and centrality of the different players involved. At the core of the discussion on the co-governance, there is the vision and application of the commons, their infrastructure and peer-to-peer production mechanisms. **Commons** views promote and support co-governance as described by many authors, such as Carol Rose (1986), Yochai Benkler (2016), Michael Madison and Katherine Strandburg (2016), and Brett Frischmann (2012), which have analyzed it from different sectors and perspectives. However, other authors have followed a different approach. As an example, Ansell and Gash (2008) have defined the co-governance as "a governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets". This definition stresses the importance of public agencies or initiations by public institutions, more than a collective effort. However, the co-governance arrangements do not necessarily implicate the

role of public authorities as initiators of these activities, as it is one of **five main types of players** participating to the co-governance (Foster & Iaione, 2019). The focus has also shifted to the relation of the arrangements. Tine de Moor (2012) explored three different dimensions of governance that need to be taken in consideration, such as resource system, collective property regime, and the interactions between the resource and its users. Hence, co-governance models need to follow these three lines to foster legitimacy, transparency, and social inclusion (Bang 2010). In addition, scholars have applied the co-governance model in studying institutional, legal, economic and financial aspects to urban resources and infrastructures (Arnstein 1969; Ansell and Gash, 2007; Kooiman 2003; Bingham 2009; Foster & Iaione, 2019) and to foster urban collaborations in cultural heritage contexts (A.R. Poteete, M.A. Janssen, E. Ostrom, 2010; S. Foster, C. Iaione, 2016). Hence, scholars have interpreted the co-governance differently and under different forms.

3.1.2.   **Definition of co-governance used for the analysis**

The discussion over the term co-governance highlights some common aspects that need to be considered as the base of the co-governance definition. Co-governance defines a **model of integration of multiple stakeholders within the decision-making process** (Poteete, Janssen and Ostrom 2010; Reese and Jackson-Elmoore 2016; Plevoets and Van Cleempoel 2019). This model is based on those developed in multiple helix theories (Ranga and Etzkowitz 2013; Carayannis and Campbell 2009; Carayannis et al. 2012). Thus, the collaborative approach is central to each definition and model.

An additional element to consider is the actors participating to the processes and their power over it. In this project, co-governance arrangements are envisaged to foster public administration cooperation among with the other four types of actors: a) active citizens, commoners, social innovators, city makers, informal groups, local communities; b) private actors (national or local business enterprises); c) civil society organizations and NGOs; d) knowledge institutions (Iaione and Cannavò 2015; Foster and Iaione 2016, 2019; Hula et al. 2016).

Among the different actors, **public authorities play a major role**. However, it is possible that co-governance is achieved in cases in which not all the actors mentioned above are present, and among these there may be no public administration. Where this happens, in order to ensure the project's sustainability over time and to achieve the relevant objectives, other actors (e.g., knowledge institutions, associations, citizens, etc.) must show the ability to be leading players themselves and to know how to interact with the public authorities. Thus, even if the public administration

is not part of the legal entity specifically created for the project initiative or is not as part of the agreement with the other stakeholders, the public function it performs is always present.

The players which are parts of the co-governance model oversee a **participatory management** style in which decisions, strategic and operational, are made equitably and considering all people affected by the activities. The participation of all the stakeholders with interests in the decisions contributes to closing the gap between resource users and resource managers, producers and providers. Hence, co-governance applies the principle of subsidiarity - including people that would normally do not have any authority - and it proposes a democratic control mechanism.

For the purposes of the project, then co-governance is considered as "a governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets" (Raven et al. 2017). In this light, co-governance is understood in its broadest sense, where its arrangements are aimed at empowering as many actors as possible, even if not inscribed within *ad-hoc* created legal entity. Such co-governance framework can stimulate resource integration through social and economic pooling. Moreover, such arrangements ultimately trigger processes of inclusive development, as already tested in urban environment (Ostrom 2010; Foster and Iaione 2016). Such arrangements, however, face the challenge of long-term (social, environmental, economic) sustainability of public-community, public-private-community or public-private-people partnerships (Foster and Iaione 2019).

3.1.3. **Operationalization of co-governance**

For the scope of this report the co-governance will be operationalized following the **"Co-City protocol"** (Iaione 2016; Co-Cities Report 2020), which takes into consideration five elements: collective governance, enabling state, pooling economies, experimentalism, technological justice. Such protocol has already been tested to manage and govern urban assets (urban common goods). The profile of technological justice will not be considered in this context. However, the other four elements or dimensions viewed in the context of **Co-City protocol**, i.e., **collective governance**, **enabling state**, **pooling economies**, **experimentalism** (Iaione et al. 2017) will be crucial to operationalize the co-governance theme.

In order to operationalize the theme, the four different dimensions, consistent with the methodology applied in the "Co-City protocol", will be assessed through **some indicators** as indicated below:

- did the governance model support the involvement of different players in the activities?
- did the governance model support a collaborative and democratic form of decision-making?
- did the governance model support the development of innovative ideas?
- did the governance model support (resource, community, regional) integration?
- did the governance model ensure projects' long-term sustainability?
- did the governance model foster a new facilitating role of local authorities?
- did the governance model stimulate innovation of spaces or areas?

The above indicators will be useful to operationalize the theme and refer to the four dimensions of the Co-city protocol.

Attention will be paid to relevant aims and strategies in order to enable the realization of multi-actor co-governance experiments or, in the broadest sense of the term, collaborations, including external ones, between actors of different kinds (public, civic, etc.).

3.2. Analysis

Based on the definition and operationalization of the co-governance, the report will first provide an overview of co-governance aims in adaptive heritage reuse practices. Thus, it will follow the description of the strategies necessary to promote and develop co-governance solutions, tackling how policies and bottlenecks could influence these processes.

3.2.1. Aims of adaptive heritage reuse in terms of co-governance

Co-governance is a governance model aimed at ensuring collective benefits by considering the potentialities and specific needs of residents in a targeted area. To this end, the main aim of the co-governance model is to make multiple local actors participate collaboratively to consensus-oriented decision-making process, in order to encourage the creation of a

collaborative spirit and involvement of different players. Such objectives might be embraced by public institutions as well as groups or individuals interested at managing urban assets in a shared manner.

Urban regeneration processes by means of heritage adaptive reuse share the same aims as co-governance. In fact, they both are based on participatory processes. Participation consists, in most cases, in the involvement of as many actors as possible and especially of the community that inhabits the places where the processes take place or are willing to. Besides, heritage adaptive reuse means to consider different level of collaborations, aimed at reaching out **diverse stakeholders and scales**. This implies that no ready-made solutions can be adopted and aims should be adapted and "translated" into specific place, context, time, especially when it comes to community involvement.

In addition, both heritage adaptive reuse processes and co-governance models, in order to achieve their aims, must deal with the **regulatory framework**. This framework does not always facilitate the development of these processes and models, and public authorities do not always support the implementation of these collaborative solutions. As such, the implementation of innovative management ideas may be hampered by the rules and laws in their respective contexts.

In the following, we differentiate the main aims that heritage adaptive reuse projects have in relation to co-governance and to consider how and to what extent they trigger the process of neighbourhood-based inclusive urban development, linked to urban regeneration practices. In order to do so, several conditions (or indicators) need to be met to achieve a full range of co-governances. Drawing on interim reports of evaluation of resource, community and regional integration (D3.3, 3.4, 3.4), aims are identified and described as follows:

- creation of participatory decision-making processes
- creation of a multi-actor institutional environment
- collaborative management of the assets
- broadening of territorial framework connections

Firstly, co-governance models are intended to create collaborative decision-making process which ensures that all players involved into a project participate to the sharing of profits and values. Such aim is to prevent internal elites from running this kind of projects, and from abusing governmental powers. Co-governance models attempt to raise awareness to such dynamics and thus seek to break insider/outsider dynamics.

Secondly, they are aimed to define an open institutional environment, including the participation of several actors from different backgrounds. These is an important precondition to critically reflect on what priority social needs to be identified by the projects and to what extent the

projects address them in an efficient way. To this end, the focus is on how to "lower the threshold" that allows people from different backgrounds to become involved within institutional processes.

Then, thirdly, co-governance models allow to regulate the management of the space bottom-up, giving everyone the possibility to participate in the project's governance, but also making the community the actor in charge of the decision-making process. This means that for urban development to be inclusive, the planning process should support bottom-up initiatives by allowing plans to be formulated in a way that supports their needs and creates an environment that *values diversity* in processes of decision making, enables co-creation, stimulates (multiscale) cooperation within a certain territory.

Finally, this brings us to focus a further intent of co-governance model, which is **to create an impact that goes beyond a specific project to reach out a larger territorial framework and its multiple articulations** – whether political, political, economic, juridical, etc. This interconnectedness implies that co-governance approaches are committed in nurturing a "lived cultural heritage" which expands and co-evolves in terms of institutional and territorial connections.

3.2.2.   Strategies, Processes and Impacts

The following paragraph will describe how co-governance is translated into action thanks the development of different strategies. These strategies have been tried out by most of OCs and could be differentiated in accordance with the distinctions laid out under the aims, e.g., the different composition of project governance in terms of actors involved and legal entities created to manage it, etc.

The tables below (Table 1 and 2) describe the interrelation between strategies and aims, showing the relevant correspondences useful for the assessment of co-governance projects according to preset indicators. The analysis is operationalized by indicating with "X" the implementation of the given strategy and with "Yes" (Y) or "No" (N) the adherence to the pre-set indicators.

Strategies have been sorted in two groups, namely strategy *for* co-governance and strategies *of* co-governance. Although many of the presented strategies might happen contemporarily, to a certain extent the **two clusters** distinguish different phases of co-governance. **Strategies *for* co-governance** are mainly focused on paving the way for the institutionalization of the co-governance model, e.g., identifying and inviting affected communities, setting a civic-oriented environment, etc. By contrast, **strategies *of* co-governance** highlight mechanisms allowing

communities to advance in a stable manner throughout the co-governance process as, for instance, they assure the access and/or the collection of a diverse resources (whether capital or financial).

It is worth noticing that throughout these strategies the commitment to collaborative stable solutions is driven by the ability of the community to self-organize, even in complex forms, to include as many different capacities as possible for the development of its project objectives.

Each strategy will then be described in-depth below focusing on the general impact, bottlenecks and policies, stressing the importance of an integrated and multidisciplinary approach to co-governance measures.

Table 1. Strategies, aims and indicators for co-governance

Strategies for co-governance					
Aims	**Strategies**		**Indicators**		
Creation of participatory decision-making processes	Participatory and volunteer involvement in targeted special areas	**X**	Did the governance model support the involvement of different players?	**Y**	
			Did the governance model support a collaborative and democratic form of decision-making?	**Y**	
	Authority as a facilitator for democratic process	**X**	Did the governance model support the development of innovative ideas?	**Y**	
			Did the governance model support (resource, community, regional) integration?	**Y**	
	Creating new entities (i.e., legal entities)	**X**	Did the governance model ensure projects' long-term sustainability?	**Y**	
			Did the governance model foster a new facilitating role of local authorities?	**Y**	
			Did the governance model stimulate innovation of spaces or areas?	**Y**	

Table 1 – Strategies, aims and indicators for co-governance (continued).

Aims	Strategies		Indicators	
Strategies for co-governance (continued)				
Creation of a multi-actor institutional environment	Participatory and volunteer involvement in targeted special areas	X	Did the governance model support the involvement of different players?	Y
			Did the governance model support a collaborative and democratic form of decision-making?	Y
	Authority as a facilitator for democratic process	X	Did the governance model support the development of innovative ideas?	Y
			Did the governance model support (resource, community, regional) integration?	Y
	Creating new entities (i.e., legal entities)		Did the governance model ensure projects' long-term sustainability?	Y
			Did the governance model foster a new facilitating role of local authorities?	Y
			Did the governance model stimulate innovation of spaces or areas?	Y

Table 1 – Strategies, aims and indicators for co-governance (continued).

Aims	Strategies		Indicators	
Strategies for co-governance				
Collaborative management of assets	Participatory and volunteer involvement in targeted special areas	**X**	Did the governance model support the involvement of different players?	**Y**
			Did the governance model support a collaborative and democratic form of decision-making?	**Y**
	Authority as a facilitator for democratic process		Did the governance model support the development of innovative ideas?	**Y**
			Did the governance model support (resource, community, regional) integration?	**Y**
	Creating new entities (i.e., legal entities)		Did the governance model ensure projects' long-term sustainability?	**Y**
			Did the governance model foster a new facilitating role of local authorities?	**Y**
			Did the governance model stimulate innovation of spaces or areas?	**Y**

Table 1 – Strategies, aims and indicators for co-governance (continued).

Aims	Strategies for co-governance (continued)			
	Strategies		Indicators	
Broadening of territorial framework connections	Participatory and volunteer involvement in targeted special areas	**X**	Did the governance model support the involvement of different players?	**Y**
			Did the governance model support a collaborative and democratic form of decision-making?	**N**
	Authority as a facilitator for democratic process	**X**	Did the governance model support the development of innovative ideas?	**Y**
			Did the governance model support (resource, community, regional) integration?	**Y**
	Creating new entities (i.e., legal entities)		Did the governance model ensure projects' long-term sustainability?	**N**
			Did the governance model foster a new facilitating role of local authorities?	**Y**
			Did the governance model stimulate innovation of spaces or areas?	**Y**

Table 2. Strategies, aims and indicators of co-governance.

Strategies of co-governance				
Aims	**Strategies**		**Indicators**	
Creation of participatory decision-making processes	Fostering the community-led use and management of heritage properties	**X**	Did the governance model support the involvement of different players?	**Y**
			Did the governance model support a collaborative and democratic form of decision-making?	**Y**
	Funding, solidarity and revenue sharing tools	**X**	Did the governance model support the development of innovative ideas?	**Y**
			Did the governance model support (resource, community, regional) integration?	**Y**
			Did the governance model ensure projects' long-term sustainability?	**Y**
			Did the governance model foster a new facilitating role of local authorities?	**Y**
			Did the governance model stimulate innovation of spaces or areas?	**Y**

Table 2 – Strategies, aims and indicators of co-governance (continued)

Strategies of co-governance (continued)				
Aims	**Strategies**		**Indicators**	
Creation of a multi-actor institutional environment	Fostering the community-led use and management of heritage properties		Did the governance model support the involvement of different players?	**Y**
			Did the governance model support a collaborative and democratic form of decision-making?	**Y**
	Funding, solidarity and revenue sharing tools	**X**	Did the governance model support the development of innovative ideas?	**Y**
			Did the governance model support (resource, community, regional) integration?	**Y**
			Did the governance model ensure projects' long-term sustainability?	**Y**
			Did the governance model foster a new facilitating role of local authorities?	**N**
			Did the governance model stimulate innovation of spaces or areas?	**Y**

Table 2 – Strategies, aims and indicators of co-governance (continued)

Strategies of co-governance (continued)				
Aims	**Strategies**		**Indicators**	
Collaborative regulation of assets' management	Fostering the community-led use and management of heritage properties	**X**	Did the governance model support the involvement of different players?	**Y**
			Did the governance model support the support a collaborative and democratic form of decision-making?	**Y**
	Funding, solidarity and revenue sharing tools		Did the governance model support the support the development of innovative ideas?	**Y**
			Did the governance model support the support (resource, community, regional) integration?	**Y**
			Did the governance model support the ensure projects' long-term sustainability?	**N**
			Did the governance model support the foster a new facilitating role of local authorities?	**Y**
			Did the governance model support the stimulate innovation of spaces or areas?	**Y**

Table 2 – Strategies, aims and indicators of co-governance (continued)

Strategies of co-governance (continued)				
Aims	**Strategies**		**Indicators**	
Broadening of territorial framework connections	Fostering the community-led use and management of heritage properties	**X**	Did the governance model support the involvement of different players?	**Y**
			Did the governance model support a collaborative and democratic form of decision-making?	**Y**
	Funding, solidarity and revenue sharing tools		Did the governance model support the development of innovative ideas?	**Y**
			Did the governance model support (resource, community, regional) integration?	**Y**
			Did the governance model ensure projects' long-term sustainability?	**N**
			Did the governance model foster a new facilitating role of local authorities?	**N**
			Did the governance model stimulate innovation of spaces or areas?	**Y**

3.2.2.1. Strategies for co-governance

Participatory and volunteer involvement in targeted areas

Aims:

- o creation of collaborative decision-making processes
- o definition of an open deliberative environment
- o broadening of territorial framework connections

Strategies of participatory and volunteer involvement are essential in the implementation of a co-governance model. Precondition to take advantage of this strategy is to **raise the interest** and nurturing people's motivation in respect with adaptive heritage reuse projects. In this process, cultural heritage has a crucial role, potentially fostering connections not only among

local individuals and groups but also setting the scene for international relationships.

Therefore, informing a value-oriented narrative around a certain asset is the first step towards the mobilization of people and their involvement throughout the whole adaptation process, meaning from decision making to programming and management.

As the initiative of Cascina Roccafranca demonstrated, a **long-lasting and continuous process of engagement** is needed in order to assess progresses and refocus emerging needs and priorities. To this end, tactics that focus on participatory processes, programming and structuring coalitions which include tools to capture local knowledge, co-design moments, events as well as step-by-step renovation and more generally temporary uses of the site are central to foster community integration (Van Gils et al, 2020), both internal and external to the project itself.

Largo Residências in Lisbon and "Collaboratory" in Rome are two samples of an **area-based strategy** that stems with the definition of a target area. For the Rome Lab, the co-governance process results from a goal-oriented approach (co-governance and commons) which led to design an inter-sectorial area defined as co-heritage district. The targeted area is considered as expandable and subject to change, defining the context within which collaborations and impacts are measured in term of shared benefits for directly and indirectly involved actors. To this end, Collaboratory is based on the open-door principle, namely its governance is based on the idea that all interested stakeholders could join the cooperative at any moment.

Of course, public authorities and the planning systems that are open toward civic engagement have a crucial role in implementing this strategy. In the analyzed contexts, strategy of participatory and volunteer involvement can rise on the basis of social actors, such as cooperatives, social enterprises, trusts, but also individuals driven by entrepreneurial and cultural and artistic spirits can have a decisive impact on regeneration processes through heritage adaptive reuse. Thus, allowing the identification of qualified actors for the development of strategies enabling the implementation of adaptive reuse processes and the creation of forms of co-governance. In this respect, several Open Heritage cases (e.g., ExRotaprint, Largo Residências, Szimpla Kert) show how the concurrent work of social actors, artists and private actors can be a determining element in the development of both adaptive heritage reuse projects and forms of co-governance. This is demonstrated, for example, in the case of ExRotaprint, where the combined work of several actors has avoided the privatization of heritage buildings; in the case of Szimpla Kert, the coordination of these actors has attempted to mitigate the process touristification and gentrification. From this viewpoint, participatory and volunteer involvement emerge as a strategy to raise

awareness and nurture solidarity bonds among people and stakeholder impacting on regional integration in terms of identity and, potentially, of policy.

Bottlenecks and conflicts:

- As many OpenHeritage case studies show, temporary uses, artistic and cultural activities are important occasions of identity building, rewriting the territorial narrative, and involving people. On the other hand, the regional integration evaluation shows that this place-based identity making corresponds to the increased threats of gentrification and touristification of the instant surrounding of adaptive heritage reuse projects (see D3.5).

Policy:

- Largo Residências demonstrated that adaptive reuse projects can be supported by policies that define priorities areas where co-governance is favored. The policy framework might introduce tools such as local offices and/or personnel costs to support participation at local level and tailored solutions for urban regeneration (see D2.2 chapter 5).

Authority as a facilitator and democratic process

Aims:

- o definition of an open deliberative environment
- o broadening of territorial framework connections.

The cooperation between public authorities and other stakeholders is crucial in order to create a suitable environment for the development of co-governance experimentations and a pooling of efforts. Such cooperation opens a dialogue and a widening of the range of stakeholders involved in the creation and management of a given project. In this sense, it has been argued that a strengthening of co-governance is essential for the development of a healthy democracy and the implementation of its processes (Somerville and Haines 2008).

This form of cooperation and dialogue takes place in various forms of support that local or national governments can give to projects promoted by civic actors, as happened in the Stará Trznica. The NGO established to elaborate a programme for the ancient market hall sited in the city centre made a detailed proposal to the Municipality for running the market hall. Despite the discussions about the need of a public competition, the NGO convinced the local government to use a specific regulatory clause which allows the public authority to grant an exemption from the competition to a strong proposal when approved by a vote in the City Council. Thus, a

concession agreement was signed instead of starting a longer public procurement process.

The public authority in this case did not suppress democratic debate and waived open tendering procedures for the selection of the most suitable interlocutor to carry out the work. In the presence of a specific and detailed offer and, at the same time, in the absence of other proposals, which had never been submitted over the years, the public authority decided to cooperate by contractual means with the NGO and simplified the process.

Cooperation and dialogue between diverse actors towards co-governance can take place also within projects proposed from a public initiative. The Marineterrein case can be taken as an example. Through a cooperation agreement signed between the national government and the municipality of Amsterdam, the two public authorities decided to establish a joint and independent project organization ("Bureau Marineterrein") to lead the development, maintenance and exploitation of the project on a public area. Such organization arranges sessions with the neighbourhood and calls on citizens to contribute to the **innovation process** affecting the area, through transparent plans and civic dialogues.

The challenge for authorities and communities involved in such dialogues is to be able to formalize such participatory processes through "**neighbourhood contracts**" (e.g., Marineterrein) or other forms of agreements (e.g., Stará Trznica, London CLT), which can regulate relationships between diverse actors, the development of activities and new ways of interacting with a widely local community, even beyond the already active local inhabitants. These cases represent atypical forms of co-governance and are implemented to the extent that they allow a stabilization of relations, albeit without shared governance (i.e. without management of the project by a unitary and ad hoc board). However, the coordination and cooperation established between the actors involved allow these examples to still be qualified as examples of collaborative partnerships or models that can be traced back to that of co-governance.

Bottlenecks and conflicts:

- As for Stará Trznica, these strategies are widely influenced by the attitude shown by the actors involved. Since public administrations often act autonomously or consult civic components to a limited extent or eventually do not involve them in projects' development in the long run. In addition, community initiatives do not always get the right attention, or they become entangled in bureaucratic constraints that do not allow projects to get off the ground, beneath the need to initiate democratic interim procedures.

Policy:

- Policies which can favor the implementation of these tools and the pursuit of such strategies are those that foster and implement multi-actor partnerships, and which involve the possibility of using special forms of agreement that allow less formal and more concrete procedures for the achievement of common goals. A sample of such a political approach is the Scugnizzo Liberato in Naples (see D3.4 D3.5).

Creating new entities

Aims:

- o creation of a collaborative decision-making process
- o collaborative management of assets

In order to foster the development and implementation of co-governance models, it has been argued that the creation of *ad-hoc* legal entities or 'vehicles' can be a useful solution to bring together different views, aims and interests expressed by the diverse stakeholders involved (Foster and Iaione, 2019). The creation of new entities entails the need to **choose a legal form** to give them to select the most suitable governance model so to pave the way for the development of a collaborative decision-making process and an equally collaborative management of assets.

The types of legal entities that in practice have enabled this experimentation and that have led, in many cases, to the development of participatory processes and projects are mostly those of the **participatory foundations', associations, cooperatives.**

These legal entities have peculiar characteristics which revealed to be useful to find a juncture between different interests and through unitary management. Depending on the form of governance, they ensure the achievement of different objectives.

Firstly, some of them ensure that entities of different natures (public, private, civic) can be adequately represented in governance and in the management that directs the body's activities. In addition, these forms might be legal entities that do not pursue profit-making purposes and whose assets under management (whether real estate/buildings or movable property) are intended to be used according to the purpose indicated in the statute provisions, influencing the funding mechanism and the long-term sustainability.

Examples include the **community land trust** set up for management in the London CLT case, where the restricted assets under trust are managed by the trust board, which is representative of different actors. Another

example is the ExRotaprint governance, where the **joint management** of the association and the foundation set up to safeguard the assets from possible privatization, allow the assets to be allocated according to the purposes indicated in the statute.

Another example in this sense can be given by the **participatory foundation** established in the Cascina Roccafranca case. Its management is entrusted to the participatory foundation, established under Italian law ("fondazione in partecipazione"), composed of public authorities (the Municipality) and civic-private components (social organizations that promoted the project, private funders), through which it was possible to ensure a participatory decision-making process and a community involvement in the management of the site.

Such legal tool provides a suitable environment for participatory planning and cooperation between citizens, local administrations and other local actors or stakeholders, while creating long-established and stable relations between them.

Bottlenecks and conflicts:

- The examples mentioned above witness that the ability of the different stakeholders to come at a common understanding of shared interests and decisions is crucial for these strategies in order to mutualize efforts. In most cases, these actors come from different backgrounds and do not always manage to find a common ground. Moreover, such legal tools to have a long-term viability they require a strong management capacity, which is crucial but not that easy to find among partners.

Policy:

- Policies can favour the implementation of these tools and the pursuit of such strategies when fostering and implementing multi-stakeholder partnerships. This may include public-private partnerships (PPPs), but also those that involve the contribution of the community (public-private-community partnerships - PPCPs). This is, for instance, the case of Cascina Roccafranca (Turin) where the Municipality leveraged on the regulatory landscape on urban regeneration at the EU level to ensure a vision of co-governance that embodies the participation of different players (see D3.4).

3.2.2.2. Strategies of co-governance

Fostering the community-led use and management of heritage assets

Aims:

- o definition of an open deliberative environment
- o collaborative management of assets

The evaluation of adaptive reuse projects shows that strategies supporting the co-management of heritage assets rest on two main approaches: redefining the relationships between the legal owner (who owns an asset) and the beneficial owner (who uses an asset) as well as adopting collective ownership models. The former uses formal or informal means to set the rights and responsibilities of different parties keeping the property under the public domain.

This is the case, for instance, of the Scugnizzo Liberato in Naples. In this case, the public authority has been supporting the acquisition of its heritage assets by informal groups and local communities through a co-designed process which regulates responsibilities and rights of both parties. Crucial is the **recognition of the social value** created by the community gathered around a specific cultural asset

The attempt of the latter, instead, is to empower the community by adopting legal configurations which allow for a rent control system based on the **separation of land and building ownership**. Hence, with this strategy the community can create themselves autonomously the condition to manage the space and ensure its economic and social sustainability.

Examples such as Community Land Trust in the UK (London CLT) and heritable building right in Germany (ExRotaprint; Hof Prädikow) testify how to create conditions of affordability (for working spaces and/or housing units) by allowing groups of tenants manage their units by paying an annual interest or lease fee.

The two approaches imply the collaboration of social actors with foundations, trusts, cooperatives, community-led charity, community organizations; and institutions such as socially-minded bank. Despite their differences, both solutions introduce mechanisms that not only enable the common use of certain assets but also impact on the real estate market by introducing not-for-profit mechanisms that **control land values**.

Bottlenecks and conflicts:

- Regulatory strategies can introduce short term solutions and, in politically tense situations such as aggressive gentrification in highly international context, community-led adaptive heritage reuse could risk becoming instrumentalized as window-dressing, as it has been

noticed regarding London CLT (see D3.5). To face these challenges, solutions have regarded the creation of local and international consensus around urban commons and building/strengthening large communities. In some cases, e.g., Scugnizzo Liberato, the institutionalization of the process through the new legal commons entities also has gone in parallel to the community development of adaptive reuse process itself.

Policy:

- This strategy sheds a light on the possibility for adaptive heritage reuse to tackle territorial inequalities by combing heritage and housing strategies, a recurrent approach in OpenHeritage observatory cases but also in its CHLs (among others, Lisbon and Sunderland CHLs, Hof Prädikow, Sargfabrik. See more D3.4, D3.5). Moreover, the regulation of urban commons creates the conditions to advance the level of integration and/or communication among governance tiers and policy sectors.

Funding solidarity and revenue sharing tools

Aims:

o collaborative management of assets

One of the co-governance's strategies is to ensure that the benefit and the value generated is shared among the actors involved in the governance. The governance model of a project influences the funding mechanisms, solidarity mechanism and the process of revenue integration and the way the value is shared.

The process of **resource integration** (mixing different funding sources, sharing the risks, creating an added value) is highly **dependent on the existing governance models**. Hence, innovative governance models (and innovative financial mechanisms) could support very "traditional" public initiatives to leverage resources. Hence, the social objectives of the organization facilitate the collection of funding from different sources, making possible to mobilize a mix of external resources consisting of public funding, sponsorship and internal ones, such as project generated (own) revenues. Clearly, the mobilization of internal resources remains an important strategy to ensure the start-up of the activities.

Co-governance arrangements can facilitate the **collection of external resources from different public actors**. As an example, in the Cascina Roccafranca project, the public authorities were able to leverage on the vision of co-governance, embodying the participation of different players (public; private donors; civic actors), increasing the probability to be

rewarded by European projects. Hence, EU funding on urban regeneration is increasingly envisaging the co-management of the asset and the co-production of the services. The internal organization of the resources support also the creation of solidarity mechanisms, participatory and volunteer involvement as well as other resourcing strategies that are not directly related to market exchange or dependency on state actors.

The case of Sargfabrik explicates how it is possible to develop a financial **solidarity mechanism** that enables interested parties who could not afford living there to receive support for the payment of the rent. This mechanism was possible thanks the participation of all the inhabitants in the governance model, which has aligned the interest of the different parties. The citizens created a social fund, which collects rents from the residents, that distributes part of the surplus money to the residents that cannot afford the rent payments. In addition, the co-governance can make possible to stakeholders, especially fragile ones, to have a voice, integrating some tools and norms that support the people that need it the most. These solutions, however, require that the internal organizations remain open and democratic.

An additional element is that the co-governance arrangements define innovative mechanisms of revenues sharing or to ensure that the revenues generated from for-profit activities help cover the expenses of more social oriented actors. The co-governance strategies facilitate the different players to work together to the common benefits and to facilitate the development of actors that would not be able to tackle the competition of the market. The case of Largo Residências provide a good example of how different activities (commercial and artistic purposes) integrate social purposes, such as the creation of jobs and the development of the local community with economic sustainability with the income from the hostel, the art residency and the café.

Bottlenecks:

- The resource integration evaluation (D3.4) shows that these strategies are strongly influenced by the ability pf the organization to achieve economic sustainability and to safeguard the value generated from profit-oriented mechanisms. Hence co-governance solution could stream up the latter, but it has a marginal effect on the former.

Policy:

- The cases afore mentioned demonstrate that policies define the boundaries in which co-governance arrangements can achieve these strategies. Hence, the policy framework defined the formal tools that organization need to pursue for the development of these strategies.

The strategies for and of co-governance described above affect transversally the three OpenHeritage pillars.

To reveal the importance of these to the different spheres, a summarizing table is provided. The table (Table 3) shows the links between the strategy, explained above, and the three pillars (resource, community and regional integration), briefly describing the related impacts. As depicted in the table below, each strategy affects directly different spheres of co-governance and of the project activities.

Table 3. Impacts of strategies for and of co-governance on OpenHeritage pillars

Strategies for co-governance		
Strategy	**Impact**	
Participatory and volunteer involvement in targeted areas	Resource	Enable resources to be discovered, collected and included within a coherent and open vision of development
	Community	Builds / strengthens local communities, raising collective interests, motivations and sense of belonging; encourages the mobilization of people throughout the whole adaptive reuse process
	Region	Support the creation of wide urban network that might work against speculative territorial dynamics
Authority as a facilitator and democratic process	Resource	Allows for more resources in terms of money and capacity, reducing complexities and regulatory constraints for projects' implementation
	Community	Provides support to the community and allows easier aggregation of actors around civic initiatives
	Region	Facilitation by the authorities allows communities to better develop their own projects, but does not guarantee broad involvement at territorial level
Creating new entities	Resource	Enables resources to be pooled and to gain new ones which are in its immediate availability
	Community	Allows multiple different actors to interact and relate from within, coordinating their activities and nuancing their eventual conflicts
	Region	Enables to bring together actors from different levels of government, different backgrounds and territories, sharing the same goals
Strategies of co-governance		
Strategy	**Impact**	
Enabling the common use and the co-management of heritage assets	Resource	Increases the immediate use of available resources reducing decay; enables to collect monetary and non-monetary resources
	Community	Allows individuals or groups to access and co-create new spaces and to develop their own activities
	Region	Introduces not-for-profit mechanisms that mitigate and/or control land values, defining conditions of affordability
Funding mechanisms, solidarity and revenue sharing mechanism	Resource	Enable to collect resources from different sources and facilitate the creation of shared value
	Community	The mechanism support people to contribute and reinforce the co-governance of the process
	Region	The sharing mechanism contributes to the creation of activities and collaborations

3.3. Key learnings on co-governance: Success, bottlenecks and conflicts

The analysis of co-governance has underlined how these arrangements can strongly influence the success of heritage adaptive re-use initiatives. However, co-governance strategies are not short-term solutions and require a strong commitment from different players. Hence, the co-governance needs to build on community processes that map and involve local actors in a multiple helix process.

As highlighted in the strategy's analysis, one of the distinctive elements of co-governance arrangements is the alignment of interest among different players. However, the creation of a common interest requires time and a strong commitment among the players. The creation of legal entities can facilitate and speed the process to the extent that the synthesis of interests expressed by each partner and of the common objectives can be achieved not only through bilateral or multi-lateral agreements, but also through discussion time within the entity's board. This saves time, makes action more effective, and limits possible conflicts through a co-structured decision-making process. In any case, co-governance needs to be based on strong management capacity to make sure that the adaptive re-use is under control and reflect the objectives and aims of the players involved. A particular taunting process is the participation of communities in these highly demanding tasks. One of the solutions to overcome this difficulty is the creation of capacity building and facilitation process that could provide the tools and knowledge to local communities to work together with the other players of the innovative helix. The creation of competences, collaborations and partnership, therefore, is not a short-term solution and requires a long-term vision.

Co-governance solutions do not only refer to institutional setting and decision. The strategies need to take in consideration human and social aspects of the local community. In some cases, the solutions could be hampered by negative attitude to collaboration, willingness to act autonomously and the incapacity to draw attention to diverse needs. As co-governance enables players to participate actively in the decision-making process, there is the necessity to overcome the limits of non-rational behaviours. Thus, the development of co-governance solutions requires that one of the players acquire the role of moderator. Local authorities and other governmental bodies can eventually be seen by the local players as one of the most objective and reliable figures. Therefore, if they enjoy legitimacy, local authorities can define of trade-offs that could be accepted by everyone and ensure the flow of the process by providing the spaces, resources and ideas. Hence, it would be desirable for co-governance processes to be integrated in bureaucratic and democratic decision-making

processes. Such implementation depends very much on the regulatory framework of each country, on national and local regulatory contexts.

Concerning the relation among co-governance and the local setting, co-governance solutions can revolve around temporary uses, artistic and cultural activities, pay attention on the culture and identity of the space, not only building but of the entire area. The creation of new narratives of the place, rewriting the story of the building from abandoned to flourished areas, can incentivize the involvement of people. Co-governance needs to ensure that the narrative is developed democratically and reflects different point of views that coexist in urban areas. Thus, to avoid the lock-in of resources and benefits, or the impossibility for newcomers to join or invest in new activities, it is necessary that the governance is open, represents a multitude of players and gives voice to any persons affected by the process.

An effective synthesis between interests can be carried out with co-participated decision-making mechanisms, which can take place either within a legal entity created *ad-hoc* for the management of adaptive reuse initiatives, or through bilateral or multi-lateral agreements between the different actors. In the latter case, atypical forms of co-governance are realized in the form of a multiple-helix. However, these atypical forms respond to the same basic objective: creating participatory management mechanisms. In addition to synthesizing interests and managing common projects, co-governance model can stimulate economically sustainable heritage adaptive reuse projects through the creation of shared value (within the legal entity or via specific agreements).

4. SUSTAINABLE FUNDING

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Key takeaway: funding diversity makes an adaptive heritage reuse project more resilient and resistant to economic disruptions and business cycles. Diversification of funding resources reduces the risk of the shock caused by external factors. It also can be a tool to achieve crucial social goals of the project, such as engaging stakeholders, sharing power, and building a stronger community around the project or a program. The downside of diversity is that it proportionally adds to the complexity and makes the project more challenging to manage. To reach the goal of the project, the project managers should seek an optimal level between diversity and complexity.

4.1. Conceptualization of sustainable funding

4.1.1. Academic state of the art on sustainable funding

Funding is a vital part of any adaptive heritage reuse project. Being able to cover the expenses is the only way to keep the mission alive. But it is also one of the most challenging tasks due to the recent trend to increase self-financing of nonprofit enterprises, including those in the heritage domain. Many nonprofits want to tap into limited **public financing sources**, so the **competition is high**, and the methods of search for funding became more sophisticated. The market determines high expectations towards nonprofit leaders and managers to acquire advanced financing, fundraising, and business planning skills.

The importance of funding to accomplish heritage-led projects prompted academicians and practitioners to explore the successful processes, pitfalls, and ways to eliminate the latter (Clark 2004, Gilmour 2007, Pickard 2009, Murzyn-Kupisz 2013, Madej and Madej 2016, Bortolotto 2020). The researchers try to understand the **consequences of public funding decline and growing dependence from private patrons**. Many of them pointed out that getting funds from the public or private entities rises or falls with the availability of capital from these sources. It means that the projects or programs operate in a risky environment and precarious financial situation. Understanding challenges and possible ways to respond is a strong trend in the literature written from the heritage perspective.

Another trend is to spot new opportunities. Several studies looked at **heritage as cultural capital**, i.e., a "stock of wealth, existing at any time

and giving rise to a flow of service over time, thereby generating income" (Dalmas et al. 2015, 2). For example, Robert Shipley et al. presented a case study on built heritage in Ontario, Canada, showing the transformation of heritage value into monetary capital. They interviewed several building developers in Ontario and found a "group of dynamic and creative investors with a passion for older buildings." They found many cases when the return on investment for heritage development was higher than for similar buildings without cultural capital (Shipley et al. 2006, 505). Shipley et al. pointed out the importance of the government incentives to encourage developers to reuse old vs. rebuild (Shipley et al. 2006, 512). Their study provides convincing evidence that incentives through public funding can be a powerful tool to prioritize the preservation of cultural heritage over the developers' interests.

One more group of studies is about the **sustainable financial management of the heritage project.** For instance, Rand Eppich and José Luis García Grinda focus on sustainable financing processes for tangible heritage sites. They identified several components of sustainable financial management: management planning, revenue identification, expenditure analysis, administration, and strategic planning, and support of cultural, educational, and conservation missions by the government (Eppich and Grinda 2019, 282).

Besides the studies focusing on heritage funding, the broader literature on funding non-profit projects and programs offers valuable knowledge relevant to the topic (Levine, Koogut, and Kulatilaka 2012, Patti and Polyák 2017, Kickul and Lyons 2020). Papers on funding models for non-profit projects and organizations periodically appear in specialized journals such as *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing, Nonprofit Management & Leadership, Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, Journal of Nonprofit & Public Sector Marketing, Journal of Public and Nonprofit Affairs*.

Most discussions revolve around the issue that non-profit enterprises are not profitable enough "to access financial markets" (Levine et al. 2012), so they need to get external funding. Non-profits need to work with big donors whose money can come with too many strings attached. Patricia Hughes and William Luksetich studied the impact of funding models on spending patterns. They scrutinized the convenient concern that organizational goals might be compromised as funding shifts to more commercial activities (Hughes and Luksetich 2004, 204). They found out that shifts in funding to more commercial activities should not significantly affect program services (Hughes and Luksetich 2004, 216). However, their observations were based on a relatively sizeable established project. The researchers pointed out that compared to the cases they

studied, newer, smaller organizations face bigger challenges when seeking to replace government funds (Hughes and Luksetich 2004, 218).

Many studies compared non-profit enterprises with their for-profit counterparts and concluded that the former face more difficulties in getting sustainable financing. Robert Kaplan and Allen Grossman point out that in the for-profit sector, capital markets "connect investors who have money with entrepreneurs who have ideas but little money," but mechanisms for "directing funds to non-profits are much less developed." Moreover, getting comparable and consistent data on the performance of non-profits is more challenging compare to their business peers (Kaplan and Grossman 2010, 112).

One more debated issue is **discrepancies in planning horizons for non-profits and their potential funders**. Jill Kickul and Thomas Lyons correctly noted that "social enterprises are typically designed to maximize value in the long term, while investors tend to have shorter time horizons. While social entrepreneurs may find favorable donor funding, these public-sector and philanthropic sources can be unpredictable over time" (Kickul and Lyons 2020, 154).

Among the other relevant issues in the literature are conflicting interests of shareholders vs. stakeholders, agency problem, overcommercialization, impact assessment, etc.

4.1.2. Definition of sustainable funding used for the analysis

Sustainable funding is a holistic approach to resource integration aimed at long-term financial security without compromising the social and heritage values of a project or a program. It relies on a combination of external and internal financial and non-financial resources and minimizes the negative impact on society and nature. It is consistent with the project's social mission; it mobilizes civil networks, facilitates self-financing, and maximizes values for the stakeholders in the present and future.

In this chapter, we use terms funding and finance. "Financing" refers to money needed to do a particular thing or the way of getting the money. "Funding" refers to an act of providing resources, monetary and non-monetary, to provide a need, program, or project. So, "funding" is a broader category that includes financing but also non-financial instruments.

4.1.3. **Operationalization of sustainable funding**

This section examines the impact of different funding models on community-, resource- and regional integration based on case studies from the OpenHeritage project. It discusses their advantages and limitations. It identifies the groups of cases among the observatory cases according to their financial diversity and offers some observations for every model. The analysis is based on the 16 observatory cases (WP2) and the interim reports (D3.3, D3.4, and D3.5) from the OpenHeritage project. The results of the analysis contribute to the better understanding of the following questions:

- What are revenue-generating mechanisms for adaptive heritage reuse projects? How important are they in ensuring economic sustainability and as an instrument to collect additional financial resources?
- How do community-oriented adaptive heritage reuse projects align their mission-driven activities and goals with their funding strategy and financial sustainability objectives?
- How to decide on the optimal level of complexity and diversity of the funding model?
- What are the pros and cons of different funding models?
- What challenges related to funding do projects on adaptive heritage reuse encounter as they try to achieve their social mission and objectives?
- How can funding models be an instrument to increase the social impact of the adaptive heritage reuse projects?

4.2. Analysis

4.2.1. **Aims of adaptive heritage reuse in terms of sustainable funding**

The following aims of sustainable funding are common in adaptive heritage reuse projects:

- To mobilize necessary resources for investment and operation costs.
- To serve the needs of the local community (with spaces, new functions, services, etc.).
- To strengthen connections between people and their surrounding environment.
- To create benefits and additional value beyond the project site.

Markus Kip et al. (2020, 56) reasonably argue that the "optimal funding mix for each project varies according to countries, policies, governance structures, and several other internal and external factors; there is a back-

and-forth process between available resources, revenue integration, and governance models."

A **funding model** combines different funding sources into a constellation unique to every adaptive heritage reuse project. Nevertheless, we can identify the main sources for adaptive heritage reuse projects in Europe. It includes profits generated by the organizations, external funding, and non-monetary resources such as volunteer work.

Most adaptive heritage projects or programs need investment and operational costs. **Investment costs** are one-off expenses for getting access to the site (purchase or rent), transaction costs, and renovation. **Recurrent or operational costs** include interest, maintenance of the building, personal expenditures, etc. (Roo and Novy-Huy 2020, 10).

To cover investment and operational costs, projects and programs need to generate revenues or get external funding. Most of the managing organizations managing revitalization projects have non-profit status. Non-profit does not mean "no profit." **"Non-profit"** is a tax status, not a business plan, so generating income to cover operational (sometimes also investment) costs is vital for the organization. The status of non-profit organizations varies in different countries, but in most cases, it can be used to pay some basic expenses, including reasonable compensations.

Analysis of the primary data

The two indices were applied to identify funding models for adaptive heritage reuse: 1) the Index of funding diversity and 2) Index of instrumentalization of funding for integration (resources, communities, and territories).

The Index of funding diversity was calculated based on the complexity of funding instruments: revenues, private or bank loans, public funding, international fund agencies, donations, pooled funding, non-monetary instruments. Internal funding contributes with a maximum of 4 points (if revenues cover at least 50 percent of the operational costs); the other forms of external financing add 1 point if a project uses it in principle. Any non-financial recourse also contributes with one point (Table 4). Our observatory cases and the secondary literature analysis show that the projects' revenues are especially important in terms of financial flexibility and sustainability; that is why this category has four times the "weight" of other funding instruments.

Table 4. Calculating the Index of funding diversity

	Funding instrument	Maximum points
1	Internal funding (revenues)	4
2	External funding	
	Private or bank loans, mortgages, guarantee loans	1
	Public funding from national, regional, and local government sources	1
	International funding agencies	1
	Donations from private persons or foundations	1
	Pooled funding (crowdfunding, impact investment)	1
3	Non-financial resources: payment in kind, barter trade, volunteer work, DIY	1
	Total	10

Using the diversity index, we identified three funding models. The division between the categories is nominal, but it allows us to identify general trends (Table 5).

- **Diverse funding:** scores greater than 8;
- **Moderately diverse funding:** scores greater than 4, and less than or equal to 7;
- **Concentrated funding:** scores less than or equal to 4.

Table 5. Index of funding diversity for the 16 Observatory cases

Case	Revenues	Private or bank loans	Public funding	International fund agencies	Donations	Pooled funding	Non-monetary	Diversity index	Category
Cascina Roccafranca	4		1	1	1	1	1	9	Diverse
Stará Tržnica	4	1	1	1	1		1	9	Diverse
London CLT	4	1	1		1	1	1	9	Diverse
Scugnizzo Liberato	4		1		1	1	1	8	Diverse
Sargfabrik	4	1	1			1	1	8	Diverse
Largo Residenciâs	4	1	1			1	1	8	Diverse
ExRotaprint	4	1	1			1	1	8	Diverse
Marineterrein	4		1				1	6	Moderate
Jewish District (Szimpla)	4							4	Moderate
Halele Carol	2			1			1	4	Moderate
Citadel	1	1	1	1				4	Moderate
Färgfabriken			1	1	1			3	Concentrated
LaFábrika detodalavida			1			1	1	3	Concentrated
Potocki Palace			1	1			1	3	Concentrated
Jam Factory					1		1	2	Concentrated
The Grünmetropole							1	1	Concentrated

Capital is the fuel that powers a heritage-based social venture. But funding is more than just a problem to be solved. It can be a resource and a lever to engage stakeholders, establish collaborative relationships with the communities, generate new synergy and innovations. Funding can serve as an instrument for resource, people, and territory integration. Therefore, our next step should be estimating the level of using the funding model to integrate community, territory, and resources (beyond funding resources). Based on the analysis of case studies and Deliverable 3.4 (Kip et al. 2020, 67-68), we divided the cases into three categories (Table 6):

1. High level of integration: intensive community involvement, integration of different resources, and regional impact – these are the real "inclusive models."
2. Medium level of integration – one of the three components is missing.
3. Low level of integration – only one component is existing or no components at all.

Table 6. Impact of the funding model on resource integration

Case	Instrument for integration	Impact on revenue integration (Kip et al. 2020, 67-68)
Cascina Roccafranca	High	co-responsibility in providing funds for investment and operation
Scugnizzo Liberato	High	mobilizing external and internal resources and maximizing social value
Sargfabrik	High	creation of a business model that ensures long-term sustainability
Largo Residenciâs	High	the strong civic network was a crucial element in the process of mobilizing and integrating resources
LaFábrika detodalavida	High	mutual support and advanced level of revenue integration
Stará Tržnica	High	successful integration of resources, self-financing
ExRotaprint	High	high level of revenue integration
London CLT	High	effective mobilization and management of various types of external and internal resources
Färgfabriken	Medium	possibility to invest a lot in diversity and inclusion, which enhanced further resource mobilization
Halele Carol	Medium	slow process due to the limited generated revenues and small amounts of funds available
Marineterrein	Medium	achieving a model of self-financing (and long-term financial sustainability)
Citadel	Medium	the revenue integration is slow and bureaucratic; civic partners are not involved
Jewish District (Szimpla)	Low	Community integration
Potocki Palace	Low	Community integration
Jam Factory	Low	Community integration
The Grünmetropole	Low	Territorial integration

Finally, we combined the two indexes and presented the observatory cases on the scatterplot (Figure 2).
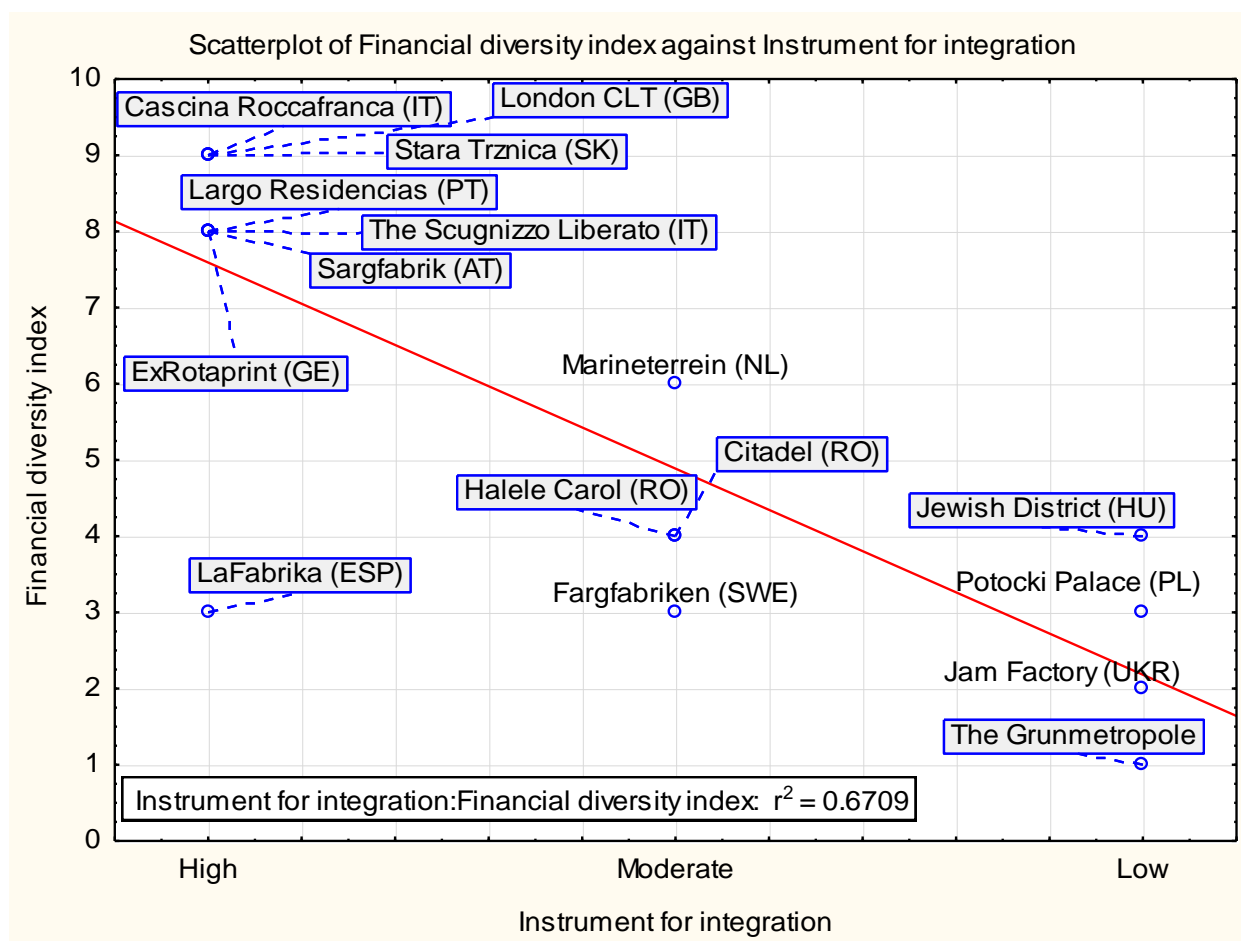
Figure 2. The 16 observatory cases based on financial diversity and level of instrumentalization of integration.

Based on the scatterplot, we identified three clusters of observatory cases:

Cluster 1: financially diverse with funding model having a high impact on the community, territory, and resource integration. It includes Cascina Roccafranca, London CLT, The Scugnizzo Liberato, Sargfabrik, Stara Trznica, ExRotaprint, and LaFábrika detodalavida. This group seeks to achieve as much self-financing as possible and use external resources as complementary financing tools. Investment needs – especially in the case of big-scale projects - are usually covered by public sources, and self-financing is channeled to finance operating costs. The experience of the cases analyzed shows that diversified funding enforces cooperation with the stakeholders. LaFábrika detodalavida heavily uses funding models for community integration, but as the observatory case was composed, its funding model lacked diversity. Since the project managers mentioned diversifying finances among the priority tasks, we include LaFábrika in the first cluster.

Cluster 2: moderately diverse funding with moderate impact on the community, territory, and resource integration. It includes Marineterrein, Halele Carol, Citadel, and Färgfabriken. The members of this group use only part of available financial instruments, and self-financing is not as successful as in cluster 1. Still, most of the projects from the second cluster attempt to produce some revenue. Also, they use funding models to integrate resources and communities.

Cluster 3. concentrated funding with low impact on the community, territory, and resource integration. The projects from this group rely on one funding source, either from a private enterprise (Szimpla and Jam Factory) or public funds (Potocki Palace and The Grünmetropole). They do not produce revenues. The only exception is Szimpla Kert, a for-profit enterprise, which covered 100 percent of its expenses from its own revenues. It did not take any public money; on the contrary, it channeled part of its profit on the social and educational projects.

Funding diversity and phase of stakeholder integration

OpenHeritage deals with the project at a different stage of their completion. We checked the correlation between the diversity index and the project phase defined by Hanne Van Gils et al (2020). She defines the four phases of adaptive heritage reuse project completion (from the point of stakeholder involvement) (van Gils et al. 2020, 12):

1. Problematization: the initiator makes other actors aware of a common viewpoint.
2. Interessment: an actor or group of actors tries to involve new actors in a viewpoint.
3. Enrollment: a multilateral political process leads to a stable network with new supporting groups, new roles, and definitions.
4. Mobilization of allies: wider acceptance of the solution, which gained stability through institutionalization in order to become taken for granted. It becomes 'black-boxed.'

Our analysis (Figure 3. Index of funding diversity vs. phase of stakeholder integration

) shows that the diversity index correlates with the phase of the projects: the projects on the initial stage have less diversified funding models compared to those which are done with the renovation. That means that the projects in the initial stages are more financially "fragile" and potentially affected by external economic factors.
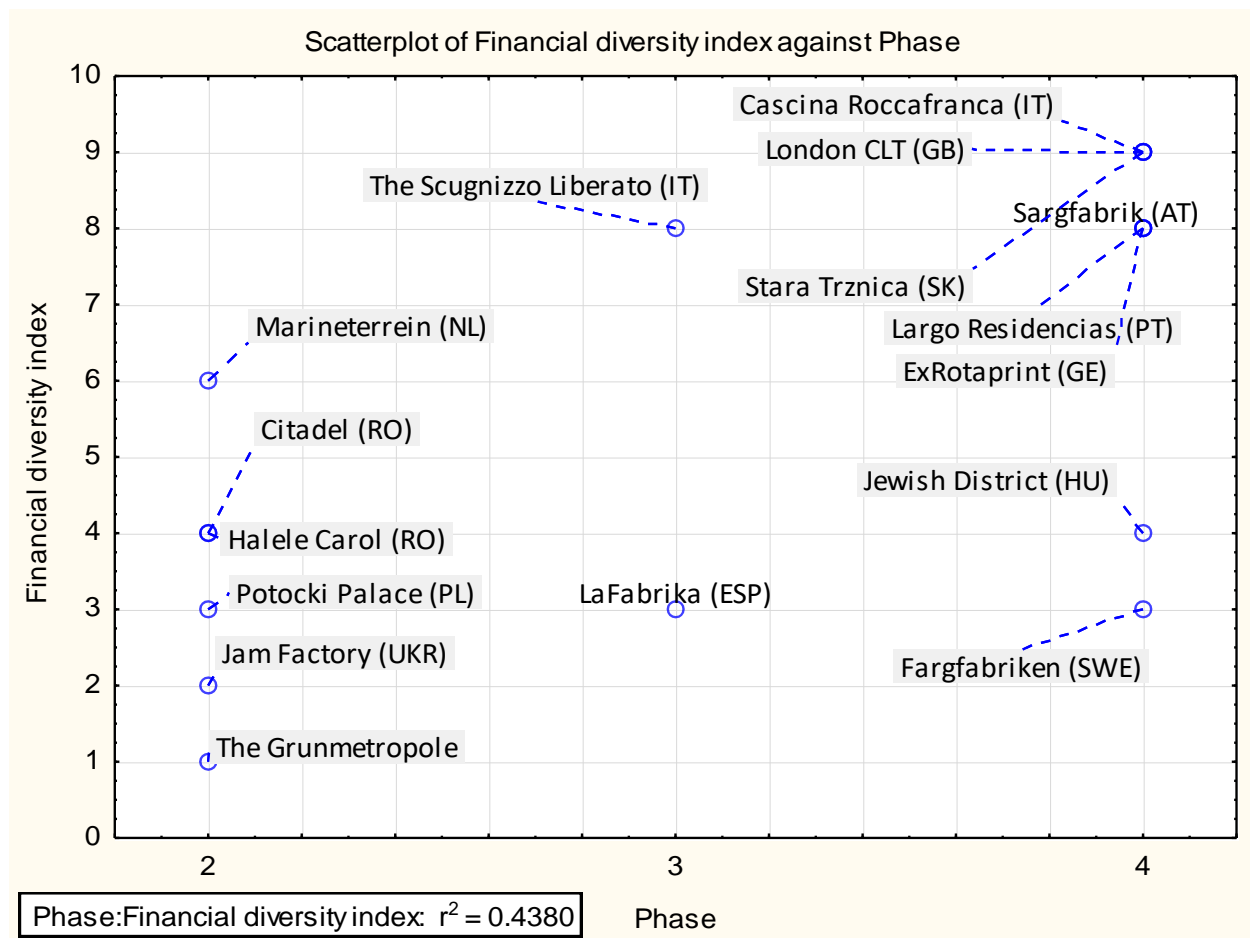
Figure 3. Index of funding diversity vs. phase of stakeholder integration

Our findings support the conclusion made by the previous studies showing that the **importance of early-stage support and funding** is critical for thriving community-led projects (Hughes and Luksetich 2004, 218, Lawson 2020). This observation might be useful for the decision-makers from the public and private foundation units: it might be necessary to provide special supports for financially fragile adaptive heritage reuse startups.

Advantages and drawbacks of the funding instruments

Income (internal funding) is a recurrent cash flow within the project. It can be generated by selling products or services or asking for rent, membership dues, dividends, etc. (Roo and Novy-Huy 2020, 10). Ideally, recurrent income covers recurrent costs or, at least, most of them. Several observatory cases (ExRotaptint, Marineterrein, Sargfabrik) show that stable income significantly contributes to funding diversity and is essential for a sustainable funding model. Social enterprises that generate income look attractive in the eyes of the right investors (Levine et al. 2012) and can serve as an instrument for resource integration.

Potential challenges related to this financial instrument include **complications of accounting**. Besides that, there is a low risk that the pressure to generate revenues may subjugate the mission of the project. To mitigate this risk, project managers should try to find an optimal commercialization level that does not undermine the fundamental values of the project. In other words, they should seek a model of "**commercialization without overcommercialization**" (Bortolotto 2020).

Private or bank loans, mortgages, guarantee loans. The most common idea about borrowing money for a project would be to ask for a bank loan. Bank loans can provide relatively quick access to investment costs. Besides that, it encourages an organization to develop a business plan and generate some revenues.

However, if the project does not set profitability as a goal, bankers will likely see it as philanthropy, not investment. Since most of the cases studied within the "OpenHeritage" project aimed to maximize social values rather than profits, banks do not consider such initiatives as "normal" business cases. So, the banks may ask for additional guarantees for their loans. Another challenge includes the necessity to generate profit from commercial activity or search for external support to pay the loan back. Banks require collateral on certain types of loans. Project initiators need to develop an advanced business plan to start negotiations with a bank. Banks usually are relatively rigid about how their money can be spent within a project. Finally, banks do not support an organic type of development; they want to see well-defined, measurable results.

Public money. Many adaptive heritage reuse projects make public goods, so it seems logical that they seek support from public funds, such as municipal or local budgets. The governments provide financial support for heritage projects directly (grants and loans) or by offering fiscal (tax) relief (Pickard and Pickerill 2002, 74). The advantages of public money are that often they are zero percent, or even without returning. Comparing to corporate money, public funding is less affected by business cycles.

The drawbacks include **dependence on the political situation**. This instrument might be less flexible and prompt. Public funding demands a higher level of transparency and accountability. Sometimes, it creates favourable conditions for certain partners and can be considered "irregular subsidies" and the project managers accused of being corrupted (see the Navy Yard case).

International funding agencies. The advantage of the financial instruments provided by the international funding agencies such as the European Commission, The EEA and Norway Grants scheme, or the United States Agency for International Development is that they accumulate

significant resources. Besides that, they often provide conceptual scaffolding and strongly encouraging networking.

The challenges include a very **high level of competition**; the funding programs have their priorities. These instruments mostly work for middle- and large-scale projects. Small-scale projects may not have enough resources to prepare convincing applications.

Donations from private persons, foundations, businesses. West European countries had developed a strong tradition of mobilizing private funding. The government also nudges this through fiscal incentives. In Eastern Europe, it is more challenging due to a long tradition of state paternalism. Recently, the involvement of foreign funding agencies in Eastern Europe helps to boost the process. Western Europe also has much more charitable foundations that provide funding and support for other charitable organizations through grants, but it may engage directly in philanthropic activities. The advantages of donation as a funding instrument are that donors became long-term project partners and helped with resource integration tasks besides providing capital. The challenges are that in some countries, small-scale initiatives face a high threshold. The level of uncertainty (how and when the project gets money) is higher compared to finding from public sources.

Pooling funding. This group includes several financial instruments, such as crowdfunding, cooperative community funds, and impactful investment. These financial instruments have been successfully applied in the housing cooperative and the other community-led economic initiatives (Patti and Polyák 2017). Recently it was used to finance heritage-oriented projects, such as LaFábrika detodalavida, Spain (crowdfunding), or Promprylad. Renovation, Ukraine (impactful investment).

According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, **crowdfunding** is "the practice of obtaining needed funding by soliciting contributions from a large number of people especially from the online community". It can be a powerful tool to mobilize communities in different geographical regions. It engages small contributors and increases the diversity and inclusiveness of the projects. On the downside, it is usually a short-term solution; the community is loose. It is very demanding in promotional activities, which can distract the project managers from the primary goal. Studies show that crowdfunding can be used for small (and "light") projects, "perhaps in tandem with traditional grant-financing" (Bonacchi et al. 2015, 194).

Impact investment, according to Investopedia, "aims to generate specific beneficial social or environmental effects in addition to financial gains". In contrast to financial-first investors seeking to optimize financial returns, impact-first investors pursue to optimize social or environmental returns with a financial floor (Kickul and Lyons 2020, 159). Impact investors have

social good as a primary objective and accept a lower than a market rate of return in order to seed new investment funds. Challenges: since they are for-profit, they have to convince investors to invest in their project and not in that which might be socially irresponsible but more profitable. Another con is that not all social change can be solved through capitalism.

Cooperative or peer-to-peer investment. When members join an existing cooperative, they may be required to invest a nominal amount and then agree to invest over time by allowing the cooperative to keep or retain a portion of each year's cooperative earnings as equity capital. Pros: very inclusive, strong community. Cons: require a high level of trust among members; communication and decision-making are difficult.

Non-monetary contributions

Payment in kind, barter, volunteer work, DIY, and other forms of in-kind donations. Volunteering hours help to reduce the amount of expenses. It can help to spare money on salaries or some services. It cannot help find finances to pay back the debts, transaction costs, construction materials, and utilities.

4.2.2.   Strategies, Processes and Impacts

This section discusses how adaptive heritage reuse can establish financial diversity and, at the same time, maximize social impact and promote heritage values. It relies on the results of the analysis of the observatory cases studied with the "OpenHeritage" project and provides additional examples from outside of the project.

a.) Establishing Public–Private–People partnership (4P)

This strategy is especially efficient when the site is in public ownership, but the heritage community (formal and non-formal civic organizations) is involved in decision-making, management, and funding. The projects based on the 4P model can respond to the actual needs of the communities and potentially rely on public, private, and civic financial and non-monetary resources.

OH cases: Cascina Roccafranca, Scugnizzo Liberato, The Navy Yard Amsterdam.

Supplementary case: Le 6b Saint-Denis (www.le6b.fr).

Impact: co-responsibility and risk-sharing between the public and civic actors; the possibility of the public actor to mobilize national and international sources; increasing inclusiveness; contribution to a coherent

vision of the territory; incentives for generating own resources that complement public support, socio-ecological resilience, job creation, maximizing social value.

Pre-conditions: urban policies encourage such types of partnership, flexible local regulatory framework (e.g., regulation of the commons, "civic use"), high transparency and accountability, mutual trust, and openness for cooperation.

Bottlenecks: dependence on policies and political situation, the profitability of cultural events (as internal revenues) can fluctuate due to external factors, such as business cycles or mass infectious disease.

b.) Developing a model of institutional ownership

Collective ownership of the real estate and other equities helps to establish civic-civic partnerships, pool additional resources, and accomplish a social/cultural mission to benefit a wider community.

OH cases: Sargfabrik, ExRotaprint, Hof Pradikow, London CLT.

Supplementary cases: Promprylad.Renovation (promprylad.ua/en), Homebaked Anfield (homebaked.org.uk), De Besturing, Hague (debesturing.nl).

Impact: generating social, economic, and cultural capital; potential for mobilizing external (public, private, civic) resources; trendsetting living and working models; taking the sites out of market speculation; inclusion of minorities and groups at risk; contribution to the benefit of a larger area (neighborhood).

Pre-conditions: existing legislation for collective ownership; common mission; supportive municipality (housing policies, urban development policies, etc.); accessible external sources (e.g., bank loans).

Bottlenecks: trade-offs between individual interests and collective preferences, the complexity of management can hinder flexibility and quick adjustment to new circumstances, to keep shared ownership some restrictions can be imposed (e.g., the prohibition of inheritance), etc.

c.) Divided ownership

Separating ownership of land and building offers a solution towards greater predictability for the investment and proof against possible misuse of the project assets. The framework implies that to sell the building, its owner needs the consent of the landowner (Kip et al. 2020, 24).

OH cases: Ex-Rotaprint, London CLT.

Supplementary cases: Lighthouse eG, Berlin (https://www.wohnprojekte-portal.de/projektsuche/93roject-20218/).

Impact: taking land and property out of market speculation and avoid individual profit, create employment/affordable housing, social inclusion, public discourse, long-term predictability.

Pre-conditions: national regulation allowing split ownership; the existence of foundations with non-profit sustainable development goals; heritable building rights; high mutual trust in the business environment.

Bottlenecks: it only works under certain national regulations, dependency on the very specific needs of the tenants, complex collaborations at the metropolitan level, high financial dependency on subsidies/ mortgages/donations, flexible regulatory environment.

d.) A social enterprise based on a stable business model

Creating a social enterprise and developing partnerships with civic, public, and business communities. Seeking to find an optimal mix of market and social tools for creating social value. This model is quite similar to the endowment investment model used by several museums and universities worldwide.

OH cases: Stara Trznica.

Supplementary case: Zollverein (www.zollverein.de), Prinzessinnengarten Berlin (http://prinzessinnengarten-kollektiv.net/wir/).

Impact: intensive community and resource integration, regional impact, financial stability, social and heritage values, satisfying local needs, connecting residents with small businesses.

Pre-conditions: a special arrangement between the public authority (owner) and the project initiator, supporting public media campaign, social bank loans.

Bottlenecks: too much dependence on the business community involved (tenants), the threat of overcommercialization, the special arrangements with the public authorities must be transparent enough to secure checks and balances.

e.) Projects and work groups tied together horizontally under a common mission.

Different stakeholders are involved at different levels and varying degrees under a governance model based on micro-agreements created by and

apply to a particular group of individuals or entities working on a specific project together.

OH cases: LaFabrika detodalavida.

Supplementary case: ZOHO Rotterdam (zohorotterdam.nl/over-zoho).

Impact: mutual support between parties, youth involvement in political, social, and cultural development, regional impact.

Pre-conditions: agreement with the local council for using the building.

Bottlenecks: relying almost exclusively on internal resources does not provide adequate funding; it is difficult to secure long-term financial stability (short-term orientation).

f.) Turning financial suppliers into partners

The analyzed cases show that it is a great advantage to raise and integrate resources to have a person or an organization that understands banking (knows the principles of fundraising, has a network in the financial sector, etc.) in the managing team.

OH cases: ExRotaprint.

Supplementary cases: Border Studio House, Basel (https://maryon.ch/en/zusammenarbeit/projektzusammenarbeit/), Im Viadukt, Zurich (https://www.im-viadukt.ch/en/home/).

Impact: more information about financing options and required procedures, access to additional external resources, a better understanding of the financial environment.

Pre-conditions: the person/organization should share the same values of the project and be willing to make an impact.

Bottlenecks: the existence of such a person/organization (with the financial expertise, shared mission, and willingness to be involved) is very contingent.

4.3. Key learnings on sustainable funding: Success, bottlenecks, and conflicts

Based on the analysis of case studies and secondary literature, we conclude that sustainable funding models comply with the following principles:

Social value cannot be neatly separated from financial tasks. Sustainable funding requires a set of changes in mindset. Positive forms of

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co-responsibility and co-management contribute to a shift from maximizing economic value to maximizing social value. On the other hand, creating social value cannot rely only on "claiming" resources from external actors (public authorities, donors, etc.) and contributing to raising and/or integrating resources.

There is a trade-off between diversity and management complexity; the project should seek an optimal balance between the two factors. The optimal funding mix of each project varies according to several external and internal factors. Still, sustainable funding usually can only be achieved by combining external (grants, loans, donations, etc.) and internal (generated own revenues and non-monetary contributions) funding instruments. Diversified funding decreases the dependence on one exclusive revenue (e.g., public funds or private donations) and counterbalances the drawbacks of the different funding types. It contributes to the consistency with the heritage and social values of the project and contributes to their facilitation. However, fundraising efforts consume time and energy that could be spent on their social missions.

Funding sources should be well-matched. As each funding type has its advantages and disadvantages, when designing the business model of a project, it is important to consider how well the different funding sources are matched. If funding sources are not well-matched, money doesn't flow to the areas where it will create the most remarkable social benefit.

Funding models and governance models are closely related. A specific governance model can extend or restrict the pool of available resources and strengthen or weaken the process of revenue integration. Different co-governance models (PPP, 4P, etc.) have the advantage of sharing the mission and the benefits of the project and sharing the financial risks and responsibilities. The importance of risk-sharing between different stakeholders is even more pronounced in times of economic crisis.

Funding models can be a powerful tool for the community, resource, and regional integration. A well-chosen funding model enforces cooperation with the communities and among the stakeholders. It has an impact on a larger territorial scale. It contributes to environmental, social, and economic sustainability.

5. SOCIAL INCLUSION

Authors: Hanne van Gils and Markus Kip

5.1. Conceptualization of social inclusion

5.1.1. Academic state of the art on social inclusion

Inclusiveness, inclusivity, social inclusion, social integration

Inclusiveness, inclusivity and (social) inclusion are terms that are widely used in political, policy and organizational debates and the meaning of these terms changes depending on professional and disciplinary perspectives. It is widely used in education, sociology, psychology, politics, economics and managerial studies. In contrast to the term integration, inclusion emphasizes a more reflective and strategic way of bridging social disparities or divides, often in the form of affirmative action. As opposed to the concept of integration that is often criticized for its implicit idea of a minority having to subject to hegemonic cultural assumptions (Khan et al. 2015), the inclusion terminology is usually advanced to emphasize a **mutual learning and adaptation process, in which the previously included actors are called upon to actively work against exclusionary processes.** Social inclusion, focusing on creating conditions for equal opportunities and equal access for all, is considered to be useful when describing the actual process involved in promoting social integration.

Social inclusion and exclusion

Inclusion entails a normative orientation to equity and diversity. At a general level, inclusiveness or inclusivity can be understood as an outcome of social inclusion processes. Social inclusion describes proactive engagements that recognizes diversity and equity as a value, that seeks to enable and encourage participation, particularly of members of marginalized identities and that explicitly addresses personal, institutionalized or structural impediments to participation of people because of self-identities or ascribed/imposed identities. **Inclusion thus specifically addresses individuals or groups who were previously excluded or discriminated against from social contexts, in view of deliberation, decision-making, creation, leadership, management and use of collective goods, services or social spaces** (Bourke and Titus 2020; Bicchi 2006; Reynal-Querol 2005; Ibarra 1993). Different approaches emphasize statistical representation or qualitative ethical considerations differently. Important examples of exclusion and

discrimination relate to gender, race, ethnicity, religion, abilities, class and so on. Targets for inclusion can be a variety of social contexts from cities, to public institutions (such as governments, schools), private enterprises and civic, religious and other types of organizations (Mills and Simmons 1996).

Measures for inclusiveness usually require an account of the existing discriminatory practices that affect as well as of the experiences and needs of excluded groups. It is on that basis that inclusion can be an affirmative action not only to include

Specific inclusion analyses or measures may target specific identities that are discriminated against but not necessarily pay attention to intersecting forms of discrimination across different identity categories. Moreover, certain inclusion strategies may be contested or have unintended impacts, such that inclusion of some usually implies excluding others. It is therefore always relevant to inquire any inclusion strategy in view of its effects (Dobusch 2014).

Approaches to inclusiveness

Social inclusion has been defined by the World Bank (2013) as "the process of improving the terms for individuals and groups to take part in society" or more precisely "the process of improving the ability, opportunity, and dignity of people, disadvantaged on the basis of their identity, to take part in society**". Inclusion is about improving the terms of participation.**

While social inclusion lies the concept of full participation in all aspects of life, exclusion refers to the conditions (barriers and processes) that prohibit inclusion. **Participation is most significant as it denotes an active involvement in the process, not merely having access to society's activities and resources, but engaging in them.** Participation also creates a sense of responsibility towards others, a community or an institution, and influences decisions or enables individuals to have access to the decision-making processes. But what is actually meant by the words 'active involvement'? For this we can refer to deliverable 3.3. There are multiple ways for an actor to participate or become involved in an adaptive reuse process. In her "ladder of participation," Sherry Arnstein (1969), distinguished 8 steps of community involvement in spatial planning (manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power and citizen control). But this ladder has its limitations as it is framed within a traditional vertical (top-down or bottom-up) perspective on planning (Boonstra and Boelens 2011). Active involvement can happen in different ways and forms, and **one kind of involvement is not necessarily better than the other**; sometimes a good and transparent informing will do, while in other cases, times or places mutual

partnerships, or even citizen control would give the best results. It's all about finding **the best fit in that specific place, context or time** (Boelens 2020).

Roughly we can distinguish levels of intensity when talking about active stakeholder involvement:

> **A narrow approach to involvement:** Democratic involvement in adaptive heritage reuse projects is often being reduced to instrumentalized, one-size-fits-all approaches of citizen participation. This is particularly the case within urban contexts where project-driven development and the accompanying policy agendas limit the openness which planning processes require to fruitfully facilitate the inclusion of local knowledge in the concept development (Devos, 2016).
>
> **An open approach to involvement:** The highest form of involvement is coproduction. The term coproduction highlights the active role of the citizen (Van den Broeck et al. 2010). Approaches to coproduction may be initiated top-down, or they may be initiated bottom-up.

5.1.2.   Definition of social inclusion used for the analysis

Inclusiveness and inclusivity will be used as terms to describe an attitude and a proactive strategy to work against forms of discrimination against different social groups. It entails actions to enable and encourage participation of these groups in social settings from which they have been previously excluded – whether for broader social structural and/or specific institutional reasons. **Inclusion is about improving the terms of participation**. Actors and settings for whom the issue of inclusiveness may be relevant can be cities, government and public institutions, private enterprises as well as civic, religious as well as other organizations. In this sense, inclusion is thus a qualitative action directed against discrimination, not just a quantitative event of growing numbers because of a project or organization's expansion. Within inclusion strategies we can make a distinction between strategies that improve conditions for the process and strategies that focus on creating an inclusive (governance) structure.

5.1.3.   Operationalization of social inclusion

As already mentioned, participation is most significant as it denotes an **active involvement in the process**, not merely having access to society's activities and resources, but engaging in them. The ambition is to strive for long-term social inclusion across a diversity of social identities. Thus, it is is not only about making the process that leads up to the project inclusive but

also about finding strategies that structurally embed inclusive conditions in the project. Social inclusion is dynamic, so the development of the participation of social groups will be considered over time (see Figure 5), in order to gain a better sense if the dynamic is moving towards greater inclusion or not.

We can differentiate 3 main domains where actions to increase social inclusion can take place:

- **The decision-making process:** *Who has access to the decision-making processes?* It is important to note whether any specific strategy and related actions are taken to lower the threshold for participation. Proactive outreach and anti-discrimination efforts among membership or other measures can facilitate greater involvement of these groups.
- **The use of project**: *Is the project accessible (physically and non-physically) for a diverse range of stakeholders? How to create a welcoming environment, where people feel empowered and attracted to engage? How to ensure affordability?*
- **In the governance of the project:** *How can the ambitions regarding social inclusion be ensured by implementing the right power-structure? What relations of engagements need to be formalized to ensure long term inclusive conditions?*

Reliable data is often lacking to make a substantial assessment. The Open Heritage Social Demographic survey of 2020 across the Observatory Case studies will be considered. The challenge becomes even greater when trying to understand the reasons for the development, in particular whether and if so, how the strategies and measures are responsible for it, or whether other factors account for this.

5.2. Analysis

5.2.1. Aims of adaptive heritage reuse in terms of social inclusion

Sustainable adaptive heritage reuse should value cultural diversity, make the sites more accessible (physically and non-physically) and therefore contribute to make the city more livable. Community participation in adaptive reuse projects increases the satisfaction of citizens in case their needs and wishes are taken into account and possible conflicts are constructively engaged. An inclusive adaptive heritage project aims…

- to level the playfield between different types of actors

- to strive for locally embedded projects with a positive impact on their direct environment
- to stimulate social innovation
- to empower disadvantaged or non-conventional actors to participate in adaptive heritage reuse processes.

As a general aim, as already indicated, inclusion aims to work against and ultimately overcome forms of discrimination against different social groups. When considering the topic of inclusiveness in civic-oriented adaptive reuse projects of cultural heritage, aims can be differentiated along **three domains: decision making process, the use of the space and the governance.** Within these domains we can determine several dimensions.

5.2.2.   Strategies, Processes and Impacts

Strategies could be differentiated in accordance with the distinctions laid out under the aims, i.e., in relation the decision-making process, the use of the space and the governance of the project (see Figure 4).

Crucial throughout these strategies, is the commitment to inclusion that is driven by the experiences and needs of the excluded and marginalized groups. In other words, inclusion begins with taking seriously the subjective experiences of marginalized group members and the ways in which these experiences are articulated as the starting point for any kind of inclusive co-production.

All of these strategies considered require an understanding of the processes of marginalization that are relevant to the area and a proactive outreach strategy to involve these groups, understanding that they are experts on the basis of their experiences and needs.
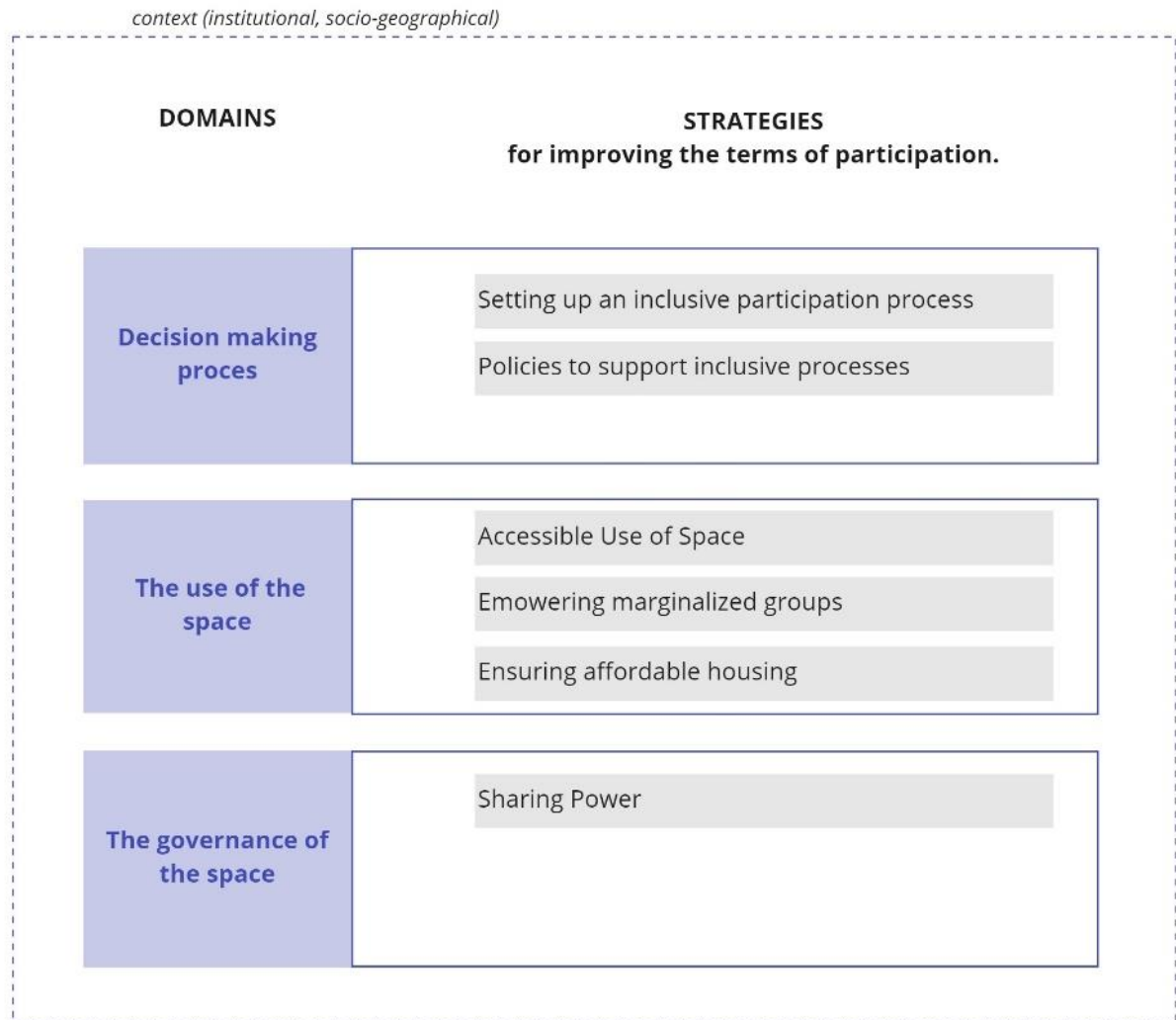
Figure 4. Strategies of social inclusion in AHR and domains

We can situate the different domains along the phases of a generic adaptive reuse project. Based on the 4 phases of translation, we formulated different steps and connected those to the 3 domains and different tracks (communication, design, finance and governance). The participation process can feed in to these different tracks (see Figure 5).

- *Define*: project start with the definition of an issue by an actor
- *Visualize*: that issue has to be communicated. Visualization tools play an important role here.
- *Engage*: new actors become engaged
- *Represent*: The actors start organizing themselves, new structures emerge. Often platforms are used to share information such as Slack, facebook.
- *Ideate*: ideas are taking shape, how to make the idea happen?
- *Act*: once solutions are agreed upon, the actors act upon them.

- *Institutionalize*: The project is up and running, how to ensure long term functioning? How to have a sustainable impact on the city and policies?
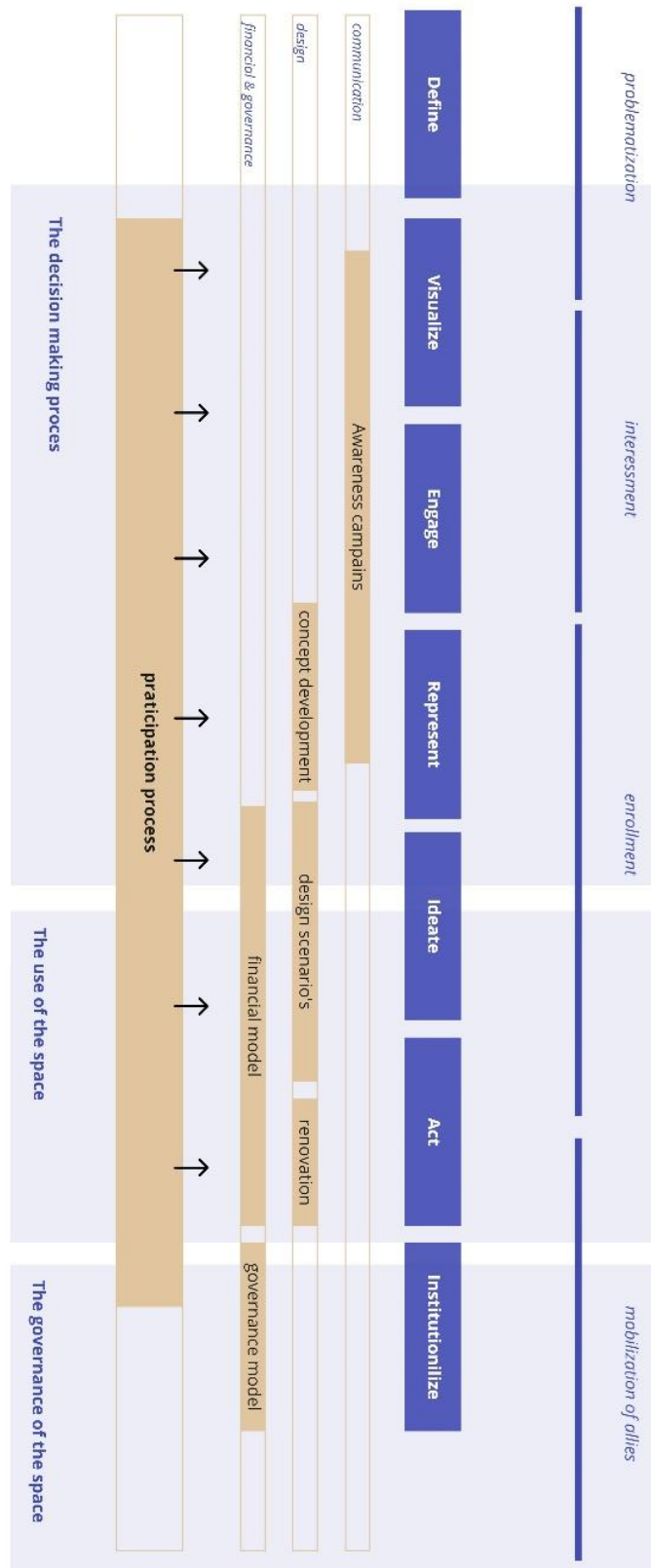

Figure 5. Social Inclusion and Phases in AHR projects

a.) Setting up an open participatory process

Inclusion is about improving the terms of participation in the decision-making process in such a way that all types of *stakeholders* can be represented in a democratic way. As we mentioned before a requirement for in inclusive process is 'active' involvement. Looking at the observatory cases this means involving different types of stakeholders during the different phases of the adaptive reuse process in such a way that their presence adds to the relevance of the project and creates a positive social impact. This way the process becomes a collective learning process. The cases teach us that it is a challenge within urban renewal projects to strive for ways of collecting, integrating and spatially interpreting local social knowledge with regard to 'habits, sensitivities, solidarity and exclusion' specifically in vision formulation. The extraction and integration of local knowledge can be organized in multiple ways. As we mentioned before different contexts (spatial, institutional) and different ambitions (housing, market place, cultural center, …) require different forms of participation. It is always about finding the best fit. The participatory process can be organised by the civic community. Often, to ensure transparency and independence, a process is designed and/or moderated by an external organization (ref London CLT, the Sargfabrik, Ex-Rotaprint). Someone with no direct stake in de project.

We can distinguish several strategies that together form essential steps in the process: mapping stakeholders, collecting local knowledge, making a mission statement, integrating local knowledge in the design process and officialize the results and engagements. Here we zoom in on some essential strategies to ensure an inclusive process.

Mapping opportunities and stakeholders

One of the main questions is: *who needs access to de decision-making process?* Here it is not a matter of 'as much as possible' but about the right people around the table. It's important especially in the beginning of the process to keep the threshold low for people to join. Communication tools like social media can help to reach the right people.

Collecting local knowledge

What are the needs of the local community, how can the project tap in to these needs? What are the challenges / opportunities that we can tackle with the project? How can this influence the program of the building? Organizing structured moments, in the beginning of the process, connecting with the local community and key actors of discriminated groups can help to gain insight in the local needs and wishes. There are different ways to extract local knowledge, as, e.g., by organizing walks with locals (see London CLT, by organizing round tables with a diverse group of civic stakeholders (as was done by the municipality of Turin), by conducting

interviews with key-stakeholders or organizing workshop sessions. It is important that the results of how the input is processed is again communicated in a transparent way. Collective decisions can be taken to enrich the project and make it relevant for the local community. When looking at the Citadel Alba Julia the participation was limited to merely informing (narrow approach), without actively engaging people in the process. Active community involvement in the process must not be mistaken as a requirement to decide every single aspect together. Particular moments can be chosen within the process for input.

Integrating local knowledge in the design process

The design process is about bringing the pieces of the puzzle together (programming, budget, structural capacities, architectural features, regulations…), often managed by experts such as an architect. There can also be moments of participation organized during this phase. In the case of London CLT, the ambition here was to increase the accessibility of the site to avoid the site from becoming a gated community. Community co-design led to the application having unanimous approval at the Tower Hamlets Planning Committee. The community support has also proved to be a very strong asset when having to cope with conflicts with the necessary partnerships with real estate developers and when campaigning for public support or subsidies. Temporary use on site creates the opportunity to test different functions/ usages and the impact on the local community. For example, in Stara Trznica this allowed the initiators to finetune the program and create awareness.

b.) Making use of space accessible

Accessibility (physical or non-physical) is about removing barriers. When talking about accessibility often disability comes to mind. Across the world it affects 15 percent of the population. While some forms of disability are permenant, many of us will acquire it through injury, illness or aging. Even more people face invisible barriers because of gender, religion, sexual orientation, or income - or simply while navigating the city with a stroller. Looking at the different cases, we can distinguish different forms of accessibility: on the level of public space, on the level of the building and on the level of the services. Heritage sites have the opportunity to provide public space, especially in dense urban areas. As we can see in the cases often these spaces were neglected and inaccessible for a wider public for years. The level of physical accessibility is of course in line with the intended function. In the different cases we can distinguish housing projects, arts event space, social and community centers and finally spaces for small entrepreneurs.

On the level of public space: The St Clements site (London CLT) had a strong presence in the community and a strong role in local memory. One of the key aspects of the urban design was opening up the site to allow free access. Connecting the area to the surrounding neighbourhood. Until 2013, in Amsterdam, the Marineterrein, as a Navy Yard, was completely separated from the city through a large outside wall, and the satellite image from the area was blurred on Google Maps. When the decision was made to develop the site gradually, the site was opened up and the neighbourhood as invited to join the activities on site. In Bratislava the team of the Stará Trznica case not only succeeded in reopening the market hall but also, in collaboration with the city upgraded the square in front of the market hall.

On the level of the building: As most cases host public functions, it is important for the AHR projects to meet the basic measures for accessibility. But some cases explicitly had the goal of being 'inclusive for all' in mind when starting the design process. The original mission of the housing project of Sargfabrik always entailed inclusion as a key part of the project. The project has seven places for disabled people and six units with limited contracts for tenants in need of short-term housing and social housing for refugees. Besides lager units for families, they also have units with an area of 30 and 70m2, because they wanted to enable single parents and singles to also participate in the project.

In view of design decisions, some cases also seek to create the right setting to match the mission. Especially for public functions such as a cultural meeting center or market hall, flexibility and a welcoming atmosphere are key. Looking at the Cascina Roccafranca, the biggest challenge in the reconstruction process was to create a space that would adapt to a wide range of activities while presenting a unique style. The main concept of the building is to create a multifunctional and inclusive space that would welcome a wide range and activities and audiences. Glass and transparent surfaces were used to convey inclusivity and openness, but architectural features important for the identity and the recognizability of the place, such as brick, the door and window fixtures, were maintained.

VinziRast-mittendrin, a case outside of OpenHeritage, is a cohousing for students and homeless people in Vienna. When conceiving VinziRast-mittendrin, the architects designed the place to be cosy and inviting, but not pretentious nor "classy." Tenants appreciate the result very much because it is in Vienna's city centre and its openness allowed them to establish communication and links with the neighbourhood. With its the restaurant and the café, VinziRast mittendrin can offer affordable and welcoming options to anyone from the neighbourhood and beyond (Bod 2020).

On the level of services: When talking about accessibility of services affordability, programming and communication are key aspects. The

Cascina Roccafranca showcases multiple strategies to lower the threshold for precarious groups to use its space. For starters, they have an open-door policy as a way to connect with different groups and create a feeling of accessibility. They also keep the agenda flexible, which allows to welcome different groups and change the programs in accordance with different needs and new challenges appearing with time. Social workers are indispensable as connectors between the civic groups and the project. The importance of this 'connecting' role between neighbourhood and project is also visible in Largo Residencias. Largo's projects aim to develop good practices in the neighbourhood. A lot of them are linked to interculturality and they encourage the better inclusion of people living in the neighbourhood through language and cultural mediation. For example, the theatre project called Companie Limitade built a theatre piece starting from the story of the people living in the neighbourhood who were suffering from solitude or dealing with diseases. Some projects also offer free use of space in exchange for volunteering work, as for example in the Scugnizzo Liberato case. Others have subsidized programs in order keep the prices low for precarious groups of people.

c.) Ensuring affordable housing

In the ideal city, affordable housing is priority striving to create neighbourhoods with a mix of housing types for a mix of budgets, and with a variety of rental, ownership, and equity models. By contrast, high land prices, restrictive regulations, and the interest of short-term investors often impact affordability. Therefore, the ideal city unlocks unoccupied and underused heritage buildings in public or private ownership, and it finances long term investment in partnership with governments, pension funds, community land trusts and cooperatives. Democratic ownership models allow people to be part of designing their own homes. Both the Sargfabrik as well as London CLT made use of strategies to assure affordable housing on the long term.

Cooperative model: The Sargfabrik works as a cooperative within the framework of Viennese housing provision. This specific organizational legal form provides a resident group access to housing subsidies and offers a number of exclusions from the general building regulations. These exceptions from several building codes contribute to lower building costs that could be reinvested into the social infrastructure of the project. Through this cooperative model the association can keep control over the "spirit" of the project. There are very strict rules and a complex scanning process for those who want to move in. As mentioned before inclusion was part of the initial mission of the project. The association found a way to involve interested parties who could not afford living here. As the building is a collectively owned residential housing, no one would be eligible for

social benefits to support rental payments or housing costs, so an internal distribution system with social fund was created.

An interesting case outside of OpenHeritage that combines a cooperative model with inclusion strategies is **BioTope in Ghent**,[1] Belgium. BioTope is a living cooperative consisting of 18 units, with one inclusion-unit for refugees. The BioTope project is part of the Bijgaardehof, a cohousing project designed by Bogdan & Van Broeck that was developed through a collaboration with the City of Ghent in the buildings of an old metal factory. BioTope wants to build a home for various types of families across generations, with different budgets and needs. No luxurious prestige project, but affordable living together. They are very mission driven, they share similar ideas on environmentally conscious construction, on consumption reduction and social impact. Within the diversity of the group, they also want to integrate inclusive living. That is why they are renting out at least one of our living units to recognized refugees. Bijgaardehof will become the largest cohousing project in Belgium. Together with the Flemish Council for Refugees and Orbit vzw, the studio HEIM supported the request from the BioTope residents' group for an inclusion unit.

Heritable building lease: In the case of Hof Pradiköw the strategy of heritable building lease was used (also in Ex-Rotaprint) this allows the separation of the ownership of land and building. This has the advantage for sharing the benefits and development costs among two different owners. The heritable building lease giver – who owns the land – has also the possibility to set a framework and rules for the development of the land and thus can hold the lease holder accountable to develop it accordingly. In this particular case the land was bought by Stiftung Trias – a foundation that helps community groups and co-housing projects access financing and move properties out of the speculation market.

CLT model: Community Land Trusts are a model of community-led development, where local organizations develop and manage homes and other assets important to their communities, such as community enterprises, food growing or workspaces. By owning land (or leasing it from public owners) and leasing apartments, entire buildings or other types of properties to individuals, families or community groups, CLTs can control the use and price of such properties. CLTs therefore can use this leverage to guarantee that spaces in their management remain affordable, based on the income level of the locals living in the area. Typically, these leases are long-term over several generations, up to 250 years. Each CLT has a different governance system but they all share some characteristics: they

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[1] http://www.biotopecohousing.be/

are controlled in a democratic fashion by residents, representatives of the geographical area within which they are embedded, and experts. The London CLT in St-Clements illustrates how this strategy can work in an urban setting, under strong real estate pressure. Both in the Sargfabrik and CLT London there was a selection procedure for tenants to target the right audience and secure diversity.

d.) Empowering marginalized groups

There are multiple ways to empower local communities, for now we will focus on education and job creation. Education plays a critical role in this topic, as it provides opportunities to learn the history and culture of one's own and other societies, which will cultivate the understanding and appreciation of other societies, cultures and religions. Particularly for young people, education provides the opportunity to instill values of respect and appreciation of diversity. At the same time, education can empower those who are marginalized or excluded from participating in discussions and decision-making. Job creation is an effective method of combating poverty and promoting social integration and social inclusion. When people have work, they automatically become stakeholders in the 'economic realm'. Engagement in and access to the labor market is therefore the first and most important step in participation in the economic processes of society. This also gives people a sense of identity and gives access to a social network. For the poor, labor is often a major requirement to sustain or possibly improve their quality of life. Therefore, unemployment can have extremely damaging effects on the livelihoods as well as well-being of individuals, households and the entire community. It is important to reduce existing barriers to labor markets, not only by instilling 'social responsibility' practices, but also by creating incentives for creating diverse workforces in the private sector (DESA, 2009).

Education: as an adaptive reuse process, there is always a learning curve. Some projects explicitly chose to invest in visualizing and communicating about the process as a way to make the local community aware of their history. This can be done with an exposition as in the case of Londen CLT, a small permanent installation as in Sargfabrik or an exposition as in the cas of Cascina Roccafranca. Many community members at Marineterrein deal with the theme of learning.

Some of the community members such as Codam Coding School and the upcoming chef's school are being perceived as very interesting to connect to the local residents and especially youth from the direct neighbourhood. Also, all the initiatives related to transforming the area into a sustainable district are supported by the surrounding community. For many local

residents, joining activities organised by Largo Residencias was conceived as an empowerment process, with new networking and job opportunities.

Job creation: Largo's employment policies have also contributed to social integration. The organization has created a variety of employment opportunities for people living in Intendente, mostly in the cafeteria and the hotel. By providing training and jobs – and sometimes helping them formalize their residence or citizenship status – Largo Residências has helped several vulnerable people change their lives and welcomed them in a community that treasures equality and personal empowerment. In multiple projects job creation (with focus on marginalized communities) is often linked to the exploitation of the cafeteria or restaurant. For example, Cascina Roccafranca: A social cooperative-run restaurant: The restaurant and the cafeteria inside are run by Cooperative Raggio, a B-type social cooperative that hires staff with physical and/or psychological disabilities. The Sargfabrik also has a restaurant that is managed by a the social-economic employment project and funded by the Public Employment Service of Vienna. This model can be considered as a win-win situation for all parties. The Sargfabrik community benefits from the services provided by the restaurant, and at the same time with its tolerant attitude and supportive atmosphere it is an ideal working place for these people.

BeeOzanam is another case outside of OpenHeritage with an interesting take on job-creation and education.[2] It is a community hub whose challenge is to combat cultural poverty and social exclusion, stimulating the growth of a sustainable generation through the co-production of cultural, educational and aggregative activities. The BeeOzanam project was initiated by Loris Passarella, president of Meeting Service Catering, a social cooperative based in Turin that focuses on training people in catering, gardening, bee-keeping and other activities related to food. Founded in 1988, it was initially based in a small office in the city centre – this forced them to work in several locations in order to offer courses, so when news came that the municipality was planning on repurposing an old factory building, they moved in and opened their first restaurant that also functioned as a training ground for their students (Giuliano 2020).

Another interesting outside case is **Sharehaus Refugio** in Berlin.[3] This is a project that brings diverse group of asylum seekers, refugees and Berliners together under one roof. It is a place for living, co-working and encounters. The Sharehaus Refugio has a number of collective and public spaces where interaction can take place between residents. After two years

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[2] https://cooperativecity.org/2020/12/14/busy-as-bees-a-rooftop-garden-and-a-dynamic-community-hub-for-social-integration-bee-ozanam-in-turin/
[3] http://refugio.berlin/

80% of the inhabitants speak fluent German, have a network of diverse people and hold a job.

e.) Strategies of sharing power

Once an adaptive reuse project is set up and physical spaces are renovated and defined, an important and common strategy of civic initiatives is to include additional participants or members in the project by sharing decision-making power over the programming, use and management of the common space with newcomers. It shows that by opening up such spaces for appropriation and use by anyone, observatory case studies and collaborative heritage labs have seen ethnic-minority groups, women, and socio-economically marginalized groups take advantage of these opportunities – without any explicit inclusion strategy, however, clearly by having created a culture of welcoming diversity. The demographic survey confirmed this dynamic, particularly in cases where the primary function of the adaptive reuse project is a social and community center. In such function as a space for civic communication and encounter, these centers present themselves as committed to forms of interaction that are based on equality, irrespective of status, background or ascribed identities. This is particularly the case with Cascina Roccafranca in Turin, Scuggnizzo Liberato in Naples, and LaFabrikadetodalavida in los Santos de Maimona – all of which projects that have instituted processes of open and collective decision-making with low thresholds of participation – except for the challenge for interested individuals to find the time to participate. These three projects have frequent plenary meetings (once a month or more) to decide on important matters and thus have largely refrained from decision-making structures that delegate power to a small group of leaders. These latter structures and the decision-making processes are often opaque and inaccessible for newcomers to raise their concerns or ideas or become involved in other ways. All three projects have a significant participation of women, including in leadership positions that is equal if not more than men (i.e., up to 70%). Moreover, all three projects are located in relatively marginalized areas in socio-economic terms, and the people actively involved in these community spaces reflects this socio-economic constituency of the neighbourhoods or towns. With respect to ethnic diversity, at Cascina Roccafranca and Scuggnizzo Liberato, both located in areas with relatively high proportions of people from migration or ethnic minority backgrounds, the representation of users from these groups in community spaces and in leadership positions is roughly in same proportion as demographic composition of the surrounding area (between 5-20%). At LaFabrika, the presence of ethnic minority groups is low in the surrounding area to begin with, not constituting a concern in the project.

A less explicit strategy of sharing power over the use of space is the provision of public space. The use of public space doesn't include formal decision-making meetings, and in its ideal conception everyone is allowed to make use of it without preconditions and regardless of status and background. As a general rule, a person's use of public space should not substantially interfere with other people's ability to use it. "Public space" in this sense doesn't necessarily imply a particular ownership status but the way in which such space is governed. Especially for socio-economically marginalized groups that have no private space ("homeless people") or very little private space (people living in crowded apartments, especially youth) to count on, the ability to access public space is particularly vital in urban space, i.e., in densely built areas with little in term so open and free spaces. Especially in context where their presence is unwanted for their lack of consumption or for their stereotypical dismissal as unruly, criminal, dangerous etc., a welcoming public space is of great significance to these groups. Such provision of a welcoming public space has been instituted at ExRotaprint, with the explicit programming of the site with social services for people in the neighbourhood, refugees and other disadvantaged groups. At Stará Trznica, great emphasis has been placed on the public square inside and outside of the market hall to allow a clean and place to stay with seats in a busy and attractive setting, that is also welcoming for homeless people. London CLT has also established public spaces that were not there previously. And although tensions have arisen between residents and youth who occasionally occupy the space, the CLT has defended the right of stay for these youth, even when their presence is not seen as pleasant by some residents. Various other initiatives of reuse have also made a point of creating quality and accessible public spaces, even though the consequences in view of inclusivity have not always been monitored. In less densely built spaces, such as rural or peri-urban areas the inclusive effects may also be less evident.

f.) Politics and Policies to support inclusive processes

These inclusion **strategies address discriminatory social conditions** and entail an explicit political dimension. In several instances, civic actors in adaptive reuse projects relate to policies and political programs that have inclusive aims in order to implement them. In some cases, the initiatives are active drivers or supporters within broader alliances for new and more inclusive policies and programs that go beyond a particular site.

In the context of Open Heritage, one inclusive set of policies that initiatives draw on or lobby for, address the issue of socio-economic marginalization. The main impetus of one set of policies is to counter spatially uneven development by supporting neighbourhood development and civic initiatives in disadvantaged areas, whether urban marginalized areas or

more rural shrinking areas. A second set of policies that is not targeting areas spatially, entails inclusive stipulations in social policies as in policy support for social housing. A third set of policies, the regulation of the urban commons is not aimed in a spatially or socially targeted way, but its effects can also be inclusive, particularly in disadvantaged areas.

(1) Policies that counter spatially uneven development and targeted neighbourhood development have been particularly relevant in the cases of Lisbon (CHL Marques Abrantes and OC Largo Residencias) as well as in the case of Cascina Roccafranca in Turino. To a lesser extent, such spatially targeted policies for rural areas is also relevant for some of the investments made at CHL Prädikow.

In the case of Lisbon, the BIP/ZIP program has been providing funds for a regeneration of the entire area that integrates various concerns, including employment opportunities, development perspectives for small businesses, essential social and physical infrastructure, and heritage-protection. The **BIP/ZIP program** is a policy program launched in 2010, and involving about 70 areas of Lisbon and provides funding to civic projects, including heritage preservation, in a number of socio-economically disadvantaged ("priority") neighbourhoods. What is particularly interesting about this program, is that the funding is given to local organizations to carry out the work, thus it counts on their collaboration. Urban rehabilitation processes are supported by GABIPs, local technical offices designed to support the municipality to move decision-making to the local scale and share it with local actors. GABIPs are composed of a coordinator from the municipality and an executive committee with local key stakeholders of the urban regeneration process. Largo Residencias received funding through this program since its location in the Intendente district was considered as priority area of development. The project received a 50.000 € grant and collaborated in festival and events promoted by the public authority. While Largo Residencias was able to offer a space also for marginalized groups of the area, including sex workers, the broader transformation in the area and its gentrification and expulsion of marginalized groups, however, ultimately contravened aims of inclusiveness. The CHL Marques Abrantes that is to offer housing in a targeted area, similarly seeks to promote civic engagement through these funds.

In Germany, some policies take an integrated approach between regional revitalization and heritage preservation, such as the **Urban Heritage Protection program in Germany** that is funded by the federal government in conjunction with the Länder and targets particular neighbourhoods, mostly those with socio-economic deficits. At the **EU level**, some **structural funds for regional development** (see **Interreg** in the case of LaFabrikadetodalavida) or for urban regeneration (see **Urban II** in the case of Cascina Roccafranca) also go some ways to address these

regional discrepancies and provide funds for adaptive reuse in such socio-economically disadvantaged areas such as Mirafiori Norte in Turin. In the case of Cascina Roccafranca, the site was acquired and the restoration funded through the European Union Urban II program. The Cascina Roccafranca project relies on an assemblage of policies which informed the process since the beginning, by combining at first municipal (Progetto Speciale Periferie) and then European (URBAN II) policies. Such integration advanced the project within a larger redevelopment strategy. Cascina Roccafranca contributed to a civic revitalization in the area and offered important social and cultural services to the residents in the neighbourhood. Indeed, the users and leaders of Cascina Roccafranca largely represent the average socio-economic status in the area. Remarkably, women are overrepresented in leadership positions, amounting to about 90%. By contrast, however, migrants and ethnic minority groups are underrepresented in the leadership of Cascina Roccafranca. Inclusion for disabled people, particularly with mental disabilities, however, has been achieved through the services and programs offered on site. However, the crucial question regarding these policies is the level and degree of funding. Too often, funds hardly compensate for the dramatic dynamics of uneven urban and regional development that create shrinking and declining areas. Such processes of inclusion thus don't say much about the larger spatial process that structurally exclude residents of the areas in Mirafori Norte.

(2) The second kind of policies that can allow adaptive reuse projects to create socially inclusive effects is exemplified by the social housing policies that were made use of at London CLT. Since the site of St. Clement's was subject to a **section 106 agreement**, the redevelopment of the site required that 30% of the housing units were to be affordable, ie. houses with social rent. One part of this portion for social rent, was negotiated to be handed over to a Community Land Trust, as part of the broader redevelopment area of St. Clement's. Through this legal stipulation and the newly created affordable housing redevelopment, the CLT was able to offer 23 housing units to residents with relatively low income. The CLT combined this legal opportunity for social housing connected to real estate development with its internal, organizational inclusion policy to require that tenants have been living long-term in the area and that they would otherwise have been threatened with gentrification from the area due to rising costs.

(3) The third set of policies that have been used to create inclusive effects are not targeting specific disadvantaged spaces or social groups. However, in their empowerment of civic groups and uses, these policies promote inclusion when they support communities that are aware of discriminatory practices. And civic groups, to be sure, have the potential advantage of being closer to the experiences of discrimination and everyday needs and

can thus implement more appropriate responses than policies that are formulated at a general level.

The most striking case of community empowerment through such policies is the **Regulation of the Urban Commons** and other municipal measures that were taken in cities such as Naples (in coordination with the Scugnizzo Liberato) and Turin (in development with the Cascina Roccafranca).

In Italy, the ownership model of the commons is based on the constitutionally granted access to "common goods" for "civic use" (art. 43 of the Italian constitution). It refers to a collective and free use of (public or private) spaces and assets and allows communities of use to manage these resources. In recent years, this constitutional right has found its way into local acts, as in the case of Naples, that guarantees the local community's right "to benefit from (state, local or private) lands, water and forest … subject to construction and privatization restrictions" (Local act no. 458, 2017). In 2011, Naples included the legal notion of the common goods (art. 3., c.2) into its Municipality Statute and established a department of Town Planning and Common Goods, the first of its kind in Italy. The Laboratory for Common Goods was subsequently established in 2012 to support bottom-up initiatives of citizens to regenerate and care for the common goods. This was accompanied by a policy, the Regulation of the Common Goods that was approved the same year which set principles for the governance and management of common goods, i.e. in conjunction with the municipality. In 2013, the founding of an Observatory of the Common Goods, composed of independent experts, supports existing commons and keeps an inventory of other assets for possible common good regulations and networking.

It was within this context, that in 2015, the informal occupation of the 16th century site of the former convent and later youth asylum could become formalized and receive municipal support for its activities and recognized as a site of free access and for the enjoyment of common goods. This formalization, however, recognizes the "informal community" of the civic use that is involved in the care and development of the site. The municipality covers expenses for the maintenance, the property remains public. Similarly, in the case of Cascina Roccafranca, the municipality has adopted a collaborative stance to the project, granting a high degree of the project's autonomous decisions – a relationship that was later consolidated by recognizing it as an urban commons under the local Regulation on the Commons.

Both initiatives, Scugnizzo Liberato and Cascina Roccafranca, were able to realize a high degree of inclusion in socio-economic and gender terms (women's inclusion). The socio-economic demographic profile of the users and leaders in these centers largely corresponds to the profile of their adjacent neighbourhoods which are known to be disenfranchised within

their cities' contexts. Creating a space for this kind of empowerment of socio-economically marginalized groups, was a key intention for the initiators and founders to open up this space in that particular location. The participation of women at Scugnizzo Liberato mirrors the proportion of women in the neighbourhood (approx. 50%), while at Cascina Roccafranca the proportions of active women in the center were even higher (60% for users, 70% for employees, 90% for leaders). Both initiatives also have a strong conception of sexism and their role in creating a safe(r) space.

In view of migrant background and ethnic minorities, both initiatives do not quite match the demographic profile of their neighbourhoods, particularly in view of employees, but still these centers can be counted as diverse in these respects. Remarkably, both spaces are apparently more attractive for younger people compared to elderly people (65 years or above).

5.3. Key learnings on social inclusion: Success, bottlenecks and conflicts

Several of these projects generate remarkable inclusive effects. Throughout this analysis the **relevance of the three OpenHeritage pillars** became clear and was discussed in various aspects and nuances. Aside from the obvious relevance of the community- and stakeholder integration, the chapter shows the various ways that efforts towards social inclusion always involve considerations of resource and territorial integration. Taking into account the demographic survey that was conducted across the Open Heritage case studies in 2020, the analysis of data suggested that most of the projects are particularly inclusive in socio-economic terms and in view of the participation and leadership of women. In several of these projects, particularly those functioning as social and community centers and to a certain extent also spaces for small entrepreneurs, research finds that women and people from rather disadvantages socio-economic background have a strong leadership role. In several cases, women are represented at disproportionally high proportions in leadership positions, and often disproportionally in paid staff positions at these projects as well as.

in adaptive reuse projects with a primary function as social and community centre, particularly in the case of Cascina Roccafranca and Scuggnizzo Liberato, the demographic diversity of ethnicity and migration backgrounds appears to be largely reflective of the diversity of residential areas in the surrounding. Moreover, in the case of other projects with mixed functions in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods, such as ExRotaprint in Berlin or Largo Residencias in Lisbon, the ethnic diversity of the workforce and users of the site is reflective of the broader neighbourhood areas around it. These results

have been achieved without a formal inclusion strategy towards ethnicity, migration status or migration background.

Considering other areas of inclusion, with respect to sexuality, religion, age or ability, our available data is not detailed or reliable enough to offer broader conclusions.

Considering these results, how is it possible that many civic-oriented adaptive heritage projects have produced inclusive results without having any formal inclusion strategy? Four aspects should be considered relevant aspects to answer this puzzle and as lessons learnt.

First, the adaptive heritage projects considered here aim to **provide public spaces**, i.e. space for free usage, diverse programming, and social encounter for anyone who claims interest. They incentivize the use of such space by disadvantaged communities through open or particular types of programming. It is this availability of space, often in conjunction with particular services, that invites appropriation by groups, particularly those that are otherwise disadvantaged and lack spaces for gathering. Since most disadvantaged groups encounter economic difficulties to provide private spaces for collective activities, they are even more dependent on public spaces to address such collective needs for gathering, discussion, festivities, education and the like.

It is interesting to note that many of the projects considered, including those that are primarily oriented towards housing, arts centers or spaces for entrepreneurial activities, have made a conscious effort to establish or care for public spaces as well. In these instances, the provision and maintenance of publicly accessible spaces is financed through revenues of rents related to the housing or small business function. By contrast, public spaces of social and community centers are mostly made available and cared for through other means. By virtue of their orientation, these centers are not geared to generate revenues and thus rely on public subsidies or in some cases crowdfunding or crowdsourcing and volunteering activities.

Second, the examined adaptive heritage reuse projects are **located in peripheral or otherwise marginalized areas** with the result that the proportion of socio-economically disadvantaged persons is relatively high in these areas. Because of such characteristics, it is not surprising that these neighbours become quickly acquainted with the adaptive heritage reuse project if only for the physical proximity. But more importantly, from their inceptions, the scrutinized adaptive heritage reuse projects had the intention to consider the surrounding neighbourhoods as the primary catchment area for its programming, particularly in the case of social and community centers. In fact, initiatives such as Scugnizzo Liberato, Cascina Roccafranca as well as LaFabrika were established to considerable extent by people living in the area. This is partially also true for initiatives including

small businesses, such as at ExRotaprint and Largo Residencias were also intended to provide spaces for jobs and small entrepreneurs from the surrounding. London CLT is remarkable because it has formalized this socio-economic inclusion principle. Its residents need to document that they have been long-term residents of the area and show the need for affordable housing.

Third, the adaptive heritage reuse projects show that a certain degree of **inclusiveness can also be realized without requiring formalized inclusion strategies**. These projects and its members are often motivated by values of a more inclusive society and show a commitment to implementing these ideals. It shows that the attitudes and concrete practices on the ground of the membership matter when it comes to creating inclusive relationships with marginalized groups. It matters whether members take the initiative and reach out to other people, whether they are receptive to inquiries, whether they allow other voices to be heard, and take other people's needs and interests seriously.

Still there are also explicit methods and statements, while not strategies, that orient and arrange the initiatives openness and accessibility towards, its concrete offers or incentives as well as their connections with marginalized groups. At LaFabrika, a feminist working group monitors the processes within the collective, offers input and feminist education to members, and creates proposals for a more gender sensitive communication. In addition, the method of the "disorganized society" generally seeks to ensure openness of the collective towards new ideas, persons and to inhibit certain positions and people within the group from becoming reified and eventually leading to more permanent informal hierarchies among members. At Sargfabrik, the commitment has led to the collective offering spaces for social services for disadvantaged youth, offering temporary housing to refugees, and to a solidarity mechanism among renters to support those who cannot afford to pay the rent. At Stará Trznica, a similar solidarity mechanism has allowed social enterprises to use the premises at lower rents and has guaranteed that the public space is cared for at high quality also for marginalized people. All of this is simply to illustrate, that while not forming comprehensive inclusion strategies and while not (necessarily) being informed by a scientific analysis, the attitudes and commitments of the initiatives do have an effect and positive consequences in view of inclusivity.

Fourth, it should also be borne in mind that **women's roles** in such civic initiatives also fall into patriarchal structures that have long relied on women's involvement to reproductive and community care work, while often restricting their engagements in other fields, particularly to the conventional field of politics and public deliberation. To make it clear, such contextualization should not by any means diminish the value and

importance of women involved in social and community centers, or in cultural activities, but it is a way of understanding their overrepresentation in these initiatives (when compared to the total population) without explaining this on the basis of a new innovation or strategy for social inclusion. An ongoing feminist challenge that their involvement in such initiatives poses, is that rather than viewing women's efforts as do-goodism or just as a hobby, this work is appreciated in appropriate ways and properly supported where required to recognize and promote its contribution to the common/public good.

Bottlenecks:

An increasingly diverse and growing local population

In recent years, the challenge of including all people in society has been complicated by various factors, including, growing inequality, widening income disparity, and jobless growth, which has led to increased incidents of unemployment and underemployment, particularly among youth.

Capacity of local government

Open participatory processes, however, may not always work, especially where the institutional capacity of local government is weak, due to brain drain of local human resources, lack of clarity on the role of local governance, lack of financial resources, lack of coordination with central government, or lack of political skills. In this case, the capacity building of local government must also be addressed as a priority. The gap in capacity is not necessarily limited to local government, but also to that of stakeholders, in particular, those who have been excluded so far, such as women, youth, the poor, older persons, indigenous peoples, peoples

with disabilities, ethnic and religious minorities. Local governments are also affected by the political attitude of the central state, which may be committed or opposed to local control of public functions and resources.

6. FLEXIBILITY AND ADAPTATION

Authors: Jorge Mosquera, Levente Polyák and Hanna Szemző

6.1. Conceptualization of flexibility and adaptation

A final theme to study in the report is the role of flexibility and adaptation in the strategies of different organizations (public, private and civic) facing foreseen and unforeseen difficulties. The chapter focuses on the organisations' ability to react to and overcome various challenges through becoming/remaining flexible. It aims to single out and illustrate with examples the mechanisms behind successful strategies, that strengthen these organisations, enable them to achieve their goals, and make them resilient.

Flexibility as in the willingness and capacity to adapt, change or compromise, has been a recurring theme throughout the various reports delivered in OpenHeritage. It is relevant in all of the project's three pillars, as stakeholder/community integration, resource integration and regional integration all touch upon the issue through focusing on adaptive reuse, looking at it as a challenge requiring adaptation and transformation from the various stakeholders for a sustainable solution. Among others work has concentrated on how gradual change can be brought about in the way communities, authorities and businesses understand, deal with and develop heritage, how different stakeholders can become more flexible in performing their roles, and how policies can adapt to accommodate local/bottom-up initiatives and provide a framework for resilient organisations and a sustainable development (see among others Kip et al. 2020, Gils 2020, Fava et al. 2020).

6.1.1. Academic state of the art: flexibility, adaptation and resilience

A flexible and resilient organisation is capable to "absorb disturbance and reorganize while undergoing change so as to still retain essentially the same function, structure, identity, and feedbacks" (Walker et al. 2004). It is also capable to learn and self-organise, allowing the maintenance of its core functions, while responding to a crisis (Westley 2002). Organisations that are flexible and able to adapt can find it easier to face financial and political challenges, crises of various kinds and degrees, including the current Covid crisis. (Gils 2020) The latter provides a particularly timely reason for the

survey of flexibility and adaptation, and also a rich resource of strategies to survey.

The strategies followed can be manyfold, supporting persistence, adaptation and even transformation, including the creation of completely new trajectories for the activities of an organization (Folke et al. 2010). But how does resilience play out in practice? Why is it important to remain flexible and adaptive for organisations in the current environment? Focus on social resilience, and generally on flexibility and adaptability has gained prominence in recent decades. Resilience was originally an ecological concept, and its application for social analysis came gradually. This has also meant a shift in understanding and analysing resilience, placing thus the emphasis on actors, capacities and practices (Keck and Sakdapolrak 2013, 13).

Research on resilience has also been propelled by consecutive crises, which have been created by challenges different in scope and impact. These included climatic, economic, financial, energy and labour market related ones, and most recently the Covid pandemic with its far-reaching consequences into all economic and social spheres. Some challenges have been the result of long-term processes, whereas others happened fast, almost unexpectedly. What connects them is their profound effect on the social and economic lives of many. They have also given public authorities a particularly strong responsibility to react and intervene. (Although themselves hit hard by negative financial consequences.)

The crises have forced different organisations to react flexibly and adapt. In this sense they have provided opportunities, opening up important topics for the organisations to engage in, providing them room for intervention and innovation, but at the same time requiring them to adapt to ever changing financial and social circumstance (Etemad 2020). Things like economic and climate volatility can directly affect the working conditions of various organisations by influencing the predictability of even seemingly robust economic models. A community land trust might be protected from real estate pressure in a gentrifying area – but might not be immune to the decrease of jobs and the decline of social services or security. Mortgages taken in other currencies could quickly turn toxic with changing exchange rates; while leasehold and rental fees could also become burdensome. At the same time energy costs, influenced by political decisions may create additional burden for the daily operations of civic spaces. In the longer term, changing migration patterns or demographic changes can contribute to the explosion of labour costs. Climate change, rising temperatures and drought may redraw urban environments, thus changing the economic landscape of entire cities or regions.

### 6.1.2. Definition of flexibility and adaptation used for the analysis

To understand and analyse the role of flexibility and adaptation the study cultural heritage in general and adaptive heritage reuse in particular provide a very interesting framework. Both tangible and intangible heritage have the capacity to adapt to changes as they transform and develop through time. Meanings and understandings metamorphose, which helps to maintain the significance of cultural heritage, a process that contributes directly to its resilience. (Boccardi 2019; Holtorf 2018).

Conceived in itself as a process of change, adaptive heritage reuse requires simultaneously physical (focusing on the building and the site) and organisational (who runs it and what is the purpose) adaptation and flexibility. Many adaptive reuse projects are central components of urban redevelopment strategies, and they have become key in repurposing urban centers, co-producing public spaces, and helping the sustainability and the survival of lived heritage, while providing opportunities of engagement for communities and bottom-up initiatives (Bonfantini 2015). They have also become important testing grounds for change, allowing organisations of different sizes, backgrounds and purpose to develop flexibly and to adapt.

The current chapter defines flexibility and adaptation as part of the resilience strategies that different organiations can pursue, enabling them to face and overcome challenges of various kinds. While looking at a particular set of practices and corresponding policies that enable individual initiatives or organisations as well as partnerships to respond better to long-term transformations and unpredictable, short-term challenges, the chapter explores three main strategies as variations or elements of the sought-after flexibility. These are:

1) **adaptability** - the capacity of an initiative or organisation to adapt to changing circumstances even without intensive exchange with others and carry it out mostly relying on its own resources;

2) **diversification** - the ability of an initiative to establish new connections with its social, social, economic and territorial context and to provide new services;

3) and the **creation of ecosystems** - activities focused on network building that enable individual organisations to join forces and complement each other by moving resources and capacities more efficiently according to emerging needs.

We regard these strategies as building on and strengthening each other. Nevertheless, there are marked differences among them both in the amount of time their execution needs and the complexity of the task it creates.
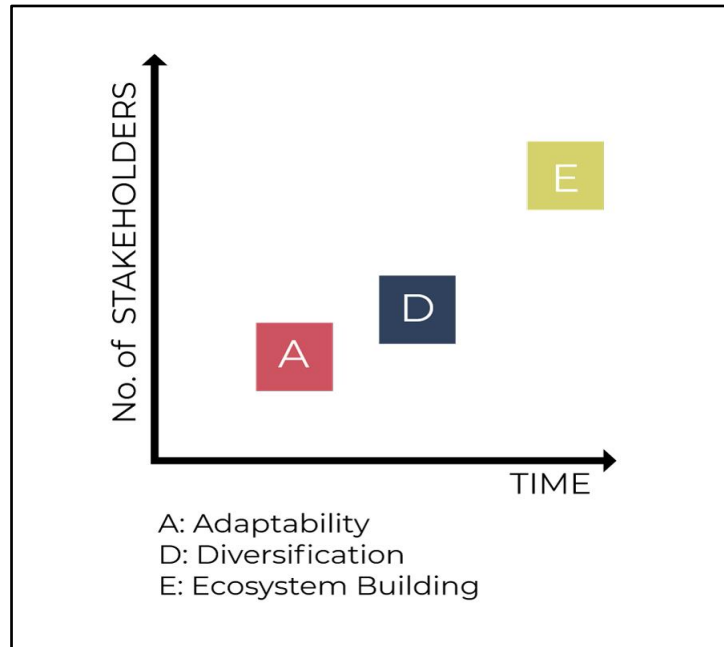
Figure 6. Three interrelated strategies in pursuit of flexibility

Whereas adaptability is a strategy that focuses on one organisation and can (often) be implemented in a relatively short time, both diversification and ecosystem building are longer processes. They however create the foundations of flexibility necessary to adequately respond both to slow-burning transformations and emerging challenges.

While ecosystem building always needs more stakeholders, the strategy of diversification is possible to carry out as a single organization. However, in the end, it is ecosystem building that provides the biggest and most complex safety net for various organisations both in the face of short-term and long-term challenges, allowing individual organisations to share their resources, support each other and develop complementary services, thus shifting from a competitive relationship to collaborative interdependence with each other.

In the following we look at these three strategies and highlight how they are carried out in practice, focusing on both municipalities and NGOs, and the ways they can work together the best. The cases looked take place in cities, but also spaces of adaptive reuse (like in Turin or Dubrovnik). The examples mentioned overwhelmingly show how these organisations acted when facing the sudden and drastic challenges of the Covid crisis.

6.2. Analysis: strategies and impacts

6.2.1. Adaptability

For Keck and Sakdapolrak (2013) adaptability (adaptive capacity) constitutes a dimension of social resilience: the ability to learn from past experiences and adjust itself to future challenges in their everyday lives. Considered as such, adaptability represents a dynamic quality empowering social systems to respond and cope with crisis as a normal rather than exceptional condition. Together with the transformative dimension of social resilience, adaptability proposes new scenarios for social and spatial development in our cities. In this sense, adaptability can be seen as a dimension of the open urbanism envisioned by Richard Sennett (2019) and meant as a flexible environment, not over-determined or fully defined a priori. This kind of openness leads to new ways of considering the city and the challenges society is called to face, allowing quick and speedy reactions.

The Covid-19 crisis gives a great example to sudden challenges to which spaces and initiatives can respond successfully only with a certain capacity and even alone. **Les Grands Voisins**, a project to temporarily reuse a disused hospital complex, gave a prompt response to the challenges of Covid-19 and the consequent lockdowns. The Municipality of Paris asked Les Grand Voisins if they can help with food distribution to the most vulnerable ones. LGV could do this very efficiently because the mission of work for the common good is at the base of the organization, and also because it is composed by architects and social workers that have a specific know-how on how to adapt to this new scenario. Flexibility and quick adaptation to changing circumstances was already at the core of the initiative, utilising the methodology of temporary use to test new functions and activities in an existing site with little physical transformation. Therefore, in the context of Covid-19, adapting the space for a new purpose was not just about giving food to people but it meant also to have a strong and safe organization.

"We have been contacted by the Municipality of Paris – they asked us if we could help with food distribution, as we run our activities in empty and / or abandoned buildings. We were able to immediately say yes because we always kept in mind the fact that urban commons should be able to respond and adapt as quickly as possible." Martin Locret – Project Manager at Plateau Urbain, guest speaker of the Cooperative City in Quarantine webinar episode on urban commons.[4]

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[4] https://cooperativecity.org/cooperative-city-in-quarantine/

Adaptability is a crucial characteristic for city municipalities as well, allowing them to intervene efficiently and quickly, providing a policy level intervention. Here flexibility allows for a renewed understanding of how spaces can be used and transformed. In some cities, municipalities **converted buildings** for new uses to respond to the most urgent needs; in others public administrations reached out to community spaces and developed together emergency services, using the spaces differently or mobilising the skills and knowledge organised around these spaces. Such changes require **flexibility** both on the side of spaces, building on their capacities to adapt to the needs of their communities and on the side of municipalities towards the requirements of the uses of these social and community spaces.

The importance of adaptability is reflected by the **Milan 2020 Adaptation Strategy**, which builds on public-private partnerships and recovery measures to address the current health crisis as well as future urban challenges. It is aimed at supporting social innovation and social cohesion as a means to fight the effects of the Covid 19 crisis. One its immediate actions was to have a dual use of infrastructures with a **temporary conversion of buildings** to make a significant contribution to the emergency management: Milan school oasis, "Open Schools" turned school buildings, particularly during the summer months, into community areas and green spaces dedicated to educational activities; "Milano Abitare" transformed used vacant apartments as emergency housing; accommodation facilities or other public and private facilities (e.g. Hotel Michelangelo) were also used for emergency management. In Milan, adaptability is both a way to cope with the crisis and to prepare the city for future challenges.

Such a high level of adaptability regarding the use and sudden conversion of spaces could be observed at NGO level as well. In Naples, the "informal welfare" provided by social centres, community groups and NGOs underwent a sudden change following the outbreak of the epidemic and the subsequent quarantine measures. With all the usual activities suspended by cause of the lockdown, social centers, self-organized spaces and urban commons like Scugnizzo Liberato, ex Opg, Mensa Occupata, Sgarrupato Occupato and Zero81 **reconverted their spaces** in kitchens or food stores where to pack parcels to be distributed once or twice a week, using small pickup trucks, motorbikes or simply on foot.

Similarly, sudden was the need to raise money. As a result many of these informal organizations designed and carried out crowdfunding campaigns,

such as ex Opg, which through word of mouth and online communication raised more than 42,000 euros to buy supplies, personal protective equipment and other primary goods to be given to poor families, migrants and homeless. (The system in Naples however is more complex, and can be described as an ecosystem as well, as shown below.)

6.2.2.   **Diversification**

Besides the ability to react very fast, the capacity of an initiative, organisation or partnership to successfully react to the changes that impact its operation partly depends on its capa bility to diversify its connections to its broader social, economic and territorial contexts. Such diversification is conceivable in various dimensions of the initiatives in question and at various levels of scale and governance. But it cannot be carried out impromptu, rather it needs planning and preparation.

One possible aspect of diversification regards the decision-making structure, as it was done in **Cascina Roccafranca** in Turin. The initiative has diversified its governance structure to include a variety of organisations besides the municipality. This structure assures that a multiplicity of voices is heard in the decision-making process that concerns the future of the building complex. Such a diversity of voices helps the organisation to remain open for a variety of opportunities and stay sensitive to changes that affect the organisation.

At another level, the **Gólya** cooperative in Budapest has diversified its economic base by developing new activities. Formerly focusing only on its activities around a community bar, it started to organise its revenue streams from three different building blocks. By learning from its own experience in renovating its own venue, Gólya started a building renovation business, and it also started food and goods delivery service. Based on this process of integrating new knowledge in the organisation's repertoire, Gólya was capable of moving its workers to the delivery and renovation services when Covid-19 hit the city and the community bar had to close. This shift allowed the organisation to retain all its employees while many other businesses had to fire a big part of their personnel. Having the flexibility to move their employees between different activities made the organisation more resilient to both long-term changes and unexpected events.

Diversification of activities and decision-making processes can also be supported by municipalities, non-governmental and even private organisations. Be it **capacity building** or a series of trainings, initiatives can grow more conscious of opportunities to better fund or manage their projects. A close monitoring of an initiative's operating context (from a viewpoint of a public administration or research institute) can also result in

better sensitivity to invisible, structural changes in this context, such as demographic transformation resulting in different needs for community services.

Public and non-profit actors (foundations) can also help this process of diversification by giving initiatives and spaces additional **visibility**: such visibility can help grow their audience and gather contributions or non-monetary support. Such visibility can be valorised through crowdfunding or match-funding processes and helps to mobilise a community to support a project that caters for it. The improvement of **communication, community outreach or revenue generating capacities** can help diversifying the social groups, clients or funders of an initiative and thus can highly influence the resilience of a project when it is necessary to adapt to changing circumstances or to respond to extreme events. In addition, **active procurement** (when municipalities buy services from social actors that reinvest their revenues in the local economy and thus create positive local change) can help NGOs and social spaces diversify their revenue streams and community outreach.

6.2.3.   **Ecosystem-building**

The most time consuming and complex strategy is eco-system building. However, Covid-19 and other emergency situations like the 2008 economic crisis have shown the importance of local networks or civic ecosystems that can complement municipalities in providing services to the population. In turn, belonging to such networks can make individual initiatives and spaces also stronger and better established. Such networks can help them build synergies with each other and diversify their connections, thus relying on a variety of resources, audiences or revenue streams. Grouping or clustering initiatives in networks or umbrella organisations can also share resources and help lower the operational thresholds of initiatives, reducing costs and other efforts, and making them capable of concentrating on their work. Such an ecosystem can also react very fast and with relatively little risk to challenges.

To respond to Covid-19, for instance, the community center of **Lazareti** in Dubrovnik has mobilised its networks of makers to produce plastic face shields and engaged textile designers to create facemasks. The existence of connections with such producers helped the centre to protect its community and strengthen its role in Dubrovnik as a key element of the city's social infrastructure.

A more complex eco-system is in place in Barcelona, where it is based on a mutual cooperation between the city and local initiatives. Even before the pandemic hit, the City of Barcelona already relied on a well-established dual

use of social infrastructures where libraries could serve as community centres promoting civic engagement of citizens. Therefore, thanks to its maker community (self-organising groups who experiment with digital technologies and low-cost resources to tackle problems) and its Network of Community Spaces, the so-called commons movement created a **community welfare infrastructure** capable of providing services and mutual aid.

In Naples, due to the sudden evolution of the emergency, the city administration struggled to react promptly but thanks to the wide network of associations, cooperatives, soup kitchens, social centers and urban commons many inhabitants received concrete support early on. Using the ecosystem in place, activists, volunteers and social workers created **solidarity networks** to support the weakest groups of inhabitants from the first hours of lockdown through the distribution of food and small economic contributions. Thanks to a dense interweaving of telephone calls, Facebook groups, Telegram chats, and wiki-based platforms such as viralsolidarity.org, it was possible to track down those in need and enabled active citizens to intervene house by house. Given this situation of isolation, several urban commons provided and still provide psychological support with dedicated telephone numbers (such as Villa Medusa) or legal assistance via chat or email (such as l'Asilo). Santa Fede Liberata opened its doors to give shelter to the homeless. Giardino Liberato di Materdei, together with activists from other communities, contributed to the creation of Radio Quarantella, a web radio with an open editorial board that collects voices from quarantine – not just from districts of Naples but even from all over the world.

The extraordinary situation faced by cities like Naples during the pandemic highlights the essential role of self-managed or co-managed spaces of aggregation and **mutualism**. This is done in Naples in adaptive reuse buildings where the political activism of some groups has led the administration to carry out a process of innovation in the government of the city with the recognition of civic uses for the activities carried out in seven properties led by the experience of L'Asilo (Villa Medusa, Ex Lido di Pola, Ex OPG, Santa Fede Liberata, Scugnizzo Liberato, Ex Schipa). In fact, the informal and **community-based welfare system** that active citizenships are building in Naples for years has confirmed its capacity to react quickly and in a targeted way to the local needs, especially when emergency circumstances require a decentralized approach. This also confirms the important role of urban commons as viable ecosystems, social infrastructures capable to adapt themselves to different challenges, producing public services of social impact through solidarity, creative, collaborative, digital and circular economy initiatives.

A very different approach to ecosystem building is represented by the City of Lisbon, which has showed a strong commitment for it from the institutional side. Following the first effects of the Covid crisis The Housing and Local Development Department together with the Fórum Urbano project promptly created an interactive online map with all the social initiatives of the "Energia BIP/ZIP" programme fighting to fight the problems. Initiatives were very different: from psychological help to hospital equipment, and from food support to cultural services. The message sent by the Municipality was clear: in such a moment of emergency crisis, projects from the BIP/ZIP programme developing local development in different priority areas, were called to **a reaction to demonstrate their social value**.
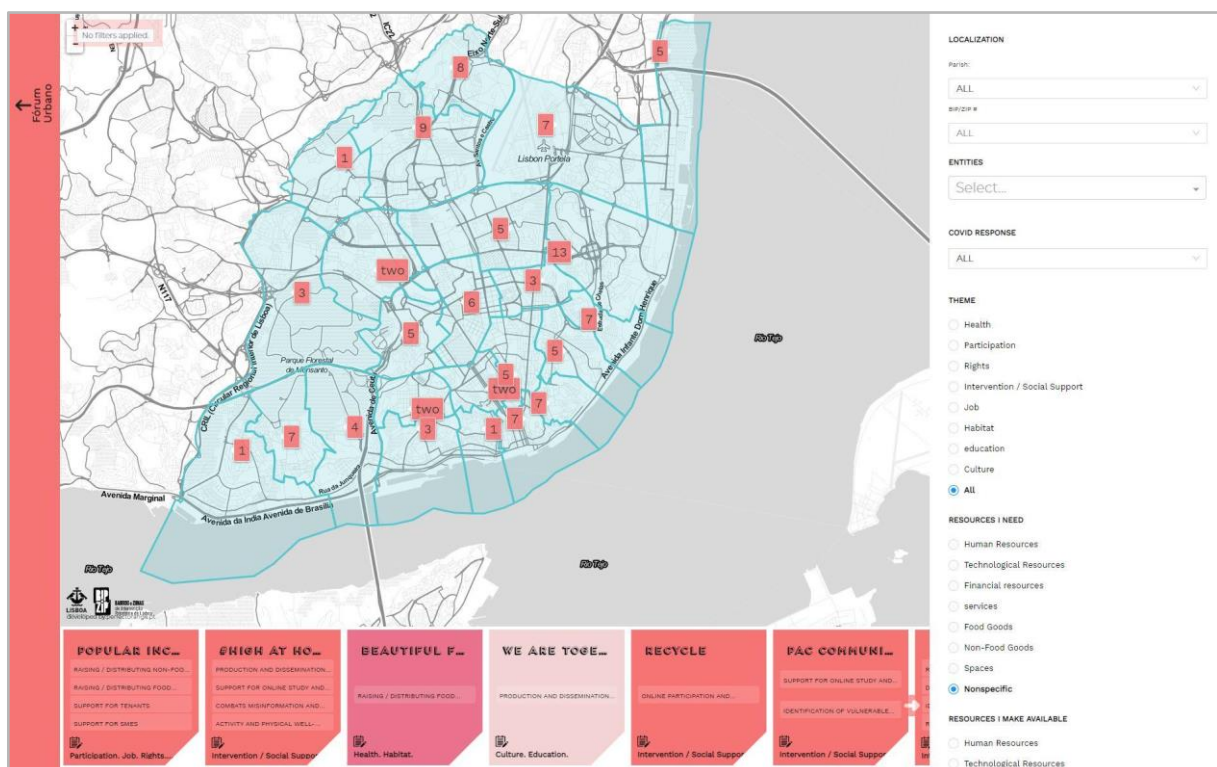

Figure 7. The Fórum Urban projet

Source: https://forumurbano.pt/covid19

Generally, municipal funds are good tools to encourage cooperation and ecosystem building, prioritizing collaboration in the local scene. Such "collaborative commissioning" or "participatory grantmaking" can help initiatives develop complementarity in their activities and better connect to each other. Such funds can also be completed by grants, tax breaks or loans, aiming at maintaining a civic tissue in a given neighbourhood, city or region. And municipalities as well as non-profit private actors can help

initiatives connect with each other, develop networks and **build civic ecosystems** that enable individual initiatives to grow more resilient.

6.3. Key learnings: successes, bottlenecks and conflicts

Preparation for a sudden or even long expected crisis can never be perfect: it seems that regardless of the type of organisation we talk about or the stakeholder network around it, the consequences can be devastating. However, some strategies might be able to ameliorate the situation, allowing the organisations to maintain their core activities, while adapting to the new situation, making them (more) resilient. The three strategies introduced and elaborated - adaptability, diversification and ecosystem building – all serve this resilience.

Overall, there is a contradictory relationship between the time needed for a strategy and the sudden change its application requires. The more time there is to build and follow a sound strategy the less flexibility and adaptation is required on an organisational level. Whereas adaptability necessitates the capacity to change fast, ecosystem building allows stakeholders the luxury of slow change and keeping their original profiles/aims.

The choice of strategies depends much on the environment:

1) Adaptability is the strategy that needs the least support from outside. Organisations alone can carry it out, with or without outside help. Additionally, this strategy can be applied as a quick and sudden remedy. Time assumes an important role: while this strategy allows the quickest reactions, this also means that temporary solutions – quick transformations and campaigns - gain prominence. Precisely because of this, the choice of this strategy requires organisations to react agilely, be very open to new solutions and often financially flexible.

2) Diversification functions best if there is policy support from around, however there is very little cooperation required between the organisations. Thus, the biggest bottleneck of success becomes time, as the development of new functions and services doesn't happen overnight. This strategy requires little public support, and if carried out well it could be the basis of sustainable business development in the future. Additionally, in case of small initiatives, it is conceivable for them to follow ity even in places, where the NGO scene volatile or underdeveloped.

3) Finally, ecosystem building requires a well-established and active NGO scene, where a strong institutional commitment exists. The latter almost always means an active and devoted municipality, however it is possible to imagine it substituted by a foundation or another independent and non-partial stakeholder. Regardless of the main actor, this strategy requires both a long time and a very close cooperation of various actors. These two are also potential bottlenecks, as direct interests are often conflicting even if the overall aims are similar. Additionally, the building of successful ecosystems cannot start with a crisis. Rather, as shown by the examples above, the successful ones are the results of long-standing cooperation, where the crisis is rather a crash test of the already functioning ecosystem.

All in all, despite the high level of flexibility shown, extreme challenges - such as a pandemic - can overstretch the possibilities of initiatives. In such cases, public support is generally needed: the good knowledge of a local civic networks can help municipalities orient their subsidies and bailout funds in a way to support the whole ecosystem and help as many initiatives as possible to avoid bankruptcy or closure.

7. CONCLUSION

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This report demonstrates the complexity of opportunities and challenges adaptive heritage reuse projects face. By engaging key themes from the practice of adaptive heritage reuse initiatives – heritage, co-governance, sustainable funding, inclusion, as well as flexibility and adaptation – the report reveals how the policy and practice of adaptive heritage reuse integrate the three pillars of community and stakeholder integration, resource integration and regional integration. The report combines the observation made in the previous reports D3.3, D.3.4, and D3.5 which looked at the pillars separately. Since, in practice, these pillars do not exist in isolation, the current report combines them. The theme chapters show that virtually all practices have relevance across the three pillars. For instance, using a particular form of co-governance in the initiative is not just a matter of stakeholder integration, but also has consequences for how resources may be integrated and also makes important decisions in view of how the project should be integrated in a broader regional context. Similarly, strategies to acquire funding are not merely a matter of resources. It also has consequences for what communities and stakeholders are to be involved in the initiative and how. The theme chapters provide numerous examples of such cross-cutting insights, allowing to make informed decisions when planning the model of adaptive heritage reuse.

As already stated in the introduction, this report is not a recipe book. We learned to appreciate the uniqueness of every initiative that we studied. What this report does offer, is an elaboration of a strategic compass for adaptive heritage reuse projects based on our normative assumptions. The diverse set of initiatives and contexts across Europe contributed to our understanding of navigating to the challenges in marginalized or peripheral geographic conditions. The projects we looked at, illustrate how – when done well - civic life can be enriched through the engagement of heritage, opening up new social spaces for encounter and experimentation, and creating new economic opportunities.

In this conclusion, we reflect back on how baseline assumptions, using the insights gained by the thematic analyses. Each theme also poses critical questions reflecting on the baseline assumptions. These are to push us, as well as the reader, to inquire more about what these assumptions imply in particular cases and contexts, and appreciate the nuances. When and where, a project is undertaken, thus time and space, are critical factors in any practical consideration of the baseline assumption. The questions of who undertook the project, and who it was for, are also important

contextual considerations. What may be the right choice under a particular circumstance, may not work in other situation, and of course circumstances also change through time. This is not to say that no assessment can be made about adaptive reuse of cultural heritage projects we looked at. But it is clear that any judgement cannot be generalized, and requires reflections on the when, where, who, and how questions. Moreover, AHR processes can be broken down into phases which are characterized by a dynamic interplay between developments within the initiatives, and changing circumstances in the context. Throughout, an assessment about civic AHR processes requires a strategic compass about where to go. To the extent that we are capable to reflect on these critical questions, the baseline assumptions emerge as orientations for adaptive reuse of cultural heritage by civic initiatives. The following are not to be mistaken as the final set of critical questions. These are thus critical reflections about the baseline assumptions coming out of the theme chapters.

- **Local commons initiatives**

Relationship of civic-led adaptive heritage reuse projects to commons is a throughline in most of the theme chapters. There may be several commons resources involved in any single AHR initiative: the intangible heritage related to a site emerges as a commons and so does the physical space of the site. The physical space of a site may involve several kinds of commons located in the same site (see e.g., London CLT, Sargfabrik, etc.): housing commons, cultural activities organized as commons, the use of public spaces as commons. Each of these commons poses distinct challenging questions:

- What and who are they *for*, and thus, who is to be included or excluded? And on what basis? Who benefits from them?

Merely labelling an initiative as "commons" does not safeguard if from discriminatory social structures per se. Commons consistently need to reflect on how these forms of discrimination on the basis of existing social categories are reproduced within the commons and what can be done about it strategically.

- Why do people commit to such commons initiatives and dedicate their time and energy on a long-term basis? Does 'commons' mean governed and used by 'commoners', or is it only for common use?

Heritage has been identified as a strong incentive for becoming involved in initiatives. But if it creates communities and belonging, it also creates boundaries and exclusions. Heritage is often a divisive issue and may raise conflicts about competing, conflicting or contested heritage values or the meaning and (re-)use of such heritage. Similar conflicts may develop

around the question of meaning, accessibility and use of spaces that these initiatives create.

> Who feels included, welcomed, and appreciated in this space, and who doesn't? What are the rules or governance models for each of these commons? How are and by whom are these rules formalized, legitimized, and implemented? How open are they for adaptations, when challenged, or when conditions change??

Co-governance (e.g., commons) models have to weigh in on the right balance between informal and formal processes in any initiative. Both formal and informal processes can create socially exclusionary effects. Moreover, governance models have to weigh in on the question of centralized management that may be more efficient in steering processes versus de-centralized management practices that may become a solid bedrock of adaptability for AHR projects facing unforeseen changes, including the challenges posed by the Covid-19 pandemic.

- What sources of funding sustain these commons? Who benefits from them, who has access to them? What compromises go along with these dependencies on sources that are outside of the commons?

Funding diversity tends to make adaptive heritage reuse projects more resilient and resistant to economic disruptions and political and business cycles. Diversification of funding can also be a tool to achieve crucial social goals of a project, such as engaging stakeholders, sharing power, and building a stronger community around a project or program. The downside of high levels of diversity is that it proportionally adds to the complexity, which likely makes the project more challenging to manage. Each project will have a different optimal level between diversity and complexity.

- **Co-creation with public actors**

This normative orientation is dependent on public actors' willingness and capacity to collaborate with 'other-than-public' initiatives. A broader democratic governance is assumed within such co-creation, however, significant bottlenecks and challenges related to adaptive heritage reuse for civic purposes can be found in each country studied. For example, when public actors impose an expert-driven and rigid approach to heritage, this may be at odds with communities and their heritage and use interests. Moreover, public actors in some circumstances misuse their competencies for politicized agendas, which may 'use' (or overuse, or even abuse) certain heritage values, or be in conflict with the character of AHR initiatives. There is also a fine line to be aware of between public actor's flexibility and discretion, and nepotistic/clientelistic structures. Public actors can be fostering social and institutional practices of discrimination, while some

actors may also be allies for social inclusion. Sometimes public actors simultaneously foster discrimination against one minority while combatting marginalization of another. All of these considerations require a close examination of the political processes and the civic-mindedness of public actors, as well as the aims and practices of the civic actors. The initiatives therefore have to consider how they want to and can relate to public actors. Co-creation and collaboration might be the preferred options I some situations, but a civic initiative could also decide to engage in civil disobedience (such as occupation in the case of Scugnizzo Liberato) in order to force public actors to open up. In some cases, it might be better (or safer) to refuse participation, or avoid public actors altogether in order to advance a civic agenda.

- When entering partnerships with public actors, what is the risk of initiatives becoming co-opted politically? What are the benefits, and for whom? Who is interested in these collaborations, and can they be off-putting or even dangerous for others? Who does what (roles, responsibilities, risks) in these collaborations, and how will this be perceived?

- **Civic-partnerships with private actors**

Partnerships with private actors has its advantages, but is not a panacea. The term "private actor" involves actors with a great variety of capacities, interests, and agendas. Building a balanced ecosystem is an important strategy for civic AHR initiatives to ensure long-term resilience, and other private actors, including other civic initiatives play an important role. The greater the variety of actors that are brought into partnerships, the more demanding the challenges of managing such partnerships and ensuring a mutually beneficial arrangement and long-term commitment.

Imbalance of power is another challenge: While an economically and politically powerful private actor may create many benefits for the civic initiative, when interests are aligned, power differentials may also create unwanted dependencies on the part of the AHR initiative in cases of conflict. Different forms of governance, including the choice of a particular legal entity, entail different consequences in view of management, participation or financial commitments.

- How can the initiative ensure that an ecosystem with several private actors functions well and is not becoming overly time-consuming in terms of managing complexity and handling conflicts?
- When entering partnerships with private actors, what is the risk of initiatives becoming misused for economic or political gain? Who benefits, e.g., who 'looks good', and what are the power dynamics at play?

- How can value created be captured by the actors in equitable ways? Such difficulty may be particularly the case when the initiative creates value for a private partner who is the owner of the asset.
- How much formalisation of processes, and contractualisation of 'value' is acceptable, or necessary?

- **Community involvement and inclusion**

This matter requires a broader societal consideration in order assess its normative implications. While 'community involvement' is often taken to refer to an inherently good thing, closer inspection also shows that what is presented as a community can be a problematic social entity. "Community" often glances over the conflicts that exist internally among its members, as well as institutionalized forms of discrimination against gender, race, class, age, religion and sexuality, etc. Externally, a "community" may also be in conflict with another "community" about what counts as heritage and which stories are told (or not) about this heritage, and about what heritage values should be highlighted, protected and (re-)used.

- When considering community involvement, can we clarify what social relationships exist within this community? Who are the actors within the community that are strengthened through the involvement – which ones may be weakened? 'Belonging' also creates unbelonging, is it a conscious process that everyone in a community 'looks' or 'thinks' the same? In other words, communities are not excluded from being ableist, racist, or misogynist, which structures are being reproduced within and by a community
- What are the relationships between different communities? Who gets to decide which communities are involved and which ones are left out? How are such decisions justified?
- The incentives for stakeholders to become involved in a project are not always driven by interests to foster social inclusion but rather by an interest in place-based or other identities that can be enhanced by heritage. How does the initiative avoid (over) moralization, or even abuse of heritage sites, and overlook, undermine, or endanger other people to get involved?
- Social inclusion strategies also need to be specified: Who is to be included? What identities or minorities are overlooked? What exclusionary consequences may particular strategies entail for other groups?
- What are the methods of involvement and the strategies of inclusion?
- Is it truly about sharing power and overcoming particular privileges? Or is it just the name for a process that serves other political ends?

- **Openness of heritage**

Even the most open definition of heritage will not prevent that heritage is a source of contestation or differentiation (see Harrison 2012). Multiple and potentially competing or conflicting values and ideas of which history is important or even about what heritage is in the first place can be present in one single AHR initiative. Not all these ideas can (or should) be equally represented, and unless this process of heritage making is done very carefully, it is usually those whose values and ideas are existing outside the dominant heritage discourse that are excluded (see Smith 2006). Particularly, uncomfortable heritage and the problem of memory can lead to conflicts, especially when some storylines are left out at the expense of certain communities or individuals, and when very selective accounts of history underpin the heritage narrative.

In addition, adaptive heritage reuse projects sometimes struggle with unexpected and undesired side-effects, or intended impacts. Heritage adaptive reuse is often used in urban regeneration and tourism-oriented projects, and it strongly relies on heritage branding and identity, leading to a process of heritage-lead gentrification, touristification, heritagization, as well as an overt focus on specific (more usable) parts of the heritage. This not only poses a challenge for local communities as their heritage narratives and identity are not necessarily recognized or incorporated, it also means heritage can easily become commodified, exploited, appropriated.

- In order for heritage to remain open, how does the policies and projects ensure that minority heritage narratives and identities are heard and given an equitable weight in comparison to other more marketable and politically desirables ones?
- How are conflicts about heritage values and use dealt with among different groups or communities?
- Whose stories are told, and why these? History and heritage often reproduce institutionalized forms of discrimination against gender, race, class, age, religion and sexuality, etc. Are these issues considered and reflected on?
- How can policies and projects support multivocality, and inclusive heritage narratives? Without commodifying the one 'alternative' story, to become another source of branding and identity building.

- **Responsible Area Development**

This aspect asks critical questions of the relationship of the AHR initiative towards its surrounding and its – usually unintended – effects of the initiative in view of economic valorisation of the surroundings. There is a fine line between neighbourhood revitalization by creating business and employment opportunities and providing social services, on the one side,

and gentrification processes in which residents are displaced because of rising costs. An assessment of the risks and a mitigation strategy requires careful deliberation with neighbourhood stakeholders, paying particular attention to the socio-economically most vulnerable, and with public actors in view of their political capacities and willingness to capture value for the benefit of the residents. While some real estate owners and developers may enter into alliances with AHR initiatives in line with their corporate social and civic responsibility, others might have a more sinister agenda: temporarily offer assets or provide funding to civic initiatives to become gentrifyers, only until they have sufficiently contributed to economic revalorization.

Another critical question for this aspect that came out of our research is how to define the area that the civic AHR initiative could feel responsible for? How far does "surrounding area" reach? The relevant geographical context cannot be neatly identified, as issues of affectedness or territorial dependencies are complex matters that cannot be narrowed down to one issue. The strategic approach to establish an ecosystem as we have seen is often not limited to a particular neighbourhood but may encompass the area of the city or a broader region – crossing multiple municipal and even national borders and thus policies. Similarly, the idea of co-governance models with municipal public actors also brings up how the civic AHR are often framed and conditioned by a larger territorial context that reaches far beyond a neighbourhood and its gentrification impacts.

- How are responsibilities geographically framed within the civic AHR project? Where are the intended impacts, and how are potentially negative impacts such as displacement or touristification mitigated?
- The incentives for stakeholders to become involved in a project are not always driven by sentiments of responsibility but rather by an interest in place-based or other identities supported by particular interpretations of heritage. How policies and projects avoid (over) moralization and undermine the immediate interests of people from becoming involved, while not abdicating responsibility?
- How does the civic initiative navigate NIMBY (not-in-my-backyard) attitudes within its immediate residential surrounding when trying to bring in other stakeholders in the process?

- **Environmental sustainability**

Civic AHR initiatives can make an important contribution to environmental sustainability. In terms of embodied energy and waste reduction reuse has obvious advantages compared to demolition and new-built developments. When connected within a local or regional ecosystem of alternative

economic development, they can promote paths towards circular local economies, create an awareness for local ecological contexts and environmental impacts as well as innovative forms of using and sharing depletable natural resources. The significance of environmental sustainability in the face of various ecological threats from local to global scale is undisputed. Framing an AHR initiative as an effective response to such ecological conditions can certainly be attractive for various citizens to become interested and involved precisely for these reasons. At the same time, the demands of environmental sustainability can add to the complexity of institutionalizing and managing these initiatives. Already without environmental considerations, civic initiatives may easily be overwhelmed by other concerns: the diversity of stakeholders, the complexity of the co-governance models, the challenges of promoting social inclusion, conflicting heritage values, or the threats posed by austerity policies or health disasters like Covid-19. Rather than considering environmental sustainability as an issue "on top", they could be seen as integral, and integrated and innovative policies and strategies that build on overlaps or synergies across these concerns are relevant.

- In a marginalized or peripheral social context, how do civic initiatives integrate socio-economic concerns with ecological concerns, and vice versa?
- In what ways can heritage raise awareness of ecological issues and motivate to action with its demands? In what way could ecological values and practices be integrated in the projects?
- How integrated are policies around sustainability and heritage?
- What are strategies to combine the creation of local ecosystems for flexibility with considerations for ecological sustainability?

Whilst we had this set of assumptions underpinning the research, we were also aware of their normative nature. The chapters thus indeed show that these assumptions not necessarily always work in the same way, or at all, in the wide variety of settings and circumstances included in OpenHeritage. This report presented these assumptions, the thematic reflections on them, and concluded with a range of critical questions, that need to be considered in the context of the assumptions and the themes. As such, this report presented a set of adaptive heritage reuse policies, strategies and practices in Europe that in many cases have been successful, but do not guarantee success. They need the specification, context, and critical reflection we tried to include here to become successful as a 'model'.

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