

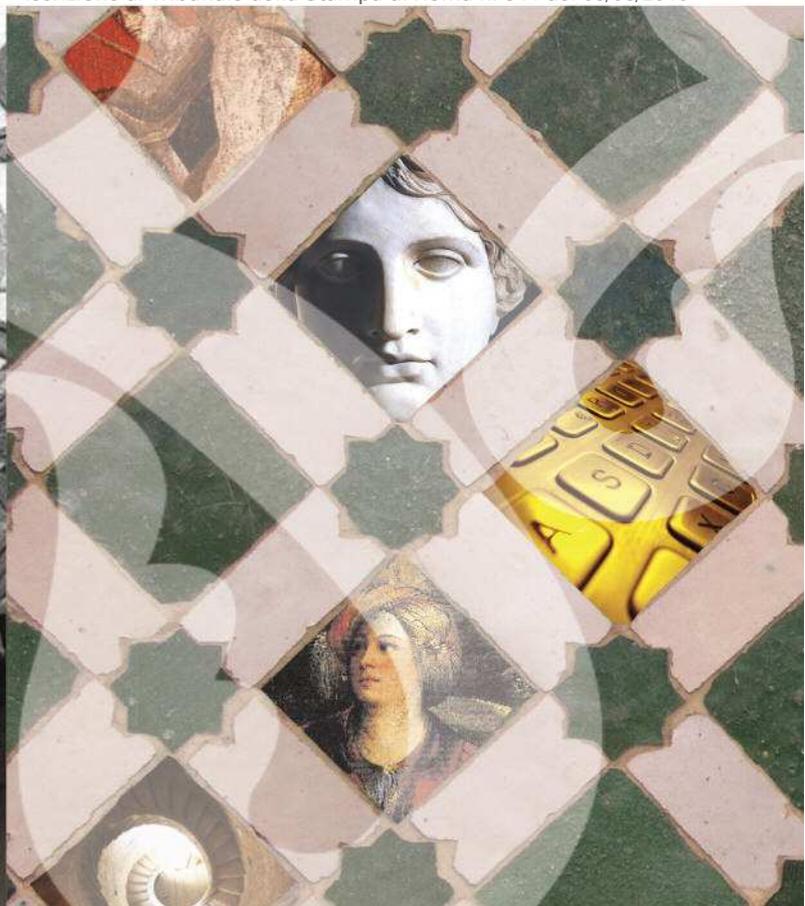
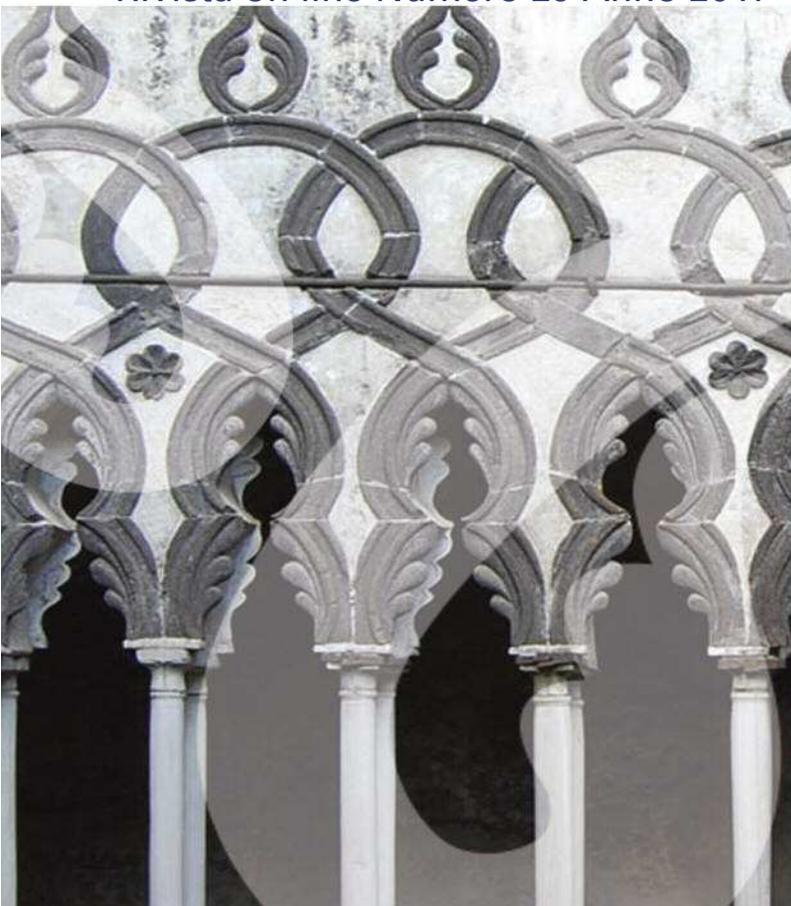


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# Territori della Cultura

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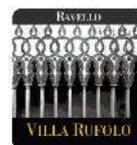
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# From Heritage into the Territory: agendas for an unforeseeable future

## **Abstract**

The expansion of the concept of heritage is discussed, alongside the consequences for its management in the context of global landscape management. The consequences for heritage management of dominant economy theories are considered, and a new relation between heritage and economy is proposed.

## **Key-words**

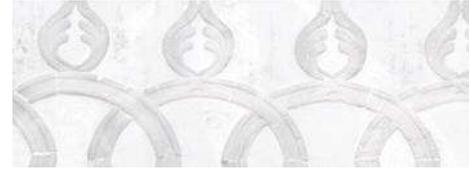
Cultural Heritage – Territory – Management - Crisis

## **Resumé**

L'expansion du concept de patrimoine est discuté, ainsi que les conséquences de sa gestion dans le contexte de la gestion globale des paysages. Les conséquences des principales théories économiques pour la gestion du patrimoine sont discutées, et un nouveau rapport entre patrimoine et économie est proposé.

## **Mots-clés**

Patrimoine culturel – Territoire – Gestion – Crise



## The nature of the global crisis and the place of Heritage

Between each of us and our context there is substantial continuity, actually a chaotic continuity, which imposes on us the task of sorting, ordering, this “everything else”. Such classificatory approach defines cultures, from the setting of boundaries between “groups of things” (“the houses are different from the streets”, “the clothes are different from the car”, “my family is different from other families”, ... ) until the definition of associations that go across these boundaries (the houses and the streets are urbanization, clothes and cars are comfort, mine and other families are human, ...).

Although these groups or these boundaries are not substantial, because they depend on our cultural sight, we cannot live without a certain degree of consistency between what we grouped together and what we excluded. Flees are not food, for many of us, but for others and perhaps for everyone within a few years, they will become such.

In fact, we live largely undefined and unforeseeable times. Assumptions that not long ago were taken for granted (the European unity, the North/South Mediterranean divide, the heterosexual nuclear family, the condemnation of the death penalty, the durability of peace, the danger of overpopulation, ...) gave place to a sea of uncertainty, which has not set up alternatives, but disrupted convictions.

What is the way forward? A mainly prudent approach focuses on keeping stability, based on a global awareness that changes often precipitate more anguish than progress, more suffering than benefits, in face of global indicators like ageing, poverty or increasing violence. A more reckless approach seeks to build new divisions and new classification groups, foster economic and political disruptions, understanding the weaknesses and, often, the injustice of past solutions. Yet, both fail to understand that the future, whichever it will become, will be about change, but not a change we can anticipate in terms of its final outcomes (even if current trends are perceived). Perhaps this is the time to understand not only that the change takes place, but also that we cannot anticipate the future direction of this change. Episodes of a moment (the fall of the Berlin Wall, the extension of human rights, de Arab Spring, etc.) may be just that, without following episodes (as the initial republicanism in France, or the utopian ideals of Communist mid-nineteenth century), or maybe not! To a large extent, we



*Fig. 1. Museum of Prehistoric Art of Mação, Portugal: building and explaining a diverse but common past.*



live in a time dominated by serendipity (MONOD 1972) and it is on this basis that one should define strategies.

In a sense, we face the future as in other occasions in the past, preceding major shifts. As when St. Augustine marked the end of trouble for the defense and recover of the Roman Empire, to focus attention on the living people and not on past structures or future ideals. Or when Taoism evolved to non-action, within a context of consolidation of the Eastern Zhou Dynasty. At the basis of structuring our different ways of thinking are our actions, but those actions are often thoughtless. The consistency of actions is often a result of a retrospective perception of the past, following previous inconsistency (AUSTER 2003). And acting imposes a balance between foresight without the anguish of the future and not scarifying the people of the present and their different understandings of their past, without which it a common future will not exist. (Fig. 1)

The crisis that is currently going in and out of the covers of newspapers since 2008 is not identical to the crisis that preceded it in the previous decades. It is not just a crisis of overproduction that requires “adjustments” in the factors of production cost and which can be overcome through economic growth generating employment (OOSTERBEEK 2006). On the one hand the current crisis is marked by a violent increase in global unemployment, up from 15% to 20%, and on the other hand GDP growth, supported on technological innovation tends to further increase structural unemployment, at



least for many years to come. This explosive combination, that from Morocco to Ankara, from Lisbon to São Paulo or from Luanda to Caracas, frustrates the expectations of youth, tends to impoverish the middle class (as it now becomes clear in the BRICS, with the relative exception of China) and generates increasing socio-cultural tensions that result from the current limits of expansion of markets (LUXEMBOURG 1972). This type of crisis occurred twice in the last 150 years: between 1873 and 1896, and between 1929 and 1947. In both cases it led to wars, to the modification of frontiers, to the redefinition of the international market and, finally, to a reorganization of global geostrategic balances. In both cases the immediate generations referred to those episodes as being a “Great Depression”, and that’s the nature of what we are today living, still in its infancy.

Material cultural heritage becomes particularly relevant in prolonged crisis moments, not as much because it fosters identities differentiation but due to its ecumenical potential for a “new” stage. In fact, the modern heritage begins with the public access to the great palaces and collections of the aristocracy, following the French revolution, leading to Museums in continuity with the previous notion of broad cultural training of elites (e.g. the Hermitage or the Louvre), but also to affirm a symbolic legitimation of the new socio-political order no longer through the Church but embodied in public School and the civic Museum. And it was during the great depression that heritage gained greater expression, first through nationalism (that seats at the origins both of looting and of the “repatriation” claims) but at the end of the depressions (and wars) as a factor of intercultural encounter and peace (and that’s how was born the notion of heritage of humankind, which was making its way after the last world War, and against which reacts, objectively, the current trend of re-nationalization).

The times we live in are the initial cycle of depression (KRUGMAN 2013). The growing nationalism is very visible in Europe and America (North and South) political debates, but is also stressed by the collapses of states, from Iraq and Libya to Afghanistan or Somalia, as well as by the reorganization of the ancient empires of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, from Russia to Turkey. This trend is accompanied by increasing conflicts with no foreseeable end, a scenario in which the most enlightened leaders are forced to quickly change their alliances (not by chance the United States and Iran are now on



the same side regarding the emergence of radicalism), while people, and primarily impoverished middle class, opt for segregation episodes.

Which cultural heritage will emerge from this cycle of depression? It seems clear that we still live the initial destructive cycle, where protectionist laws stand in an attempt to counter with papers the cycle of history. But the truth is that at the dawn of the twenty-first century there are only two certainties: there will be increased participation of citizens, exposing conflicting interests that often are incompatible within the present framework (many of which consider that much of our contemporary cultural heritage must be destroyed, as a manifestation of idolatry or a symbol of a society they wish to destroy as well) and geopolitical boundaries will change in a context where, in environmental terms (SANTOS 2007), also some territories will change (disappearing or emerging).

In this context, it seems important to foster a notion of universal heritage, not nationalist and capable of movement (in the museum networks but also in the market which is the largest generator of dynamic and progressive cultural identities), although at this stage this is against the trend in most countries. A new past heritage is required if a new future is to be built.

### **The expansion of the concept of heritage and its implications for management models**

The concept of heritage experienced a geometric expansion from the 1980s, following the progressive decomposition of the global economic and political system, the weakening of empires, the centripetal tendencies that were reinforcing the logic of regionalism and localism and, finally, the ideology that accompanied this process: postmodernism. Archaeology, and in particular prehistoric and modern archeology, were and are fundamental pillars of this expansion, which conceptually leaned against the landscape of anthropology, that is, the theoretical recognition of cognitive prevalence of space on cultural diversity. (Fig. 2)

The quantitative expansion of a heritage that now potentially includes anything that has been or is touched by human sight or anthropic interest, generates new challenges to its management. Whereas monumental heritage, which dominated earlier, found a socioeconomic justification in tourism



development and national identities referencing, this new diffuse and ever growing heritage requires the same kind of technical intervention, and its costs, but often does not have tourism potential nor a strong value to strengthen local identities.

The inability and financial constraints of national public bodies of the various countries to preserve and study in an adequate way this vast archaeological heritage, paved the way, from the 1990s, for an archaeology business sector, often of great quality (ROBHRAN -GONZÁLEZ & ZANETTINI 2003), acting under consent of the government but breaking, in fact, with the State logic that dominated archaeological heritage management after the 2nd World War.

This change, creating a free market business sector (not considered by international conventions) generated tensions that resulted from a contradiction: the budgetary dimension of the study and conservation of this new heritage in permanent expansion, although it led to major advances in knowledge in some cases, often produced results that are not visible either for research or for society.

*Fig. 2. The landscape of Ravello and Amalfi coast: an integral heritage (or the quantitative expansion of heritage items).*





This expansion of the archaeological business was accompanied by a decrease in public budgets allocated to archaeological heritage, compensated by a growing investment in intangible heritage, a living heritage with a stronger impact both in communities' identities and self-esteem and in economy, through tourism and other services. Although the global budget for tangible heritage kept on growing, its structural basis changed and became more and more dependent on private funding related to the application of environmental legislation to the heritage sector.

Three difficulties arose from this model.

The first is now more obvious: the reduction of public works in the context of the current depression had a very severe impact on tangible heritage investments, with negative impacts in terms of preservation and study, but also in the employment of younger technicians that, from the 1990's, started to be trained for this unstable market. Anxiety, loss of heritage and deception of expectations are the main consequences of this difficulty.

The second is more complex, and relates to a conceptual mistake: in the market economy, it is not possible to establish "half-business": whereas in the sectors of art or architectural heritage there is a market of exchangeable items (an heritage that is bought or sold, in a market that requires a large number of experts for that reason), the same does not occur with archaeology, which represents almost 100% of the whole of heritage, requires very significant financial resources, but does not admit trade. The decreasing interest of the private sector to legally invest in tangible archaeological heritage, particularly in the context of economic depression, is the major consequence.

The third, yet, is the more severe consequence: the decrease of social interest in tangible heritage, to the benefit of living heritage, represents also a shift from the heritage that allows for multiple intercultural appropriation, to the heritage that stresses cultural uniqueness and divides among the living. This is, today, a major threat for intercultural relations.

We need, in this context, a new management model, adapted to the current globalization context, understanding that tangible heritage is a core component of any integrated management of the territories, precisely to the extent that cultural issues are clearly territorial (KANT 1999; OOSTERBEEK 2007; SAMASSEKOU 2012).



## **An integrated land management for sustainable development and peace**

There is a mismatch between the classical dominant economic theory and the current reality. The theory states that the system tends to a balance between supply and demand, (the “invisible hand” of Adam SMITH, 1989), with regulated prices based on cost factors (raw materials, soil and earnings at Jean-Baptiste SAY, 1983). The reason for this inadequacy is that the classical theory corresponds to the emerging time of an economic system (capitalism) erected in dominant cultural complex against previous models (in particular feudalism). As with all cultural processes, the dynamics of combat united diverse interests, forging for some time a common identity. But this is no longer such time (JONES, OCAMPO & STIGLITZ, 2010).

Indeed, further development scattered this initial syncretic unity through the proliferation of different cultures, while the increasing the financialization of the economy cancelled a basic assumption of classical theory: that the coin is “neutral” in the process. It is not the first time this has happened, because it happened in the second and third decades of the last century, when a very high inflation context generated a later recessive trend, leading to jobs consumption (KEYNES 1992). Therefore, entrepreneurship, at present, more than to forecast or induce global market needs (which are driven by speculative supply), must focus on the diversity of culturally different needs (which in sometimes referred to as “niche markets”), a process that is not univocal but plural and volatile.

In such a process, whose relevance has not stopped growing after the 2nd world war, cultural heritage serves as a potential economic stabilizer of market volatility, in that it embodies a large number of different cultural processes, which intersect in the same “fossil memorial”, subject to multiple appropriations. This is the main reason for the growing importance of laicized cultural heritage, considered to be of universal value in modern societies, and this is also the reason why it is rejected as such by all nationalisms (those more violent, as in the case of the Taliban, but also those more subtle yet no less ethnocentric, as when focusing primarily on intangible heritage, or when favoring the complete repatriation of objects to originally non-existing nations).

In classical economics, mostly dominated by the liberal faith in a self-regulated market and in boosting the offer, only



Thomas MALTHUS (1999) envisioned determining the weight of demand, particularly as an inducer of innovation (concept which would be later developed by Boserup). In any case, throughout the classical economics, as in contemporary neoliberalism, the state was to be supplementary, protecting property and facilitating the flow of the economy by deregulation and the encouragement of education and training.

Under this classic and liberal view, cultural heritage was largely conceived as part of the private property of families, to be transmitted by inheritance to descendants. But this view is no longer suited to a society where individualism became mainstream, where family clusters fall apart and the proliferation of communities' identities required an expansion of their fossil foundations: ethnic heritages.

Paradoxically, the numeric expansion of heritage items and of their plural dimensions, reduced the political and financial value of the individual assets, still protected by laws designed for a more restricted set of unambiguous "objects", and not for "clusters" or "landscapes". This decrease in absolute value is especially noticeable when compared to the valuation of the arts. Theoretically, the heritage objects should have a marginal utility (the concept of Marie-Esprit WALRAS, 1983) greater than the works of art (since their producers died, rendering impossible to produce more identical goods), but in reality the artistic contemporary objects that have a higher marginal utility (even if "original duplicates" are possible, when the artists are alive).

The reason for this contradiction is the exclusion of mobile heritage (archaeological) items from market processes, which is a measure to protect them from looting but that ends up by reducing its social relevance and, therefore, its cultural and economic individual value. In this regard, it is of great importance the ongoing research of Henry MOURÃO (2009) on the relationship between market and archaeological assets, considering them diffuse goods (neither private nor public) and considering heritage preservation in the context of current territorial dynamics.

Michael PORTER and Mark KRAMER (2011) have argued that the business system is seen, increasingly, as a perpetrator of sustainability, which thrives at the expense of society. In this context, the authors attribute responsibility to the larger companies, for not taking a stance on the customer needs and interests and for focusing on short-term financial performance.



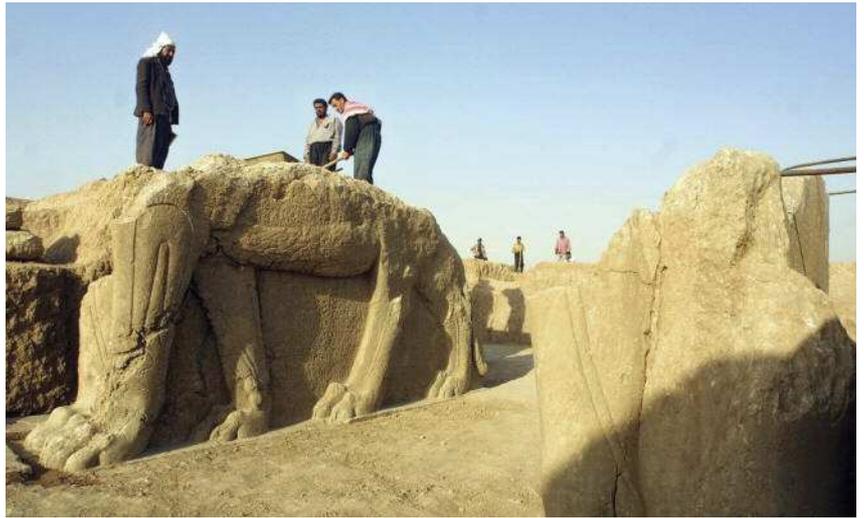
“How else could companies think that simply shifting activities to locations with ever lower wages was a “sustainable” solution to competitive challenges?” (p.4). They propose as an alternative to the current model of “social responsibility” (endorsed by the big world companies, mainly focused on creating a good image, while the bulk of social care is the responsibility of the state and NGOs) a logic of “shared value” to assume social development as a fundamental economic asset.

Porter and Kramer argue in the same paper that companies can follow three ways to create shared value from social progress: “By reconceiving products and markets; By redefining productivity in the value chain; By enabling local cluster development” (p. 5). This contribution is particularly interesting for two reasons. Partly because it refutes strategies based on “under competitiveness” (low wages, low raw materials cost, low technological complexity, constant relocation, divorce between the company and its social environment) and stresses that the current capitalist model is doomed to lead to disruptions (growth of extremist and populist movements around the world being a clear sign to that effect). But mainly because it underlines the importance of logistics and multi-sectoral integration, where companies, social groups, higher education and other resources can be linked in a logic of growth and not just redistribution. An integration that places again the humanities at the epicenter of the challenges of the XXI century, since it requires shared foresight and vision, themselves to be anchored in the extension of a common past heritage (OOSTERBEEK 2011).

Porter and Kramer are close to a logic of cultural integrated landscape management, understanding that it is the social community and not the shareholder profit that is the base of economy resilience, even if they ignore a fundamental aspect: there isn't just a social matrix, since similar social networks encompass different cultural views trends that render inefficient universal models. In this context, the value of assets is only consolidated if shared and preserved in the medium and long term; otherwise it becomes quickly exhausted because its temporary use value is very low (except in the context of major conflicts and scarcity). This is why cultural heritage, provided it is shared and made accessible, become so important in contemporary culture and economics: it is a key to resilience in times of acceleration and change. And, for this reason, the



Fig. 3. Daesh destroying Nimrud.



destruction of *Palmyra* or *Nimrud* by Daesh was an efficient means to disrupt economics and territory based cultural identities. (Fig. 3)

We believe that the future will bring us solutions that we cannot foresee, precisely because we live in times of transition towards uncertainty. But it is very likely that the generation and socialization of knowledge will be at the core of those solutions, for knowledge is in fact the only value that is not exhausted by its use. Thus the need for strategy focused on creating knowledge (DJINDJIAN 2010), which implies bringing together economy and culture through heritage, the involvement of higher education and research centers in all stages of the process, and their socialization (BAHIA & OOSTERBEEK 2014; OOSTERBEEK 2013).

This is, possibly, the only remaining road for peace.

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