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SMART HERITAGE POLICY

Bojan Radej¹, Jelka Pirkovič², Pierre Paquet³

Abstract

European Cultural Heritage Strategy for the 21st Century (Council of Europe, 2017) has importantly contributed to emphasizing integrative intervention logic of heritage policy by shifting from vertical, sector based to cross-sector based horizontal thinking. Paper develops and explain integral logic that combines vertical and horizontal approach. Three integration measures are proposed: weak and strong balance and cohesion. It is illustrated by a hypothetical example showing how integral heritage policy can be programmed (and evaluated) in relatively simple and transparent way, despite its essential complexity.

Keywords: Council of Europe, European Cultural Heritage Strategy for the 21st Century, Integral approach to heritage, weak balance, strong balance, cohesion.

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Introduction

European Cultural Heritage Strategy for the 21st Century (CoE, February 2017) has importantly contributed to emphasizing new intervention logic of heritage policy by shifting from vertical, sector based intervention logic to approach that much more relies on cross-sector interventions and horizontal thinking. Definition of heritage and design of heritage policy has considerably changed from its initial formulation in mid-20th century. Object of heritage conservation concept is for Koželj (2016) no more cultural monument only but also cultural landscape, urban or rural areas besides of buildings, historical and cultural environment besides of protected heritage sites, as well as intangible heritage.⁴ Heritage governance is refocused from material objects to people and heritage values while decision-making structures are

¹ Slovenian Evaluation Society, bradej@gmail.com (contact author)

² Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

³ Department of Heritage, and Faculty of Arts, University of Liège, Wallonia, Belgium

⁴ See the stages in the development of heritage concepts in Françoise Choay, *L'Allégorie du patrimoine*, and Jean-Pierre Babelon, André Chastel, *La notion de patrimoine*.

reshaped from autocratic to democratic, based on participation of stakeholders, and community-led in cooperation with private sector and public concerned (Koželj, 2016).¹

The intention of the European Cultural Heritage Strategy is to reposition cultural heritage policies, placing them at the heart of an integrated approach focusing on the conservation, protection and promotion of heritage by society as a whole so that everyone, from those most closely involved in the heritage management and to those with a more distant connection, can appreciate it and feel a sense of responsibility.

The Strategy is the heir to the tradition of reflection, sharing and co-operation which has been strengthened in Europe over the last 40 years. The issues occupying us at the beginning of 21st century are no longer why or how should we preserve, restore and enhance our heritage, but rather 'Who should we be doing this for?' (the Faro Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society; 2005 in CoE, 2017). Faro Convention highlights the need for greater citizen participation and the ability of local communities, citizens and civil society to recognize as heritage what is meaningful to them and to respect, preserve, transmit and enrich that heritage.

Furthermore, challenges to heritage protection are always multifarious. 'The spread of mass tourism at global level, the growing number of natural or man-made disasters, the temptation of community regression, inter-generational divisions, the economic crisis and the emergence of challenges to or serious violations of the values of freedom, tolerance and democracy on which our societies are based, all these challenges call for coherent, comprehensive and inspiring responses' (CoE. 2017). Nature of heritage protection is increasingly perceived as a cross-sector issue since the end of 20th century. Heritage protection depends not only on cultural policy but is also potentially a powerful factor in social and economic development through the activities it generates and the policies which underpin it (CoE. 2017). Furthermore, heritage policy can contribute to achieving the objectives in other sectors: in particular, in education, employment, tourism and sustainable development (CoE. 2017).

¹ Koželj further elaborated the presentation of broad trends in cultural heritage management published in *Forward planning: The function of cultural heritage in a changing Europe, experts' contribution*. Council of Europe Strasbourg 2001, p. 112.

This cross-sectoral, integrated concept of heritage policy that is intersectional by integrating cultural policy with regional and rural development and spatial planning, construction, protection against natural and other disasters, environmental protection, nature conservation, housing, transport (Koželj, 2016). Furthermore, cultural heritage, in all its components, tangible and intangible, is a key factor for the refocusing our societies on the basis of dialogue between cultures, respect for identities and diversity, and a feeling of belonging to a community of values. Cultural heritage can play a key role as a means of building, negotiating and asserting one's identity.

CoE (2017) expresses an urgent need to reposition cultural heritage policies, placing them at the heart of an integrated approach. A holistic approach to cultural heritage encompasses an intangible dimension, know-how and attitudes, is inextricably linked to its context and its natural and cultural environment (CoE. 2017). European Cultural Heritage Strategy seeks to create synergy between existing tools and policies and to improve or supplement them, as appropriate (CoE, 2017). Therefore, the working group nominated for drafting the Strategy has adopted, adapted for their needs and substantiated the integrated vertical-horizontal intervention logic that was proposed by Slovenian Evaluation Society (Radej, Pirkovič, 2016).

Integrated approach of the Strategy requires specific intervention logic that can explain the theory of change, an internal causal mechanism of prioritized actions which will drive the implementation of policies as an integrated process. In integrative context, it is not only important to achieve goals by implementing priority actions, but also stakeholders have to understand main drivers of success or failure. Even if goals are fully achieved results may not be delivered to final beneficiaries; or goals may not be sufficiently interrelated to achieve society-wide impact.

In the traditional heritage policy, drivers operate in vertical direction (micro to macro), which is a sectorial approach, or in horizontal direction, which is an intersectorial one. Vertical and horizontal heritage policy drivers often operate independently and that may be detrimental for achieving integration.

Sector-based approach is wide-spread in traditional heritage policies and applies linear intervention logic. 'Linear' means starting from definition of an isolated problem by setting goals, providing resources and implementing focused actions that produce desired effect in targeted area with resolution of initially defined problem. Linear logic may be an appropriate approach for resolving problems that can be

unanimously defined, where cause and effect relationship is evident, and where control of resources and management of activities are centralized. In the case of heritage policy these requirements are not met, because policy goals are horizontally shared between individual sectors and between independent policy domains.

In this case, different linear logic is at work. One needs to figure out how to coordinate contradicting policy statements, so that the strategic goals are achieved integrally. Horizontal intervention logic may be communicative, based on stakeholders' shared concerns and definition of strategic problem, operational goals, resources and activities. – On the contrary, traditional sector-based approach is concentrates upon resolving principal sectorial concerns.

The strategic challenge for heritage policy in 21st century Europe is certainly not to replace vertical with horizontal policy agenda, despite considerable swing from vertical to horizontal heritage governance practices in recent decades. Sectors are important because they enhance some primary values and specific principal concerns that are always present in the case of heritage policy. The challenge is much broader, and this is how to connect vertical with horizontal heritage governance. CoE has specifically aimed to assure that the overall consistency and specific nature of the Strategy derive from the balance between the various components (vertical approach) and their areas of convergence (horizontal approach; CoE. 2017). This can be achieved with integrative intervention logic and we are going to present it in the first part of this paper while the second part is dedicated to the evaluation of a hypothetical heritage policy program.

Integrative intervention logic of the Strategy

In its core the Strategy has been structured around three integral components (domains) of heritage policy (CoE, the 'Integrated Heritage Policy Pillars Matrix', First draft, 1. VIII. 2015) as three equally important but independent sets of heritage measures and policy recommendations: social (S), territorial and economic development (D), and knowledge and education (K). They can be seen as three key and independent sectors of heritage policy which cover three very distinctive aspects of heritage; they are driven by unique intervention logics and accordingly pursue largely independent fundamental objectives and implementation mechanisms of heritage strategy. It is true that we do not have only three sector-based heritage concerns but also 'areas of convergence' (CoE. 2017) with their secondary overlaps complementing primary domains which nevertheless represent large areas of heritage concerns shared between these domains.

Although the proposed triadic sub-division of heritage policy components may be normatively arbitrary, it has been nevertheless defined in participatory process involving representatives of the majority of 50 Council of Europe Member states and non-governmental organization with observer status. So that sub-division can be in a given context considered as representative and objectified.

The Social component (domain) of heritage policy harnesses the assets of heritage in order to promote diversity, the empowerment of heritage communities and participatory governance. It relates to the alignment of heritage activities with the European values of the recognition of multiple identities and cultural diversity. It focuses on the relationship between heritage and societies, citizenship, the transmission and sharing of democratic values by means of methods of participatory and good governance through participatory management. The social priority of heritage is made operational by promoting diversity, empowering heritage communities and fostering participatory governance (CoE. 2017).

The Economic and territorial development component of the heritage policy is concerned with enhancing heritage-led sustainable development. It focuses on the relationship between cultural heritage and spatial development, the economy and local and regional governance. The main drivers in this regard are the local economies based on endogenous potentials, tourism and employment in which heritage concerns are incorporated.

The Knowledge and education component the heritage policy focuses, through heritage, on education, research and life-long training issues, by sharing knowledge in heritage knowledge centers and centers for training in heritage arts and crafts, by means of appropriate teaching, training and research programs. Creating heritage centers of knowledge and devising new educational and research programs are among the main drivers of this third component of heritage management.

If three heritage policy components operate only separately vertically in three non-overlapping heritage domains, their outcomes would remain unintegrated. Even if vertical concerns in heritage policy are justified and their aims achieved, they would fail to contribute to overall improvement in heritage management. In order to achieve overall improvement with society-wide impacts the actions should be envisaged in a way to produce overlapping effects regardless of whether a specific action is performed within the remit of one sector or in partnership with another sector.

Horizontal overlaps as areas of convergence between heritage domains are extensive and diverse. Some of the actions identified above apply to two or even three components (CoE. 2017). These interfaces are real areas of convergence which are specific nature of the Strategy and should be seen as an indication of its consistency.

The horizontal overlap or interface between S and D covers the new approaches to the governance of heritage concerns at the intersection between fostering democracy, participation, empowerment of heritage communities and enhancement of the economic heritage-related opportunities. These two components overlap in the sustainable territorial development and in the innovative economic and financial models tailored for heritage potential and meeting local needs and expectations.

The horizontal overlap between D and K takes into consideration the maintenance and transmission of heritage knowledge, methods and skills in order to further develop these topics. The bridges between the two are new heritage products and services, the combination of traditional and modern skills, and above all new IT tools that connect users to heritage.

The horizontal overlap between S and K accounts for sharing practices, for promotional and advocacy actions, and for normative considerations of heritage policy. It is driven by education and awareness- rising about heritage rights and responsibilities for stakeholders and about heritage values for the young generation.

Lastly, the horizontal interface between K, D and S has the potential to fully implement cross-sectoral and multifunctional concept of heritage and to contribute integrative effort to the strengthening of European values and identity.

When heritage management obtains excellent results with the interfaces between the three components it can be regarded as being very cohesive. This means that the secondary effects of sectoral policies are very positive in their inter-relationship. If two components overlap asymmetrically, the impact of one component on the other is very positive, whereas the other impacts of the other component are absent or even negative. This is the case of the interface between certain economic projects and the cultural heritage, where interface can be relatively large but not on equal footing for both sides; consequently, benefits are not reciprocal. They do not empower both sides, so they

cannot produce agreement and induce shared efforts, despite their narrowly observed effectiveness.

So we can propose core measures of integration of heritage policy. When heritage policy achieves excellent results in each of its domains, their activities must be assessed as very 'effective'. When heritage policy is very effective in one or two components, but not in all three, it means that its sectoral (vertical) achievements are poorly balanced. Policy integration criteria require 'strong (uncompromising) balance' between three heritage domains, observed separately from each other. If heritage policy for instance achieves good results in D and E, but not in S, it cannot be considered very integrative.

When heritage policy achieves excellent results in overlap between the three components it can be determined as 'coherent' or 'cohesive'. It means that side-effects of policy measures are mutually supportive and their cross-sector indirect impacts are extensive and favorable. If two domains overlap asymmetrically, one domain impacts another one very positively, while the opposite impacts are absent or even negative. In this case, we can say that the balance between them is 'weak' (not in principal matters of each component but only marginal overlaps between them). When overlaps are cohesive in a mutually satisfying way, heritage policy can be determined as producing 'synergetic' impacts. When heritage policy achieves impacts with high, strong balance as well as high synergy, it can be determined as 'integrative' (on the other hand, it is also integrative if it achieves strong and weak balance and cohesion between impacts of three heritage domains).

This approach may be called an integrative concept of heritage management. This new concept has been adopted in drafting the Strategy.

Hypothetical example: Integrative evaluation of heritage policy's measures

New concept can be illustrated with a hypothetical example of how three domains of heritage policy cross-section each other with impacts of their measures and how these can be used to evaluate heritage policy integration. The example and the concept are based on Radej (2014 and Radej et al, 2015).

We need to start with conventional Leopold matrix which presents impacts of nine hypothetical heritage policy measures (from m1 to m9), three from each heritage domain on six selected evaluation criteria (from c1 to c6), two for each evaluation domain (K, S, D). The Strategy

presented detailed interfaces (links) between Recommendations (the Strategy inputs, or policy measures in Table 1) and Challenges (heritage policy outcomes, or evaluation criteria in Table 1) pertaining to the three Strategy components (Appendix 1).

The Leopold matrix gives a detailed insight in how implementation of individual Recommendations impact Challenges, or in the language of the case study, how heritage measures impact evaluation criteria. In real life situation, heritage policy impacts would be first assessed analytically, based on monitoring data, official statistical data, on surveys with users or beneficiaries and on interviews with stakeholders of heritage policies, and then synthesized into smaller number of aggregate sub-indicators of overall heritage policy impacts on integration. If detailed analytical data are not obtainable, responsible authorities can accomplish expert based assessment of heritage policy effectiveness and their indirect (cross-section) impacts.

Table 1: Leopold matrix of hypothetical heritage policy impacts; measured on scale +,-,0

Evaluation criteria by Heritage Domains Heritage policy's measures by Domains		c1	c2	c3	c4	c5	c6
		Domain K	Domain K	Domain S	Domain S	Domain D	Domain D
m1	Domain K	+	+	+	0	+	+
m2	Domain K	0	-	+	+	0	-
m3	Domain K	+	+	+	-	0	+
m4	Domain S	+	0	-	+	+	+
m5	Domain S	+	+	0	0	+	+
m6	Domain S	0	+	+	+	0	0
m7	Domain D	+	+	+	-	0	+
m8	Domain D	-	0	-	0	+	+
m9	Domain D	0	-	+	+	+	+

Source of data: Hypothetical example.

Leopold's presentation of impacts is disaggregated on individual measures and individual criteria, while integral approach requires an insight into how policy domains as vertical wholes impact each other. For the purpose of synthesis, Leopold detail presentation is first partially aggregated by domains into square input-output table. Assessed detailed impact in Table 1 are partially aggregated, by source and area of sectoral impact (K by K, K by S, K by D, etc.) to obtain square matrix that presents how heritage sectors impact each other through their implemented measures.

On the diagonal, the matrix presents conventional indicator of each sector's aggregate effectiveness. It shows how successful each heritage domain is in carrying out its own primary (sector-based) Recommendations. On the diagonal of Table 2 we can see that D was the most effective (+5 out of 6 possible) in achieving its internal primary goals while S was the least effective (+2). This means that effectiveness of heritage policy taken together is not optimally balanced between three heritage domains because some primary concerns of heritage policy (in this case S) are left behind. Such finding would be quite serious remainder for policy-makers that integration in heritage measures is poor already in their fundamentals.

Table 2: Input-output matrix of impact between heritage domains, on scale from 6- to 6+

Evaluation Criteria \ Heritage Measures	K	S	D
K	3+	3+	2+
S	4+	2+	4+
D	0	1+	5+

Source of data: Table 1.

Indirect or cross-sectoral impacts are located in areas of convergence on the non-diagonal fields of the matrix in Table 2. By connecting cross-sectional impact that is located below the diagonal with symmetrically located cross-sectional impact above the diagonal (such as impact of D on S and impact of S on D) one can assess synergy between two Strategy components, how two components support or constrain each other by the means of implementing their Recommendations.

Evaluation of overlaps demands to reorganize cross-sectional presentation in Table 2 to the correlation matrix in Table 3. Correlation

shows two side relationship between the domains, not only how S impacts D but also how D impacts S, etc. This requires correlating two symmetrical non-diagonal relations in Table 2. The correlated result is obtained by averaging assessed relation between two domains (Table 3). This operation leaves diagonally located assessment unchanged, since correlation relates only to non-diagonal fields. Table 3 identifies that overlap between Domains K and S is the strongest (3,5, out of 6 possible), while the overlap between K and D is the weakest (1,0).

Table 3: Correlation matrix of overlapped heritage impacts, on scale from 6- to 6+

Measures \ Criteria	K	S	D
K	3,0	$[(4+3)/2]=3,5$	$[(0+2)/2]=1,0$
S	-	2,0	$[(1+4)/2]=2,5$
D	-	-	5,0

Source of data: Table 2. Note: By statistical definition, correlation ranges between -1 and +1. Table assesses correlation on the expanded scale - 6 to +6 with the aim to simplify derivation of results.

Assessment of cohesion is only first part of the integrative challenge. Cohesion can be hypothetically strong, but one-sided with pronounced cases of imbalance in weak terms. Mutuality of relations between K and S is rather high, since the absolute difference between 4 and 3 is rather small ($|4-3|=1$) – in this case weak balance is almost achieved. Just the opposite is the situation between K and D – they are not only poorly cohesive but also quite one-sided ($|0-2|=2$). Even more pronounced is weak imbalance between S and D ($|1-4|=3$).

Results from the input-output matrix (diagonals) and from the correlation matrix (non-diagonals) are presented in the Venn diagram (Diagram 1). It shows how three components of heritage policy are integrated in the hypothetical example by the means of direct (diagonal, non-overlapping) and indirect (non-diagonal, overlapping) links between heritage policy measures, relative to prescribed evaluation criteria.

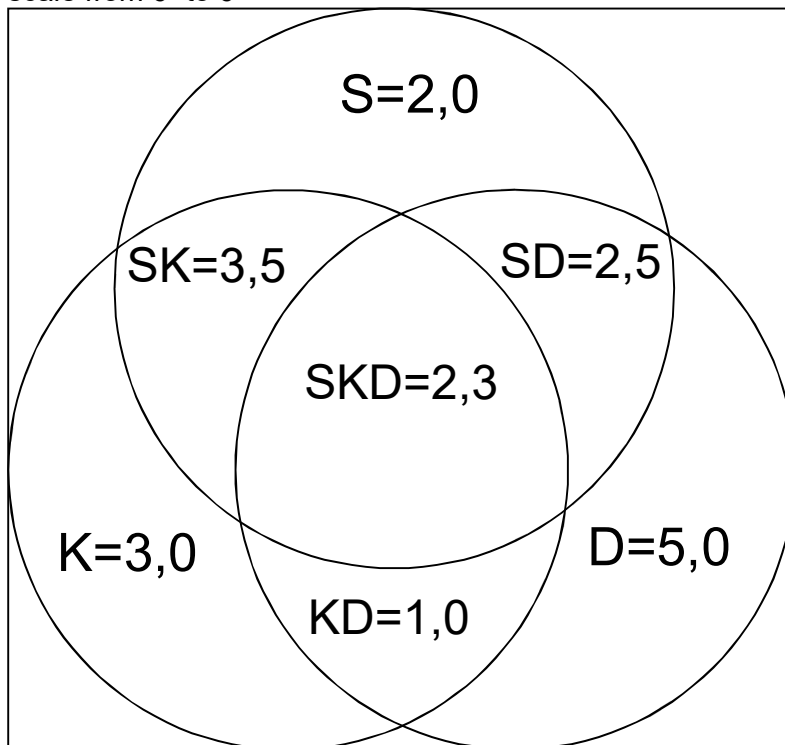
Empirically assessed components of the heritage concept enables us to compare vertical with horizontal achievements of heritage policy. In this hypothetical illustration, the non-overlapping goals are on average achieved better $[3,3 = (3,0+5,0+2,0)/3]$ than the overlapping results $[2,3=(3,5 + 1,0 + 2,5)/3]$. Such an outcome is in line with theoretical expectations that sectoral impacts are easier to achieve than horizontal ones because the latter require more coordination and have to take into

account diverse concerns of heritage policy. This finding enables us to assess heritage policy integration quantitatively as an achievement between non-overlapping and overlapping result [$2,8=(3,3 + 2,3)/2$].

Heritage policy as a whole (or one of its measure or even a project, taken as a whole) will increase its integrity under two simultaneous conditions:

- in conventional way, with improved effectiveness in all three domains of heritage policy in their non-overlapping contents;
- when the inner area of intersection increases in overlapping contents of heritage policy (of a measure or a project).

Diagram 1: Venn diagram of heritage policy integration, Impacts on scale from 6- to 6+



Source of data: Table 3.

Methodologically, the same approach as presented above could be applied for enhancing (or evaluating) synergies between heritage and non-heritage sectors, such as agriculture, spatial or tax policy. Analogous approach could be applied also in the preparation of

integrated heritage projects with three (to four) main domains of activity (or 'work-packages', in project management terminology) that integrally contribute to wider heritage impact in the community concerned.

Conclusions

Heritage policy can be programmed to achieve integrated imperative of the Strategy in relatively simple and transparent way, despite its essential complexity. Newly developed intervention logic and its results, new programming and evaluation approach, are tools of integration. Intervention logic opens the possibility that, side by side, conventional evidence-based conclusions about policy effectiveness and cross-sectoral or indirect achievements that are of crucial importance for horizontal heritage policy can be achieved simultaneously. The cross-sectoral benefits are, forgetfully many times not evident and not taken into account in programming as well as in policy impact evaluation.

Integrative intervention logic is aggregative and as such it is especially relevant for medium and strategic decision-making in heritage policy from project to program level – as much as in project preparation as in programming strategic national or international documents.

The integrative approach is especially relevant for governance where challenges arise predominantly as multi-sectoral and thus horizontally as much as vertically. Integrative approach is smart because it uses weaknesses as strengths by combining different rationale in different heritage sectors to achieve shared solution in their overlap as correlative mutuality.

The new approach goes beyond standard result-based logic in policy impact evaluation. Standard approach is valuable but much more can be obtained from the same set of information only by synthesizing result data more wisely. By doing so, a strategic overview of a complex situation can be gained.

The synergetic intervention logic is useful at the strategic level - but can be applied at other levels as well, so it is generally relevant. The proposed tool is relevant for management public affairs where challenges arise predominantly horizontally and solutions do not depend exclusively on sectoral policies but on synergies with measures in a number of other sectors. When synergy is achieved even less prominent sectors with weak starting capacities can produce significant results in the medium and long term.

«This evaluation process is an integral part of the "Strategy for European Heritage in the 21st Century".

Implementation of such a program at European level requires to demonstrate its relevance over time and on basis of this evaluation, to demonstrate its ability to adapt to the reality of implemented measures. This is a crucial step in making the management of heritage more credible for many actors, particularly those who are not part of the heritage sector, whether they are policy-makers, investors or ordinary citizens.

This Strategy is well aimed at all those involved in Heritage and adopting these principles of evaluation.

It is up to them to make it live so that we can hope to meet many and growing challenges that weigh in on Heritage - this legacy is becoming more and more difficult to transmit to future generations. »

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Appendix 1: CoE's European Cultural Heritage Strategy 21 Recommendations and Challenges pertaining to the three Strategy domains (S, D, K)

Recommendations (by domains):	Challenges (by domains):
Social Domain	
<p>S1 Encourage the involvement of citizens and local authorities in capitalising on their everyday heritage</p> <p>S2 Make heritage more accessible</p> <p>S3 Use heritage to assert and transmit the fundamental values of Europe and European society</p> <p>S4 Promote heritage as a meeting place and vehicle for intercultural dialogue, peace and tolerance</p> <p>S5 Assess citizens participation practices and procedures</p> <p>S6 Create a suitable framework to enable local authorities and communities to take action to promote and manage their heritage</p> <p>S7 Develop and promote participatory heritage identification programmes</p> <p>S8 Encourage heritage rehabilitation initiatives by local communities and authorities</p> <p>S9 Support inter-generational and intercultural projects to promote heritage</p> <p>S10 Facilitate and encourage (public and private) partnership in cultural heritage promotion and conservation projects</p>	<p>S1 Living in peace</p> <p>S2 Improving quality of life</p> <p>S3 Contributing to people's well-being and good health</p> <p>S4 Preserving the collective memory</p> <p>S5 Establishing good governance</p> <p>S6 Promoting participatory management</p> <p>S7 Optimising implementation of the conventions</p> <p>S8 Promoting an inclusive approach to heritage</p>
Development Domain	
<p>D1 Promote cultural heritage as a resource and facilitate financial investment</p> <p>D2 Support and promote the heritage sector as a means of creating jobs and business opportunities</p> <p>D3 Promote heritage skills and professionals</p> <p>D4 Produce heritage impact studies for rehabilitation, construction, development and infrastructure project</p> <p>D5 Encourage the re-use of heritage</p> <p>D6 Ensure that heritage is taken into account in spatial, environmental and energy development policies</p> <p>D7 Give consideration to heritage in sustainable tourism development policies</p> <p>D8 Protect, restore and enhance heritage, making greater use of new</p>	<p>D1 Building a more inclusive and cohesive society</p> <p>D2 Developing Europe's prosperity by drawing on its heritage resources</p> <p>D3 Ensuring that Europeans enjoy a high quality of life, in harmony with their cultural and natural environment</p> <p>D4 Implementing the principle of integrated conservation</p> <p>D5 Ensuring that heritage is taken into account in sustainable spatial development strategies and programmes</p> <p>D6 Developing the ability of public services to address sustainable spatial development issues by means of better use of heritage</p> <p>D7 Preserving and developing the ability of public services to address heritage issues</p> <p>D8 Increasing the use and re-use of heritage</p>

<p>technologies D9 Use innovative techniques to present cultural heritage to the public, while preserving its integrity D10 Use the cultural heritage as a means of giving the region a distinctive character and making it more attractive and better known D11 Develop new management models to ensure that heritage benefits from the economic spinoffs that it generates</p>	
<p>Knowledge Domain</p>	
<p>K1 Incorporate heritage education more effectively in school curricula K2 Implement measures to encourage young people to practice heritage K3 Encourage creativity to capture the attention of the heritage audience K4 Provide optimum training for non-professional players and for professionals from other sectors with a connection to heritage K5 Diversify training systems for heritage professionals K6 Develop knowledge banks on local and traditional materials, techniques and know-how K7 Ensure that the knowledge and skills involved in heritage trades are passed on K8 Guarantee the competences of professionals working on the listed heritage K9 Develop study and research programmes that reflect the needs of the heritage sector and share the findings K10 Encourage and support the development of networks K11 Explore heritage as a source of knowledge and inspiration</p>	<p>K1 Helping to foster a shared knowledge society K2 Identifying, preserving, transmitting and sharing heritage knowledge and skills K3 Raising awareness of the values conveyed by heritage K4 Ensuring heritage stakeholders have access to life-long training K5 Guaranteeing a high technical level for all heritage trades and crafts K6 Supporting, strengthening and promoting intergovernmental co-operation K7 Encouraging heritage research K8 Enlisting the commitment of young people to heritage</p>

Source: CoE, 2017.