

## **CULTURAL HERITAGE IN URBAN REDEVELOPMENT PROJECTS: A FRAMEWORK TO ANALYSE COLLABORATIVE STRATEGIES**

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### **Abstract**

*Due to technological, economic and spatial developments, various inner-city industrial areas have lost their former use and their original economic value. Many of these areas have elements of cultural-historical value. Preserving this cultural heritage means managing it for the benefit of current and future generations, and –by doing so - contributing to a sustainable development. Governments, private parties, citizens and interest groups are often convinced of the desirability of preserving the cultural heritage. However, the presence of cultural heritage entails extra complexity. Hence, public and private parties are searching for new methods, processes and instruments to embed cultural heritage in urban redevelopment projects. In this paper we present a framework to study strategies used and their implications for balancing costs and benefits. To develop this framework, we analyzed five Dutch urban redevelopment projects with cultural heritage and confronted the results with literature. We then argue that value creation, through collaborative efforts in finding new uses, and value claiming, by negotiating on the costs and benefits involved, go hand in hand. From this perspective, value creation and settlements regarding costs and benefits of cultural heritage depend on how stakeholders handle this tension.*

**Keywords:** cultural heritage, urban redevelopment, collaborative strategies, balancing costs and benefits, negotiation

### **INTRODUCTION**

One of the key concepts of sustainability is preserving the environment for future generations (Nijkamp and Riganti, 2008). Developments should meet the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability for future generations (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). However, many urban areas were developed in a period when sustainability was not really an issue. In recent decades technological, economic and spatial developments caused that many urban industrial areas lost their original economic value or the use was not considered socially desirable anymore at the specific location. Without a new use, these areas will fall into decline. Buildings will slowly deteriorate and the areas can become a spot for crime. Such areas can cause serious economic, social, political damages to

society (Yousefi et al., 2007). As spatial developments will increasingly consist of inner-city redevelopment projects, a big challenge is to transform these areas. This contributes to a sustainable environment. Re-use of (parts) of buildings saves demolition waste, buildings will become more energetic, and inner-city redevelopment makes greenfield development elsewhere superfluous.

In contradiction to greenfield development, urban redevelopment has to a greater extent take into account its economic, physical, social and environmental context. This includes the context of the surrounding urban area, but also the characteristics of the redevelopment area itself. An important characteristic of these projects is that they often include buildings which are considered to be of cultural-historical value. Although the added value of this cultural heritage for urban redevelopment is generally acknowledged, in practice successful transformation seems hard to attain. Based on an analysis of five Dutch urban redevelopment projects in which transformation of cultural heritage plays a significant role, we will explain the challenges and bottlenecks in more detail. We confronted the findings from the empirical analysis with literature on planning and negotiation. We end this paper by presenting a general framework to study collaborative strategies and the implications of these strategies on settlements regarding the costs and benefits to effectively transform of cultural heritage in urban redevelopment. In the following section, we first pay attention to cultural heritage in an urban redevelopment context.

## **CULTURAL HERITAGE IN URBAN REDEVELOPMENT**

Cultural heritage in urban areas is often seen as the physical representation of the identity of a certain community (Nijkamp and Riganti, 2008). More specific, cultural heritage comprises a whole of various things, like (art) collections, archaeological heritage, individual buildings, city views, landscapes, industrial complexes and waterworks with cultural, social and economical value (Coccosis and Nijkamp, 1995). An area can be appointed as cultural heritage, like UNESCO world heritage sites, or individual buildings can be officially registered (like national protected monuments) or generally be considered as such.

In urban redevelopment, the presence of cultural heritage can offer opportunities for social-economic development, such as the development of tourism, recreation, leisure and other kinds of cultural activities (Bizarro and Nijkamp 1997). Cultural heritage gives an area a specific identity and generally improves the satisfaction of people living in the neighbourhood (Aarsen et al., 2010; Linssen, 2009). Preserving cultural heritage means managing it for the benefit of current and future generations. In this way, preserving and transforming built cultural heritage into new uses, contributes to a sustainable development (Nijkamp en Riganti, 2008).

Governments, private parties, interest groups and citizens are often convinced of the desirability of preserving and re-using the valuable cultural-historical buildings. Besides interests like perception of a certain identity and historical conscience, there are also other material and immaterial considerations to preserve cultural heritage: aesthetical, ecological, social and economical interests. However, urban redevelopment projects tend to be complex in general and even more when cultural heritage is involved. Urban redevelopment projects are characterized by high contextual and organizational complexity; mutual dependencies among actors, as the investments needed are generally too high and the project too complex for a single actor; the need for collaborative interaction between private and public parties;

and a long time frame (Bult-Spiering, et al. 2005). The presence of cultural heritage entails extra complexity. It is often a challenge to find new appropriate uses for these buildings which are also financially feasible.

In this paper we focus on transformation of built cultural heritage as a part of a wider urban area development. These projects often concern former industrial or military complexes.

*A well-known example of a successful transformation of a former urban industrial area is the so-called Westergasfabriek in Amsterdam. Constructed in 1883, this factory was once the largest coal plant of the Netherlands (14 ha). The plant closed down in 1967. Most of the remaining buildings were officially acknowledged as cultural heritage 30 years later and became successfully used for temporary creative and cultural activities. This was the start of a redevelopment project in which many of the buildings were renovated. Nowadays, these buildings are used for events, or as a gallery, office, theatre, bar or restaurant. The industrial buildings and surrounding area are transformed into a characteristic place to work and play.*

The complexity of the projects implies that straight-forward planning is not possible. The great number of actors and interests in area developments makes planning processes slow and complicated. Especially financial agreement seems hard to attain when plans have to be made effective. Although various studies (Ruijgrok, 2004; ABF Research, 2007; a.o.) show that the presence of cultural heritage adds value to an area, quantifying and allocating the increased value is often very difficult. As a consequence, a number of parties profit from investments to preserve and or transform cultural heritage without contributing in the costs. For collective goods this is known as the problem of free-riders.

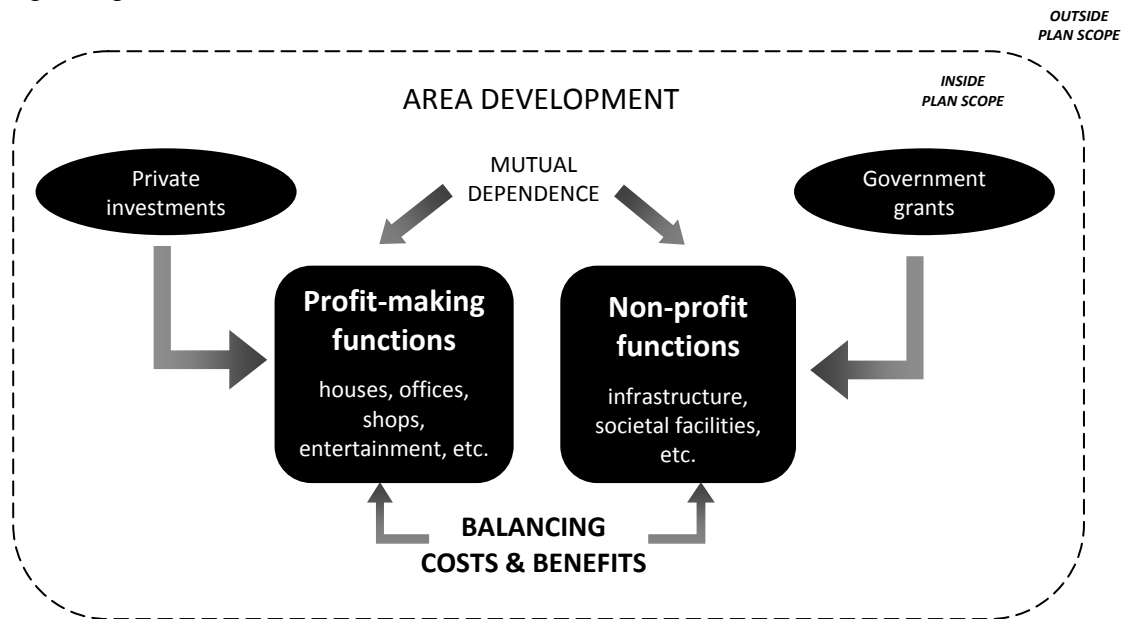
In previous years, governments usually subsidized non-commercial elements, like cultural-historical values, as an incentive for urban redevelopment projects (Aarsen, Brons et al. 2010). As government funds are decreasing and more emphasis is put on efficient use of public money, opportunities to capture the increased value are searched for. Governments, market parties, citizens and interest groups have a need to cooperate (Ministries OCW, LNV, VROM, V&W, 1999) to prevent cultural heritage buildings to disintegrate and embed them in the urban redevelopment projects. However, a major bottleneck in the efforts to transform cultural heritage buildings in urban redevelopment projects appears to be the lack of transparent system for balancing the corresponding costs and benefits between actors involved.

## **BALANCING COSTS AND BENEFITS IN CULTURAL HERITAGE PROJECTS**

Balancing of costs and benefits can be seen as acknowledging the fact that additional value of commercial elements, like houses or offices also depends on the granted subsidy for non-commercial elements (Ministry of Finance, 2001). Boeve (2006) defines it as "the transfer of rights, risks, financial or qualitative values, between profit making and non-profit elements in order to make a coherent programme possible".

In recent years a lot of attention is paid to the balancing of costs and benefits in area development projects, both in policy documents (Ministries VROM, V&W, EZ, LNV and Finance, 2003; Ministry of VROM, 2004 en 2001; a.o.), as by interest groups of the private sector. A distinction can be made between voluntary balancing of costs and benefits and the use of governmental instruments to enforce contributions of private parties. Within the

current Dutch institutional context - contrary to some other countries – the legal possibilities to capture the added value due to public investments are very limited. The applicability of a recently introduced law on land exploitation is limited to a contribution in the costs of certain public facilities, instead of focussing on capturing increased value. Besides, investments in preserving cultural heritage or cultural facilities are not listed cost categories of public facilities in this law. As institutional changes go beyond the scope of our research, balancing costs and benefits in transformation projects is primarily based on (voluntary) negotiation. In urban development practice, balancing costs and benefits usually takes place in the context of an agreement between public bodies, property developers and landowners. Therefore, we focus on the collaborative strategies of actors and the implications of these strategies regarding settlements of costs and benefits.



**Figure 1:** *Balancing costs and benefits*

## RESEARCH METHOD

A premise of our research is that there is a strong relation between spatial quality, finances and process. In other words: preservation and re-use of cultural heritage adds quality to urban redevelopment projects, but requires substantial investments. To find the money needed, possibilities to integrate various uses and involve more actors are searched for during the planning process. In that way new value can be created for locations which have lost their old value and costs and benefits can be balanced. The question is then which collaboration between governments, developers, financiers, users and people living in the neighbourhood contributes to fair settlements on costs and benefits and how this influences effective transformation of the cultural heritage. Therefore, the emphasis in our research is on the collaborative strategy used.

To develop such strategy we adapt the design oriented- approach, developed by Van Aken (2004). The design approach is pragmatic and the knowledge is to be applied by practitioners (Van Aken, Berends et al. 2007). The results of the design approach are so-called technological rules (van Aken, 2004) “if you want something like x, in setting z, than do y”. In our research: ‘x’ would be the effective transformation of cultural heritage; ‘z’ is the

network of actors in an urban redevelopment project, and 'y' is the collaborative strategy to make financial agreements to balance costs and benefits. To reach greater understanding of the relation between x, z, and y, a first step is to gain insight in the specific characteristics of urban development projects with cultural heritage and the bottlenecks experienced by stakeholders in the process to transformation. For this purpose we analysed five urban redevelopment projects in the Netherlands, in which the re-use of cultural heritage plays an important role.

These projects were selected based on the following criteria: 1) redevelopment of an entire area instead of a single object; 2) multiple functions, the aim is to develop several different new uses (not only housing) in mutual coherence; 3) one or more buildings in the area are considered to be of cultural-historical value and the aim is to re-use these buildings; 4) the area has to be urban, located inner-city or at the border of a city, and 5) the project should be in the planning stage, thus in other words, plans for redevelopment are being made but stakeholders are (for some parts of the project) still searching for appropriate new uses that are financially feasible. Side conditions were access to project documentation and the willingness of the project managers to participate in interviews.

To study how the processes in these projects develop towards settlements on costs and benefits we chose to vary the context as less as possible. Therefore, we only studied projects in the Netherlands. So, in this research institutional factors do not have the status of variables which can be optimized to attain agreements on costs and benefits. The first four criteria are related to the context of the projects. The last criterion is important as we aim to identify the current substantive bottlenecks and interaction processes among actors. The projects we selected are Wagenwerkplaats (Amersfoort), Spoorzone (Tilburg), Hart van Zuid (Hengelo), Hembrugterrein (Zaanstad) and 't Vaneker (Enschede).

For each of these projects, we conducted at least two face-to-face interviews. The interviewees were the project managers of the leading organisation for transformation of the cultural heritage. Besides, four meetings with the project managers were held to discuss the findings. For each project we also carried out a document analysis. Among others, master plans, official decision documents of the city council, studies of the cultural-historical elements, progress reports and (initial) agreements among parties were analyzed. The analysis gave insight in the physical-spatial characteristics of the projects, the stakeholders and organizational setting, and the bottlenecks experienced with transforming cultural heritage. We confronted this data with literature on planning. Together, these provide the building blocks for a framework to be used in a more in-depth analysis of strategies for balancing costs and benefits of cultural heritage.

## **PROJECT DATA**

### **Project description**

The Wagenwerkplaats in the city of Amersfoort (145.000 residents) is a former maintenance area for railway carriages of the Netherlands Railways Company (NS). The area with two maintenance buildings, the boilerhouse and the smithy, was built in 1908. In 2000 NS closed down their maintenance workplace and the area lost its use. NS is now developing and realizing a vision to create an area of commercial cultural activities. Some buildings have already been restored and are currently used by an architect company, the CliniClowns education centre and a theatre.

Spoorzone Tilburg, in the city of Tilburg (205.000 residents), is another former railway workplace. The central area, where various buildings of cultural historical value are located, is part of a large urban restructuring project that is to be realized around the central railway station. The redevelopment should result in a dynamic, playful multifunctional area for arts, theatre, education and living, with an old industrial atmosphere.

Hart van Zuid is a former industrial area just south of the city centre of Hengelo (75.000 residents). In 1854 Stork and Dijkers settled their headquarters in the area and produced, among others, large engines and pumps. In the 1980's the economic growth stopped and the company moved a part of its production processes to other countries. Currently, most of the buildings are not in use anymore and there is a opportunity for the municipality to strengthen this part of Hengelo and create an area of added value to the city. One of the heritage buildings is already in use as a large scale educational centre.

Hembrugterrein is a former military area in Zaanstad (150.000 residents). From 1895 till 1970s the area and the buildings were used for producing, testing and storing ammunition. The area has a green character with 62 registered monuments (of 120 military buildings in total). Besides built heritage, also a stretch of woods to muffle explosions of ammunition tests and former gas pipelines are indicated as monuments. In 2003 all activities stopped and the area was abandoned. Although actors agree that it is a unique area with many opportunities, all planning attempts failed so far. Recently, a start is made by creating opportunities for creative artists and companies to temporarily hire buildings and opening the area for public.

t Vaneker is also a former military area, situated between the Airport of Twente and the city centre of Enschede (157.000 residents). There is an old fenced military complex, called "Het Zuidkamp", which was build in 1940. The municipality is developing this area to a high quality living area in the specific green landscape of Twente.

### Physical-spatial characteristics

	Wagenwerkplaats	Spoorzone Tilburg	Hart van Zuid	Hembrugterrein	Het Vaneker
<b>Location</b>	Inner-city	Inner-city	Inner-city	City outskirts	City outskirts
<b>Size (ha)</b>	18.9	55	60	43.5	90
<b>Former use</b>	Railway workplace	Railway workplace	Industrial	Military	Military
<b>Cultural heritage</b>	Buildings. 5 are official registered as monuments.	Buildings. Not registered as monuments. 4 buildings are explicitly pointed out to be of cultural historical value	Buildings. Not registered as monuments. Main parties signed covenant how to deal with valuable buildings.	62 official registered monuments: buildings, stretch of wood, small elements	Buildings. Not registered as monuments.

*Table 1: Physical-spatial characteristics*

The cultural heritage - officially registered or considered to be of cultural historical value - gives these areas a unique character and identity. The unique character and the apparent opportunities keep attracting new ideas of governments and developers. However, many

redevelopment attempts fail. Appropriate new uses have to be found for the buildings to be able to preserve them. This requires high investments, while the benefits are difficult to express in financial terms and – due to environmental issues – are often in a far future. Besides, the presence of monuments in most projects entails additional regulations. These characteristics make transformation of cultural heritage in urban redevelopment projects a complex challenge.

### Organizational setting

In all projects multiple stakeholders are involved in the planning process. Resources needed to redevelop the areas are divided among various parties. A person or group who has a vested interest in the success of a project and the environment within the project operates is called a project stakeholder (Olander and Landin, 2005). As mentioned before, in urban development practice, balancing of costs and benefits usually takes place in the context of an agreement between public bodies, property developers and landowners. They own, decide, invest and/or have the knowledge and other resources to develop the area. Therefore, we focused primarily on the roles of these parties.

	Wagenwerkplaats	Spoorzone Tilburg	Hart van Zuid	Hembrugterrein	Het Vaneker
<b>Leading role (project management)</b>	Private developer (NS Poort)	Municipality	Municipality & Private developer	Central government	Municipality
<b>Landowner(s)</b>	NS Poort	Municipality	Multiple	Ministry of Defence	Municipality and Province
<b>Public authority</b>	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality	Province and Municipality	Municipality
<b>Property developer</b>	NS Poort	Volker Wessels	Van Wijnen BV	X	X
<b>Cooperation agreement?</b>	No, Informal deliberations between NS Poort, municipality and citizens that live near the plan area	Yes, A Public Private Partnership of the municipality and Volker Wessels	Yes, A Public Private Partnership of the municipality and the Van Wijnen Group	No, Informal steering committee of central government, municipality and the province	No, Municipality prepares and sells the land primarily for housing

**Table 2: Organizational setting**

It appeared that the roles of various types of stakeholders vary substantially. In some projects, the municipality is the leading actor, while in others they are only involved as public authority. Land ownership and the perception of urban development possibilities seem to be the important influential factors for the differences in roles.

Landowners, public bodies and property developers contribute to the costs of transformation in different ways. Their benefits are also quite different. Besides, they have different interests. In general, public bodies strive for societal benefits, while property developers have financial gain as their primary goal. Table 3 provides an overview of the division of costs and benefits among stakeholders.

	Wagenwerkplaats	Spoorzone Tilburg	Hart van Zuid	Hembrugterrein	Het Vaneker
<b>Costs of maintaining the cultural heritage (before redevl.)</b>	Private developer (NS Poort)	Municipality	Private owners (Stork e.a.)	Central government	Municipality
<b>Risk-bearing investor in cultural heritage</b>	NS Poort	Municipality VolkerWessels	Municipality VanWijnen	Not yet known	Future buyers
<b>Actors who subsidize</b>	Province Ministries	Province Ministries	Ministries	Municipality Province Ministries	None
<b>Actors who (financially) benefit</b>	NS Poort and surrounding neighbourhoods (housing corporation)	Municipality, Volker Wessels, surrounding real estate owners	Municipality, Van Wijnen surrounding real estate owners	Not yet known	Unknown
<b>Current balancing costs and benefits</b>	Indirect as NS Poort is both landowner as developer.	Indirect in PPP construction	Indirect in PPP construction	Still too many uncertainties.	No expected free rider behaviour
<b>Perceived bottlenecks for balancing costs and benefits</b>	Environmental regulations; Planning in phases; Accessibility of the plan area	Current market situation; No feasible new uses yet; Ground pollution	Current market situation; No feasible new uses yet	Environmental regulations; Ground pollution; Many cultural heritage buildings in decrepitude; Inflexibility of municipality	No appropriate financially feasible new uses yet

*Table 3: Overview of the division of costs and benefits among stakeholders*

### **Uncertainties and complexity in transformation**

The analysis shows that all projects have to deal with quite similar difficulties in the process towards effective transformation of the cultural heritage. Firstly, although in the long term returns on investments are generally expected to be positive, the initially needed financial investment are often far higher than in a situation without cultural heritage (Saris, Dommelen et al., 2008; Bade and Smid, 2008). The former industrial or military activities frequently caused heavily polluted ground. This pollution needs to be cleaned up to make new use possible. The costs for sanitation are high. Furthermore, there is often substantial uncertainty, as these costs can only be calculated precisely after the sanitation started. This uncertainty makes initial agreements more difficult. One of the involved actors states: *"due to the ground pollution, the project keeps stagnating"*. Costs to make re-use of the cultural heritage buildings possible are also high. For example, only conserving a (large) building costs about a million. This includes as much as repairing the roof so the building will be wind- and waterproof. Even more investments are needed to adjust the buildings to the current standards of working and living.

Secondly, not all possible new uses are considered appropriate and the ones that contribute to the unique character of the areas are often non-commercial. A manager of one of the projects states *"For some parts of the area it is really hard to find a suitable new use, that does justice to the cultural historical character and is, at the same time, financially feasible"*. Regulations for officially registered monuments limit the possibilities for adapting the buildings. Housing



is often excluded due to environmental regulations of noise, air quality, dust, smell and external safety in the specific areas. As housing is one of the most commercial new uses, these limitations make returns on investment uncertain. Furthermore, non-commercial uses contribute positively to the specific character of the industrial heritage buildings. For example, these buildings attract budding artists for a studio but they cannot afford high rents.

Thirdly, the tangible and intangible returns are uncertain as the added value of the transformation of cultural heritage can rarely be expressed in financial terms alone (Linssen, 2009). The interviewees were asked what their perception of success was of the urban redevelopment project. One project manager said: *"You can look at success in such a project in two different ways: as an accountant who will define success as selling the area for a good price. However, you can't run an area like this as an accountant. You need vision and inspiration. It has to become a beautiful urban neighbourhood, where you can feel the former atmosphere, and still see history"*. Another project manager described success as: *"the project is a success when my children walk through the developed area and say that they are proud that their dad took care of saving the historical buildings."* All the interviewees stated that preserving gives additional quality to the area. *"Investments in cultural heritage will make the rest of the area attractive and will strengthen the image and identity of the project"*. However, the end users determine what "atmosphere", "identity" or "history" is worth. They have to be willing to pay more for the additional quality by preserving the cultural heritage buildings. In most of the projects they do. One interviewee states: *"For example, the prices in the surrounding neighbourhoods are already rising. Before, the municipality did not invest in these areas as it wasn't profitable, but now there are even private development initiatives. The story sells"*. However, what future users are willing to pay extra is difficult to determine beforehand. So, the value of cultural heritage is difficult to express in financial terms and 'believing' in the added value of the transformation is vital.

Summarizing, transforming cultural heritage in urban redevelopment project is complex as 1) initial investments needed are far higher than in greenfield development; 2) finding feasible new uses that contribute to the ambition to preserve the unique character is difficult and; 3) the tangible and intangible benefits are uncertain at the start of the process and are hard to express in financial terms. Current economic developments make financing urban redevelopment projects even more complex. Risk adverse behaviour of financial institutions and decreasing government funds especially endanger these projects. Subsidizing non-commercial elements is less an option. The situation is described by one of the interviewees *"the market situation makes development difficult. The budget may not be enough. We ask ourselves, do we need to slow down the project? But this is not desirable. Currently, the municipality is in hard negotiations. Developers knock on our door for subsidies. How can you develop now? [...] How can investors have financial returns? If you cannot make benefits because you preserve the cultural heritage, no developer wants to invest."*

## **TOWARDS AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK**

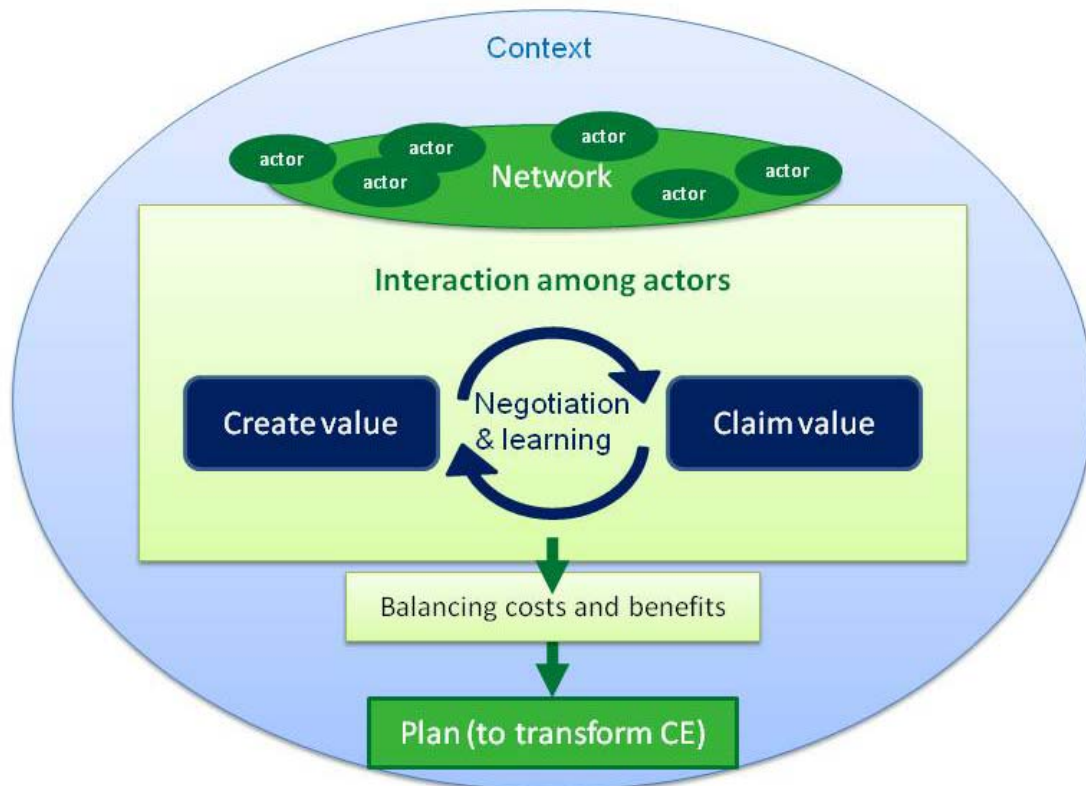
As previously indicated, collaboration resulting in balancing costs and benefits between actors involved helps to preserve and transform cultural heritage in urban redevelopment projects. *"Success of the project depends on the possibilities to balance the costs and benefits of the total urban development project, including the investments needed to transform the cultural heritage"*. Balancing of costs and benefits is indicated as a crucial instrument. *"Balancing of costs and benefits is the only option to preserve cultural heritage. It stimulates*

*the right development and should be seen as a kind of loan beforehand*". However, settlements regarding costs and benefits are not easily to attain. The projects are characterized by many uncertainties in costs, new-uses, and benefits. Hence, a straight forward answer to the question what strategies will realize effective transformation of cultural heritage cannot be given.

The complexity is mainly caused by the mutual dependency of the actors in the urban redevelopment projects. Knowledge, resources and authority are fragmented and dispersed, so planning decisions on what to do with the cultural heritage and how to make arrangements on costs and benefits involved require interaction among multiple actors. They have to make decisions about their abilities to act and their commitment to future actions that will satisfy their (financial) interests (Forester 2006). However, the actors in these projects cannot command other actors whose cooperation is vital, so negotiation to reach decisions regarding the content of the plan and (financial) settlements is needed (Koppenjan and Klijn, 2004). Thus, planning for these projects is essentially joint decision making, which is in turn inherently transactional (negotiated) (Shmueli et al, 2008). In literature four key elements of negotiation are distinguished (Lax and Sebenius, 1986) 1) mutual dependency among actors to realize their objectives; 2) some perceived conflict, as competing claims; 3) opportunistic or strategic behaviour of the actors, and 4) the possibility of agreement which is mutual beneficial. These four conditions are present in urban redevelopment projects in which re-use of cultural heritage is an important component.

In general, negotiation consists of both cooperating and competing elements, which makes it difficult to create mutual gains. At a certain point in the process, created value - for example by redeveloping the cultural heritage for new use - has to be divided and a claim on the increased value by one party implies there will be less for others. This tension between creating and claiming value is called the *negotiators dilemma* (Lax and Sebenius 1986). Value creators are the actors who are inventive and cooperative, in search for a win-win situation. This behaviour is contrary to value claiming behaviour in which actors try to convince the other actor of their own right. Leeuwis (2000) distinguishes two broad categories negotiation processes: distributive and integrative negotiation. In a distributive negotiation process the various stakeholders hold on to their own perceptions and positions, and basically use negotiations to divide the added value. The source of conflict remains intact, which leads to an unstable compromise. The result is a win-lose situation; the gains of one party represents the losses of another. For example, the developer's goal is to get the highest possible return on his investments in the commercial real estate, while the municipality wants to capture (a part of) this return as their investments in the cultural heritage adds value to the developer's real estate. If the municipality gives in, they have to fully bear the costs for preservation of the cultural heritage. If they do not give in and the developer is not willing to contribute, the realisation of the complete urban development might be endangered. In case of integrative negotiation, the stakeholders develop new (and often) wider problem definitions. Through interaction the actor learns about the nature of the problem, the possibilities for (joint) problem-solving and about other actors (Koppenjan and Klijn, 2004). They change perceptions on the basis of a creative collective learning process, resulting in the identification of so called win-win solutions. The result is similar as is intended with participatory processes (Leeuwis, 2000). For example, the municipality and the developer learn about the value of cultural heritage from both actors' perspective. Instead of negotiating on who has to contribute what, they search for possibilities to combine functions and for other actors to join the process. Communicative and strategic action is in many ways two sides of the same coin. Learning and negotiation are intertwined "effective social

learning is unlikely to happen if it is not embedded in a well-managed negotiation process. At the same time, effective negotiations are impossible without a properly facilitated social learning process" (Leeuwis, 2000).



**Figure 2:** Framework for analysis of the process to transform cultural heritage

In conclusion, in order to effectively transform cultural heritage in urban redevelopment, a win-win situation is needed. In cultural heritage projects, a win-win situation can be considered as a mutual beneficially agreement on costs and benefits between actors involved, whereby the cultural heritage is preserved by transforming it for new use. During the planning process, actors will negotiate and learn. We argue that learning and negotiation, or creating and claiming value, go hand in hand, as stakeholders in these projects cooperate and compete with each other at the same time. In this ‘game’ of interaction actors try to deal with the uncertainties of the project. The context of the project, the network of mutual dependent actors, the actors’ characteristics and the interaction among the actors determine the plan-making process (De Kort, 2009). Together, these elements influence the possibilities to re-use cultural heritage in urban redevelopment project. They form the basic building blocks of a general framework to be used in a more in-depth analysis of strategies used to redevelop cultural heritage.

## DISCUSSION

In this paper we presented the characteristics of five urban redevelopment projects with built cultural heritage and the difficulties stakeholders in these projects have to tackle in the plan-making process, in order to achieve effective transformation of the heritage for new use. Based on the empirical data and a study of literature on planning and negotiation we presented a general framework to be used for further analysis. The next phase of our research

will consist of a more in-depth study of the five cases in order to understand the negotiation processes and how these processes develop towards arrangements on costs and benefits. This requires that the building blocks of our framework are further made operational. For that some dilemma's have to be overcome.

Firstly, it is hard to measure performance in urban redevelopment projects in general. Often used performance criteria in planning projects are: efficiency, effectiveness and relevance (Walter and Scholz 2007). Efficiency refers to the relation between means and outcomes. Effectiveness is related to how well the proclaimed objectives of the project are attained. Relevance indicates the accuracy of a solution to the targeted problem. As urban restructuring projects have a long time frame and objectives will change during time, measuring these criteria will be difficult as the projects will not be finished in the next 10 years. Furthermore, proclaimed objectives are abstract and probably there will be no consensus on operational level. In a context of interdependencies, performance partially depends on the perception of actors (De Bruijn and Ten Heuvelhof 2008). Performance indicators that can be used, are: actor satisfaction; solved problems of the actors involved; learning, as the actors were confronted with new issues and information; lasting relations and; a fair process with equal chances and respect to core values (De Bruijn and Ten Heuvelhof, 2008; De Graaf 2005; De Kort 2009). In the projects, the sum of perceived performance of individual actors will not be – by definition - the performance of the total project. Therefore, to evaluate the performance of the transformation projects, we plan to use process (actor satisfaction, solved problem, learning) and project (expected efficiency and effectiveness) criteria.

Secondly, distinguishing creating or claiming behaviour in the process is difficult. We argue that negotiation and learning are intertwined and creating and claiming go hand in hand. However, as we want to gain insight in the relation between the used strategy and the performance, we need to measure these aspects somehow. From literature, we can define conditions which have to be met for creating or claiming value behaviour to occur and then study these conditions in the projects. Another possibility is to use a more grounded approach. In an open interview interviewees describe the main events in the process, their actions and the effects of their action. Afterwards, the data will be analysed and coded to link their stories to creating and claiming value. In this way we will be able to define creating and claiming value.

We hope that this paper contributes to a more profound discussion on the transformation of cultural heritage in urban redevelopment. We welcome feedback on this paper and suggestion to cope with the presented dilemmas for further research.

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