



Rethinking cultural heritage

A qualitative research on the value of adaptive reuse for cultural heritage

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Abstract

Heritage is an essential part of human culture and its conservation matters. This argument has been acknowledged in the academia for many years. However, the increasing number of listed heritage sites, combined with a decrease of public funds, highlights the necessity to find sustainable management practices for heritage. So far, the discussion on heritage management is not quite satisfactory. Too often the economic perspective differs from the one of historians, archeologists, art historians and all those people involved in heritage conservation; it seems difficult to find a balance among the many values related to heritage. In this context, adaptive reuse seems a valuable and sustainable strategy able to give new use to heritage while conserving its cultural value. Yet, in order to do so, it should consider not only economic returns but also heritage intrinsic values. This research introduces three specific cultural heritage sites in which adaptive reuse was done through cultural or creative projects. By means of a qualitative research, this study aims to understand which values push managers of cultural and creative projects to start their activity inside cultural heritage sites and how these values are realized. The aim is to understand if creative and cultural entrepreneurs can have a role in heritage regeneration and to what extent the analyzed projects are sustainable both from an economic and social perspective. Through a value based approach, this study concludes that rethinking heritage with cultural and creative projects can be a valuable way to respect and, in some cases, enhance heritage cultural capital. It also looks at heritage social sustainability as a significant factor for social, societal and cultural development for people involved in the reuse process.

Key words: cultural heritage, adaptive reuse, cultural and creative projects, values, sustainability

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1. Introduction

Human beings value all the time. By doing so, they constantly shape their reality and the perception of what surrounds them. Still, experts and policy makers can contribute to make people aware of important values which can be difficult to detect. Sharing expertise and knowledge can become a valuable tool in order to make others to understand and appreciate fundamental aspects of culture and society. Applying this perspective to cultural heritage, it can be argued that heritage perception and management are a matter of values. Heritage holds a wide range of meanings which make it an essential part of a shared culture. It is “an expression of the ways of living developed by a community and passed on from generation to generation” (ICOMOS, 2002).

If recent trends show a growing general awareness of the importance of preserving and enhancing cultural heritage, the always greater number of listed sites has not been accompanied by an increase in funding nor investments (COM, 2014). In the past, cultural polices have opted to transform built heritage in museums or other cultural institutions, giving sometimes little attention to the significance and sustainability of such investment. Today, the current financial crisis has brought to the necessity of rethinking cultural heritage in a more sustainable way. As a response, adaptive reuse of heritage lends itself to various type of contemporary use. Many are the examples of historical buildings reconverted into hotels or hosting other commercial activities. If in some cases adaptive reuse projects take advantage of the beauty of the site mainly for an economic return, this conservation practice leaves room for multiple forms of value creation, which do not put necessarily economic profit in the first place.

This study explores the values influencing adaptive reuse projects in cultural heritage sites. In order to do so, it looks at three cases of cultural heritage where adaptive reuse was done through cultural or creative projects, in the broad sense. The choice of selecting cultural and creative projects was inspired by the following reasons. First, for a personal interest in understanding to what extent there is an alignment between the values carried in these projects and the intrinsic ones historically attributed to cultural heritage. Then, cultural and creative industries have an important role in the regeneration process of blighted areas and industrial heritage sites. By shifting the analysis to cultural heritage, the research aims to understand if the creative class and cultural entrepreneurs can have positive impact also on cultural heritage regeneration. Finally, through a value based perspective, it is investigated if cultural/creative projects were established to valorize the site or for other purposes.

Standard economics perspective usually deals with the allocation of scarce resource by considering only private and public goods. Economists focus on costs and benefits and are interested to know how much people are willing to pay for something. On the other hand, historians, archeologists, art historians, and all those people engaged in heritage conservation, acknowledge

heritage cultural value and context but not its relationship to economic development (Klamer, 2011). This research resonates from a cultural economics approach and focuses on values awareness and realization. It addresses not only the realm of private and public goods, but argues the need to recognize also shared goods.

By means of a qualitative approach and by choosing managers of adaptive reuse projects as interlocutors, this study aims at finding answer to the question:

Which are the main values carried by the managers of the selected projects in the regeneration process of cultural heritage? How are these values realized in the management practice?

Through the analysis of three specific cultural heritage sites, answering this question informs which main values enter in the adaptive reuse discourse. It also shows how values are realized in different ways according to different contexts. By applying the theory to the empirical research, I develop the argument that adaptive reuse practice through cultural/creative projects is a valuable option for cultural heritage reuse. Yet to be sustainable, it must be considered both from an economic and social approach. In fact, some of the projects are not sustainable from a strictly economic perspective. Still, they enhance some of the intrinsic heritage values and help to transform heritage in a shared good by involving the local community as well as tourists and external stakeholders.

Analyzing adaptive reuse through a value based approach aims to go beyond the standard approach by giving a deep understanding of what motivates managers of cultural heritage. First of all, it encourages managers of cultural heritage to make their goals explicit to their stakeholders and to explain the way they feel and think towards heritage. It also shows the importance of involving others to realize values and to build credibility and legitimacy. By exploring the economic and social sustainability, it offers a more complete picture on the reuse projects selected that can be useful to inform policy makers and potential private investors. Finally, on a societal level, this research aims to show the complexity of cultural heritage perception and management. In its development, this study hopes to offer a perspective which can become a meeting point between economists and “culturalists”.

The research is structured as follows: after this introduction, the second chapter will illustrate the theoretical framework, which will critically review the most relevant literature on heritage valuation and conservation practice as well as its possible analysis through a value based approach. The third chapter offers the operationalization through which the research design was established in order to answer to the research question. Subsequently, chapter four presents the result of the data analysis. Finally, the conclusion summarizes the main findings of the research and explore avenues for future studies.

2. Literature review

This thesis focuses on cultural heritage. There is an intrinsic interrelation between the definition of heritage and the context in which it exists. Values are not incontrovertible attributes of a certain cultural heritage site, but they are the result of a complex set of variables influenced by the cultural setting. After an overview of the values historically attributed to heritage, Klamer (2016) and Throsby (2002) present their vision to make sense of cultural values in relation to economic ones. The end of the first section explores the economic characteristics of cultural heritage and the justification for a public intervention. Section two presents different conservation and management solutions. Assumed that adaptive reuse is a valuable option for cultural heritage management, section three offers the theoretical framework through which the analysis will be done. The section presents the value based approach as one possible perspective through which to evaluate adaptive reuse projects and states some of the advantages of conceiving heritage as a common good. Whereas costs and returns are often the main factors considered in heritage practice, the value based approach goes beyond monetary values and grabs other aims carried by organizations operating in heritage sites. Specifically, the purpose of the research is to understand the values carried by managers in creative and cultural projects aimed at reusing historical buildings. Apart from economic values, transcendental, societal, social and personal values will be considered (Klamer, 2016). The five spheres model is used as the tool to evaluate value realization and concludes section three (Klamer, 2016).

2.1 Built heritage

2.1.1 Defining built heritage: a matter of values

A definition of cultural heritage is needed both to clarify its borders and to make the reader aware of the complexity regarding this field. Important attempts to identify, preserve and enhance heritage of artistic, historic or scientific relevance have been encouraged on a national and international level in many occasions during the last century and have become part of a continuous process which aims at finding best practice to evaluate and valorize cultural heritage. At an international level, significant administrative and legislative measures related to historical monuments were established in 1931 with the “Athens Charter”, which also recommended a conscious urban planning in the neighborhoods of ancient monuments, taking special consideration of the aesthetic value of the present built heritage (Jokilehto, 2005). Another fundamental year is 1964, when a further step was taken through the Venice Charter, which emphasized the common responsibility to preserve cultural heritage for future generations (Jokilehto, 2005). However, it is only in 1972 that the first official definition of cultural heritage is contemplated and described in the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World

Cultural and Natural Heritage of UNESCO¹. The first article of this document declares cultural heritage as a set of monuments, groups of buildings and sites. More specifically, it defines as monuments all those “architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science”. Then the Convention gives an extensive classification of groups of buildings comprehending “groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science”; finally sites are defined as “works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view” (Art 1, UNESCO, 1972).

The first article of UNESCO helps in giving a concrete image and shape to the objects included within the term of built heritage. It also introduces the complexity of heritage when considering it on the base of its “outstanding and universal values” (Art1, UNESCO, 1972). In fact, while approaching the subject of heritage, it is necessary to go beyond the physical attributes to grasp the intangible qualities belonging to such artefacts. According to Benhamou, cultural heritage's boundaries remain “unstable and blurred” because heritage reflects what the community thinks is valuable (2011, p. 229). An old castle can have many qualities. For instance, we can attribute an historical value because of the events connected to its past, it shows aesthetic value thanks to its beautiful architecture, political value can be connected to its symbolic meaning of function and finally economic value, being a piece of real estate or becoming a contemporary touristic destination. All these qualities exist simultaneously. Different stakeholders have different perspectives, defining and articulating various values in relation to the same site (Mason, 2002). Of the same opinion, Loulanski argues that the increasing number of groups interested in heritage has brought a growing number of opinions, definitions and attitudes to heritage, complicating even more its concept (2006).

Not only the range of goods included in the term of cultural heritage changes according to different stakeholders, but also its perception varies with societal transformation (Benhamou, 2011). Values are not fixed over time but contingent; they result from the interaction between heritage and its context. While in the past an object-centric approach considered heritage as existing independently from people and “its protection as a value in its own right”, nowadays the approach has become more human-centered and functional (Muller in Loulanski, 2006, p. 215). Specifically, functionalism states that “heritage cannot be identified as such without referring to society and its meaning for societal

¹ Due to a specific interest and focus in the built heritage, the topic of natural heritage presented in the Convention will not be discussed in this research.

processes (Muller in Loulanski, 2006, p. 215). On this topic, Chastel (1986) and Koboldt (1997) had already considered and problematized the variety of dimensions included in the concept of cultural heritage, defining cultural heritage as the expression of the cultural identity of a society in a specific time. Klamer deepens this idea, stating that cultural heritage is defined by its values, which change over the time and are constructed by the society (Klamer, 2003). For instance, he states that if a place gets listed on the UNESCO world heritage list as a cultural good, people will change their attitude toward that good (Klamer, 2003), as a consequence any listing of heritage is done not only to guarantee the preservation of significant monuments but also with the purpose of making people aware of the values of certain heritage items (Mignosa, 2005). In brief, heritage can be identified as “the contemporary purposes of the past” or “that part of the past that we select in the present for contemporary purposes, be they economic, cultural, political or social” (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge in Loulanski, 2006, p. 212). If values are essential in defining heritage, it becomes clear that finding a common “nomenclature on heritage values” is problematic (Mason, 2002, p. 10). For this reason, the articulation of cultural heritage values becomes a primary necessity in order to have a common shared typology able to facilitate a discussion on them (Mason, 2002).

2.1.2 Which value for cultural heritage?

Heritage conservation is a matter of choice. Experts need to identify and select what is valuable and what is not. Valuation becomes therefore a central aspect of this process. In the realm of values, Mason distinguishes two meanings of the term: first, values are meant as those principles “that serve as guides to action (individual or collective)”; second, as “the qualities and characteristics seen in things, in particular the positive characteristics” (2002, p.7). Considering the second definition, there is a common distinction often made between intrinsic and instrumental values which can be expanded to all cultural goods. Intrinsic values are the ones that we call “art for art's sake” and concern the unique value of the arts themselves, while the instrumental ones are comprehensive of those values that arise as side effects of the arts. According to the tension between intrinsic and instrumental values there is a debate going. On the one hand, some experts suggest that the value of the arts should not be quantified since art is not created for economic purposes, on the other hand others say that focusing on the instrumental values permits to have objective data to measure and compare in order to establish the best policy and management (Snowball, 2011).

In order to clarify their complexity, *Table 1* shows the attempt of several scholars to map heritage values. Many of these values are part of the same concept called with different names which are often overlapping.

Table 1: Different values related to Cultural Heritage

| Reigl (1902) | Frey (1997) | Burra Charter (1999) | Mason (2002) | English Heritage (2008) | Klamer (2013) |
|---------------|-------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| Age | Monetary | Aesthetic | Sociocultural | Evidential | Artistic |
| Historical | Option | Historic | (historical, | Historical | Societal |
| Commemorative | Existence | Scientific | cultural-symbolic, | Aesthetic | Personal |
| Use | Bequest | Social | social, spiritual- | Communal | Social |
| Newness | Prestige | | religious, | and symbolic | |
| | Educational | | aesthetic) | | |
| | | | Economic (Use | | |
| | | | and nonuse values) | | |

Sources: Adaptation from Mason, R (2002)

At the beginning of last century Reigl examined the conflicting nature of values within the field of cultural heritage in the attempt of establishing a system for its protection. He argued that heritage deserves public intervention not to bring glory to a country or to a single person, but because every individual can satisfy his/her personal need of aesthetics thanks to heritage. According to him this individual need of aesthetic justifies heritage public protection (Reigl, 1902). A more economic based perspective is given by Frey. He listed mainly use and non-use values of cultural heritage but recognized that money are not the final goal. In his opinion, what really matters is an intrinsic motivation and satisfaction individuals derive from the enjoyment of heritage (Frey, 1997). Still, his list lacks heritage intrinsic qualities. In fact, for a long time “the protection of cultural heritage properties has long been primarily about conservation or restoration of monuments” and was based on an object-based approach which focused on the tangible and instrumental dimension of heritage (Pereira Roders, 2013, p. 1). The Burra Charter is an important step in the transition from the object- to the value-based approach and encourages to see conservation as a “dynamic process of change management” (ICOMOS Australia, 1999, in Pereira Roders, 2013 p. 2). Moreover, Burra Charter definition underlines the cultural significance of heritage, namely what “is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects” (ICOMOS Australia, 1999, in Pereira Roders, 2013, p. 2). The intrinsic qualities of heritage are found again in Mason (2002) and English Heritage (2008). Both make a list of the main sociocultural qualities that can be attached to cultural heritage. Historical, aesthetical, symbolical and social values are presented in both documents with some slight differences in names. However, while English Heritage limits its list to them, Mason adds also the economic values of heritage, distinguishing between use and non-use ones. To the first category belong those market values easily expressed in terms of price. In the case of nonmarket values, it is more difficult to establish a price since they cannot be traded but still they are considered as economic since people might be willing to pay in order to acquire or protect them. According to Klamer, the economic approach stresses too much the

need to find a financial correspondence for cultural heritage value and assumes that preferences of people are a given (2013). There are several valuation methods meant to determine the financial value of heritage. Still the monetary parameter will only capture part of the best social outcome because of the difficulty to evaluate the plurality of individual values (Klamer, 2013; Snowball, 2011).

As mentioned, Mason distinguishes between “value” as a moral or principle guiding action and “value” as a quality referred to a certain object (2002). However, these two perspectives are the two sides of the same coin. In fact, if heritage value is a social construction depending on context and people, the qualities of a specific object reflect the morals and principles of the people judging them. In the following section values are considered in this new way. From the qualities attributed to built heritage, the analysis will shift to what matters to the people dealing with heritage. While proceeding with the research, different points of view on same characteristics will show how the decision process toward cultural heritage can be influenced. Among various perspectives, a value based approach will be used to examine the opinion of those managers working in reuse projects and to highlight their different values and priorities towards heritage.

2.1.3 A common ground for cultural heritage

Despite the great number of values involved in heritage preservation, in everyday practice the most difficult ones to combine for scholars and policy makers seem cultural and economic values. Traditionally, many economists involved in the cultural heritage discourse have been accused to adopt a narrow market-driven approach, without considering the essential cultural values of heritage (Throsby, 2002). According to Bluestone, in many cases, programs aimed at the restoration of historical sites have been driven mainly by a necessity to create incomes, employments and attraction for tourists instead of by a desire of valorizing culture (GCI in Throsby 2002). From the other side too often historians, art historians, archeologists and all the other people involved in the evaluation of the intrinsic qualities of heritage, who Klamer defines in one word as “culturalists”, do not pay enough attention to the economic side of conservation, which is certainly costly (Klamer, 2003). Traditionally their work has consisted in a range of tasks, including identification, classification, interpretation, protection, maintenance, etc. However, regarding these activities, Peacock showed a possible misalignment between conservationists’ policy agenda and the preferences of the community whose taxes finance policy measures (Peacock, in Throsby 2002). The last one is just one of the examples that shows how the dialogue between these two perspectives is not quite satisfactory. It has been argued that economists and “culturalists” operate in two different worlds with very little interaction (Klamer, 2016). To overcome this problem, we need a new perspective on heritage values, able to reconcile the intrinsic and instrumental binomial. According to Klamer, “economy should be

embedded in culture”, which means that people attribute a meaning to what they do and are in need of a cultural context to make sense of what they and other individuals do (2016, p. 17). In this frame, economists should aim at studying the behavior of people trying to understand “the meanings and values that people attribute to things and activities, and the meanings and values that they realize with their actions” (Klamer, 2016, p. 18). From the other hand, “culturalists” should work “at the realizing of values in the sense of making themselves and others aware of them” and make clear which values would be lost without a proper heritage conservation (Klamer, 2013 p. 425). Klamer’s point of view suggests an important educational role for both sides involved in cultural heritage values realization.

Another interesting insight for the reconciliation of economic and cultural values has been suggested as a concluding remark of the meeting “Economics and Heritage Conservation” organized by the Getty Conservation Institute in 1998. More specifically, in that occasion the concepts of cultural capital and sustainability became a common nomenclature for the two perspectives (Throsby, 2002). In fact, from the point of view of historians, art historians, archeologists and other figures mainly interested in intrinsic qualities, heritage can be seen as a store of cultural value, containing a great stock of historical, aesthetic, spiritual meanings which conservationists identify, interpret, preserve and restore. From the other side, economists can consider buildings and sites as a capital asset prone to an economic analysis. Moreover, both sides are concerned with the preservation of the stock, cultural and economic, that heritage holds. Therefore, sustainability matters to both of them. A deeper insight is given in the following section.

2.1.4 The economic characteristics of CH

In economics, the concept of capital goes back to the origin of this field of studies. Capital is an asset consisting of two sides: it is a stock, or quantity, of capital measurable at a given time; it is a flow of services generated by the stock of capital that may directly enter the final consumption or be combined to other inputs to create future goods and services (Throsby, 2002). Declined in cultural terms, Throsby introduces the term cultural capital defining it as the physical dimension requiring resources to produce and maintain cultural goods and, from the other hand, producing a flow of services that generate money. The difference from standard capital assets relies in the fact that “cultural capital embodies a store of cultural value, separable from whatever economic value it might possess; the asset gives rise to a flow of goods and services over time which may also have cultural value” (Throsby, 2002, p. 103). Cultural capital belongs to all cultural goods; heritage is no exception. It can be seen as cultural capital since it requires an investment of physical and human resources which will deteriorate without maintenance and it gives rise to a flow of direct or indirect services over time. The definition of cultural capital shares a lot of similarities with natural capital. In fact, both have

been inherited from the past. While natural resources are a natural gift, cultural capital is the creative result of human activity. “Both impose on us a duty of care, the essence of the sustainability problem” and are unique in themselves (Throsby, 2002, p. 106).

The notions of diversity and uniqueness characterize most cultural goods. However, heritage has a particular status in the field of cultural economics: it differs from other cultural goods for its durability and irreversibility (Benhamou, 2011). Once destroyed heritage cannot be replaced (Rizzo and Throsby, 2006) and for this reason is particularly linked to the notion of sustainability. Already invoked for many decades in the field of natural heritage, sustainable development has become an important aspect also for cultural heritage, in particular in the recent years of economic crisis. The term of sustainable development needs to combine economic and cultural development in the attempt to make both of them self-perpetuating and valuable in time. According to Throsby, there are some sustainability principles that should be taken into consideration in relation to cultural capital (2002). First of all managers, policy maker and scholars should reflect on cultural heritage in terms of intergenerational equity, referring to a fair and equal distribution of “welfare, utility and resources between generations” (Throsby, 2002, p. 107). In fact, cultural capital generates benefits which justify the rationale for the investment on heritage. A cost-benefit approach is needed in evaluating the sustainability of a specific site. Then, an evaluation must be done both for intrinsic and instrumental values (Throsby, 2002). In a world of scarce resources, the investment in a project can mean the exclusion of resources for other projects. Investments should also consider the level of cultural diversity in the effort to maintain it as much as possible. Finally, because of heritage’s uniqueness and irreversibility, decisions and change need to be extremely cautious (Throsby, 2002). All these principles need to be taken into account in the decision-making process.

Before understanding how the theory is made operational through conservation choices, other two important characteristics of cultural heritage should be introduced, namely its experience and public nature.

2.1.5 A particular type of consumption: the experience of heritage

As many cultural goods, heritage is included within the category of experience goods, which means it entails an experience in its consumption (Klamer, 2002). Scholars agree on the fact that it is difficult for the consumer to establish *a priori* if an historical site will be good or not before having visited it. Nelson argues that due to a limited amount of time in purchase decisions, if the purchase price is low enough in comparison to the search cost or if gathering information on a product become too expensive, then we are dealing with an experience good (1970). Differently, Lévy-Garboua and Montmarquette state that preferences are not fixed but depend on prior exposure to similar products

in a process of discovery of taste through repeated experience. In sum, in a process of learning by consuming, consumers can discover their real taste. According to this theory, the taste for art is acquired, discovered and increased over the time with exposure (Lévy-Garboua and Montmarquette, 2005). The experience for heritage consumption implies the dependence on the availability of time and money and entails the acquisition of taste; the more the stakeholders are involved in cultural heritage, the more there is a chance they can develop a process of taste formation towards heritage. As a consequence, individual perception and appreciation can change according to exposure, and education toward heritage can enhance heritage value. Of the same opinion, Blaug (in Peacock and Rizzo, 2008) argues that demand for cultural goods generates from investing in their experience and suggests collective action to improve access to heritage. This final argument is also one of the reasons for public intervention for heritage.

2.1.6 Public intervention for public good

In neoclassical economy production is the means to satisfy people's need. Consumer's best interest is reflected in his own choices of purchase in a free market where he can choose between competing products. However, heritage is often non-excludable and non-rival, which means that everybody has the same chance to access heritage and that individual enjoyment does not prevent others to enjoy the same good. Heritage consumption is socially desirable and some individuals are willing to pay for it. Nevertheless, the public feature allows a third part, named as free-riders, to benefit of heritage without paying for it. Heritage characteristics cause the market failure and this become one of the main justification for public intervention (Peacock and Rizzo, 2008).

Not only. Heritage values reflect an important collective identity for people sharing a common past and culture. The argument of heritage seen as herald of cultural and social capital reinforces public support, justified by the aim to foster personal development and education for the community. On this topic, Klamer affirms that:

“Important values in the case of cultural heritage may not be realized in a market setting because then developers and other marketers prevail who may pursue interests other than the preservation of cultural heritage. The realization of values of the old building may therefore call for other contexts, such as government bureaucracy in which experts in cultural heritage have a say, or that of non-profit organizations dedicated to the preservation of cultural heritage” (Klamer, 2003, p. 465-466).

However, due to the high maintenance costs involved in heritage, direct public intervention is not usually enough. Suitable solutions try to combine pure publicness with other features. According

to Peacock and Rizzo, there are examples of private and public partnership (2008). For instance, public authorities give grants or subsidies to private owners of heritage in return of public opening in certain days, a solution particularly spread in England. In other cases, the recognition of the market failure encourages the creation of “clubs” whose members support a common interest in supplying those services which would otherwise not be available through the private market.

Klamer, Mignosa and Petrova (2013) identify three major tools involved in public intervention. The first tool is regulation through listing or certification. Peacock and Rizzo define regulation as a non-financial tool which restrict or modify “the activity of economic agents” depending on “government policy objectives” (2008, p. 145). Process and criteria varies among countries but it is generally possible to distinguish between hard-regulation, in which owners are obliged to follow rules, and soft-regulation such as guidelines which are non-enforceable (Peacock and Rizzo, 2008). A second tool is a financial incentive through direct public taxation. In this way, everybody pays a part of the maintenance costs but according to Towse it is a fair method only for people willing to protect heritage (2010). Among non-use values, option, existence, bequest and educational values are indirect economic measures for which only part of the population is willing to pay. Taxation can also be indirect through tax reduction. Finally, a third tool used for public intervention is the supply of subsidies to cover part of the conservation expenses. Subsidies can be direct or indirect and can help in improving heritage’s accessibility and support many types of activity (Klamer et al., 2013).

On one hand, public action is meant to compensate for market failure and to preserve cultural, educational and other intrinsic values of heritage that can be properly judged only by experts without considering individual preference. On the other hand, improving the functioning of the market with public policies and financial tools can be criticized if considering the consumer sovereignty principles regulated on consumer’s own choice (Peacock and Rizzo, 2008). It can also happen a misalignment of values between public intervention and public interest. For this reason, in order to take forward-looking conservation interventions, management strategies (especially if public) should consider heritage intrinsic value but also the value perceived by its community toward the site, contextualizing it to the cultural setting. The following section focuses on adaptive reuse as possible workable and sustainable strategy for heritage conservation.

2.2 Old buildings, new functions: managing cultural heritage

2.2.1 The shift from preservation to adaptive reuse

The need of articulating values and taking action upon them has become more and more urgent in recent years, when an increasing awareness of the importance of preserving and enhancing cultural

heritage has not been accompanied by satisfactory financial solutions, bringing to burning debates on the best way to conserve heritage. Due to the contemporary financial crisis, public budgets are decreasing as well as the participation in traditional cultural activities (COM, 2014). The old conservation practices need to be combined with new management solutions more return oriented. It has been discussed how sustainability and cultural capital are two important characteristics that can provide the starting point for a common collaboration between managers and scholars with different approaches toward heritage, at least on a theoretical level. But how to apply this theoretical process in reality?

The previous section has discussed some tools through which governments and institutions are trying to operate with the private sector. However, it seems impossible to conserve the entire and increasing stock of cultural heritage, at least not in the traditional way. In the past, static preservation or transformation of historical buildings in museums was the preferred option. Today this way of maintaining heritage has been proven not sustainable. Yet conservation has many shades. As cited in Peacock and Rizzo, the World Bank defines conservation as an action which

‘encompasses all aspects of protecting a site or remains so as to retain its cultural significance. It includes maintenance and may, depending on the importance of the cultural artefact and related circumstances, involve preservation, restoration, reconstruction, or adaptation, or any combination of these’ (2008, p.115).

While preservation usually means that no other use of the historical building is allowed, other forms of conservation imply the adaptation or modification for different uses and should aim to be aligned with the cultural heritage significance. If “there are also some critics who consider use among the biggest threats to heritage, possibly leading to commercialization, exploitation, devaluation, and destruction” (Loulanski, 2006, p. 220), according to Netzer, “the greatest successes in heritage preservation can occur when the heritage element is in actual use, and thus capable of generating revenue to pay for its preservation” (in Loulanski, 2006). This choice seems an effective solution for both sustainable conservation and economic development (Ebbe et al., 2011).

ICOMOS defines adaptive reuse as a “strategy based on international recommendations and experience that has found that historic buildings are more likely to be maintained and cared for when they host activities relevant to the daily lives of their surrounding communities” (ICOMOS International, 1964). In a broader sense, adaptive reuse can help to reduce the environmental, social and economic costs of urban development transforming heritage buildings from abandoned places to accessible ones. For cultural heritage, adaptation to a modern use is a valuable option to preserve the building’s significance and avoid its abandonment. Depending on the values guiding the adaptation process, reuse projects can stress whether the site’s economic values, whether the socio-cultural ones.

Sustainability can be pursued in many ways. For instance, managers and “culturalists” can promote social and cultural sustainability by trying to involve the community or by creating projects which have minimal impact on a specific building’s values; other projects can be primarily guided by economic purposes. According to Loulanski, to be successful adaptive reuse should respect the original nature of the building while adding “a contemporary layer that provide value for the future” (2006, p. 413).

Giving new use to historical buildings can be done in several ways. An old factory, landmark in Birmingham, was transformed into a multimedia center and gave job to 300 employees. English Heritage has worked on a project in order to reuse old cinemas. As a result, they have been transformed into many activities which go from mixed-arts sites and public houses to leisure center and entertainment sport halls (English Heritage in Loulanski, 2006). The Tate Modern in London or the Centrale Montemartini in Rome are two good examples of industrial heritage reconverted into museums. Apart from great cases of reuse of industrial buildings, also more ancient cultural heritage permits different direct and indirect types of reuse. Some ancient buildings have been converted into hotels, restaurants and host other commercial activities. Other projects try to stress social and cultural values instead of economic ones. The versatility and flexibility of adaptive reuse should help in making it a workable and sustainable alternative for cultural heritage conservation. This hypothesis will be explored from the managers’ side in order to understand their perception on adaptive reuse practice.

2.3 Adaptive reuse projects. A new role for heritage

2.3.1 Adaptive reuse and the ideals behind it

Adaptive reuse is realized in different settings and requires a new approach able to find innovative financing businesses and governance models. According to Klamer, each organization needs to articulate its values in order to realize them (2016). This argument is particularly relevant for cultural organizations which often struggle to maintain their economic sustainability. In the case of museums, the articulation of values is easier since all museums have a clear definition which delineates their societal and cultural role. The same counts for other traditional cultural institutions.

For adaptive reuse projects the situation is more complex. Finding new functions for heritage can enhance it with new and contemporary meanings. At the same time, reuse projects need to find a balance among many factors including the type of project, the economic sustainability, the cultural heritage significance and the selection of the most suitable stakeholders. There are many different visions, missions and values behind management strategies for reuse projects. For instance, there can

be projects more profit oriented but still interested in valorizing the cultural heritage site, others that are entirely meant to the valorization and which might struggle more to find economic resources, while other projects can be interested mainly in making profit and use heritage just as an instrumental tool to pursue this purpose.

The lack of a standard procedure nor mission for adaptive reuse projects in cultural heritage sites creates problems when it comes to judge the work and the cultural, social and economic outcomes of these projects. Although dependent on economic aspects, many of these projects are not realized for economic reasons. Managers and cultural operators can be influenced also by other values and goals. For this reason, being able to tell heritage values becomes fundamental in order to get people aware and participative (Klamer, 2013). In order to get support, managers and conservationists of adaptive reuse projects need to make explicit their mission and vision, communicating what is valuable to them. In the evaluation of projects connected to heritage many researches used the standard economic tools, able to calculate costs and returns without considering other important values connected to heritage (Klamer, 2013). This research will look at the value creation process of reuse projects by using a value based approach. This perspective differs from others by focusing on what matters to people (Klamer, 2016). There are goods and ideals for which people strive for and that go beyond monetary reward. This approach does not consider economy as an autonomous system; it rather contextualizes people behavior according to their cultural background. It allows to consider a variety of heritage values depending on individual opinion. Moreover, it also permits a subjective and holistic vision towards heritage valorization by exploring the goals, the organization and the environment in which the organization exists. These three domains are illustrated in *Figure 1*.

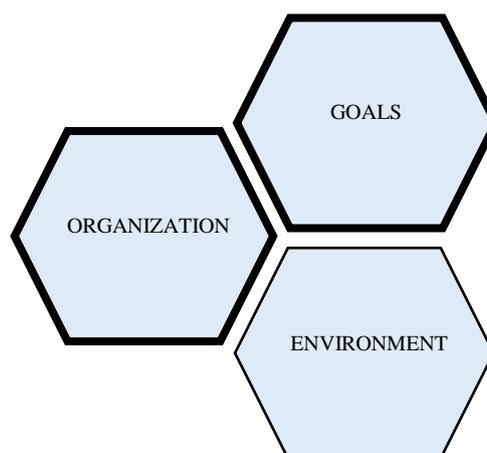


Figure 1: The value based approach in three domains
Source: own elaboration

By addressing cultural heritage managers' values, my research will focus mainly on the first two domains. Still, because of their concatenation, the third domain will be framed through their eyes. This approach should give an overview on different ideals and goals toward adaptive reuse practice. It also tries to grab social and cultural benefits of projects as well as the economic ones (Klamer, 2016).

The domain of goals in reuse projects explores mission and vision of the organization in connection to its purposes and values. There are often many co-existing values that have to be considered and weighed. In the first section, it has been highlighted the huge number of different values in relation to heritage. However, turning the analysis to the perception of the people involved within the heritage discourse, Klamer identifies four dimensions which cluster a wide range of values: specifically, personal, social, societal and transcendental values (2016). These dimensions should become a filter for people acting on heritage and can help these people to reflect on the way they perceive heritage intrinsic value in relation with the adaptation process.

Table 2: Klamer's value framework

| | |
|---|--|
| <p>Artistic, historical, aesthetic and spiritual Beauty, truth, freedom, experiencing great art, inspiration</p> | <p>Societal Communal history, identity, civilization, historical consciousness</p> |
| <p>Social The bonding of people involved, feeling part of a strong community</p> | <p>Personal Personal goals, self-realization, sense of belonging, wisdom, craftsmanship</p> |

Sources: Adaptation from Klamer A., (2013; 2016)

Each person has different values and therefore all of them are personal. Nevertheless, there are values that “pertain to the relationship with oneself” (Klamer, 2016, p. 56). For instance, a person can be linked to a heritage site he used to go when he was a child, and feel for this reason a particular connection to it (Klamer, 2013). This feeling belongs to the category of personal values. When feelings are extended to a social dimension, they imply a relationship with the circle of people we spend time with. The social dimension is the ones related to human relationships and influences our social status and identity. We are in need to introduce societal values, when we deal with values regarding society, for instance justice, equity, peace or solidarity. For example, cultural heritage can

be an icon and foster national identity. Finally, cultural values transcend ourselves, the relationship with people and society and comprise artistic, historic, spiritual and aesthetic values (Klamer, 2013; Klamer, 2016).

According to Klamer, these four dimensions reflect *la raison d'être* of cultural heritage. This approach has been chosen in order to encourage managers to become explicit about their real goals (Klamer, 2013). The realization of one or more of these values should be the main concern of cultural heritage governance (Klamer, 2016).

2.3.2 Important values are shared

Whatever is the main ideals behind a person's or organization's action, Klamer argues that in the field of cultural heritage the realization of values implies the recognition and sharing of heritage among people (Klamer, 2004). Understanding heritage as a common good, in which people lacking the adequate cultural capital are excluded from, influences not only its theoretical frame but also its concrete management (Klamer, 2004). To realize their value, adaptive reuse projects should become a shared conversation towards their respective stakeholders. What is it meant with shared conversation? Klamer explains it using the Robinson Crusoe's paradigm:

“A conversation is not a public good either. A pure public good, you may recall, is both indivisible — when you and I are the public I cannot consume it without your consuming it as well — and non-rivalrous — my consumption of the good can not go at the expense of your consumption. Although a conversation cannot be split up and although I cannot have the conversation by excluding Friday, Friday and I can easily exclude the remainder of the public from our conversation; to preserve its special character we most likely would do so if only there were other people around. Our conversation is between him and me; it is ours” (Klamer, 2004, p. 3).

A typical example of common good is friendship; valuable for the two persons involved, built by a shared effort and costly to maintain, but still excluding monetary rewards. While a public good is accessible for everybody, social goods exclude those who do not contribute and therefore exclude the free rider risk (Klamer, 2013). Establishing new activities inside heritage sites can become a best practice to valorize it and involve people in a common project. Moreover, analyzing managers' point of view can help to understand if they are able to create a connection between the site and its stakeholders. It also shows which are the addressed stakeholders and if the project is more exclusive for a restricted group or if it is directed to a broader community. Not only. This approach explores if projects work aligned with the European policies (COM,2014), which conceive heritage as a common good for its community. In fact, according to the European Agenda, cultural heritage is a common wealth and a shared resource for economic growth, employment and social cohesion (CETS, 2005;

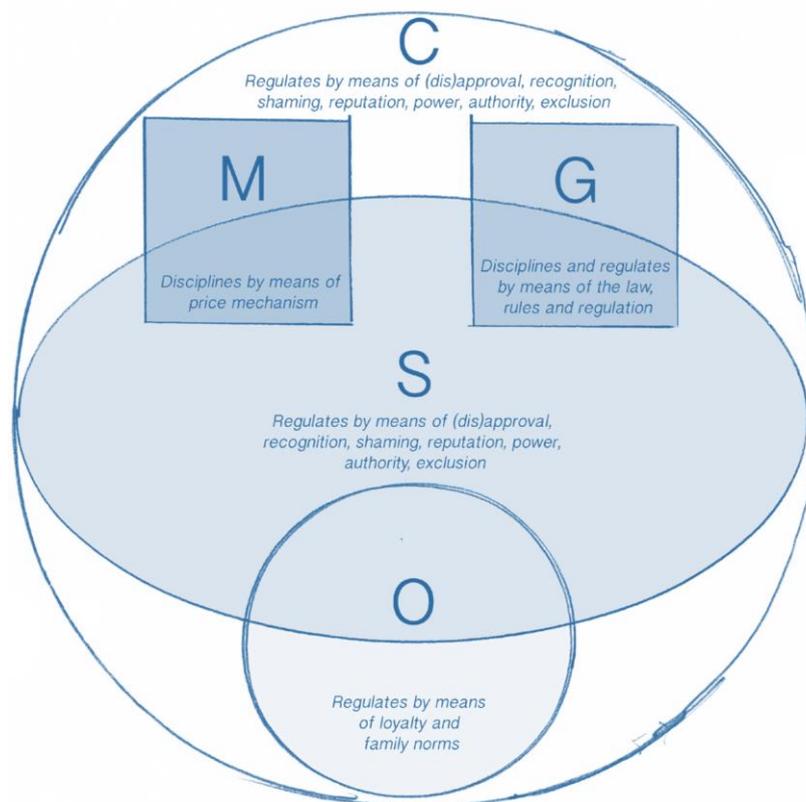
COM, 2014). It is also considered as a common responsibility to preserve and valorize since “it is a major factor in defining Europe’s place in the world” (COM, 2014, p. 2).

2.3.3 Realizing values in five spheres

To realize values, people need to involve others. In order to do so there are several options, which do not necessarily exclude each other. Still they involve different logics that people need to consider while realizing their goals. Previously, values’ four dimensions have been introduced as *la raison d’être* of cultural heritage. This part introduces Klamer’s five spheres model, which provides a new perspective on value realization. A standard economy approach usually considers the market and the government as the two main bodies through which values are put in practice. The market fixes the price of products according to the demand and supply. The government acts where the market fails or is unjust (Klamer, 2016). Using the value base approach, this research will consider more logics than the ones of market and government and will become a fundamental element in the analysis while understanding how managers operate to put their values in practice.

According to Klamer, the realization of values takes place in different logics, or spheres, illustrated as following (2016).

Figure 2: The five spheres model



Source: Klamer (2016)

Oikos, or home, is the sphere where value realization starts. It implies intimate, close and loving relationships and involves parents, siblings, partners, children and other people inalienable for us. Its members contribute to the family and depend upon each other. This logic is about family relationships as well as intimate ones. Most people begin their process of valorization at home, supported by the family and partner. For people operating in the cultural sector, the *oikos* can become a significant source of financing.

The market sphere is based on the logic of exchange, transaction and entrepreneurship. It is commonly seen as the first place to operate to get financing. It takes place in anonymous setting and works in accordance to demand and supply. Usually organizations operating in this sphere seek for maximal financial gain, achieved through work, great products and social returns. However, the market cannot deliver shared goods nor transcendental ones. It is usually not good for realizing collective goods.

On the contrary, the governance sphere is appropriate to realize public and societal values. It is based on subsidies and public support. It resonates according to rules, contracts and procedures. In this sphere, cultural organizations do not sell goods but their values. This condition can imply the necessity to align values with the one of the subsidizing agency.

Traditionally, the common way to get funding is through the logic of the market and governance. However, the five spheres model emphasizes the importance of other dimensions. According to Klamer (2016), the social sphere is usually overlooked while realizing values. Still it is a fundamental way to involve others. The social sphere resonates not in the logic of price and rules; it is about relationships, friendships and networking. People are in need to the social sphere when they want to obtain reputation, recognition and trust by other individuals and organizations. This is the logic of participation, collaboration and contribution of gift. By involving others, values and goals become shared goods. In this logic, individuals get interested, contribute and participate in what a person does. Even if this sphere does not consider direct money exchange, it can become important source of fund. For instance, people might be willing to contribute, even financially, to feel part of the cultural experience realized.

Finally, the cultural sphere transcends all the others by providing the picture of the society in which the person or organizations operate. This sphere is good to realize cultural values and transcendental practices. Each practice assumes its own significance according to the specific context and culture (Klamer, 2016).

In the case of adaptive reuse projects, different spheres will contribute in different ways, depending on what the organization is striving for. For instance, organizations can operate in the government sphere by asking for public funding. According to the organization's values, public

money can be obtained to maintain and conserve the heritage significance or to support the project's educational or social aim. Even if not by giving directly support, government institutions can grant guarantees or partnerships, which may attract sponsors or partners in the private sector. It has been argued the difficulty to operate in the logic of exchange for cultural heritage. However, reuse projects may improve the entrepreneurial potentiality of the site, organizing for instance events and conferences, or attracting sponsors with shared values. What matters is to act in alignment and coherently to own values, in order to build or maintain legitimacy and fidelity. It is possible to realize value in all five spheres. Nevertheless, the social sphere is the most effective for the realization of cultural and artistic values. It helps in interpreting heritage as a shared good and pushes to invest in public involvement and relationships. Plus, this approach contextualizes action to the cultural setting of reference (Klamer, 2015). People operating in cultural organizations need to find a balance between all these spheres and need to be aware of possible frictions between them which can cause crowding in and crowding out phenomena.

The value based approach relativizes value realization according to many factors. For the purpose of the analysis this perspective can give an interesting picture on how managers operate in adaptive reuse projects. It can also help to establish if projects not completely sustainable from an economic point of view are still important for the site and its stakeholders.

3. Research Method

By describing the research design and the methodology employed, this chapter bridges the theoretical framework and the empirical results. The relationship between theory and practice is made clear, first, by introducing the aim of the research and the choice of the research design. Next, the unit of analysis is described. Thirdly, the method used for the data collection is illustrated. The fourth section presents the three cultural heritage sites chosen; it gives then a brief introduction on the type of adaptive reuse projects inside the sites. To follow, the method used for the data analysis is explained. The final section discusses possible limitations of the methodology.

3.1 Research design

The aim of this research is to identify the main values addressed by the managers working in adaptive reuse projects in cultural heritage sites. Once discovered those values, the analysis shifts to understand the realization of these values through the management practice. This empirical section gives particular attention to managers' values in relation to their project as well as to the site in which they operate. In this way, it will be possible to understand if managers' values are aligned with cultural heritage ones; it is also emphasized if the project is meant for heritage valorization or if it realizes other purposes. Since some projects co-exist inside the same cultural heritage site, the analysis shows possible tensions and synergies between these projects.

The empirical analysis will answer the following research question: *Which are the main values carried by the managers of the selected projects in the regeneration process of cultural heritage? How are these values realized in the management practice?*

In order to find an answer to this question, the research will be conducted using qualitative methods, following an interpretative approach by interviewing the managers and cultural entrepreneurs involved in the selected projects. According to the aim of the research, the choice of a qualitative method benefits of flexibility and high explorative power, able to reflect multiple realities and subjective point of views (Babbie 2011; Boeije 2010; Bryman 2012; Guest et al. 2013). Moreover, a micro-level approach that focuses on a limited number of respondents rather than broad surveys can provide a richer set of information to understand individual motivations and attitudes in relation to the context (Bryman, 2012). In fact, while quantitative research aims at generalizability, a qualitative study can better engage with the particular circumstances related to a specific cultural heritage site and to the main values connected to its reuse.

3.2 Units of analysis

In order to answer the research question, three cultural heritage sites adapted to new functions by different contemporary projects were selected. According to Bryman, case studies “concerned with

the complexity and particular nature of the case in question” (2012, p. 66) are able to give a deep insight in the understanding of particular setting, people or processes. The selection of the case studies was determined by two criteria: (1) choice of adaptive reuse as conservation practice for the cultural heritage sites, (2) presence of cultural or creative reuse projects on these sites.

The choice of cultural heritage sites that underwent adaptive reuse is justified by a personal interest in this conservation practice. In a period in which cultural institutions and museums struggle to get public funds and seem sometimes far away from the local community, an active and contemporary use of cultural heritage can represent a valuable opportunity. The second criterion guiding the research is the presence of cultural or creative activities within the reuse projects. Specifically, it will be investigated the relationship between the projects values and those intrinsic values traditionally attributed to heritage; if the project is done for valorize the heritage site or for other purposes; and, if cultural entrepreneurs can have a positive impact on cultural heritage regeneration. The selection of the projects has been based on the following criteria:

- Being an established project, existing for more than one year.
- Realizing or promoting at least some activities of cultural/ creative type inside the selected heritage site.
- Being accessible to the public at least during some periods of the year.

Data sampling has been conducted in a three-step process. A research through the internet and publications of the subject of cultural heritage reuse helped me to identify the case studies corresponding to the criteria listed above. During this phase, precious and inspiring advice came from my supervisor, Anna Mignosa, who helped me with her experience to define the final sample. As a second step, a mail with a brief introduction of my research and a possible time for an interview was sent to nine managers and cultural entrepreneurs working in projects respecting the criteria stated above and operating inside the cultural heritage sites previously selected. The final sample (n=6) consisted of people who covered (1/6) or currently cover (5/6) a managerial position within the reuse project. Due to the specificity of the research, the final sample is not very large. Still it is valuable since it offers a deep insight into all the cultural/creative projects within the heritage sites selected. All interviewees had a managerial position within the project. Their position, role and experience enabled a discussion not only on the mission and vision of their projects, but also on the specific context of the three cultural heritage sites as well as on the relationship of different projects within the same site. The following table give an overview of the final sample.

Table 3: Research Sample

| Cultural heritage site | Relative project and interviewee |
|---|---|
| Benedictine Monastery, Catania, Italy | University of Catania. Ilde Rizzo, vicerector from 1994 to 1999. Officine Culturali. Francesco Mannino, president. |
| Van Nelle Fabriek, Rotterdam, Netherlands | Van Nelle Foundation Leonard Kooy, director. Van Nelle Events Hans Baggerman, director. Urban Guides Alexander Hann, projects and tours manager. |
| Villa Pastega Manera, Treviso, Italy | Fabrica Karen Oetling Corvera, art director and project manager of the social campaign department. |

Source: own elaboration

3.3 Case studies

3.3.1

BENEDICTINE MONASTERY, CATANIA (IT)



Figure 3: Benedictine Monastery. Photo credits: Antonio Garbasso in www.monasterodeibenedettini.it

The Benedictine Monastery of Catania is a great complex standing in the historical center of the city, few hundred meters from Catania's cathedral. Thanks to its 40.000m² of extension, it is one of the largest monasteries in Europe and became the symbol of a millennial history and a beautiful example of "stratification" of architectural styles. Built at the end of the XVI century in the Sicilian Baroque tradition, the complex was damaged first by the Etna eruption in 1669, then by the earthquake in 1693. It was finally re-built throughout the centuries in a constant integration of different periods. It reflects an history made by the conflict between man and nature but also among men. As it often happens to

historical and magnificent buildings, the Monastery underwent several adaptive reuses. After the Italian Unification its property passed to the Municipality and from 1868 it was reused for civic purposes. This period was characterized by deep and sometimes irreversible changes of the structure and lack of a cohesive significance. Moreover, the high maintenance costs were condemning it to a progressive decay.

Reuse projects

UNIVERSITY OF CATANIA

Founded in 1434, the University of Catania is the oldest in Sicily. Among its many locations around the city, the University received the Monastery which was donated by the Municipality in 1977. This year is a turning point in the history of the Monastery. In fact, from that moment, the University began an important restoration work. In a project signed by the architect Giancarlo De Carlo and lasted for around twenty-five years, the building has been transformed in the prestigious venue for the Faculty of Humanities as well as a vibrant place for the city cultural life. In 2002, together with other sites representative of the Sicilian Late Baroque Style, the Monastery was included by UNESCO in the World Heritage List. Moreover, thanks to its exceptional restoration it has been recognized by the Sicilian Region as a masterpiece of the contemporary architecture.

De Carlo described the Monastery as “a place full of air, light, communication, expectations and promises. Through different readings of the place and tentative projects the old meanings have been substituted by a new one that allows the old architecture to get a new structure, and an important role for the contemporary world” (in www.monasterodeibenedettini.it).

OFFICINE CULTURALI

Conceived in 2009, this project starts its activity at operating speed in 2010. Officine Culturali aims to be an agent for the preservation and valorization of cultural and environmental goods. To achieve its mission this non-profit organization promotes, manages and organizes initiatives in the artistic, cultural and social field with an enterprising spirit based on the idea of a sustainable development of the territory. Among others, its main goal is to enhance the Monastery cultural identity by making the site accessible and comprehensible to the greatest number of people. Its preferred tools are stakeholders' engagement through recreational and educational activities in a constant effort of raising a historical, cultural and social awareness towards this UNESCO site.

Apart from a daily engagement of the local community, in particular of the young audience, this organization fulfills its mission by organizing guided tours which tell about the history, architecture, urban and territorial contextualization of the Monastery.

Sources

Pignataro G., Rizzo I., 1997, *The Political Economy of Rehabilitation: the Case of the Benedettini Monastery*, M.Hutter - I. Rizzo (eds.), *Economic Perspectives of Cultural Heritage*, McMillan.
www.monasterodeibenedettini.it
www.unict.it

3.3.2

VAN NELLE FABRIEK, ROTTERDAM (NL)



Figure 4: Van Nelle Fabriek. Photo source: urbanguides.nl

Located in the Spaanse Polder close to Delfshavense Schie, a canal in the northwest of the port of Rotterdam, the Van Nelle Fabriek has been built between 1925 and 1931. This “ideal factory” has been realized by the architects J.A. Brinkmand and L.C. van der Vlugt. For its architectural uniqueness, this building became immediately a sign of Dutch modernism known around the world for its progressive design, based on light and space as main elements. So much so that Le Corbusier defined Van Nelle as “the most beautiful spectacle of the modern era” (in urbanguides.nl).

Originally this factory “was designed for the processing, packaging and trading of coffee, tea and tobacco” (Van Nelle Nomination File, 2013). Short after the traditional business activities ended in 1998, a process to establish a best appropriate reuse was initiated. This process brought to the creation of a special consortium composed by private partners that acquired the site converting it into a “Design Factory”. A successful redevelopment and renovation of the plant has taken place between 2000 and 2006, the same years in which

the submission for the UNESCO nomination was prepared. In 2014, Van Nelle got listed in UNESCO, awarding the World Heritage status and becoming the 10th Dutch UNESCO site.

This building is an extraordinary example of adaptive reuse. In fact, those who renovated the building, accommodating then new functions, permitted to save and valorize a unique building that otherwise would have risked of being demolished. Privately owned, Van Nelle Factory is exceptional also because it is one of the few monuments worldwide which has been renovated through private money.

Reuse projects

VAN NELLE FOUNDATION

It is one of the supporting columns inside Van Nelle Fabriek, together with Van Nelle Events and DV Van Nelle Fabriek. The Foundation relates to the valorization of the historical and cultural part; it is meant to open the factory to the public and make audience understand why this building got listed as a UNESCO site. Leonard Kooy, nephew of the historic Van Nelle director Albertus Sonneveld, has become the leader and director of the Foundation for two years. He believes in the necessity of making people aware of the uniqueness of Van Nelle. Kooy's aim is to create the Van Nelle Museum in order to offer an educational section for visitors. He also become the keeper of the Van Nelle Collection. Recently, the Foundation has collaborated with the Bauhaus, in Dessau, on an exhibition project called *Simultaneity of Modernity*, aimed to connect "parallel thought and understanding of the world with their history of ideas and design language" (in www.bauhaus-dessau.de). The creation of a visitor center and a better connection with national and international partners are goals that the Foundation expects to attain in future years.

VAN NELLE EVENTS

Van Nelle Events is the biggest and most important tenant inside the building. Present in Van Nelle already from 2000, at first this organization became the intermediary between the owner and external companies. They created buzz around Van Nelle and made the building attracting for other companies interested in renting the available offices. Nowadays, their main goal is to attract clients and attenders to the events they organize. The events go from meetings and conventions to dining/drinks and office parties. Van Nelle Events help in communicating the prestige of the place. Because of this organization, Art Rotterdam, Design District and other major events have been realized in Van Nelle Fabriek.

URBAN GUIDES

For years, this organization realizes tours around Rotterdam with the aim to explain to visitors its unique architecture contextualized to the environment. Through their activity, they tell a story made of the history of the buildings, the relationship of the architecture with the city. Among the destinations, they have been the first to organize guided tours inside Van Nelle becoming intermediaries between the private dimension of a working place and the public beauty of a cultural heritage site. Along with Van Nelle Foundation, Urban Guides contributes to make aware people of the building and to share their knowledge for educational and common purposes.

Van Nelle Nomination File, 2013, Nomination by the kingdom of the Netherlands for the Inscription in the World Heritage List.

hetnieuweinstituut.nl

urbanguides.nl

www.unesco.nl

www.vannellefabriek.com

3.3.3 VILLA PASTEGA MANERA, CATENA DI VILLORBA, TREVISO (IT)



Figure 5: Fabrica. Source: www.fabrica.it

Few kilometers from Treviso, Villa Pastega Manera dates back to the XVII century. At that time, it was mainly used as a place for the management and conservation of the gathering coming from nearby fields. After having expanded by involving additional properties over the time, it acquired the feature of a proper villa. At the beginning of the 1990s the Villa rose side by side to two *barchesse* (porticos in farm buildings) and a church for an area of around 51.000 m². In the same years, the site was chosen and acquired by Luciano Benetton, prominent entrepreneur in the cloth industry, who decided to designate this place

for the creation of a center for research and communication. After an important restoration work, this research center was opened in 1994.

Reuse projects

FABRICA

The awareness that communication does not only pass through the traditional advertising tools was well-rooted in Luciano Benetton's vision. Not by chance, Benetton's communication campaigns, signed for many years by the photographer Oliviero Toscani, have become famous worldwide. The choice to create the headquarters of Benetton's communication center, Fabrica, in Villa Pastega Maera brought to an important and delicate restoration masterfully completed by the Japanese architect Tadao Ando and his studio. Between 1993 and 1995, after a long study of the traditional architectural techniques, an adaptation project was done, according to the Palladian style. The project included many changes in order to create studio areas, laboratories, offices, and other facilities. The villa's hall was redesigned and an auditorium was created. Light and air are the main protagonists in Ando's contemporary interpretation, respectful of the old Villa but interested in creating a "futuristic" place "for communion and communication between people, between people and history or nature" (Ando in www.fabrica.it).

For years, the project has attracted foreign creative people between 18 and 25 years old and active in a range of disciplines including design, photography, music and journalism. Through a strict selection among many candidacies, young creatives are offered a one-year scholarship to develop concrete projects under the supervision of renowned experts from different fields related to communication and design. Recently Fabrica has opened to the public and the local community by offering free lectures in English on different topics and organizing a Christmas market which attracted around 2000 visitors.

www.comune.villorba.tv.it
www.fabrica.it

3.4 Data collection

Data was collected during the period 20th April 12th May. Two of the interviews have been conducted face-to-face in familiar setting for the interviewees, while the four other interviews were conducted on skype due to logistic reasons. The interviews took place in Italian and English and took between 35 and 90 minutes.

In order to answer my research question, an interview guide was settled. A previous on-line research on the specific projects helped me in conducting the interviews. This helped in maximizing time while getting the greater amount of information useful to the analysis. Interviews followed semi-structured and open-ended questions. The choice of having in-depth interviews permitted to get detailed information in relation to managers' values in adaptive reuse projects and left room to further comments not included in the guide line but still useful to better understand managers' perception on their work. The open-end questions gave time to the respondents to think and elaborate their answers, and to filter what he or she found relevant so that the research was informed by respondents' input (Bryman 2012). All the interviewees have been friendly and collaborative. The choice of an in-depth analysis of interviews was due to map the attitudes and motivations pushing interviewees in the re-use projects. Along with the interview, a survey of sixteen short questions was addressed to investigate different perception on same specific values. Following the questionnaire, interviewees answer to the questions on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree), to 5 (strongly agree). For this analysis, only answers above 3 (neutral) have been considered.

In addition to the generation of primary data through qualitative interviewing, secondary data have been used according to their availability. This has included projects website, available articles, internal documents made available to the researcher as well as any existing quantitative data about the project of re-use. This triangulation, which "entails using more than one method or source of data" (Bryman, 2012, p. 392), combines obtrusive with unobtrusive methods and in doing so helped to cross-check findings of the primary data collection.

3.5 Data analysis

To inform the analysis all interviews were recorded and transcribed. Already during the interviews, recurring themes became evident and informed the process of data analysis. As a next step, the written transcripts were coded according to themes and categories reflecting the most crucial elements and contributing to the understanding of the research topic (Bryman, 2012). As typical for qualitative and inductive approaches, the coding process has been done considering the particularities of the data and allowing for revision of coding categories (Bryman, 2012). In order to facilitate the coding process, Atlas was used to organize the information and to explore possible structures. A coding scheme was created to trace the main themes recurring in each case. A detail scheme of this process will be better discussed in the part of Results.

Along with the coding process, tables were used to emphasize the most important outcomes. First, the analysis aimed at understanding managers' main values. The analysis of the interviews distinguished two levels: a first more general on organizations' mission and purposes, and a second

level which investigated more specifically managers' personal attitude towards the projects. Regarding the organization, mission, vision and goals which emerged throughout the interviews were identified and associated with their respective values according to Klamer's value-framework (2016). Specifically, values were categorized in: personal values, based on managers' self-realization and personal growth; social values, based on building relationships with their social entourage and community; societal values, based on creating a better society; and transcendental/cultural values, based on spiritual, artistic, transcendental reasons (Klamer, 2016). The results of this first part can be found summarized in two table in the appendix.

As a second step, another table was created to summarize the information about the type of organization and value realization in relation to the main stakeholders. The analysis was informed by applying Klamer's (2016) five sphere approach.

All three tables were useful for the identification of similarities and differences in each project as well as for comparing different projects within the same heritage site. They served to bridge the empirical data with the theoretical framework by applying the values based approach.

3.6 Limitations

The choice of using interviews has been positive since it permitted a direct interaction with the involved managers. As a consequence, it brought to interesting discussions on theoretical topics as well as on personal stories and opinions that would have been otherwise difficult to discover. However, there are some limitations that can be outlined. First of all, the selection of three case studies makes it difficult to make a generalization on this topic and there is always some doubtfulness when the research focuses on a certain population giving personal and professional perspectives and opinions (Bryman, 2012); in addition to that, all along the thesis it has been argued the subjectivity addressing values. In fact, it must be considered that giving a label to certain goals can be tricky since the valorization process is very subjective. Therefore, a detailed and careful reflection was conducted together with each interviewee and after in the data interpretation analysis. Moreover, some goals cover more than one dimension. In order to limit the subjectivity problem and to find a common thread, the choice has been to analyze just those cases where the reuse has been accomplished by projects with some cultural or creative purpose. In this way, it is easier to compare values and strategies since all interviewees have in common a shared path. Still, adaptive reuse for cultural heritage is a broad field of study and can be analyzed by many angles. In this thesis, the analysis covered only managers' point of view and management strategy, exploring only the two domains of values/goals and organization.

4. Results

This chapter presents a critical analysis of the empirical research on managers' values awareness and realization in adaptive reuse conducted by means of six case studies. The interviews have been interpreted in reference to the theoretical framework in order to answer the research question:

Which are the main values carried by the managers of the selected projects in the regeneration process of cultural heritage? How are these values realized in the management practice?

Divided in three sections, this chapter aims to illuminate on the values and management practice behind reuse of cultural heritage through cultural and creative projects. First, the domain of the organizations' goals and values is investigated following the value based approach. According to the theory, values are divided in the four main dimensions: transcendental/cultural, societal, social and personal (Klamer, 2016). Because of their nature, some goals cover more than one dimension. Then the focus shifts on the organization itself. It distinguishes the type of organization according to its legal status, its stakeholders and the main spheres involved in the process of value realization. It aims to analyze how values are put in practice in daily management. To conclude, it is discussed to what extent the selected reuse projects can be a sustainable option for cultural heritage regeneration.

Table 4: Elaboration of the results.

| Category | Sub-category | Code |
|-------------------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| Adaptive reuse projects | Mission, vision and goals | Transcendental/Cultural |
| | | Societal |
| | | Social |
| | | Personal |
| Value realization in adaptive reuse | Type of organization | Public |
| | | Private |
| | | Non-profit |
| | The five spheres model in the management practice | Oikos |
| | | Market |
| | | Government |
| | | Social |
| Cultural | | |
| Which place for sustainability | Economic sustainability | |
| | Social sustainability | Audience engagement |
| | | Storytelling |
| | | Networking |

Source: own elaboration

4.1 Adaptive reuse projects through the eyes of their managers

4.1.1 Transcendental and cultural values

According to the interviewees, heritage cultural values have been implicit in the decision to set their project inside the cultural heritage site. In fact, all respondents agreed that the choice of establishing

(or taking part in) an organization in such a venue has been influenced by the intrinsic aesthetic, historical or architectural value of the site. On this purpose Baggerman, director of Van Nelle Events, commented: “I felt in love with the building and that’s what happened, and I quitted my job and I said the only thing I want to do is to do the startups inside Van Nelle. (...) You have to love the building otherwise you would not be here.” Of course, this statement entails a personal sensibility. However, the three sites in exam are evident symbols of a beauty which goes beyond individual taste and enters the transcendental sphere. The UNESCO recognition of “the outstanding universal value” (Art 1, UNESCO, 1972) of the Benedictine Monastery and Van Nelle Fabriek proves their extraordinary beauty and artistic and historical meaning. Regarding Villa Pastega, its aesthetic value was largely enhanced by Ando’s restoration. While respecting the original nature of the building, Ando could give a new contemporary dimension and relevance to the site, which according to Loulanski (2006) is one of the merits of a successful adaptive reuse. Oetling Corvera talks about her working routine inside Fabrica saying that “experiencing the place itself it is always a pleasure, (...) coming into Fabrica is quite stunning and after a while working here it is still impressive and remains overwhelming in a positive way.”

The presence of cultural and artistic values which transcend personal, social and societal values has further evidence. Indeed, (5/6) interviewees perceived the site as capable of stimulating a strong relation to the past and able to improve their knowledge of heritage as well as to generate academic discussion. Moreover, all interviewees expressed a strong awareness and appreciation for the site architectural qualities. By listing these qualities, managers demonstrated to perceive heritage intrinsic qualities of the site they work in in alignment with those qualities historically attributed to heritage by scholars (Reigel, 1902; Burra Charter, 1999; Mason, 2002; English Heritage, 2008).

Apart from the intrinsic value deriving by the beauty of the site, other transcendental values emerged in relation to the nature of the project itself. (3/6) managers affirmed that their projects are meant for the pursuit of truth thanks to education. A deeper insight on value creation through education is given in the next section according to the projects’ nature. Other transcendental values for which managers (3/6) strive for are the transmission of beauty, artistic and architectural values. Finally, one project highlights the desire to transmit social and cultural values through contemporary artistic and creative tools such as design and communication. These findings confirm the cultural significance and heritage value perceived by respondents as well as transcendental values carried by the (5/6) projects themselves. In other words, they show that the three sites embody a store of cultural value which, through the reuse projects, generate a flow of goods and services with cultural value (Throsby, 2002). Still, as we will see the results point out societal and social values as the predominant ones.

4.1.2 Societal Values

The pursuit of truth and the transmission of heritage values as well as other transcendental values is pursued by the projects mainly through education. In (5/6) cases, education is the leading value guiding action. This result is aligned with the idea that heritage holds educational values (Frey, 1997), and that economists and “culturalists” should have an educational role towards heritage values realization (Klamer, 2013). Specifically, (3/6) projects interpret education exactly as the realization of heritage values. This goal is pursued by making the site accessible to its stakeholders, community and tourists. Accessibility is not just meant as opening to a public audience, but entails the effort to make people aware of heritage values. “Our goal is not only to make accessible the beauty (of heritage) as it is often said in Italy. (...) What matters to us is the significance of a place for the people using it (...), what we would like to create is that this site is conceived as a common good.” (Francesco Mannino). Recognition and sharing of heritage among people is a key concept in Mannino’s mission. It also corresponds to what is suggested by Klamer (2013) and European policies (2014). In fact, to make people involved in the heritage discourse, heritage sites should become a valuable place for the context and community (Klamer, 2013). A similar vision is shared by other two projects operating inside Van Nelle Fabriek. Kooy, founder and director of the Van Nelle Foundation, perceives as one of his duties to educate people coming to Van Nelle. In the future years, he aims to create the Van Nelle Museum and to become keeper of the Van Nelle Collection. He affirmed that “you have to bring to people some knowledge on why it (Van Nelle Fabriek) is a world heritage”. In the same way, Haan considers Urban Guide tours as bearers of an educational role towards visitors. According to him, the company realizes this goal by telling the story of Van Nelle and by searching for stakeholders’ engagement. In comparison to the other projects, these three organizations are the ones more willing to raise historical consciousness, respect and knowledge toward heritage through their valorization actions. All such values can have an impact on people social life, but they still differ from social goods because they concern a society or the world and people do not need to know each other to share them (Klamer, 2016). If education is a dominant value also for Catania University and Fabrica, they have a different approach towards educational purpose. In fact, these two projects strive for the promotion of freedom and universal knowledge by giving space to creativity and critical thinking. These values are at the boundary between societal and transcendental values. Still, they are common goods shared by “humanity at large” and can contribute to improve the society and the world we live in (Klamer, 2016, p. 104). For Catania University and Fabrica freedom and universal knowledge reflect the core value and prime mission and directly implies for equality and fairness. Specifically for Catania, the choice to establish and educational institution inside the Monastery was

part of a wider strategy pursued by the University to “consolidate and extend the presence of the University in the historic centre and in the most delicate tissue of the city, in the direction of a requalification, both functional and cultural, of ‘places’ which indifference and impotence have caused to be degraded through isolation or neglect” (Giarrizzo, 1990, p.91, in Pignataro and Rizzo, 1997).

Another important societal value bonding all interviewees relates to the creation of an important experience for the people visiting or working in the site and which according to Blaug (in Peacock and Rizzo, 2008) can be a valuable mean to enhance heritage demand. For some projects (3/6), experience is still connected to educational purposes in the effort to make heritage more comprehensible and accessible to its visitors. On the opposite, other (3/6) projects aim at realizing an experience connected to other kind of activities (events, conference, lectures). Nevertheless, also for the latter, heritage helps in making the experience unique and to give people the chance of seeing heritage in an unconventional way. On this purpose Baggerman stated that thanks to events they organize: “you don’t have the history but you do experience the building, the column structure, the glass, the measure of it cause it is a big building on a big plot and from the outside it looks. if you are outside (...) you don’t see, you have to get it.” A more intimate discourse characterizes *Fabrica*. Here the experience is more oriented to a selected community of *Fabricanti* and employees so that Oetling Corvera affirmed: “It is quite open studios so it feels lighter as well I guess and you get to have the feeling of what everyone is up to cause there are no barriers within the space. And it is also kind of amaze to go around”. As a consequence, it can be argued that in all these cases of adaptive reuse, projects were useful to create the opportunity for people to experience heritage. According to the respondents also those projects not directly aimed at heritage understanding, and eventually appreciation, have an impact on the stakeholders’ perception of the site. By guaranteeing daily access to internal and external stakeholders, all these projects put people in the condition of cultivating their taste towards heritage (Lévy-Garboua and Montmarquette, 2005; Blaug in Peacock and Rizzo, 2008).

4.1.3 Social values

Together with societal values, social values are a key factor for all respondents. According to Klamer, this dimension is particularly important in order to involve other people, bonding relationships and feeling part of a strong community (2016). All respondents described a strong sense of social involvement in the project and a strong social responsibility towards the site and its stakeholders. Moreover for (5/6) respondents, their involvement in the reuse project helps, or helped, them to build strong civil relations and to share a common identity within their community. This result shows how adaptive reuse can give new meaning to heritage and can become a significant social mean for people

working inside these projects (ICOMOS, 1964; Loulanski, 2006). Not only. According to some interviewees (4/6), their daily job brings them to establish constant and direct contact with the local community. They perceive themselves as intermediaries between the community and the site. In this way, the engagement of the local community enlarges the social dimension of the project also to external stakeholders. Catania University guarantees daily access to the students, but it also opens to external stakeholders through conferences and events. On the same heritage site, Mannino accentuated the strong social value of *Officine Culturali*. Talking about his working space, he says that “more than a shared working space it is a shared living space”, where students of any age get mixed with locals and tourists that come for guided tours or other activities. While talking about local community engagement Mannino stressed a lot his mission towards children and teenagers. According to Nelson (1970) and Lévy-Garboua and Montmarquette (2005), taste and preferences are not fixed and heritage consumption is not a real consumption; consumption rather results from the facility in getting information about heritage, in the possibility of its accessibility, and from a constant process of taste formation. In the same way Mannino thinks that if *Officine Culturali* is able to undertake a good educational path with children for quite a long term, this process can bring to “a greater opportunity for cultural heritage to have a proper protection and use” in the future. Specifically, heritage consumption can help young people to appreciate heritage also once became adults. For Mannino, heritage has an important role in realizing social values also by spreading “public spirit, sense of belonging, desire to be part of a community and enjoyment, pleasure and well-being”.

Social values are meaningful also for the projects acting inside *Van Nelle Fabriek*. Kooy and Haan feel as intermediaries toward the local community and tourists. Moreover, Kooy highlighted his duty “to do the *Van Nelle* a community” by creating a good networking within the different souls of *Van Nelle*. Before establishing a relationship with the exterior, he thinks *Van Nelle* needs to work on internal cohesion. He also added that a synergetic collaboration within the different organizations in *Van Nelle* can bring to a workable interaction whose “sum is more than sum of the parts.” Of the same opinion Baggerman thinks that “*Van Nelle* needs more a community (...) where people combine more than room and space” searching constant collaboration with each other.

Talking about *Fabrica*, Oetling Corvera described it as a social setting “in between university and professional work”. In *Fabrica* social values are oriented to establish global oriented relationships and to create an internal harmonious team. In order to do so, they organize lectures on different topics connected to media and communication in which international guests are invited and which become a mean for *Fabricanti* to establish global social connections. Recently, through the lectures and other events, this organization is also starting to open to the public. Still, public opening is not among its

main objectives. Differently from the other projects, so far, this organization does not consider itself as an intermediary with the local community.

Finally, all interviewees were aware and agreed on the importance of social values for establishing peers' relationships and knowledge exchange with internal colleagues and external partners.

4.1.4 Personal values

Personal values “pertain to the relationship with oneself” (Klamer, 2016, p. 56). In terms of cultural heritage, personal values are the ones that a specific person can develop or experience towards a particular site (Klamer, 2015), but there are several reasons that can push people to start or participate in reuse projects. Generally, managers showed a strong personal passion as well as individual commitment and dedication for the projects they are involved in. Moreover, all the interviewees agreed on the fact that their involvement in the reuse project has stimulated their personal growth. For (5/6) respondents, their self-realization was strongly influenced by the project also due to their long-time commitment to it. Noteworthy, Kooy emphasized a personal familiar background which has been fundamental to bring him today to be the head of Van Nelle Foundation. In fact his grandfather, director of Van Nelle during the 1930s, was so fond of Van Nelle Factory that asked to build a house in the same style to the same architect, Van der Vlugt. This wish resulted in the Sonneveld House, an existing example of Dutch Functionalism, transformed nowadays in a museum. Like his family, Kooy used to live there in his youth. He commented “I grew up there so I am not an architect or a designer but it’s on the DNA”. Passionate about its familiar history, Kooy became “an expert of Van Nelle with the connection to Rotterdam” and for this reason he was asked to become director of the Foundation. Contextualized in its uniqueness, this example demonstrates the existence of a link between heritage experience and heritage appreciation. By making heritage a daily venue, its stakeholders can establish a particular and personal significance for that place, acquiring and increasing their taste over time (Lévy-Garboua and Montmarquette, 2005). In the same way, many of the people working in Officine Cultruali, have undertaken humanistic studies inside the Monastery. According to Mannino, the frequent attendance made them even more connected to this site and influenced their involvement in the valorization project.

Personal values shown through the motivation of Baggerman and Haan, both at the head of commercial companies. Even if considering profit not as their first motivation, still their involvement is important in defining their success as entrepreneurs.

Finally, Oetling Corvera attributed to Fabrica a great setting for her personal and artistic growth.

4.2 How values are realized through the eyes of managers

This second section focuses on managers' realization of values and management practice in their reuse projects. According to Klamer's five spheres model (2016), the following table reports the main logics addressed by each project in their management practice, the type of organization and the main stakeholders involved.

Table 5: Case studies' process of value creation

| Site | Project | ORGANIZATION | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--|--|
| | | Main spheres involved | Type of organization (public, private, NPO) | Main stakeholders |
| Benedictine Monastery | University of Catania | Government Market | Public university | Students, local community. |
| | Officine Culturali | Social Market | NPO Cultural Association composed by 30 members (of which 15 employees) | University, students (in particular children and teenagers), local community, cultural tourists. |
| Van Nelle Fabriek | Van Nelle Foundation | Social Market | NPO Foundation 14 volunteers | Young urban professionals, cultural tourists (in particular international tourists) |
| | Van Nelle Events | Market | Private organization composed by 2 directors and an average of 10 employees. | Owner, local government, other companies inside Van Nelle, clients. |
| | Urban Guides | Market Social | Private organization composed by 5 people working in the office and the tour guides. | Students, national and international tourists. |
| Villa Pastenga Manera | Fabrica | Market | Private organization. | Young creatives, clients. |

Source: own elaboration

For this section, the analysis will be done on the single level of each cultural heritage sites. This choice is motivated by the necessity to relativize the three sites to their context. It also gives the opportunity to better explore the interconnection of different projects within the same site.

4.2.1 The Benedictine Monastery

The Benedictine Monastery is the headquarter of the Humanities Department of Catania University, public institution and owner of the site. As every other department, the Monastery receives funds from the university in order to cover management and operational costs. Therefore, the government sphere is the prevalent mean through which the Humanities Department achieves its mission and goals. This management model is aligned with the other Italian public universities. Due to the current situation in which public budget are decreasing (COM, 2014), it is interesting to find a case of adaptive reuse realized through public fund. However according to Rizzo, the University's choice to

take care of the restoration costs needs to be contextualized to the time in which the adaptive reuse project was done confirming the variability of heritage perception and conservation practice depending on societal transformation (Benhamou, 2011). “It was definitely a far-sighted choice at the time. Certainly, today I do not think that choice could be done because the external benefits of that choice would hardly be financially sustainable”. In fact, “when the decision was undertaken, the financing system was based on central government specific subsidies and the competition for funds within the University was not very severe” (Pignataro and Rizzo, 1997, p.11). The necessity of public intervention depends also on another contextual element, namely the lack of an entrepreneurial context in Sicily. The lack of foundations, banks or other private bodies willing to invest in reducing conservation costs together with a constant reduction in fund from the government due to the present politico-economic situation is making ordinary maintenance more and more difficult to achieve. According to the Rizzo, the University should operate in the market and social sphere by building as many as possible relationships with external stakeholders interested in having their events hosted in the Monastery; in this sense, the interviewee demonstrated to be aware of the need to open the Monastery to external collaborations and to make others recognize its value (Klamer, 2016). Still the cultural context seems not ready to provide alternatives to the governance logic. According to Rizzo, the Monastery deals “with a reality that, in sum, does not see either an entrepreneurial logic” nor an “aptitude to financially support such initiatives. All this depends on the context.” If on one hand this statement emphasizes the awareness of the interviewee toward the cultural context she operates, from the other hand it confirms the conditioning of the context in the management practice (Benhamou, 2011; Klamer, 2016).

To realize the valorization process of the Monastery a fertile collaboration has been established with *Officine Culturali*. Composed by 30 members (of which 15 employees), this NPO has its offices and activities inside the Monastery in exchange of an annual fee (plus a Percentage of the income) to the University. Nowadays it realizes its mission mainly in the logic of the market and social sphere. The major incomes come thanks to guided tours and other activities for which the logic of exchange works. More than the University, this organization works with external stakeholders to make them aware of the Monastery’s value. This trend confirms *Officine Culturali*’s mission and activities and their constant effort to involve individuals and organizations also on a social level. Indeed, *Officine Culturali* is involved in several partnerships with external projects (mainly of social nature). Despite some economic transactions, the most important exchanges concern the social sphere and the challenge to transform the Monastery is a shared good in which “prices do not figure neither rules and regulations (Klamer, 2016, p. 134). As suggested by Klamer, by making heritage a social

good, people contribute to the site “to make it their own, to make it their site” (Klamer, 2015, p. 431). This feeling is demonstrated also by a strong internal cohesiveness within the organization.

Due to the budget limit, some people of the staff accepted to work for free. This situation highlights a strong personal and social commitment by the members and make the social dimension an important coordinating mechanisms next to the market dimension. At the same time, Mannino states that “volunteering is something that is usually done in the leisure time (...), if this unpaid work is done with passion and is a major component of one's life the mechanism sooner or later gets jammed”. This statement denounces a common theme for NPOs, which often struggle to find a balance between economic and social sustainability. A more sustainable model could be realized through the participation of companies engaged in corporate social responsibility and public actors, including the University. In fact, even if Officine Culturali was able to establish various external partnerships, still sometimes its mission seems not clear enough to the University which according to Mannino should better recognize the role of Officine Culturali within the Monastery. Moreover, the hypothesis of a three subjects' economy implies several factors. First of all, the presence of companies willing to invest in culture. As already highlighted by Rizzo, the Italian context, in particular in the South, does not show an entrepreneurial setting nor encourages privates to participate and contribute in the cultural sector. To picture this reality, a practical example was introduced by Rizzo regarding the Bellini Theater of Catania, a beautiful theater with a long tradition and configured as a regional body. When the public authority tried to transform it into a foundation, the shortage of participation by private stakeholders led the theater to return to its legal form of regional body. This simple example is illustrative of a situation which portrays the lack of synergies with the private sector rather than an insufficient lyric tradition or link of the theater to the city. It again makes clear the inseparability and importance of the cultural setting for value realization (Klamer, 2016). Secondly, a three subjects' economy implies the recognition of important cultural, societal and social values carried by Officine Culturali that unfortunately in the South of Italy, seem difficult to be understood. Even though the project contributes to spread these values, its impact is not immediate and its economic sustainability suffers from a lack of policies able to recognize or sustain its mission. Finally, the University seems not able to support Officine Culturali also penalized by the constant public cuts from the central government.

In this sense, it can be argued that in the case of Officine Culturali the cultural sphere reduces the meaning of an experience that could be better resonated in a different place and confirms the variability of heritage values and value realization according to different cultural settings (Benhamou, 2011; Klamer, 2016).

4.2.2 Van Nelle Fabriek

Differently from the Benedictine Monastery, Van Nelle Fabriek has many souls co-existing inside it and operates in a very different context. A first big contrast with the previous site is that in this case, exceptionally, the restoration work of Van Nelle was made possible thanks to the participation of only private entities that brought together a considerable capital for the adaptation costs of this massive factory.

Among the many companies renting spaces to carry out their business, Van Nelle Events is the biggest tenant inside the site. This company achieves its mission mainly through the private market. Their business model is based on renting their space and hosting events for external entities. The company works a lot with external commercial companies but also with NPOs and the local government. However, Baggerman demonstrated to be aware of the importance of sharing his vision and goals while respecting the work of the other organizations by including the owner, local government and the other Van Nelle companies among its main stakeholders. During the interview, Baggerman cited these entities even before his real clients. He highlighted how the creation of a stronger and more cohesive community inside Van Nelle can help in realizing social values as well as market values. According to him, there is already good internal networking that might become even more profitable by developing a stronger community identity.

On the need of a stronger community, Kooy shares the same thought. Through his eyes, “there is no Van Nelle diary, they all live apart of each other but they all want to be part of Van Nelle, there is no connection in between”. The realization of a community identity inside Van Nelle is one of his main goals. However, Van Nelle Foundation does not rely at all on the logic of exchange. This organization acts mainly in the social sphere. Shared values and the common interest to enhance Van Nelle as a cultural heritage site pushed the director of Van Nelle to sponsor the Foundation with an office and computers. Again because of shared values and architectural similarities, Kooy cooperated together with the Bauhaus Dessau Foundation in order to enhance both heritage sites through several exhibitions. These two examples enter the social sphere, in which the mechanisms of approval, reputation and recognition prevail on the logic of the market and governance (Klamer, 2016). Kooy is also trying to establish internal networking within Van Nelle but it is still a work in progress justified by his entrance in Van Nelle for just two years. His experience in the financial sector of course brings him to think future development in the market sphere by organizing guided tours inside Van Nelle but also by enhancing Van Nelle as a tourist destination. In this sense, Kooy’s mission and action seem aligned with the one of Officine Culturali in Catania Monastery. However, in daily practice Officine Culturali has succeed in transforming the Monastery in a landmark for its community, while Van Nelle Foundation still needs to find a way to involve external stakeholders.

Moreover, the two settings are really different. In fact, contrarily to the South of Italy, Rotterdam, and generally Dutch culture, has high entrepreneurial tradition. This condition suggests a major chance to find future collaborations with private stakeholders sharing the common objective to valorize Van Nelle.

Kooy is flanked by a team composed by 14 “very experienced people from museums in Rotterdam and Den Haag”. They are in Van Nelle on a voluntary basis working to get funds and to organize educational projects. So far, the Foundation worked in the social sphere. However, Kooy’s team is striving for an enhancement also of the market sphere. What seems difficult is the realization of shared values through the government sphere. In fact, Kooy struggles to dialogue with the city council, which according to him seems to be not enough involved in Van Nelle’s cause. Apart from the local government, Kooy aims to promote Van Nelle’s universal value, searching for a future support at a European level.

For years Van Nelle has been an important tourist destination thanks to Urban Guides, a commercial company settled outside Van Nelle, but offering guided tours inside the site. Differently from the other two projects, this organization does not rely only on Van Nelle. It organizes guided tours to the Kunsthal, the Nieuwe Instituut and other several symbolic buildings of Rotterdam. As a result, Urban Guides is really well known in the city and has connections with many hotels and tourist offices. This organization was born as a commercial company acting primarily in the market sphere. A feature that it maintains still nowadays. Still, the guided tours in Van Nelle engage this organization with several actors within the cultural heritage site. In particular the recent entrance of different actors within Van Nelle has shifted the equilibrium. As Haan said “for us it was easier at the beginning because we were the guides and we had the tours (...) now we have to collaborate with different parties (inside the building)”. The recent entrance of Kooy and his team implied a fee to be paid by Urban Guides in order to do the tours inside the UNESCO site. Moreover, the more actors are involved within Van Nelle the more Urban Guides needs to organize its tours according to the necessities of the companies and organizations working inside Van Nelle. While in the past this organization operated basically in the logic of exchange, nowadays it needs to find its place within the other organizations. Its role and place inside Van Nelle should find a justification in the common interest to realize cultural and artistic goals and to give added value for Van Nelle, by making Van Nelle more known. A cohesive collaboration between the organizations within this site can bring to very good results. On this purpose, Kooy affirmed that Urban Guides is really important since they reach young target groups he does not reach. At first sight, these two organizations can seem competitors because both are interested in realizing valorization action, for instance they both offer guided tours. However, the value based approach provides a different perspective. In fact, both of

them share the cultural sphere and strive for common values. The awareness they have a common interest, namely Van Nelle valorization, can become the key to a synergic collaboration based on the logic of gift. The Foundation could become more known outside Van Nelle taking advantage of Urban Guides' connection within the city. On the other hand, Urban Guides can gain a more internal perspective through the eyes of an internal stakeholder of Van Nelle. Yet, this result implies a greater understanding of the mutual role, which so far is not completely clear. Recognizing the potentiality of a partnership aimed to a common interest can enhance both organizations as well as Van Nelle itself and confirms the benefit which can derive by involving others (Klamer, 2016).

4.2.3 Fabrica

In comparison to the other case studies, Fabrica was more reserved while discussing about its managerial functioning. My interviewee, Oetling Corvera, gave me a lot of useful information but preferred not to talk about funding since this field is not related to her job within the organization. However also those in charge of management, contacted by mail, answered saying that funding and economic sustainability are an information they prefer to maintain private. The embarrassment showed while talking about values realization should not be seen as a limit. On the contrary, it highlights a different cultural setting. In fact, in comparison to the Netherland, in Italy people are usually less inclined to talk about financial details. Still the analysis of the cultural setting reveals to be interesting. First, Fabrica implies a very different context in comparison to the Benedictine Monastery. In fact, it was born by the idea of a private entrepreneur who decided to capitalize on the value of innovative communication, with the aim to combine culture and industry. The restoration work was privately financed and permitted by a context rich in entrepreneurial spirit. On the contrary, both Mannino and Rizzo highlighted the lack of entrepreneurial context not very usual in the South of Italy. This proves one more time the inseparability of the context from its actual realization. Regarding the functioning of the project, I got a personal impression by some comments during the interview, from an internet research as well as some documents sent me via mail. According to this information, the project realizes its values mainly in the market sphere. External partners, both commercial and non-profit companies, search constantly a collaboration with Fabrica to find inspiring, experimental and innovative ideas through the tools of design, communication and an international team. Moreover, this organization gives an important chance to young creatives by offering one year grants for they stay in Fabrica. This opportunity is first an important moment of personal and artistic growth for who gets accepted; in addition, it makes even more attractive Fabrica offers, characterized by an experimental and international style. At the same time, selecting and

rewarding young talents confirm the social, societal and cultural objectives of Fabrica. Still it is difficult to have a complete picture of Fabrica's functioning due to a lack of information.

4.3 The impact of the projects on the cultural heritage site

Up to here values awareness and realization has dominated the analysis. Still on the light of the previous outcomes, critical reflections on the sustainability of adaptive reuse as a valuable conservation practice can be trace throughout the case studies. The first reflection comes by the choice of adapting heritage through cultural/creative projects.

Creating cultural and creative activities inside heritage sites can be a choice respectful of the site's cultural capital, in alignment with the idea that adaptation projects should aim to maintain cultural heritage significance (Throsby, 2002; Peacock and Rizzo, 2008). In fact, not only the interviewees (6/6) demonstrated to be respectful of the site significance, namely the stock of cultural value proper of heritage (Throsby, 2002); but the realization of projects with educational, cultural and creative purpose enhances the creation of a flow of services with cultural value. The latter can result by enhancing heritage value through valorization (3/6), or by creating a new form of contemporary culture dissociated from heritage but still respectful of it (3/6). It is important to note that the maintenance and/or valorization of heritage cultural capital through reuse projects with cultural and creative purpose can offer a common ground for "culturalists" and economists; in a combined effort, the first should realize heritage intrinsic values and make sense of their uniqueness, the latter should focus on what engages people and on finding the right way to enhance and maximize heritage instrumental values (Klamer, 2013; Klamer, 2016; Throsby, 2002). Consequently, it can be argued that cultural and creative reuse projects inside cultural heritage sites not only respects the cultural capital, but helps to create a flow of cultural service that foster it. Yet the flow of services cannot be judged only in economic terms. On the contrary, it has to be perceived as an important source of social and cultural values, that projects pursue mainly through the tools of education and experience.

A second reflection is connected to what just said and relates to the sustainability of the case studies. Through the lens of standard economics, sustainability is usually considered from its economic side, as a matter of costs and returns to be realized in the logic of the market (Klamer, 2016). This perspective would define some of the analyzed organizations not sustainable. At the same time, in the theoretical framework it was argued that heritage sustainable development should combine cultural values as well as economic development (Throsby, 2002). Yet, the results highlight the difficulty to match heritage intrinsic cultural values and economic returns. As is often the case in organizations, NPOs have a hard time to maintain an economic balance and Officine Culturali and Van Nelle Foundation denounced this condition. However, it was shown that the projects that struggle

the more to achieve economic sustainability are also the ones more oriented in valorizing cultural heritage intrinsic values as well as societal and social values. In this research, the choice of applying a value based approach permitted to consider a broader spectrum which includes also social sustainability. According to Klamer (2004), in matter of cultural heritage the realization of values implies that people share and recognize heritage values. In this sense, (3/6) organizations have a fundamental role in heritage sustainability since their prime objective is to create a shared conversation towards their respective stakeholders. In alignment with European Policies (COM, 2014), these organizations try to transform heritage in a common good for their community. This purpose is pursued mainly through three means. First, by engaging the local community as well as national and international tourists in a process of comprehension and co-creation of heritage value. Among the projects, Officine Culturali is the one that succeeds the most to involve the community in a long-term process, but also Van Nelle Foundation, according to Kooy, aims to realize the same purpose in the future. The second means used to make heritage a common good is by telling the story of the cultural heritage site in which these organizations operate. All the three organizations emphasized their wish to make people aware of the history of the site as well as of its context. In doing so, they also foster heritage understanding and appreciation (Blaug in Peacock and Rizzo, 2008). In these cases, the principle of intergenerational equity invoked by Throsby (2002) must be reconsidered. On one hand, it is true that the investment on heritage must consider an equal and fair distribution of resources between generations. However, on the other hand, it must become clear that investments do not only depends on money. On the contrary, even more important is the transformational cultural, societal and social impact these projects strive for. Finally, there a is third remarkable advantage that emerged in all the projects, which consists in the establishment of a good internal and external networking. As already discussed, while some projects (3/6) work in realizing networking to engage others in cultural heritage, some other projects (3/6) establish networks to realize other purposes. However, by establishing connections with public and private bodies, all the case studies better integrate the cultural site within its context. Through the analysis, audience engagement, storytelling and networking become three important elements. It can be argued that even when the organization is not completely economically sustainable, the combination of these three factors should not be overlooked since social sustainability fosters heritage intrinsic values and confirms adaptive reuse as a valuable strategy that helps historic buildings to be more likely maintained and cared when hosting relevant activities for the surrounding communities (ICOMOS, 1964).

5. Conclusion

This study sets out the potentiality of reusing cultural heritage through projects with cultural or creative purpose, in the broad sense. In order to do so, by mean of a qualitative research, I selected six case studies operating inside cultural heritage sites. Specifically, the study aimed to focus on the values that push managers to get involved or create adaptive reuse projects inside heritage sites. By choosing a value based approach, the analysis gives an insight on the complex set of values existing within the projects as well as on the relationship among different projects co-working in the same site. It also investigates values realization, leaning toward a vision of sustainability not strictly related to the standard economic terms.

The answer to the question *which are the main values carried by the managers of the selected projects in the regeneration process of cultural heritage? How are these values realized in the management practice* is threefold. First, if transcendental values are implicitly motivating managers' in starting or taking part in reuse projects, the most important values mentioned are societal and social ones. On a social level, thanks to adaptive reuse, heritage is conceived as a place able to enhance managers' social interactions; it also strengthens the sense of community for its internal stakeholders. The values of education and experience are univocally shared. Still, it is possible to distinguish different interpretations of the same values, depending on the main objectives of each project. While some organizations strive for heritage valorization, others conceive heritage as an inspiring place to host other types of experiences. Finally, personal values are not among the most relevant managers' motivations. However, taking part in the reuse projects has been a relevant step for their self-realization and personal growth. Kooy's example also confirms the existence of a link between heritage experience and appreciation, reinforcing the idea that consumers can discover their real taste with exposure (Lévy-Garboua and Montmarquette, 2005). Regarding the second part of the research question, it emerges that the desire to valorize heritage rather than to use it for other objectives implies different logics in the process of value realization. In fact, organizations which aim at valorizing heritage mainly act in the social sphere. They do so by engaging the local community as well as national and international tourists and by making heritage accessible and shared among its stakeholders. This effort is in accordance with European policies (COM, 2014) and Klamer's idea of heritage value realization (2004). The goal of valorization can become a source of income by establishing entrance tickets and other activities for which people are willing to pay. In the case of Urban Guides, this commercial company set up an economically sustainable business model, market oriented and offering tours also in other tourist destinations to diversify its offer. On the contrary, the analysis confirmed the difficulty for NPOs to achieve and maintain a sufficient economic stability. In the future, more cohesive relationships within projects operating in the same site can foster a synergic

improvement. This result can be achieved by understanding reciprocal and common values to strive for. Another interesting point relates to the context. In fact, the involvement of the private logic rather than the public one is also a matter of cultural setting in which these projects take place. The lack of entrepreneurial spirit in the South of Italy brought to the choice of adapting the Monastery to university headquarter through public intervention; it also distances the hypothesis of a participation of private companies within *Officine Culturali*. A completely different reality concerns *Van Nelle* and *Fabrica*, for which the adaptation process has been realized by privates in regions characterized by a strong entrepreneurial attitude. These findings remind that the context should never be overlooked in any heritage managerial practice. Lastly, the choice of a value based approach broadened the standard borders of sustainability, too often invoked only from an economic perspective. The analysis emphasizes the social merit of those organizations that, if on one hand cannot achieve economic sustainability and need to rely on volunteering work, still on the other hand demonstrate to be the ones more social oriented. Their action aims to impact local community's attitude and sense of belonging toward heritage and to foster heritage intrinsic values. The merit of a value based approach is to recognize these values, not analyzable in economic terms. Social sustainability is pursued mainly through audience engagement, storytelling and networking. A greater focus on their role can lead to important outcomes, including a social and cultural growth of the people involved and engaged.

Based on these conclusions, this research offers a cultural economic perspective on adaptive reuse of cultural heritage. By doing so, it highlights the potentiality that cultural and creative projects have in rethinking heritage in a new and contemporary way while respecting its intrinsic cultural value. Considering the increasingly and urgent need to find efficient conservation strategies, it can be argued that the analyzed case studies do not want to establish a unique best practice, but contrarily it emphasizes the need to investigate the specificities of each heritage site in order to choose the most suitable option in relation to its stakeholders and context.

The research also suggests the added value provided by the chosen approach, which put people in the condition to reflect on what matters to them. Values are not given, and goals and desires are not the result of economic calculations. Once aware of the diversity in perceptions and opinions, positive outcomes can come from confrontation and discussion as important moments to find shared values through which to reach common goals.

Overall there are some limitations which can open interesting avenues for future research. As already said, due to the specificity of the case studies, this research is of explorative nature and does not permit a generalization across sites and geographical scales. Conversely, it describes three particular cultural heritage sites managed by different projects. However, even if it cannot provide a

general perspective towards cultural heritage reuse, it presents a theoretical framework which can prove to be useful for other contexts. In fact, the versatility and flexibility of the value based approach offers a wide range of applications, in different settings and organizations.

Another limitation of the research is that it does not capture the entire complexity of the adaptive reuse process since it explores only managers' point of view. Therefore, perceptions and observations came only by that specific group. As a consequence, the third domain of the environment, cited in the theoretical framework, needs to be further explored through different perspectives, in order to understand how the projects are perceived by their stakeholders. Future research on adaptive reuse by means of a value based approach can depict new angles and discover different points of view toward the potential role of adaptive reuse in heritage conservation practice.

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APPENDIX A: Organizations' values

| Site | Project | MISSION, VISION and GOALS | Main values | |
|--|-----------------------|--|--|--------------------------|
| Benedictine Monastery | University of Catania | Didactic and research activity. Promotion of freedom and universal knowledge. Contribution in the development and dissemination of knowledge also through the formation of people able to critically evaluate their active participation in the evolution of society and of culture. | Societal, Transcendental | |
| | | Access to external stakeholders through guided tours, conferences and events. | Social, Societal | |
| | | Transformation of the monastery in a prestigious university headquarters. | Social, Societal | |
| | Officine Culturali | Intermediary role between the site and its stakeholders: transformation of the monastery in a significant place for its community and stakeholders and development a sense of belonging and awareness of the site. | Social, Societal | |
| | | Stakeholders' engagement through recreational education and contribution to the rise of historical consciousness. | Social, Societal | |
| | | Being an organization representative of social communication and scientific research. | Societal, Transcendental | |
| | | Creation of a cohesive company model within the organization and of a solid network with external projects. | Social | |
| | | Transmission of cultural heritage values. | Transcendental | |
| | Van Nelle Fabriek | Van Nelle Foundation | Enhancement of Van Nelle as a World Heritage and creation of added value through valorization. | Societal, Transcendental |
| | | | Educational value. Willingness to answer to "why Van Nelle is a world heritage" | Societal |
| Creating the Van Nelle Museum with educational background and becoming keeper of the Van Nelle Collection. | | | Social, Societal | |
| Special familiar connection to Van Nelle Fabriek. | | | Personal | |
| Intermediary role between Van Nelle and its community and between the different organizations operating in Van Nelle. | | | Social | |
| Developing a community identity inside the Van Nelle and seeking an external networking to make people proud of Van Nelle and get funds. | | | Social | |
| Van Nelle Events | | Creation of a good networking external to Van Nelle to have as many as possible events in their rental space, to exchange knowledge and services. | Personal, Social | |
| | | Giving the opportunity to experience Van Nelle in an unconventional way. | Societal | |

| | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------|---|-----------------------------|
| | | Support in creating a collaborating community among Van Nelle tenants. | Personal, Social |
| | Urban Guides | Intermediary role between the city and the site. Important communication role of Van Nelle's existence. | Personal, Social, |
| | | Educational role for visitors of Van Nelle by telling its story and its context. Research for stakeholder's engagement. | Social, Societal |
| | | Transmission of passion for architecture. | Transcendental |
| Villa Pastenga Manera | Fabrica | Giving a space to young creatives to develop their own way of thinking, their creativity and profession. | Societal, Transcendental |
| | | Commitment to social and cultural themes, as integration and racial equality, through communication and design. | Transcendental |
| | | Creation of an alternative setting in between university and professional work. | Social, Societal |
| | | Searching for a constant interaction with national and international thought leaders and for a multitude of perspectives. | Societal |
| | | Creation of an organization global oriented. | Social, Societal |
| | | Creation of impact by integrating education, research and project management. | Societal |
| | | Opening to the public in some occasions (lectures and events). | Social, Societal |

APPENDIX B: Questionnaire results

| Most important values for interviewees according to the questionnaire: | Rizzo | Mannino | Kooy | Baggerman | Haan | Oetling Corvera |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|
| TRANSCENDENTAL/CULTURAL | | | | | | |
| The site has a capacity of stimulating a strong relation to the past. | Yes | yes, strong | yes, strong | yes, strong | yes, strong | |
| The site generated academic discussion. | yes, strong | yes, strong | yes, strong | | yes | yes, strong |
| The site presents great architectural qualities. | yes, strong |
| The site develops the interviewee's knowledge about heritage. | Yes | yes, strong | yes, strong | yes, strong | yes, strong | |
| SOCIETAL | | | | | | |
| The site enhances national identity among its stakeholders. | | yes, strong | yes, strong | | | |
| The site contributes in creating a common historical consciousness. | Yes | | yes, strong | | yes, strong | |
| The site enhance creativity among its stakeholders. | | Yes | | yes | yes, strong | yes, strong |
| The project aims to have an educational role for the people involved. | yes, strong | yes, strong | yes | | yes, strong | yes, strong |
| SOCIAL | | | | | | |
| The interviewee feels a social involvement in the project. | Yes | Yes | yes, strong | yes | yes | yes, strong |
| The interviewee feels a sense of responsibility towards the site and its stakeholders. | yes, strong | yes | yes, strong | yes, strong | yes, strong | yes |
| The site enhances the interviewee's sense of belonging towards his/her own community. | | yes, strong | yes | | yes | |
| The site helps/helped the interviewee in building civil relations and to share a common identity. | yes, strong | yes, strong | | yes | yes | yes, very strong |
| PERSONAL | | | | | | |
| The involvement in the reuse project stimulates/stimulated the interviewee's personal growth. | Yes | yes, strong | yes | yes, strong | yes | yes, strong |

| | | | | | | |
|---|-----|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----|-------------|
| The involvement in the project has/had an important role in the interviewee's self-realization. | yes | yes | | yes, strong | yes | yes, strong |
| The site enhances the interviewee personal interest in cultural heritage. | | yes, strong | | yes, strong | | |
| The involvement in the reuse project influences the interviewee's social status. | | yes | yes, strong | yes, strong | | |

APPENDIX C: Transcription interview

All the transcriptions are available upon request by the author.