

Chapter 2

Theoretical Background and Research Approach

Abstract Different concepts and definitions from a range of scientific disciplines are related to memory, identity and attachment. Increasingly, such concepts are introduced in urban areas, based on the premise that people link to certain objects which are part of the urban identity and make a city unique. Such assets are manifold and combine built and non-built spaces, in other words tangible and intangible, places and place attachment. Since around two decades, the contribution of heritage to the formation of urban identity is as well considered in international heritage studies. Urban heritage and its manifold expressions *are addressed in different studies from the Euro-American or Western context*, and a growing number of research and case studies on cities and areas in the Global South. In this research, a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods is applied, including field surveys, questionnaires and expert interviews. A subsequent comparative analysis was done to assess potential similarities and differences among the three case studies, namely Kathmandu in Nepal, Yogyakarta in Indonesia and Recife in Brazil, three cities which still comprise of a historic core area.

Keywords Urban identity • Place attachment • Cultural context

Many different types of disciplines are dealing with cities. Architects are concerned with buildings, urban planners and engineers with its urban patterns and infrastructure. Ecologists may deal with green areas, parks and urban flora and fauna, while conservation scientists will care about cultural and natural heritage assets. This may already be closer to sociologists, (environmental) psychologists or anthropologists that deal with urban societal and social matters, with the same being true for human geographers. In fact, there is a whole variety of disciplines that are dealing with ‘urban’ issues, on different scales and in different perspectives, and this list is by far not complete. In the end a cross-disciplinary approach, combining elements and inputs from various disciplines, seems to be necessary to access the ‘urban DNA’ (cf. Mueller-Haagen et al. 2014) and assets that make a city unique. Such assets are manifold and combine built and non-built ones, in other words tangible and intangible, places and place attachment, from different times and actors.

This research builds on two main aspects. The first question is on people's links to certain objects, people, or groups whether it is called collective memory, identity or attachment. Physical space on different scales is one object of research in this context, often on a neighbourhood or urban scale. Research on this part is carried out in different disciplines, mostly within social sciences. The second aspect refers to urban heritage, how it is defined, what kind of values are associated with it and by whom. Most literature is concerned with the 'formal' aspects of heritage, e.g. its fabric, heritage policies or its values in a more science-based view. Classically, this is topic in planning or heritage studies, to a lesser extent in tourism-related disciplines like tourism geography, which is considering more the process and consequences of turning heritage to tourism destinations. Both aspects overlap when it comes to the question of how far historic urban fabric forms a part in the construction of an urban identity of a city's inhabitants, or how far today's urban dwellers feel attached to the urban past and the urban heritage. Surprisingly, there is not much research in this specific field. Mostly, either heritage values are predefined, based on national or global definitions, or attachment is analysed to other physical spaces, e.g. neighbourhoods or quarters the peer group inhabits, not to historic core areas. When it comes to questions of urban identity and how far the historic centre is part of that, research often seems tourism focused.

To bridge the described gap this chapter will first give an overview of the main concepts and definitions related to memory, identity and attachment, their authors and disciplinary as well as regional backgrounds, before linking urban heritage with (urban) identity. Subsequently, the relevance of the research presented will be illustrated against the background of previous studies in different countries and contexts before deducing the research methodology.

2.1 Urban Concepts of Collective Memory, Identity and Place Attachment

The ground-breaking work (Jacobs 1961) on 'collective memory' is Halbwachs' book (1980 [1950]) of the same title. In this publication he argues that the individual memory of the past is composed of two kinds of elements, a social memory induced by external or common sources, and a personal one from the individual itself

While the collective memory endures and draws strength from its base in a coherent body of people, it is individuals as group members who remember. While these remembrances are mutually supportive of each other and common to all, individual members still vary in the intensity with which they experience them. I would readily acknowledge that each memory is a viewpoint on the collective memory, that this viewpoint changes as my relationships to other milieus change (Halbwachs 1980 [1950]: 48).

He is making a clear distinction between history and memory, with memory being dynamic and changing. History seeks to be objective while memory is emotional (Halbwachs 1980 [1950]; François and Schulze 2005; Fenster 2010;

Petermann 2014). To French sociologist Rautenberg (2010: 133) societies need to invent collective imaginaries of themselves ‘*in order to know what they are*’. As a consequence there are as many memories as there are groups (Halbwachs 1980 [1950])—a concept which found entry in different recent documents and charters, in particular the 1994 Nara Document of Authenticity (see Sect. 3.4), pointing out the relativity, plurality and variability of values over time and in different cultural surroundings (Rautenberg 1998, 2010, 2011; Scazzosi 2011). Already in the early 1960s famous Canadian author Jacobs (1961) said that:

Cities need old buildings so badly it is probably impossible for vigorous streets and districts to grow without them [...] for really new ideas of any kind—no matter how ultimately profitable or otherwise successful some of them might prove to be—there is no leeway for such chancy trial, error and experimentation in the high-overhead economy of new construction. Old ideas can sometimes use new buildings. New ideas must use old buildings (Jacobs 1961: 187ff).

At that time she was commenting on her discontent on ongoing urban renewal practises that did not pay attention to the needs of different actor groups, criticizing modernist planning. Although her book on ‘The Death and Life of Great American Cities’ is now more than 50 years old her concepts still seem to be up-to-date, as proven by a number of journal papers, newspaper articles, blogs, etc. (cf. Greenwald 2013; Donnelly 2014; Schubert 2014) that are still—or again—referring to Jacobs. For example, Sharifi and Murayama (2013) refer to Jacobs’s ideas as they investigate how traditional urban patterns can inspire planners to come up with more socially sustainable urban patterns for the case of Iran.

Alongside the work of Jacobs, the US-American urban planner and author Kevin Lynch wrote about place ‘legibility’ and ‘imageability’. In his most influential book “The Image of the City” (1960) he emphasizes on the presence of time and history in any urban environment, and how these factors affect people. This urban environment or environmental image is composed of structure (spatial relations of an object to the observer or other objects), identity (the composition of individual elements to a determined and separable entity in the urban context) and a distinct meaning, in other words the emotional or practical signification for the user or observer (Lynch 1960; Seifert 2011). Lynch states about the image and aesthetics of a city that

There seems to be a public image of any given city which is the overlap of many individual images. Or perhaps there is a series of public images, each held by some significant number of citizens. Such group images are necessary if an individual is to operate successfully within his environment and to cooperate with his fellows. [...] Each individual picture is unique, with some content that is rarely or never communicated, yet it approximates the public image, which, in different environments, is more or less compelling, more or less embracing (Lynch 1960: 46).

One thing Lynch and Jacobs share is an actor-centred perspective which focusses on the inhabitants, visitor or user of any urban area, rather than dealing with the planners. Both of them pay attention to urban spaces and their specific patterns which have the potential to be of certain—and specific—value for different

actors. People feel different in different (urban) surroundings and spaces. In this context one very often speaks about the ‘aura’ of a distinct place or its ‘genius loci’—a phrase derived from ancient Roman mythology where it signified spirits protecting a certain temple, area place, etc. (Castello 2010). Mostly ‘genius loci’ is used to describe a certain atmosphere or spirit of a place (Knirsch 2004). Norwegian architect and architectural historian-theoretician Norberg-Schulz (1982, 2013) then used the phrase ‘genius loci’ for his phenomenological analysis of cities. To him (2013: 273) “*The concrete things which constitute or given world are interrelated in complex and perhaps contradictory ways*”, composed of built assets, natural assets and intangible assets like feelings. He promotes traditional urban and building forms, which he sees as the “*basis for bringing about a deeper symbolic understanding of places*” (Jive’n and Larkham 2003: 70). Who wants to experience the ‘genius loci’ of a city, has to enter into a dialogue with people and things (Greverus 2008; Brakman 2011). Jive’n and Larkham (2003) find aspects of genius loci apparent in many design-led considerations of traditional settlements, as e.g., Sentosa (2001: 255) explored for traditional cosmological beliefs, societal structures and traditional measurements that shaped what he terms the “*genius loci within Balinese dwellings environments*”.

Another milestone in this discourse is Pierre Nora’s article “Between memory and history: *les lieux de mémoire*” (1989). Since then numerous publications on ‘*lieux de mémoire*’, ‘*Erinnerungsorte*’, places of remembrance, etc., followed, in different languages and contexts. To him, a French historian, a ‘*lieu de mémoire*’ is a place ‘where memory crystallizes’, e.g. also in ‘*French Marseillaise*’, the revolutionary calendar or the Tricolore. Nora (1989) defines memory as ‘something life’ which was and is generated by living societies, and in a permanent evolution. Memories can be forgotten, deformed, manipulated and revived. The concept of ‘*lieux de mémoire*’ has been transferred and analysed in various national contexts, e.g. as ‘*Erinnerungsorte*’ in Germany, listing material and immaterial items like the Reichstag, Berlin Wall, Auschwitz or the national anthem (François and Schulze 2005; Saretzki 2008).

The ongoing occupation with the memory topic indicates changes taking place in its interpretation. Particularly globalization in its different facets is triggering this shift, resulting in a growing need for particular sites of memory, a ‘spatialization’ of memory, as it is no longer part of daily life and rituals (Nora 1989; Fenster 2010; Werlen 2014). British sociologist Anthony Giddens noticed a dislocation of space from place in modernity, a contrast of modernity and tradition

In traditional cultures, the past is honoured and symbols are valued because they contain and perpetuate the experience of generations. Tradition is a mode of integrating the reflexive monitoring of action with the time-space organisation of the community. It is a means of handling time and space, which inserts any particular activity or experience within the continuity of past, present, and future, these in turn being structured by recurrent social practices. Tradition is not wholly static, because it has to be reinvented by each new generation as it takes over its cultural inheritance from those preceding it. Tradition does not so much resist change as pertain to a context in which there are few separated temporal and spatial markers in terms of which change can have any meaningful form (Giddens 1990: 37).

Spatially based identity has turned to be a research topic in social sciences in the 1970s (Weichhart 2004). In cultural and social geography, Werlen (1997) has pointed out the need to question essentialist views of spatial and cultural concepts. In this sense, space is not understood as something objectizable or measurable but as a rational category, defined and perceived by individuals rooted in their personal cultural and societal backgrounds. Spatial patterns are culturally encoded and reflect societal structures (Werlen 1997; Dürr 2005; Werlen and Lippuner 2007; Senil 2011). Spaces can be charged with a sense, they can be interpreted. Identity, as understood after the cultural turn, is relational. To establish a certain identity (nation, class, race, space, etc.) a distinction from other identities is needed, manifested in events, images and imaginations, often linked to certain spaces (Lossau 2014; Sen 2007). In recent human geography concepts such constructivist thoughts are increasingly adopted in spatial settings that are considered to adopt different and new meanings (Werlen 1997; Lossau 2014). British geographer Doreen Massey has argued for the importance of place. Places to her are dynamic, even conflicting, and with multiple identities:

We need, therefore, to think through what might be an adequately progressive sense of place, one which would fit in with the current global-local times and the feelings and relations they give rise to, and which would be useful in what are, after all, political struggles often inevitably based on place. The question is how to hold on to that notion of geographical difference, of uniqueness, even of rootedness if people want that, without it being reactionary (Massey 1991: 26).

Therefore she is claiming that a sense of place can only be understood and constructed by not looking at a single space but rather by linking it to places beyond, by considering “*a global sense of the local, a global sense of place*” (Massey 1991: 29). Space and identity are interdependent and interrelated. From a social scientist perspective, tangible things become only of value if some imaginations are attached. When adopting this perspective it is no longer possible to analyse space ‘per se’ but how space is constructed and part of identification processes (Sörensson 2008; Weichhart 2010; Lossau 2014).

Authors like Nora have contributed to the reinvention of the remembrance topic within the past 50 years and in particular since the turn of the millennium. Subsequently, aspects of remembrance and identity—that Nora states to concentrate in particular places and things—have become important research topics. This is particularly true for cultural and social geography dealing with human construction of their environments (Petermann 2014).

Concepts of territoriality, on how people relate to space in built environments, have been developed in the 1980s (Hillier and Hanson 1984). Since then the local scale is of growing importance in geographical research, e.g. investigating on urban quarters instead of the city as a whole (Reuber 1993, 2014; Paasi 2004). This importance of scale and the differentiation between areas and territories shows how much space and identity are constructed (Wagner 2008). French sociologist Henri Lefebvre is one of the pioneers in this research field, in particular his publication on ‘The Production of Space’ (1991), first published in 1974. There he distinguishes

different kinds of space, mental ones and real or social and physical space we live in. He argues that space is a social construction based on values and meanings, thus going far beyond a natural scientific understanding of space. In a later publication he states “*monumental buildings mask the power and the arbitrariness of power beneath signs and surfaces which claim to express collective will and collective thought*” (Lefebvre 1991: 143). In this sense, a monument is a potential and pivotal mediator between groups who claim some kind of—even diverging—ownership (in physical, historical or cultural terms) over a certain site and those who cannot (Di Giovine 2011). Lefebvre’s achievements in conceptualizing space and its production are still influencing on urban research, e.g. ‘Local versus Global’ trends on an urban scale (cf. Greverus 2008, refers to Lefebvre in her paper on aesthetics of urban diversity; Roy 2009 and her analysis on the relevance of Lefebvre’s concepts for cities in the Global South; or Frehse 2013, and her paper on the potential to use Lefebvre’s methods for Latin American urban research).

According to French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, space is hierarchical in a hierarchical society, even if that is not immediately apparent (Bourdieu 1989; Jung 2010). His spatial concept was later pursued and expanded by various researchers, among others by Löw. To her, space is produced; it is composed of a material base and cognitive efforts of perception, remembrance and imagination. Assessing this ‘inherent logic’ is indispensable to understand a city, which can be compared to an organism with a distinct character (Löw 2008, 2011).

Feelings towards places are embedded in cultural milieus and will therefore differ (Low 1992). People are linked to place by means of beliefs and practices. Urban anthropologist Low (1992) therefore distinguishes six different types of symbolic linkages between people and land

- Genealogic linkage through (family) history;
- Linkage through loss of land or destruction of a community;
- Economic linkage through ownership, inheritance, or politics;
- Cosmological linkage through religious, spiritual, or mythological relationships;
- Linkage through religious or secular pilgrimage and celebratory, cultural events; and
- Narrative linkage through storytelling and place naming.

These categories can overlap and are not mutually exclusive—and most of them are intrinsically linked to tangible or intangible heritage and apply in urban contexts as well.

So far a variety of different expressions has been presented and used to describe the bond that people develop with certain spaces, namely place attachment, sense of place, genius loci and place identity. Place attachment can be defined as:

The symbolic relationship formed by people giving culturally shared emotional/affective meanings to a particular space or piece of land that provides the basis for the individual’s or group understanding of and relation to the environment (Low 1992: 165).

The concept of place attachment refers to the bond that people develop with places (Low 1992; Lewicka 2008, 2010; Kyle et al. 2014). Historic sites have the

potential to facilitate such attachment as there is a growing consensus that culture and cultural heritage can contribute to human well-being (Tweed and Sutherland 2007; Bandarin et al. 2011). Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) cited the importance of a positive affective bond for maintaining a close association with place. For example Hernandez et al. (2007) studied residents' (university students and the general public residing in the Canary Islands off the north-western coast of Africa) attachment to three spatial contexts (i.e. island, city and neighbourhood) inferred that affective attachment develops prior to place identification. They also reported that emotional attachment can exist independent of place identification. Kyle et al. (2014) seek to conceptualize place attachment using identity theory, finding that there are slight differences in the definition and indicators used to measure place attachment.

'Sense of place' can be defined as a subjective emotional attachment that people feel towards a specific place (Yacobi 2004). It can be located at the intersection of three dimensions: physical space; conceived space, or the way in which planners and architects represent space; and the ideological space, which relates to the evolution of a place as influenced by its sociopolitical context (Yacobi 2004; Abu-Rabia 2010).

'Identity', when applied to a place, can either refer to the spatial aspects or—in psychology—can be understood as a feature of a person, not place. In this book, 'place identity' will be used in the sense of features that define a place's distinctiveness and unique character, in this sense very near to the concept of 'genius loci' (Norberg-Schulz 1982; Reuber 1993; Lewicka 2008; Wolfrum 2008a). According to Burke and Stets (1999), as an individual's identity is continually verified through the interaction with specific others, shared experiences, and settings, she or he begins to see the relationships, activity, and settings predictable and dependable (Kyle et al. 2014). According to Finnish geographer Paasi (2003: 479) identity is a social process, and

'Regional identity' is, in a way, an interpretation of the process through which a region becomes institutionalized, a process consisting of the production of territorial boundaries, symbolism and institutions. This process concomitantly gives rise to, and is conditioned by, the discourses/practices/rituals that draw on boundaries, symbols and institutional practices.

According to Lewicka (2008) there is no agreement in literature on how place attachment and place identity are related, sometimes they are used interchangeably, in other studies attachment is used as a part of identity. What both concepts have in common is a positive connotation (Lewicka 2005). In this research it was decided to use the phrases of 'place attachment' and 'identity' in the same sense without differentiating further.

People's attachment to place emerges from their desire to strive to preserve contexts for self-verification. The verification of place identities evolves through interaction with a certain space. Physical environment plays an important role in maintaining identity (Kyle et al. 2014). Australian New South Wales government (2004: 10) formulated that "*Heritage forms the backdrop of our identity*" and ascribes heritage an important role to play in understanding relationships, culture,

and in fashioning future. Cultural heritage will be used in the broadest understanding of UNESCO (UNESCO 1972, 2011, 2013, 2014), as elaborated in Sect. 3.2. Cultural heritage combines space and endowed meanings or values (Wöhler 2008; Te Heuheu et al. 2012). In this sense, tangible cultural heritage ascribes a certain value to a building, ensemble, space or urban area, to a physical space, while an intangible cultural heritage includes traditions, living expressions, or social practices which are potentially but not necessarily attached to a certain physical space. Different authors have used the word ‘heritage-scape’, what would mean a heritage area which is endowed with a certain meaning (depending on the societal context and group), and thus in its very sense a ‘construction’ of space which contains certain heritage assets (Wöhler 2008; Garden 2009; Di Giovine 2011; Ronström 2014).

Talking about heritage—and how to protect or sustain it—reveals different definitions of related terms as there are four distinct preservation approaches

‘Preservation’ or ‘conservation’ refers to maintaining a site in its original condition to the greatest extent possible, taking only measures, such as repairing a leaking roof, that protect it from further damage. ‘Restoration’ refers to returning a structure to an earlier, often the original, state. In restoration work, keeping original elements in place, even when they are damaged, is preferable to replicating elements. ‘Reconstruction’ encompasses the building of a new structure based on historic designs (Alberts and Hazen 2010: 62).

All four concepts are applied in urban renewal projects. Actually, even for projects that are meant to upgrade certain urban areas (like urban centres) there is a variety of phrases: ‘urban renewal’, ‘upgrading’, ‘regeneration’, ‘revitalization’ or ‘redevelopment’ (cf. Chap. 4). While ‘upgrading’ has a clear economic connotation, other phrases are often used interchangeably, in particular ‘regeneration’ and ‘renewal’, which different authors use to describe current trends (Roberts and Sykes 2000; Chien-Yuan Lin 2007; Colantonio and Dixon 2011). Yeo and Han (2012) on the other hand uses ‘regeneration’ as an umbrella for all other terms. This research sticks to the words ‘renewal’ and ‘regeneration’, and uses them in the same sense. In the heritage context they are going beyond ‘preservation’ as heritage is included as a (social or economic) resource worth being protected but not necessarily the goal itself.

2.2 The Potential of Urban Heritage in Identity Formation

Aside of the discourses coming from the ‘attachment’ or ‘identity’ side, there is another one that emerged on the ‘place’ side, namely in planning and architectural criticism. As early as 1848 Ruskin formulated as one of his “Seven Lamps of Architecture” (1989) that buildings should respect the culture from which they have developed. In the late twentieth century the discourse was pursued to oppose uniform global planning and building activities. To Rossi (1984), the city is a collective memory, its forms are constant while its functions can change and vanish. Cities are the collective memory of people (Nerding 2008; Rautenberg 2011),

what is not always considered in planning processes. While the understanding of public space throughout the 1960s and 1970s was more a functionalist one, actual discussions are increasingly considering historic and social values, public spaces are considered as important parts of identity (Knirsch 2004).

Today, cities are understood as a living entity, constantly under development and redefining itself and its identity over time (Constantinescu and Hărmănescu 2014; Stan 2014). Cultural heritage has become an integrative component for urban areas and sustainable cities (Turner 2012), as it showcases the ‘contemporary of the uncontemporary’, expressed in material forms as well as in immaterial realities, relations and linkages (Lefebvre 1991). Public urban space is shaped by various actors of different backgrounds, age, sex, ethnicity, etc. Its use differs over time or even in the course of the day. By using and shaping it, people are expressing their individual identity (Borden 2008), in return spaces can influence on the construction of identity of individuals. “*Settings and context, spirit and feeling are all part of the elusive genus loci of the city*” (Turner 2013: 79).

Hassenpflug (2000) talks about spaces that are characterised by signs and symbols, thus ensuring their uniqueness. To him, spaces enable people to perceive the history of the past in the present, while at the same time contributing to shaping the future. For Baum (2010), ‘urban’ has four different dimensions: a built one; a functional one, comprising uses of public and private space; a social one in the sense of human interaction with its rules and regulations; and an atmospheric dimension, which is the character of a place, its history but also its contemporary development.

Berkes et al. (2009) stress the importance of maintaining, and at times restoring and cultivating, new cultural connections to space. Among the needs they identified to sustain the linkage between people and land—mainly for rural areas—are the maintenance of local and traditional knowledge, of cultural legacies, social institutions and networks. Scrutinizing their approach, it is worth asking why this should not apply to urban areas similarly, e.g. for maintenance of urban rivers, like in the Australian context where Aboriginal people attach cultural and religious values to the Darling river, linking well-being with cultural health and physical safety, as described by Gibson (2012).

‘Place’ is a social concept and the ways in which such a physical place or space is perceived, experienced, imagined and in the end maintained is tied to cultural values and beliefs (Gibson 2012). Jack (2012: 90) notes:

Place can be said to come into existence when people give meaning to a part of the larger, undifferentiated space in which they live. While abstract knowledge about a place can be acquired relatively quickly, attachment to a place takes longer to develop.

The urban landscape is a spatial representation of social culture (Enache and Căpălescu 2014)—of the past one(s) that constructed the space and the present one that is using and transforming it, and who are transmitting it then to future generations (Jaramillo Contreras 2012). Today, cultural change seems to be faster than at any time in history. As a consequence, social attitudes and values are altered globally; modernity led to a disengagement of direct links of local contexts

(Townroe 1996). Places are no longer clear supports of local identity (Giddens 1990; Morley and Robins 1995). Opinions on the value of places vary, so do emotional connections. Sense of place is a personal matter that might change and even get lost (Schofield and Szymanski 2011).

The urban functional segregation of the past decades has led to a decreased personal identification with the city and an increased identification with few clearly defined spaces (Grünberg 2004). Views on urban heritage, the attached values and local identities are manifold, and can even be conflicting (Lillehammer 2009). Cultural heritage is a construction, what is considered cultural heritage depends on social and political processes. The consideration as heritage of one societal group could imply its loss by another group that ascribed different meaning or use (Saretzki 2008). Aspects of social identity, knowledge, spirituality, recreation, and aesthetics are very likely to differ also between different cities (Grove 2009). Each city has a specific history and particular social, cultural, political and economic assets which change or overlap over time (Schmidt 2013); neither cultures nor their values are static (Paasi 2000; Taylor and Levine 2011). Many heritage values are set not by the market but by other types of social relations (Rojas 2002).

The ongoing and increasing global competition of cities (Amen et al. 2011) results—among others—in a growing recognition of urban features as unique selling propositions. Urbanity is undergoing a change from a normative concept towards an aesthetic perception of users and visitors. Urban density and complexity are no longer seen as a handicap but rather cultivated as urban self-promotion (Bittner 2010). Urban marketing and urban living quality are increasingly considered in planning and attached to heritage. Cultural heritage is an important part of the urban landscape; it forces the user to adapt to particular contexts but provides the surrounding for social interaction. It is why “maintaining cultural connections to the land and at times restoring and cultivating new connections” (Berkes et al. 2009: 129) was and is essential. Hatuka (2010) assigns collective memory the power to become a tool in modifying space. An intrinsic urban profile or character is composed of different layers that overlap over time, what turns historic does not vanish but becomes another layer (Hoffmann-Axthelm 1996; Vedru 2011; Turner 2013). Heritage is non-static and open for interpretation: “*It also becomes a piece of clay ready to be moulded into something we want it to be*” (Uzzell 2009: 326).

Taking a look at the linkage between heritage and identity from a social anthropology perspective, Filippucci (2009) finds that societies approach their past by means of heritage and then construct their identity based on it. Heritage is a ‘social construct’, linked to the social construct of identity. The meaning of heritage depends on the social group that defines it as part of its identity (Dormaels 2013). Baum (2010) explains the importance of identity with the intrinsic human need for orientation and security. The identity of a place permits us to identify with that particular area; places with an identity stand out from the crowd and attract people. Identity is therefore complex and multi-faceted, composed of built, social and societal layers. Dürr (2005) talks about a ‘spatialization’ of identity—certain actions are carried out in certain places. These spaces therefore become witnesses of

distinct actions and are associated with them; as a consequence they become part of the urban or collective identity.

Identity is also a topic of growing importance in heritage studies. Albert (2013) witnesses this shift since heritage is no more seen as purely a tangible and static object, but rather as a cultural and social activity, constituting part for the shaping of identity:

From the epistemic theoretical perspective, a change of paradigm has taken place from an identity that is immanent in an object and therefore static, to an identity that continuously develops and therefore also constructs heritage in a dynamic manner. In my opinion, this change of perspective in Heritage Studies should be followed (Albert 2013: 13).

Aspects of identity are important on different scales, for the values an individual attaches with a certain place or thing, and for strengthening the ties within groups, to develop a group identity (Weichhart 2004), e.g. in nation building or developing a distinct urban identity. Heritage is one specific interpretation of the past in the present. Only a small portion of past events ever makes it into the recorded or materially preserved past, and out of that another small part is used in the creation and reinforcement of group identities (Sommer 2009: 103). Remembrance is a subjective reconstruction of the past (Saretzki 2008), and one precondition for forming a cultural identity (West 2007). It is as well a precondition for developing a feeling of responsibility towards a city or urban area. To Norberg-Schulz (2013: 282), identification is the basis for man's sense of belonging

It is therefore not only important that our environment has a spatial structure which facilitates orientation, but that it consists of concrete objects of identification. Human identity presupposes the identity of place. Identification and orientation are primary aspects of man's being-in-the-world.

The interest in cultural heritage that social and cultural sciences have developed over the past years can be regarded as a reaction to processes of globalization and modernization within the past around 20 years (Schmitt 2009) where cities and urban places are competing with each other on a global scale (Chien-Yuan Lin 2007). Amongst others it is expressed in a growing appreciation of values and potentials of traditional knowledge, culture and spirituality (Department of Economic and Social Affairs—Division for Social Policy and Development and Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues 2009).

Culture has never been static nor homogenous, although this is widely believed, resulting in attempts to freeze certain cultures or cultural expressions in time. Cultures are adapting, changing and without rigid borders, particularly in times of globalization and mobility (Department of Economic and Social Affairs—Division for Social Policy and Development and Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues 2009). Furthermore, Scazzosi (2011: 20) comments that:

The process through which people give sense to places and elements and attribute values or disvalues to them, in order to make choices for the transformation of places and implement and manage them, is extremely complex. It has not been much studied or experimented yet. It concerns the different kinds of relationships between the new and the old, in the light of the different cultural meanings and values that socio-cultural groups attribute to past

(material and immaterial) heritage. But also in the light of conditions and requisites that contemporariness has put forward.

The interlinkages of identity, culture and heritage have found their way into international policies and declarations (cf. Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites and Nara Document, International Conference on Urban Culture 2007; ICOMOS 2008, 1994), Chap. 3 will elaborate further on this topic. Conservation in an international context is related to the debate on the ‘authenticity’ and ‘integrity’ of a site—debates which are power-laden as both guiding concepts can have different meanings in different cultural contexts. In addition, sites are multilayered so the point is for whom a site should be authentic and integer (Alberts and Hazen 2010). ‘Sense of place’, ‘authenticity’ and social values of space have become important research topics in heritage management in Australia, influenced by the Burra Charter. The charter also influenced on heritage practices in the UK that changed towards a stronger consideration of ‘communal values’ (Harrison 2011). The concept of identity also comprises recognition of different societal groups, on national and international scale happening, e.g. in the growing number of documents and policies on ‘indigeneity’ or the recognition of how closed natural assets and beauty are linked to cultural beliefs in different cultures (Te Heuheu et al. 2012; Thorsell 2012). In particular, urban centres and urban heritage are considered as manifestation of urban identity worldwide

Twentyfirst-century heritage interpretation must be an informed and inclusive group activity, and expression of evolving community identity, facilitated by professionals and nonprofessionals alike. Moving from passive consumption of prepared presentations to enactment of identity and connection, this new form of heritage interpretation breaks through the confines of the tour and the site to become a form of discourse within the wider community (Silberman 2013: 30).

2.3 Previous Research on Urban Identities in Different Cultural Contexts

There are a number of studies from Euro-American or Western context, and a growing number of research and case studies on cities and areas in the Global South.

Even in—or because of—the globalizing world, place attachment is strong in Europe (Lewicka 2005). For instance European reconstruction after World War II can be considered as longing for lost urban identity (Tokya-Seid 2003a; Vinken 2010; Pellnitz 2013). This process seems to be taken up again within the last few years, e.g. in reconstruction processes like in the recent discourses on the historic centre of Frankfurt (Rodenstein 2010). From the 1960s on, middle European cities witnessed a transformation of urban structures towards a ‘functional city’, as a consequence the traditional form of social spaces was reformed in the post-industrial city (Bittner 2008).

Cultures of remembrance have been gaining importance in European cities since the 1980s, e.g. in the European Capital of Culture (Luger 2008; Roca et al. 2011). Subsequently, different programmes and policies have been developed and implemented, such as the 2008 programme Intercultural Cities Programme, seeking for diversity and a pluralistic city identity (Wood 2010). All over Europe, cities seek to define their specific image, referring to spatial and cultural particularities (Constantinescu and Hărmănescu 2014). In its conclusions, the “European Urban Charter II—Manifesto for a new urbanity” (2008: 15) states that:

We know that our towns and cities have a long history and must be viewed from a long-term perspective of our cultures. We think that these roots in the past and in our collective memories are also an asset that helps us to project ourselves into the future on the basis of a strong identity. We are not proposing a single model of urban development. Our towns and cities have their own personalities. They are all different and their diversity is an opportunity for Europe.

In the UK for example, culture and heritage have been linked more closely since the 1990s. The complex of culture and heritage became of

Particular importance to the successful growth and development of devolved areas for a myriad of reasons—not least the politics of identity. Devolution and articulation of cultural identity are intimately linked, evident by the immediate appointment and creation of ministerial posts with cultural responsibility, and major reviews of cultural policies, being instigated in the devolved countries. Scanning cultural policy statements, it can be clearly seen that the heritage’s role within the politics of cultural identity and devolution was to provide a firm cultural context, community and physical manifestation of history and a sense of place for the emergent nations within the greater whole of the United Kingdom (Baxter 2009: 86).

Europe-wide rediscovery of historic centres can also be considered as a counter-movement of an urban society that is losing its urban identity (Tokya-Seid 2003a). All over Europe, numerous historic cities are facing the challenge to protect built heritage without prohibiting change and becoming static. They are trapped between short-term economic interests that may alter the entire urban appearance and a musealization, as can be witnessed, e.g. in San Gimignano, Italy (Urban 2011), or Rothenburg ob der Tauber, Germany (Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000; Alberts and Hazen 2010). Traditional European cities undergoing revitalization are endangered to turn into open-air-museums presented as the embodiment of a collective memory (Eeckhout and Jacobs 2008; Gaines and Jäger 2009) instead of being a living entity.

This tendency is associated with urban marketing, which is increasingly based on the urban identity and the identification with a city, in particular with the city’s urban heritage (Hilber 2004; Weichhart 2004; Ebert 2005; Luchsinger 2008; HerO 2011). The creation of an urban image is needed to foster urban marketing (Frank 2011) which itself often is based on renewal projects in run-down historic areas. After the major urban renewal actions in London, the iconic Docklands project, Thames River and its bank has become a major open space and heart of the town again (Farrell 2010), although the project was not free of conflicts, including some on the nature of its past heritage (Massey 1991). Like London, also other European

cities define their identity based on water, even with brand names like ‘sea-side town’ or the ‘pearl’ of a certain river (Stiftung Lebendige Stadt 2005). In a study on German cities it was found out that particularly those cities undergoing an economic structural shift declared identity a political goal. Only the successful seem to have an identity (Helbrecht 2004).

A similar kind of ‘branding’ can be found on a global scale, in particular in tourist destinations, e.g. where Amsterdam is associated with red light district or Australia with Aborigines (Wöhler et al. 2010). On a global scale those cities that are associated with a certain image—including cultural and historic references—are comparably advantage, e.g. this is the case for cities like Venice or Rio de Janeiro. (Wolfrum 2008b).

Various studies have been carried out on different aspects of place attachment and identity all around Europe’s cities. Hidalgo and Hernández (2001) interviewed people from different areas of Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Spain, and found a comparably larger grade of attachment to larger scales instead of neighbourhood and social attachment greater than physical one. In a later study on the same island, Hernández et al. (2007) found natives establish more intense links with their area compared to non-natives of the same nationality and immigrants, however, the later groups are attached to the place. Another study analysed the significance of urban open spaces for young people’s social practises in the Canary Islands, Spain (Díaz-Rodríguez et al. 2015).

In the case of the North Pennines, UK, the local heritage was found to support the residents’ sense of place by providing a source of pride and self-esteem (Hawke 2012). On the other hand, in studies on heritage reserves and villages in Estonia, done based on questionnaires handed to locals, Vedru (2011) found people to get used to their surroundings to the extent that they will no longer recognize values going beyond material ones. Social and cultural values sometimes seem to be more visible to outsiders than to locals.

In a study on the collective memory of the inhabitants of the cities of Lviv (Ukrainian with Polish history) and Wrocław (Polish with German history), Lewicka (2008) found in place identity high in both cities, and place memory loaded with national contents, with the place origin and most recent times and events recalled best. However, they differ in terms of scale as place attachment in Lviv was dominated by national identity and in Wrocław by local (district, city) one. Therefore she hypothesizes that place may be construed either in a top-down manner, as a national, ethnic, or religious symbol, or in a bottom-up way, as an autonomous unique entity.

The importance of preserving historic cities is widely recognized in Europe, including the protection of its aesthetic values. However, urban sprawl is identified as a growing threat, resulting in a loss of the urban or regional identity, as de Noronho Vaz et al. (2012) point out in the case of the Algarve region in Portugal. Simultaneously, people’s acting radius has enlarged over time (Weichhart 2009), resulting in a changing perception. Today, Europe is witnessing new trends in ‘placemaking’ and post-consumerism structures, e.g. by transition town movements or urban gardening, aiming at the creation of turning spaces into places with

a specific—and mostly community-based use (Andrews and Urbanska 2010). Sociocultural activities and events are increasingly reintegrated into daily life and become part of urban lifestyle and identity of certain groups, e.g. urban gardening does not only serve supply functions but fulfils a certain ‘back to the roots’ feeling of gardeners—in particular in major cities like New York (Eizenberg 2010).

Most studies found differences in objects and kinds of identification of different user groups with a city, e.g. inhabitants with Hispanic background perceive their hometowns in the US in a different way than groups with a US background (Dürr 2005); or international migrants in Cologne, Germany, that have a comparably different spatial reference system which is on a more or local quarter scale and related to partly different objects (Reuber 1993; Gebhardt et al. 1995; Espahangizi 2011). Other studies deal with specific meanings endowed, e.g. oral memory of Roma in Spain (West 2007) or battlefields, a research that the authors explicitly understand as not being about the past but about attitudes and understandings of the past in the present (Carman and Carman 2009).

Not surprisingly, sense of place and identity topics are of particular interest in areas which are not free of conflicts over land and over values ascribed to it, e.g. there is a comparably large number of case studies on the topic from Israel and Palestine (Yacobi 2004, 2010; Abu-Rabia 2010; Fenster 2010). Abu-Rabia (2010) investigated on construction of territorial belonging and memory by Bedouin-Arabs in the Negev desert. In his findings he points out how the ‘sense of place’ differs between competing groups, and how it is constructed through spatial practices of memory and belonging. Fenster (2010) analysed different memories and symbolism attached to certain places by Jews and Palestinians in Israel, and witnesses a growing interest in the links between memory, belonging and commemoration in the recent years. Handal emphasized on the linkages between tourism and identity and potential conflicts among the various actor groups, using the case study of Bethlehem (2006).

In an essay on multicultural Britain and its heritage, sociologist and principal figure in cultural studies Hall (1999) raised several questions which can be summarized as follows:

- Whose heritage are we actually talking about?
- Who is it for?
- And who is concerned by it?

These questions can be transferred to postcolonial contexts in many countries of the Global South, where aspects of heritage and attached values are intertwined with different or even conflicting views on distinct spaces by different actor groups (Lagae 2010), raising questions of cultural heritage as a manifestation of colonial times. For instance, in the case study of Lubumbashi, DR Congo, Lagae (2010) refers to the question ‘whose heritage’ by analysing and comparing sites of former ‘colonizers’ and ‘colonized’ that act as *lieux de mémoire* for different communities that coexist but not necessarily interact. Hewitt (2012) finds culture and cultural identities increasingly politicized, and still popular Western or global stereotypes

find cultures and societies outside their range as underdeveloped, traditional, or ‘backward’.

With the arrival of the Europeans, Latin America became a ‘laboratory’ for European (urban) planning and theories. It is what Adams calls a ‘constructed identity’ (2002: 19), however, an expression of the local and urban history. To her, the construction of an identity is more than freezing some area in time, but rather a socially compatible reuse. That matches the growing concern to preserve historic urban centres that can be witnessed in many Latin American cities, intertwined with certain nostalgia (Hiernaux 2013). In Latin America, built heritage is increasingly becoming a resource for the reconfiguration of urban spaces (Lacarrière 2013). In their article on the upgrading history of the historic centre of Recife, Brazil, the authors claim “*nowadays, collective identity and memory are essential values that must be present in any urban planning task*” (de Albuquerque Lapa and Almeida de Melo 2007: 37).

In the relatively young states of southeast-Asia, historic cities have a more negative connotation as they are associated with colonialism or poverty (Tokya-Seid 2003b). Nevertheless, this colonial heritage is used by different countries to create a certain image or national pride, e.g. in South Korea where government tries to define the country’s national identity through Seoul’s urban postcolonial landscape (Podoler 2010). In the case of Southeast Asia and in particular Indonesia, Evers (2007) talks about an ‘archaeology of meaning’; built artefacts from previous eras which survived the ongoing urbanisation process and which do not necessarily still have a meaning for the current population. Ahmad (2006) calls cultural resources of Southeast Asian countries ‘items of national pride’, and finds them still rooted in vibrant and largely traditional communities while Yap (2012) notices a modernization trend in Southeast Asian cities, replacing traditional quarters with international-style malls and towers. In the end, cities regret the losses of fabric and subsequently identity too late.

However, other researchers found different kinds and levels of attachment to places in different Asian countries, e.g. functional and emotional attachment to main traditional shopping streets in the city centre of Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (Ujang 2012), while China has already erased most of its history and built whole new cities and quarters with new artificial or ‘instant history’, representing the identity of the class of young and well-travelled Chinese citizens (Mars 2008). Michel (2010) found discourses on urban renewal all over the metropolises in Southeast Asia, from small-scale projects that consider heritage and identity aspects up to large-scale ones focussing comparably more on economic aspects. Referring to a global scale, Di Giovine (2011) elaborates on UNESCO’s role in ‘valorising’ and ‘creating’ the heritage of Angkor Wat in Cambodia, while Nyaupane et al. (2015) researched on the linkages between tourism, religion and heritage by analysing the Buddhist World Heritage site of Lumbini, Nepal

Globalization is incorporated into the fabric of cities also to satisfy the expectation of international tourists, resulting in changes in the perception of spaces, uses, etc., e.g. as Ellingsen (2010) has noticed in Kathmandu. Ronström (2014) links heritage and tourism when stating that festival and heritage provide the destinations

while tourism provides the visitors. Tourism has the potential to support cultural heritage and culture conservation in developing countries (Luger 2008), but the complex relationship between cultural heritage and global tourism may end up in a ‘tourismification’ (Salazar 2010) of heritage, where the cultural assets are rather seen as unique selling propositions that are used to attract visitors than as living—and changeable—heritage for the local communities:

Ironically, pioneering projects of originality and uniqueness have been successfully replicated to the point where they no longer express the sense of a locally distinctive identity that was the intention of their creators and promoters (Salazar 2010: 133).

In the worst case, interpretation of heritage in global tourism—in particular in developing countries—can have the effect of disembedding local sense of identity, e.g. in the case of ‘glocalized’ heritage of Yogyakarta and central Java in Indonesia (Salazar 2008, 2010, 2012). Zahnd (2005) worked on the potential of revitalisation and innovative uses in historic quarters of Yogyakarta and Semarang, Indonesia, illustrating the discrepancy between modernity and tradition within the Indonesian urban planning and urban development.

Contemporary understandings of heritage are using elements of the past to represent shared values as a basis for a future vision of a nation, city or community. Ireland (2012) finds this concept particularly powerful in Twenty-first century post-colonial nations with their culturally heterogeneous populations. In other cases, cities are trying to develop an identity, e.g. Dubai, which seeks to brand itself as the global destination for the wealthy of the world, trying to counteract the partly bad image of Arab countries in the Western world. The strategy is therefore to create a particular modality of Muslim modernity without completely denying the past and culture, but by adapting it to become more globally ‘acceptable’ (Haines 2011). Culture is not static, and is increasingly influenced by global trends, for emigrants as well as immigrants, e.g. in a case study on Chinese dwellers in Canada that found an ‘Asianization’ of Vancouver and subsequent ‘Vancouverization’ of Asia (Lowry and McCann 2011).

In a review of 81 recent studies on sustainable urban renewal, Zheng et al. (2014) found a growing number of publications over the past years indicating the growing interest in the topic. However, they identified a lack in terms of mechanism to achieve sustainable urban renewal and claim a need for more comprehensive approaches that analyse more than one or two aspects (cf. Chap. 4 on regeneration). In an interview published in the *Journal of International Affairs* (2012), architect Rem Koolhaas described that:

If you look back a 100 years, you find that there was still such a thing as Indian architecture, Thai architecture, Chinese architecture, African architecture, Dutch architecture, and Russian architecture. But now, almost all of these languages have disappeared, and are subsumed in a larger and seemingly universal style. The process has been like the disappearance of a spoken language. Remnants of these differences still exist. For example, a high-rise in Singapore is inhabited in a very different way from a high-rise in the suburbs of Paris or a high-rise in China. Each of these cultures, which once had its own form of speaking, is not trying to resurrect its old language, but is interested in defining and asserting its uniqueness again.

To sum it up, there is a variety of past studies on different cities and areas that dealt with different aspects of place attachment and the linkages between heritage and identity. Studies stem from countries all around the globe with a growing number from Asia. However, studies on place attachment mostly do not consider heritage as one aspect that is of importance for feeling attached to a city. As a consequence, these studies mostly dealt with attachment on different scales, ranging from neighbourhood to city, with none of them asking about the historic city centre explicitly. In return, studies on heritage only recently shifted from researching on ‘scientifically’ ascribed values to those ascribed by local actor groups and dwellers.

In their book on aspects of urban living quality Baur et al. (2010) define a set of indicators to assess what makes a city ‘liveable’. In their opinion standard rankings focus too much on economic aspects, while they explicitly include assets and indicators like ‘proud of the city’, or ‘feeling at home’, combining aspects of the built environment with intangible assets while explicitly mentioning cultural heritage as one asset—all aspects of place attachment or identity.

2.4 Conceptual and Theoretical Embedding of the Research Topic

As described above, there is multiple research and literature on how people attach to places, using different nomenclature, namely on place attachment, urban or place identity, different aspects of collective memory, tangible and intangible values. Their use and definitions change over time and depend on the scientific discipline. However, they coincide in the very core, as they all deal with certain meanings, values or feelings attached to distinct places or occurrences. Such interplay between time and space is what makes historic cities and city cores so special. Such historic centres are changing or disappearing continuously—although being ‘of value’ as argued by a multitude of researchers, organisations, policymakers and others.

Perception and the perceived reality depend on the perceiver and is thus unique to each individual. Places are part of such realities and are a topic analysed by philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, human geographers, and urban planners (Dürr 2005; Barthel-Bouchier 2012; Casakin et al. 2015). Like in any other discipline, (human) geography has witnessed certain research topics and related theories emerging and declining. As mentioned previously, this research cannot be ascribed to a single geographical research area only, but is going beyond. The approaches and paradigms in German and international geography are manifold and have changed over time, e.g. as Ehlers (2007) has listed. In recent years the research in urban geography was much more actor oriented, with space treated as a container where certain actions are located but without regarding it as determining factor.

This research work is based at the interface of urban and (new) cultural geography, and as case studies from cities in the Global South are tackled, also aspects of development geography are part of it. Subsequently, the different concepts and paradigms will be highlighted before deducing a methodology.

With the cultural turn that occurred in the last decades of the twentieth century in (German-speaking) humanities and social sciences, the symbolic dimension of space gained recognition (Ehlers 2007; Freytag 2014; Lossau 2014). Dörfler (2013) describes the disregard of space in (German-speaking) geography until it came back on the agenda via the debate on globalization and related topics emerging in the 1990s. Rothfuß and Dörfler (2013) claim a yet untapped potential of (re-)introducing a spatial reference in geography research and theory, by linking the discourse on space emerging in the ‘spatial turn’ debate (cf. Schlögel 2003; Klaus and Drüeke 2010) to qualitative research methodology.

The Construction of space has been a research topic within German-speaking human geography since around 2000 (Weichhart 2010). It derives from actual cultural and social geography dealing with links between societal and spatial aspects, with human production of spaces by their present and past uses (Freytag 2014), marking spatial boundaries based of societal differentiation (Reuber 2014). Nature and culture are increasingly seen as linked to each other, thus moving away from traditional Western scientific paradigms (Lippuner 2014). Cultural geography also comprises questions of cultural governance (cf. Mattissek and Prossek 2014, on the concept of governance) and global culture governance (Schmitt 2009, 2011) which is concerned with social actors, mechanisms and conditions of ‘culture’ production, including cultural expression or intangible values, symbols and also sense of place.

Geography has also been concerned with research on regional identities and how they are constructed for decades. The topic has gained a new momentum in the course of ‘new regionalism’, a kind of countermovement to globalization (cf. Paasi 2009, 2013, who researches on regional identity and regionalisms in the context of Europe). The spatiality of culture is a geographical concern (Pratt 2012). The importance of communication in space-making and constructing identities was also stressed by system theory, which was developed by Luhmann (1997, 2000). According to system theory, society is based on communication which is then creating reality as well as identity. It therefore can also serve to understand ‘space’ which is constituted in a societal process (Pott 2007b; Rampley 2009; Jönhill 2011; Freytag 2014), as also dealt within new cultural geography which is also concerned with the linkages of space and identities (Gebhardt et al. 2007). In Luhmann’s approach, one main hypothesis is that society is an all-encompassing communication system solely consisting of communication, including actions, but excluding human beings and static objects like buildings (Jönhill 2011). To Luhmann communications and not actions define social systems. Luhmann (2000) also described art as a social system. Pott (2007b) claims that Luhmann’s system theory is predestined for the social-geographical analysis of spaces that are constituted in a linguistic approach, as the theory is grounded in the concept of communication. Different authors have used this approach to analyse the construction of heritage

cities as tourism destinations (cf. studies of Vanderstraeten 2005; Pott 2007a, b; Wöhler 2010; Wöhler et al. 2010).

Furthermore, aspects of tourism geography are included in the methodology as it deals with the social construction and production of tourist space (cf. Wöhler et al. 2010). Concepts related to the research topic including global tourism, location branding and competition amongst destinations are strongly linked to the question of identity formation (cf. Häußermann and Siebel 1993, on instrumentalisation of large-scale cultural and sports events to shape urban images in Europe; Poytner 2009, on the Olympics in London; Steinbrink et al. 2011, on the context of urban renewal and festivals in the Global South by the example of 2010 World Cup in South Africa; or Scharr and Steinicke 2012, on impacts of Olympic Games on Sochi) and ‘destination branding’ (cf. Glatter and Weber 2010, on branding urban quarters as ‘in’ in tourist guide books, thus influencing on shaping urban identities).

The institutionalization of cultural protection and urban cultural heritage has been tackled both in heritage studies and tourism geography (Wöhler 2008; Butina 2011). In international cultural preservation, Wöhler defined (2008) processes of ‘heritageification’ (cf. Chap. 3), liberating locally rooted cultural heritage from its sociohistorical context by assigning it a new meaning, which in turn is integrated in a global system of meaning in a process of ‘achronisation’ (Butina 2011).

Development research is concerned insofar as the case study cities are all located on the Global South. For a long time “*hegemonial theories of globalisation and postcoloniality*” (Ong 2011: 8) have shaped the debate on cities in Asia and other developing countries (Roy 2009). Euro-American cities have been found a suitable ‘urban role model’. However, today many cities in the Global South have become centres of enormous changes, including economic growth and cultural vitality (Ong 2011). Much research on cities of the Global South deals with questions of social disparities and poverty, such as marginal settlements or slum upgrading—publications like Mike Davis’ ‘Planet of Slums’ (2006) or Abdoumalik Simone’s ‘City Life’ (2010) called for international attention and importance. One of the milestone publications on urbanisation-related issues in developing countries was David Drakakis-Smith’s book on “Third World Cities” (2000). Related topics, also a focal area within German-speaking urban geography, are megacities and mega-urbanisation, particularly in Asia (Kraas and Mertins 2008; Kraas and Nitschke 2008; Kraas 2006, 2010) but also in Latin America (Borsdorf and Coy 2009). Increasingly, aspects of urban renewal in developing and emerging countries have become research topics (Coy 2007; Kraas 2010). ‘Culture’ has become a very important topic in urban context, in particular in renewal or redevelopment schemes (Montgomery 2003, 2004). Increasingly, studies are dealing with heritage sites as spaces where social networks are created and maintained (Murzyn-Kupisz and Dzialek 2013), acknowledging that material and immaterial are inseparably combined (Weichhart 2009).

Currently, the understanding of urban assets and heritage is moving away from the Western knowledge-centred societies with its more analytical perspective, particularly in cultural heritage whose values are defined differently in traditional societies (Barth 2002; Koch 2013). Insofar post-colonialism is one important

political trend allowing for increased appreciation of different views of the past, e.g. about importance of certain heritage, also the birth of ‘heritage studies’ as new field (Carman and Stig Sørensen 2009). Attitude of people towards the past and the question of how such attitudes are formed is a major area of heritage research. The construction of cultural heritage is a process involving actors from local to world society (Wöhler 2008). Nevertheless, so far research has focussed on particular aspects instead of reflecting on the interdependences and interlinkages between them (Stig Sørensen 2009).

Different authors have stated research demands concerning various aspects of heritage, conservation as well as place identity.

Heritage in the understanding of this research is composed of tangible and intangible ones; both of them together are part of urban identity construction. To Roodhouse (2010), there is a need for research on effects of culture on local development and human capital, in particular on linkages to intangible assets. There are comparably more efforts to protect tangible objects considered as cultural heritage, than intangible ones. Collective memory contributing to urban identity and represented in the symbolic aspects of tangible heritage is comparably less researched while too often the experts’ view on its values is considered as more important than the local communities’ ones (Jaramillo Contreras 2012). In this context, the analysis of meanings attached to spatial constructions and material aspects is of particular interest (Weichhart 2010), especially the local actor groups’ ones.

Alberts and Hazen (2010) found a lack of research on heritage in terms of defining the concepts of authenticity and integrity while appreciating the uniqueness of individual sites for different reasons: different cultural contexts, the multiple layers of sites in terms of time and groups that have shaped them and the different expectations various actor groups may have. This research gap should be addressed and particularly geographers are found to be well placed in developing a greater understanding on the complex and multi-level processes of global heritage conservation (Alberts and Hazen 2010). However, different authors claim a need for interdisciplinary approaches to address cultural impacts, despite potential difficulties (Satterfield et al. 2014), e.g. environmental psychologist Uzzell (2009) who calls heritage studies per se interdisciplinary. Development research is also closely related to interdisciplinarity as it addresses complex phenomena that require multi-perspective approaches (Novy and Howorka 2014).

This research also has a potential practical aspect as research on processes of identification can contribute to more efficient and sustainable conservation practices (Vinken 2011). Shortcomings of existing approaches on urban regeneration might be overcome—among others—through a greater understanding of how people interact with the urban heritage (Tweed and Sutherland 2007). There is a lack of understanding about the complex and multi-level interactions between people and the built environment. A more integrated view would also support a stronger consideration of social dimensions in planning and serve practical action (Tweed and Sutherland 2007). Beyond academia, the relevance of a holistic view is also proven by numerous national and global policies and frameworks that have

emerged in recent years especially. They have in common a more and more holistic approach, tackling aspects of place attachment, urban identity or cultural heritage, e.g. global recommendations on ‘Traditional Culture and Folklore’, ‘Historic Urban Landscapes’, intangible cultural heritage or cultural participation (UNESCO 1989, 2011, 2014; UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2012).

A number of studies on the perception of different areas and sites has been carried out, e.g. a case study of recognition of Jongmyo Shrine in Seoul, done by using interviews and desk study (Yeo and Han 2012) to analyse if cultural heritage is a tool for globalization of a city or a means of achieving sustainable urban regeneration. As a result, the authors claim the need to rethink the importance of social values of and for local communities. The value that communities assign to heritage varies over time as well as among actor groups (Rojas 2002; Brown et al. 2013). So far research has focused mainly on aspects of place attachment and social capital. However, cultural capital is not a less important resource in people’s life, and deserves more attention in research (Bourdieu 1989; Lewicka 2005).

Casakin et al. (2015) criticize that place attachment and place identity are only dealt with on a neighbourhood scale in most urban and environmental studies. Among others, Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) as well as Lewicka (2010), have researched on relationships between scale of place (apartment, neighbourhood, city) and strength of attachment to the place. However, their studies left aside both the city centre as physical place, and cultural heritage as object of place attachment.

Keitumetse (2009, in the case of Botswana) identified a scarcity of methods for investigating the changing attitudes of communities towards cultural heritage, as this becomes a tourism product. Among others, she used qualitative interviews with people living close to heritage sites or who interact with to include local perception in heritage tourism research. Scazzosi (2011) defines the need to do further research on the extremely complex processes through which people give sense to places and attribute values. In her opinion it has not been studied much yet, including the different cultural meanings and values that sociocultural groups attribute to past (material and immaterial) heritage.

Finally, Filippucci (2009) sees the need for comparative heritage studies, comparing the Euro-American with other ways “in which societies imagine, materialize and make the past known and visible to themselves and claim it in processes of identity formation (p. 20)”—in societies that are now dealing with the international idiom of ‘heritage’ as an imported cultural influence. Garden (2009) claims that up to now there is no clear or widely used methodology that is typically applied to heritage sites. Previous research mostly focused on either intangible aspects, on materials or tangible aspects. She finds both of these two approaches insufficient to account for the multiple functions of heritage sites as they are not able to depict the sites’ complexities and ongoing changes.

Comparative studies (Rojas and Lanzafame 2011) in urbanism are increasingly popular in recent years. Its advantage is that it allows for researching how variables work differently in a range of settings, and allows the encounter of cross-cutting

issues (Gough 2012). As a conclusion, to assess the complex interaction of global heritage discourses with local constructions of place attachment based on the tangible and intangible assets of historic centres, a mix of different methods seems adequate

It is the interplay between people and things (including texts) that makes the field of heritage so unique and theoretically exciting. In order to fully do justice to this quality of heritage, a sustained 'comparison' or dialogue between, qualitative and non-qualitative methods is in order, helping to develop methodologies for connecting qualitative with quantitative data (Filippucci 2009: 324).

2.5 Own Analytical Model

The analytical model applied is composed of different steps referring to a variety of authors and concepts which are rooted in both geography and heritage studies. The research is done on different scales, ranging from the global reference frame of 'heritage-making' and the ascription of values, to the urban and urban centre level of the three case study cities, down to personal perception of tangible and intangible values, and finally again to a broader scale when concluding with a comparison of the case studies against the background of the global frame.

Overall the research is divided in four major steps: heritagefication, heritage-scape, identification and achronisation. Figure 2.1 shows an overview of the particular scales, goals, and applied methods of each research step. This division permits the analysis of different scales with different methods. All four steps refer to different theoretical backgrounds that will be described in more detail below.

The starting point of the research and first perspective is a supranational one, looking at the global reference frame which is determining global down to national discourses, policies, paradigms and best practices, here called heritagefication. Heritagefication as defined by Wöhler (2008) is the process of making (cultural) heritage. It is strongly linked to Pott's and Wöhler's approaches to assess the construction of (urban) tourism spaces (Pott 2007a, b), which itself is rooted in system theory. Research on urban tourism and the identity of heritage tourism destinations is logically based on the perspectives of actors in tourism, and their perception of and communication about the city. In this sense, following the system theory approach, any inhabitant of a city, whether native or not, is nothing but someone who is part of the communication about the city itself. As the focal point is the place attachment and construction of identity of locals and not tourists, the perspectives were modified, adding other approaches of doing research on urban heritage. The content of the communication might differ; however, to assess this, a similar methodology can still be applied. This allows for adapting such a model to research on the place perception and construction of identity in historic city centres of a certain local actor group.

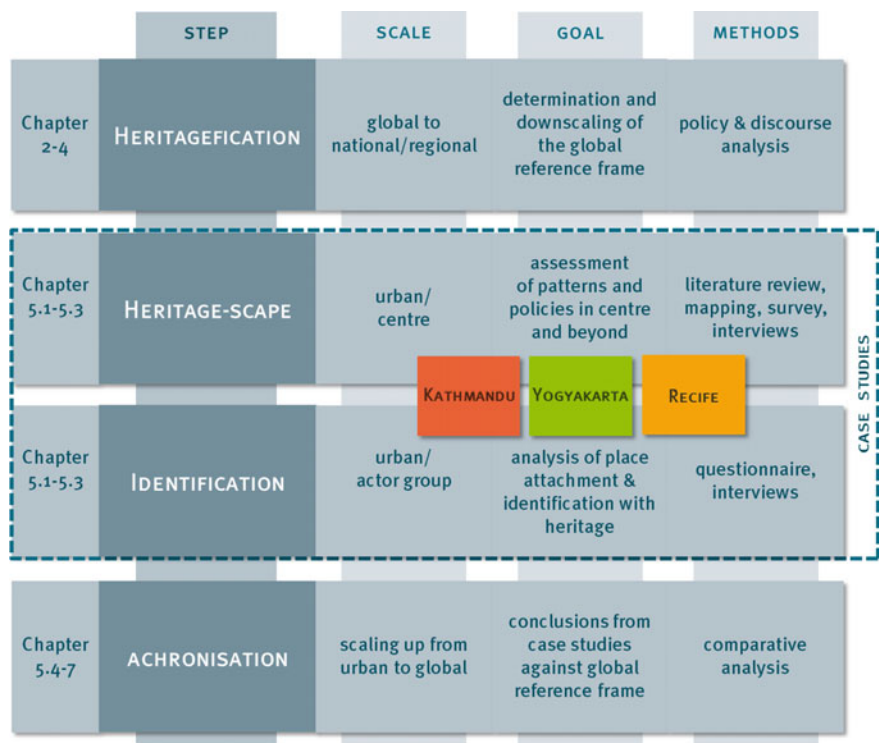


Fig. 2.1 Research framework, scales, goals and related methods

In a second step, the heritage-scape of the case study cities is analysed. Garden (2006, 2009) has been among the first authors using this word as both a descriptor and a methodology for analysing the living processes that circulate at heritage sites (Di Giovine 2011). Additionally, the word—inspired by ‘landscape’—indicates that the multilayered and multi-temporal diversity of assets a certain site is composed of. Garden (2006, 2009) developed the three-step ‘heritage-scape’ methodology: composed of boundaries (defining a heritage site’s ‘boundaries’, in contrast to the outside areas); cohesion (sense of place, connecting visible and invisible components of site); and visibility (perception of tangible and intangible features that refer to the past, attached to physical elements) as well as their links and interplay. Such stepwise approach corresponds to the mosaic character of cities, with a whole variety of contrasting subspaces. Different assets, such as functional, social or structural ones allow subdividing the urban landscape. The same is done by the breakdown into heritage—non heritage. Therefore, this step (somewhat comparable to ‘heterogenization’ in the analysis framework Pott (2007a) is using in his research on urban tourism in historic cities) analyses the past and present urban layout as well as urban policies, and formal as well as informal development before focussing again on the heritage (in particular the urban centre) as the potential key issue for the construction of an urban identity.

One main assumption is that the historic centre serves as a means of identification. The same geographical space (Ronneberger 2000; ‘containerraum’ c.f. Dörfler 2013; Freytag 2014) can cause very different feelings about it. Its perception as well as the attached values may be totally different among different individuals or groups. Declaring some (assets of a) historic centre valuable must not necessarily imply that locals perceive it the same way. Therefore in this step the perception of the historic centres of the three case study cities is analysed, based on the assumption that the centre is not just as any other part of the town but that there is a distinct place attachment which may even be different to the values endowed by formal conservation authorities on national or global scale. In this step methodology stems from studies on place attachment and urban identity, carried out by Lewicka (2005, 2008), Hidalgo and Hernández (2001) and Hernández et al. (2007). However, the questionnaires were adapted, as most of these studies stem from European context and were not focussed on the historic centre.

Finally, a comparison of the values endowed to the historic centres by interviewees and focal group and the actual processes as well as policies of urban planning and development will reveal how far the urban reality is considering the values found in the previous step. This last step is called achronisation, referring to Butina (2011). She is using the word to describe a process of instilling a space with symbolic charge and meaning, going hand in hand with the global ‘meaning-making system’ of cultural heritage (heritagefication). Therefore, first the three case studies will be compared to draw conclusions on their similarities and differences in terms of processes and values ascribed to the historic centres. Finally, the case studies outcomes will be evaluated against the background of the global perspectives of heritagefication, allowing for conclusions on the impacts and appropriateness of such global concepts for the individual case of historic city centres in the Global South.

2.6 Methodology

There is a variety of methods that have been used in previous investigations on urban, heritage and/or identity topics. Different methods have been used to survey people’s perception and feelings of places, using comparative studies, quantitative questionnaires (c.f. studies on European cities by Lewicka 2008, 2010) or visual tools like images of a city (c.f. Salesses et al. 2013, using geo-tagged images to measure the perception of uniqueness, safety and class in US and Austrian cities).

In her thesis on urban places that are undergoing a conversion, Baum (2008) distinguishes between spatial aspects (e.g. location, building patterns or quality of open spaces), functional aspects (e.g. accessibility, uses, private and public spaces), social and atmospheric aspects (e.g. identification, history, atmosphere), using a mixed method approach. While the spatial analysis is executed based on methods from planning and geography, empirical analysis uses qualitative and quantitative methods.

The construction of urban identities and place attachment in different urban contexts has been studied before, e.g. by Lewicka (2005, 2008) who researched on attachment in cities with Polish roots or inhabitants. Lewicka (2005, 2008, 2010) as well as Kyle et al. (2014) used standardized interviews to assess place attachment and neighbourhood ties in different case studies—to do so they developed different evaluation scales.

Other investigations making use of questionnaires on place attachment (Hidalgo and Hernández 2001; Hernández et al. 2007; Lewicka 2008, 2010), proclaim interviews as means of investigation on attitudes to heritage and identity (Stig Sørensen 2009) or do analyses of past and present policy instruments in combination with key actor interviews (Manzi and Jacobs 2009; Yeo and Han 2012). Waterton et al. (2006) promote discourse analysis for the heritage topic as they found a common sense and distinctly Western understanding of what heritage entails on a global scale, reflected in legislation, charters and the value system of experts.

Ujang (2012) uses a mix of qualitative and quantitative data (field surveys and interviews, in this case with users of the shopping street) to assess attachment and place identity, while Ellingsen (2010) focusses on qualitative methods, different kinds of interview types, in his study on territoriality of different ethnic groups in Kathmandu. Field surveys were also one method used by Schmitt (2011), who analysed and compared different World Heritage sites for his work on global cultural governance. His methodology comprises qualitative interviews, participatory observation, own surveys and document analysis. In his study on discourses of regional identity in Finland, Paasi (2013) relies on the analysis of strategic regional plans and expert interviews.

In this research, a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods is applied, following a number of previous studies using such a mix or papers that recommend such an approach (Reuber 1993; Townend and Whittaker 2011; Dannecker and Vossemmer 2014; Englert and Dannecker 2014; Slezak 2014; Ujang 2012). The methods used in each step of investigation are as well described in the right column of Fig. 2.1.

The global reference scale is assessed through an analysis of global discourses, in policies, charters and legislations and decreed by various national and international organisations (c.f. studies by Schmitt 2011; Gfeller 2013; Veldpaus et al. 2013). A particular emphasis is placed on the period after 1972, when the UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage was adopted.

One of the hypotheses is that global policies are originally rooted in Western concepts, and that there is a global production of heritage sites sense and meaning which is slowly changing over time (c.f. Schmitt 2009, 2011, on global cultural governance). Based on this assumption, qualitative methods including a discourse analysis of heritage charters and documents as well as an analysis of previous studies dealing with cultural heritage were chosen for the first part of the investigation.

To gain a deeper insight on processes, goals, policies and governance of urban planning and heritage conservation in general in the case study cities,

semi-structured expert interviews were carried out following an interview guideline. After having developed the expert interview guideline it was revised and pretested to avoid culturally non-sensitive questions. Revision was done by researchers familiar with at least one of the three research environments, including such based in the countries and such based in Europe (c.f. Dannecker and Vossemer 2014, on qualitative methods in development research; Müller-Mahn and Verne 2014, on development research). Overall ten interviews were done in Yogyakarta, twelve in Kathmandu and fifteen in Recife, with the interview duration differed between 20 min and one and a half hours. All of the selected interview partners had a certain relation to the case study areas; they came from regional or urban planning authorities, monument preservation authorities, private foundations dealing with the urban tangible or intangible heritage, entrepreneurs being based in the area, the urban history museum, local university researchers dealing with the urban area in various ways, or an NGO conducting projects on urban issues.

The expert interviews were recorded; additionally notes were taken, after the interviews a transcription was done for further analysis (Bohnsack 2008). For all interviews the same transcription system was used. The analysis categories were set based on the expert questionnaire itself. During the analysis of the interviews categories and coding were revised and adapted, based on the studies of Hopf (Hopf and Weingarten 1993; Kuckartz 2007; Hopf 2008). The analysis and interpretation of interviews are done based on coding (Englert and Dannecker 2014) and with MAXQDA software (cf. Annex IV with the coding system). However, interpretation of results in terms of how the respondents expressed their opinions was primarily based on a comparison with other interviewees from the same city. It has been decided purposefully not to do a comparative study of how strong interviewees expressed their satisfaction or rejection of certain policies or processes, and how they acted non-verbally, as diction and straightforwardness of language depends is culturally specific. It therefore differs between the three cities and prohibits a direct comparison of expressions used, as, e.g. in Javanese context a direct 'no' is regarded as rude. Therefore, disagreement is demonstrated in a very polite and indirect way. Extensive prior experiences in all three countries and cities, however, permitted an appropriate evaluation and comparison of the interviews.

The interviews were supported by a survey of corresponding legislations, local governance system and previous scientific publications with related topics, including theses from universities in the three case study cities accessed in the university libraries. This collection also supported a comparison of global policies discourse analysis (c.f. Schicho 2014) to local discourses.

To assess the place attachment and identification with the centre, a questionnaire was prepared, reviewed, tested and then handed out (the questionnaire is provided in Annex III). Table 2.1 is providing an overview of interview and questionnaire numbers per city. The questionnaire itself was designed in such a way, that it allowed being used in the different cities while only changing the city name itself. Overall the questionnaire comprised of twenty questions, starting with general ones on the respondent's background, followed by a set of questions on the urban history and place memory, e.g. asking places considered as important for the respondent or

Table 2.1 No. of interviews, questionnaires and photos for photo documentation obtained in case study cities

Data	case studies		
	Kathmandu	Yogyakarta	Recife
Expert interviews	10	12	15
Questionnaires	120	80	81
Photo documentation	1,478	1,426	1,475

the urban history. The next block of questions then investigated the personal ties to the city and the historic centre, leading over to the perception of the centre, and then processes and projects. Finally, respondents were asked about their vision for the future urban development in their city, and in the last section about their attachment to different places on various scales. Only one question was a purely open one, while the others were mainly giving different answer options, e.g. from “absolutely agree” to “absolutely disagree”, in few cases with the voluntary option to given an additional comment.

As this research deals with different case studies, it was decided not to select the inhabitants of the city centre as peer groups, as the sociocultural population and use structure of the centre areas is very different, and also not all areas are equally inhabited. University students were selected as a sample for this study, a method applied, e.g. in recent research on place attachment and place identity in Israeli cities (Casakin et al. 2015). All three cities comprise of universities of supraregional importance that run graduate, postgraduate and Ph.D. courses on various topics. To narrow down the peer group, only students of at least postgraduate level were chosen, studying various subjects with a close link to sustainability and/or planning. That way it could be assumed that the concept of sustainable development was known, also allowing for the investigating on the respondents’ vision of a sustainable development for his/her city. In addition, it was very likely that the respondents, as having access to higher education, will be future decision-makers of the three cities and regions, thus their opinions also permits assumptions on guiding planning principles the city authorities might follow in future.

Participants were approached before or after attending courses. They were informed about the research objectives and asked to fill the questionnaire voluntarily and anonymously, in the presence of the researcher and only for the researcher. It took between 25 and 40 min to complete the questionnaires. The analysis of the questionnaire results was done with SPSS. Overall, between 80 and 120 filled questionnaires were obtained. This quite different number of responses results from different factors: the number of overall students in the respective

courses, and the number of students available (due to unscheduled vacation time in Brazil and a large number of Nepalese students doing field work during the field research stay, in addition to a complicated inner-university situation with the faculty head office being closed for months).

The interviews and questionnaires were accompanied by site inspections and mapping surveys of the research areas and its vicinities. Based on available maps, the different uses within the area, the condition of buildings and places, and user groups were mapped and documented. Street names were taken from maps bought in the respective cities or obtained online from the municipalities. In Yogyakarta and Kathmandu sometimes street names differed between different maps or between local names and formal names. In these cases it was tried to use the street and location names found on road signage or in documents from urban authorities. During the survey overall 1,475 photos of streetscapes, buildings and activities, during different daytimes and days of week were taken in Recife; another 1,478 in Kathmandu and 1,426 in Yogyakarta (cf. Table 2.1).

After analysing the case study findings, the three case studies are compared with each other, to allow the drawing of conclusions on a more abstract scale. Such an approach was followed in different studies on urban regeneration (cf. Delmelle 2015, who compared regeneration in four US cities), as well as place attachment (cf. Hidalgo and Hernández 2001; Lewicka 2008), and also permits to conclude on particularities of the different cities.

2.7 Selected Case Study Areas

To carry out a research on the construction of urban identities in historic city centres in the Global South, it was decided to have different case studies instead of only one to allow for a comparison. For this book three cities were selected as case study areas: Yogyakarta, Indonesia; Kathmandu, Nepal; and Recife, Brazil. The three selected cities obviously differ in many aspects, but in terms of urban heritage and identity they have much in common: all three cities still comprise of a historic centre of supraregional publicity which is under pressure due to ongoing urban change.

In Latin America, Recife, the city with the highest number of urban development plans in the whole of Brazil will be studied. The historic centre is under pressure of tremendous changes due to economic development and population increase. At the same time, the debate on the urban cultural heritage and ascribed values is a very vivid one, especially the discourse on intangible heritage like Afro-descendant culture.

Kathmandu in Nepal is currently facing rapid pressures and tremendous changes due to population increase, a lack of economic resources combined with weak planning and governance systems. Although the unique historic centre around the Durbar Square is protected by law, it suffers from these processes. In the central area of Yogyakarta, Indonesia, bigger renewal projects have already been carried

out, and the first outcomes can be perceived. However, economic development and increasing importance of tourism sector is putting pressure on the area.

Both Asian cities are based on Buddhism and Hinduism planning paradigms and thus partly comparable in terms of urban patterns. Recife and Yogyakarta both were influenced by Dutch colonial rule that can still be perceived in the urban outline.

An overview on similarities and differences between the three cities is provided in Table 2.2. There, a large number of similarities are revealed. All three cities played and still play a role for the regional or even national history and culture; they are administrative hubs and seats of regional or national governments. More importantly, they are facing quite comparable urban development processes, in particular growing urban pressure due to increasing population and (comparably high) economic growth rates, resulting in densification and verticalisation of the urban areas.

Table 2.2 Comparison of case study cities

	Kathmandu	Yogyakarta	Recife
Administration and ongoing processes			
City of (supra) regional economic and administrative importance	✓	✓	✓
Urban agglomeration consisting of different municipalities	✓	✓	✓
Urban pressure due to population and/or economic growth	✓	✓	✓
Ongoing urban densification and verticalization processes	✓	✓	✓
Urban history and culture			
Urban colonial past which is still visible in the urban layout	○	✓	✓
City depicts important part/ phase of national history	✓	✓	✓
City considered as national or regional cultural hub	✓	✓	✓
Strong focus on preservation of intangible values	○	✓	✓
Urban heritage			
Historic urban historic center	✓	✓	✓
Urban cultural heritage of national importance	✓	✓	✓
Urban world cultural heritage site	✓	○	—
Intangible world heritage site	—	○	✓

Legend: ✓ correct
○ partly correct
— not correct

All three historic city centres are still preserved, being considered at least partly as heritage on regional or national scale. In the case of Kathmandu, overall seven sites of the valley are inscribed as Cultural World Heritage “Kathmandu Valley”. Yogyakarta Palace Area had been listed on the Indonesian tentative list of world Heritage, while the *Frevo* of Recife is listed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (cf. Sect. 3.5). A more detailed description of the case study cities, their urban history, built environment, and governance system is given in Chap. 5.

2.8 Research Constraints

Doing a research in different cities located not only in different countries, but even continents, obviously bears a number of risks when designing a methodology to be applied in all places.

As explained before, the number of interviews and questionnaires varied among the cities. The number of interviews and the background of interviewees differed due to unequal accessibility of authorities and due to differences in administrative systems, e.g. kind of authorities and number of employees. Furthermore, not all authorities were in favour of answering questions, in other cases—in particular in Indonesia—different formal permits were requested that were not accessible in all cases. Overall, the study tried to access those authorities and institutions that were dealing with urban planning and urban tangible and intangible heritage. Logically, the authority names, size and levels were not the same due to different government and governance structures as well as different natural environments.

Also, the number of questionnaire respondents varied as well as their scientific background, due to the different educational systems in the three universities. They were students of different M.Sc. or Ph.D. programmes dealing with the sustainability concept, but the names of the MSc programmes were not the same, nor was the distribution among level of education. One major reason for this is that programmes in Brazil and Nepal only allowed a limited number of students per year, while this was not the case in Indonesia, resulting in a higher number of filled questionnaires from there. Other unexpected difficulties—as explained above—resulted from availability of students in university itself which was not always given.

Only comparably low shares of the questionnaire respondents are inhabitants of the historic centres: 6.7 % in Yogyakarta, and only 2.5 % in Kathmandu and Recife. Instead of asking for the absolute distance between their places of residence and the centre areas the questionnaire asked for time needed to go there and means of transportation, as the abstract distance is not a good comparative indicator for accessibility. The majority of Kathmandu’s and Yogyakarta’s respondents need between 16 and 30 min to get to the historic centre, while the peer group in Recife needs up to 15 min more on average (in this case either using bus or car). In Kathmandu walking or motorbikes are the main means of transportation, in

Yogyakarta motorbikes are preferred. Overall, the centre areas are not too far away of the respondents' residences, not preventing visits to the area.

All three research areas have different native languages. As the researcher was able to read and speak Portuguese, interviews in Recife were done in Portuguese, with also the questionnaire translated to Portuguese and handed in a bilingual version. Many students had hesitations concerning English, as the proficiency is comparably lower than in the other countries. In Nepal and Indonesia, questionnaires were distributed in English as university education from postgraduate level on is taking place at least to a large extent, if not completely in English. In Nepal, it was possible to carry out all interviews in English, also most legal documents and reports are available in English. In Yogyakarta, some interviews were done in English, others in Bahasa Indonesia with the help of a translator. It was also possible to get some legal documents translated, as often they are not translated. Thus language barriers did not prohibit conducting research.

As the field work took place in three locations time schedule was tight and did not permit too extensive stays in each location. Probably another researcher focussing on only one of these cities still may be far more expert in this location. Nevertheless the comparative concept of this research justifies the scientific approach chosen, which in no case took place in an unknown location. The researcher was familiar with all three cities before doing the field research itself, between two and seven previous stays served to become acquainted with the area and to build up strong networks of resource persons. These preparatory visits were followed by stays of up to two months dedicated to field research only—interviews, questionnaires, mappings and surveys. Beforehand, visits were used to collect literature and to gain overviews of the cities. Impressions from previous stays were also used to back up the field surveys which logically only took place within a certain period, not being representative for uses throughout the year, due to climate, religious calendars or other festivals. In addition, the definition of key persons and some of the interview partners as well as the delimitation of research areas were done during the preparatory visits, mainly in 2011/2012, while field research was carried out in 2013. Having described the constraints, it can, however, be concluded that it was possible to overcome them and to legitimately do a comparison of the three cities.

The questionnaire itself was designed for a comparative study, with only the questions on distinct places of remembrance and intangible values being tailored to the different cities (see Annex III with the questionnaire). The other questions were generalized to allow a full comparative analysis. Obviously the peer group chosen for the questionnaires is not representative for the whole urban population. Surely they have a better education and probably a historical awareness at least as high as the urban average. Therefore, the results obtained in the interviews cannot be generalized in terms of absolute numbers and valuation. It, however, permits generalizing overall positive or negative valuation and allows for a comparison of the three case study cities, what has been the intention of the study.

In the field the questionnaire itself proved to be quite long and exhaustive, taking more time than initially expected and resulting in the fact, that the last question was answered considerably less often than the others. Therefore, this question was omitted in the evaluation.

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