RE-designing Access to Cultural Heritage
for a wider participation in preservation, (re-)use
and management of European Culture

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LUĎA KLUSÁKOVÁ

IN MEMORY OF A DEAR FRIEND AND VALUED COLLEAGUE

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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The REACH project established four participatory pilots that were each different in nature, working with diverse communities and stakeholders, in different socio-economic situations and political climates. Their remit was to undertake participatory activities with stakeholder groups, to consider which participatory approaches were most effective and, perhaps most importantly, to raise the profile of cultural heritage (CH) in, and on behalf of, their associated communities. This deliverable reflects the activities of the Small towns' heritage pilot that has examined the similarities and differences of central European towns and their CH.

Small towns play a significant role in Europe, but are often overshadowed by larger cities and regions. Given the proportion of people that live in small towns, their culture, heritage and ways of life have regularly been overlooked, often leading to inaccurate analyses of European society. The REACH Small towns' heritage pilot, building on prior work undertaken by Charles University (CUNI), sought to rectify this situation, by working closely with a range of stakeholders/actors in Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland, as well as by building profiles of towns in the Vysočina (CZE), Šariš (SVK) and Podlasie (POL) regions, which demonstrate their differing perspectives, challenges, issues and resilient approaches to the management, (re-)use and preservation of CH.

Initial actions were to build a network of associate partners that would introduce the pilot team to a wide range of experiences and opinions, providing insights into the local circumstances and interactions, as well as establishing mutually beneficial links. CUNI organised three local encounters in Prague and participated in three further regional meetings. These encounters involved representatives from small town municipalities, regional administrative bodies, cultural workers, academia, private enterprises, governmental and national non-governmental heritage and tourism organisations, and provided valuable context for the pilot team.

The pilot developed a series of case studies, based upon critical mapping of representational strategies of heritage in small towns, comparing and contrasting the use of CH and small towns' approaches to marketing and tourism, as well as mapping small town activities and best practices. Major focuses were on the implementation and analysis of participatory and collaborative CH practices and interactions, as well as questions of how to increase and strengthen awareness and relevance of CH and how it supports sustainable and resilient community development.

Ultimately, the pilot team defined three axes, around which its analysis was structured:
- heritage as resource: what is considered to be heritage and why?
- uses of heritage: how is heritage used and managed, with what objectives and impact?
- CH actors and institutions: their potentials and limitations.

The pilot's process has been one of adaptation, exploring and understanding issues, and finding the best ways of working with them to meet both local and REACH project requirements. As a result, many topics have been covered and insightful information collected that has led to a series of outputs, including an interactive map of practices, scientific publications, and most importantly, a stronger discourse around the CH of European small towns that can be built upon in the future.

2. INTRODUCTION

From the beginning of the project, the Small towns' heritage pilot was led by Charles University (CUNI) and in particular by Professor Luďa Klusáková, at the Faculty of Arts. Although she planned and oversaw many of the activities of the pilot, due to illness, she had to step back from this role and sadly died in April 2020. Although she was not significantly involved in the writing of this deliverable, the content reflects her expertise, the activities that she initiated within the REACH project and, most importantly, the importance of cultural heritage of small towns in Europe.

2.1. BACKGROUND

The REACH project has set itself the task of considering the work of current and completed projects, to understand what they had done well, what might not have been as successful and the lessons that could be identified. A wealth of information was uncovered and evaluated to consider participatory approaches for the management, preservation and (re-)use of cultural heritage (CH). To test this further, it was decided that four participatory pilots should be established that were of diverse natures, working with different types of communities and stakeholders, in different situations and political climates. One of these pilots explored heritage within small towns of Europe, and in particular a selection of towns in Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland.

This pilot on Small town's heritage was realised by CUNI and more specifically, by the research group around the Faculty of Arts (with collaboration from the Faculty of Social Sciences). The pilot leader, Luďa Klusáková, was for many years involved in research on this theme of small towns' heritage and was linked with the international community especially through European Association of Urban History (EAUH), in which she served as international committee member. Due to the Faculty's long-term, and internationally-linked, experience with multidisciplinary research on uses and representations of heritage and the past in peripheral regions, cities and small towns[1], CUNI was able to draw upon this rich expertise and comprehensive network for its contribution to REACH.

In the preface of the book *Small Towns in Europe in the 20th and 21st Centuries* (2018: 7) Luďa Klusáková provided the following introduction:

"Small towns, overshadowed by big cities and metropolises, remain a distinct feature of European settlement. While large urban sprawls, with their concomitant suburban malls, highways, skyscrapers, and the like, may seem to lack individuality when compared globally, small towns, on the contrary, retain specific spatial organization, forms of social life, including face to face contact, and engender variety and different regional types. Which towns qualify as small towns? In scholarly discourse, small towns are classified as those that maintain their traditions and memory, as opposed to large towns where the focus is on the future with, in consequence, a progressive loss of memory."

She goes on to say that "Towns and cities are carriers of the culture of European countries and nations. Alongside iconic metropolises, small towns and their hinterlands are the prevailing type of environment in which people in Europe live.

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[1] The ideas and part of the network of the pilot theme were partly based on the unsupported H2020 project proposal HERITURBA: Harmonising Local and European Dimensions in Urban Heritage (H2020-REFLECTIVE-SOCIETY-2015, Proposal number: 694058). The CUNI team was also able to build on co-related projects, such as KREAS or TEMA+.

The statistics are very straightforward. Europe is predominantly urban, but, in terms of area, also has 35.1% of intermediate status, and 22.42% mainly rural regions.[2] The map on the site referred to, which shows the distribution of cities according to size, confirms the image of societies where small towns experience shapes the lives of a very significant proportion of the population.[3]

Yet these figures notwithstanding, the amount of research that has been devoted to small towns from a comparative European perspective in any period of history is rare. There is of course some but considering how large a proportion of the European population, let alone the global, still live in small towns, it is clear that this topic has suffered neglect among urban historians.[4]" (Klusáková and Ozouf-Marignier 2018: 12)

Small towns *per se* are a very interesting pilot subject, since exploration of small town's heritage can reveal and highlight the interconnectedness of various sectors (that REACH is dedicated to), as it implies that all milieux are considered. In this way, this pilot helps to underline these overlaps, and beyond this, due to its participatory approach, also supports network-building and cross-disciplinary reflections.

2.2. ROLE OF THIS DELIVERABLE IN THE PROJECT

The role of this deliverable, as with the pilot itself, is twofold. One aspect is clearly to work with institutions and practitioners associated with small towns in Czech Republic and to a lesser extent in Slovakia and Poland that are engaged with CH, to identify and share ideas and elements of best practice, and to collaboratively realise surveys and research. The other is to gather knowledge concerning the range of uses of CH and their dimensions and mechanisms. Thus, both fit with this task to either confirm, or not, the REACH project's prior findings[5] that will be used within project conclusions.

This deliverable provides an overview of the activities realised by CUNI and its associate partners exploring the use of CH and its perception in small towns. Firstly, it discusses the role of CH in building resilient communities in small towns by examining diverse approaches of CH (re-)use, including its representation, preservation and re-valorisation, while considering the high diversity of stakeholders, their goals, approaches and agency. Secondly, the question of participation was considered as a practice. Therefore, this pilot was, to an important degree, based on participatory and collaborative research methods which implied the inclusion of diverse stakeholders/actors in the creation, implementation and evaluation of this pilot. This collaboration itself has also been analysed and discussed, to consider the diversity of partners, stakeholders and third parties (individuals and institutions) involved in work with culture and CH. Thirdly, the pilot aimed to establish an infrastructure that would incorporate a network of stakeholders and CH researchers and professionals, a communication platform, as well as an interactive online map on small towns' heritage, to enhance access to information, broaden the discussion on small towns' heritage and foster the exchange on CH (re-)use among the stakeholders involved and beyond.

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[2] http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/RSI/#?vis=typologies.urb_typology&lang=en (accessed 26/1/2021).
[3] http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/RSI/#?vis=city.statistics&lang=en (accessed 26/1/2021).
[4] Eveline S. van Leeuwen, Urban-Rural Interactions. Towns as Focus Points in Rural Development, Contributions to Economics (Berlin – Heidelberg 2010), 1.
[5] https://www.reach-culture.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/REACH-D3.1-Participatory-Models.pdf (accessed 8/2/2021)

To address the major themes of the project, two transversal questions were followed:

- participatory practices included in the heritage events, projects, and management
- capacity of heritage projects and strategies to contribute to resilience of small towns and their heritage.

This resulted in more specific activities, including:

- mapping critically representational strategies of heritage in small towns
- tracing and listing the use of history presentation in museums, pageants, and festivals in small towns
- comparing and contrasting the use of cultural heritage in small towns' approaches to marketing and tourism
- interconnecting local and regional actors
- mapping small town activities, and best practices.

Thus, with its foci and approaches, the Small towns' heritage pilot has followed a further project objective of fostering societal awareness related to cultural heritage. Furthermore, it has supported the sustainability of the REACH social platform by developing stronger relationships with and among CH stakeholders and other institutions and entities, and by encouraging them to discuss the work and engagement with culture and CH, consider their potential in their respective contexts. The poly-local meetings and discussions conducted by CUNI enabled the development of extended and complex networks that could be integrated into the wider REACH context.

In addition, this exchange and research has also led to the identification of examples of good practice that have been gathered, analysed and added to the REACH social platform/open-heritage.eu website[6].

The multi-layered results of this pilot will feed into D3.3 – *Project evaluation report* – that will examine the diverse activities implemented during REACH, including this valuable contribution featuring small towns. In this way it will be possible to identify common features and areas of synergy and potential to improve participatory work and to reconsider the hypotheses and recommendations made at the beginning of the project. These reflections will be incorporated into D7.1 – *REACH findings on resilient European cultural heritage.*

2.3. APPROACH

2.3.1. REACH PROJECT THEMES

The REACH project is characterised by a comprehensive and integrated understanding of the dimensions of CH. Therefore, it is logical that the diverse actions of REACH are connected with each other, sharing common features and showing overlaps, while providing diverse perspectives and approaches at the same time. Therefore, this multifaceted outcome of other activities was very useful for the creation, implementation and evaluation of this pilot, enriching the analysis and reflection with theoretical and practical knowledge and experience. Of great interest were the considerations with regard to participatory research, community and heritage provided by WP3 which helped to design and implement the pilot's collaboration with its partners and participants, and to consider the key categories of this survey.

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[6] https://www.open-heritage.eu/best-practices/ (accessed 8/2/2021)

Especially the practical considerations with regard to the establishment of the Participatory Project Group (PPG)[7] outlined in D3.1 - *Participatory models* - and in terms of the ethical concerns of collaborative work were a valuable guide line here (ibid., pp. 31-34). They correspond with the pilot's ideas of inviting people that represent as many diverse levels and degrees of competences, responsibilities and impacts as possible, that provide both, internal views and external perspectives, to enable the building of a comprehensive picture.

The stakeholders/community (-ies) are a highly determining issue for the consideration of small towns' heritage (re-)use and therefore for the implementation of this pilot. Referring to Waterton and Smith (2010), D3.1 states that:

"Communities are made up of people with diverging interests and might display a 'range of either motivating or disruptive energies'. They depend on organisational structures, (professional) communities' spokesperson(s) or advocates, and do not always display internal consensus regarding activities, actions and relationships that constitute the so-called community." (ibid., p. 13)

D3.1 has shown already that the stakeholders/community (-ies) have to be conceived as broadly as possible by including citizens, organised corporations, as associations and NGOs, and also more institutionalised actors, such as GLAM-institutions, administration, politicians, UNESCO representatives. In addition, D3.2 - *Selection of projects and mapping of clustered research findings*[8] - points to an even higher degree of complexity, "since local communities […] cannot […] have a singular identity" rather it is a "hybrid, liminal one, which comprises unstable, mixed, temporal categories." (ibid., p. 12)

Especially in the case of small towns, wide and detailed considerations of stakeholders involved in processes of negotiations concerning CH and their embeddedness in further structures are very important as they emphasise the diversity and complexity of the networks and their interplays. In addition, it must also be considered that every (group of) stakeholder and actor represents specific wishes, needs, objectives and possibilities. Therefore, the PPG that was established, embraced this variety of stakeholders.

This is closely linked with another aspect that is important to the pilot, which D3.1 already addresses: the consideration of discrepancies and conflicts that are inherent in interpersonal negotiations (and even within one person due to her/his compound identity). In the heritage context that deliverable mentions frictions such as, e.g., between "canonisation" vs. [plural and heterogeneous] collective identities "including the critical rethinking of national narratives; [the considerations of] including or excluding, ghettoising or exoticising ethnic, class, racial or gender aspects", passive consumption vs. active agency, top-down vs. bottom-up, supra-regional interests vs. local necessities, economical vs. social-emotional dimensions. In this way, D3.1 refers to the importance of considering the handling of CH in its multiple layers and from diverse perspectives. It also shows that it is a very highly emotional subject that needs sensitive approaches.

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[7] Participatory Project Groups (PPG) decide and manage participatory activities according to the participant and project needs. At different stages of the pilot, the PPG might consist of different actors and/or take different forms.
[8] https://www.reach-culture.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/REACH-D3.2-Selection-of-projects-and-mapping-of-clustered-research-findings.pdf (accessed 8/2/2021)

Another important contribution of D3.1 is the comprehensive explanation of diverse types of heritage and its implications addressing "heritage from below", "community heritage" and "participatory heritage" (ibid., pp. 12-16). On this basis it reflects on possibilities of participatory governance in CH saying:

"The aim in each individual, local case of creating participatory heritage activities is to establish the appropriate framework of collaboration between multiple actors, so enhancing people's capabilities and contributing to forge strong communities." (ibid., p. 19)

These reflections will be presented here more in detail as they concern both the implementation of the pilot's participatory research and discussion of heritage, and its potential for resilience building. They also concern another key issue, as the pilot focussed on the potential of CH to build resilience. D3.2 states that "[…] cultural heritage appears, not only as a value to be preserved, but also as a tool that gives communities the opportunity to create a reserve that increases their resilience and renewal capabilities." (ibid., p. 9)

This discussion on how and to which degree CH and dealing with CH support beneficial and sustainable community development will be one important focus in the analysis of case studies. It is further of interest if and how stronger participatory approaches could enhance the situation and strategies observed. In this way it is possible to follow and discuss Beel's statement, referred in D3.2, that explains "'the notion of resilience as human agency'" (ibid., p. 11).

In addition to this very important influence on the pilot's deliberations and planning, the collection of good practice examples, that provide examples of using or enhancing participatory and resilient approaches to cultural heritage management in small towns, was also very useful for the implementation of this pilot. This collection provided insights into a number of previous projects and initiatives; it helped to gain an overview of previous activities and to understand various strategies of dealing with small towns' heritage, ahead of defining the work that would be undertaken within this pilot.

2.3.2 PILOT'S CONSIDERATIONS AND APPROACHES

This pilot had three aims: First, the analysis of the use of CH in small towns and its impacts, second, the discussion on the benefits, possibilities and difficulties of participatory and collaborative research, and third the establishment of a network of CH researchers, experts and practitioners, and of a communication infrastructure, to broaden and enhance the exchange on CH-use among stakeholders.

Exchange, participation and collaboration are key features of the work. It was decided to conduct this pilot together within a wider group of academics, who could provide diverse data for the pilot survey, and to involve also a wide spectrum of stakeholders in the pilot. Especially in this context of the discussion on CH, direct interpersonal contact and exchange is a very appropriate approach since often very diverse societal groups are connected with heritage, as they have different perceptions, wishes and needs. In so doing, such an approach provided the opportunity to understand the topic of CH (re-)use in small towns more comprehensively, considering the different perspectives and, beyond this, the various layers, in which dealing with CH is embedded, as well as their interdependencies. On this basis it is possible to form conclusions that could enhance the use of CH in favour for a sustainable and resilient development in small towns and their regions. The specific circumstances of these stakeholders involved had to be considered in its design and implementation in terms of suitable venues and exchange forms.

Nevertheless, in the implementation of participatory and collaborative approaches the following considerations have to be included: The flow of information and a fair access to this are crucial for the successful implementation of joint projects. Therefore, this pilot strived for a broad exchange and the building of a suitable communicative platform, which had to be also sustainable for future initiatives and researches. This included organisation and invitations to, or visit to, a range of events that provided opportunities for exchanges of knowledge and ideas, such as seminars, workshops, and conferences, as well as the creation of an interactive online map on small towns' heritage.

Furthermore, in the collaboration with groups consisting of diverse people and members of corporations with different backgrounds and also objectives, more (mutual) clarifications, exchange and discussion are needed. Frictions and conflicts may arise (or be revealed), that have to be recognised and, if appropriate and/or possible, addressed and moderated.

In collaborations, ethical considerations are fundamental, especially with regard to vulnerable groups, which in the context of small towns are very diverse. In consequence, it was decided: not to directly target children or other ethically sensitive groups, such as minorities, or socially-disadvantaged people, in the study; to work only with publicly accessible materials and data that are properly cited; to use records of meetings in a way that do not harm and compromise any of the participants; and to provide space for only a low level of conflict, focusing on the exchange of positions and opinions among the different stakeholders.

An important focus of the REACH project is to take gender aspects into account. This has happened in several respects: Thus, the establishment of the PPG, including the proportion of women and their roles was thoroughly monitored amongst this group of Associate Partners' (APs) representatives and local encounter participants[9]. The small towns' heritage team made sure that no obstacles or discriminatory measures would prevent anyone from participating in local encounters, although ultimately, there was a slight prevalence of male participants involved in local encounters (27 male and 18 female) which was beyond the team's control. However, considerations were not limited on the structural equality concerning the conduction of the pilot. Beyond this, gender played an important role in the discussion on the topic of the study. Firstly, the involvement and role of women in heritage activities was evaluated, as well as in institutions and decision-making organisations (municipalities etc.). Secondly, there were reflections upon gender-biased (or gender-blind) uses of heritage, gender-biased strategies, policies, and risks.

2.3.2.1 Participatory and Collaborative Research

Multi-perspective contributions, joint debates and collaboration form important pillars of this pilot. Hereby, CUNI could draw on its broad academic network of academic partners, and to a lesser degree contacts in the applied sphere, and comprehensive knowledge and experience created and gained in many previous and on-going researches and projects. The pilot involved APs of various kinds: municipal and regional actors, governmental institutions and non-governmental organisations active in heritage protection, preservation and (re-)use that operate on trans-regional, nationwide or international level. Thus, this pilot could incorporate activities, views and skills contributed by other (research) projects dealing with small town heritage.

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[9] In each pilot, the approach of REACH teams was to hold local encounters, to enable dialogue with local stakeholders and citizens organisations. As interactive events, they comprised small group sessions that were designed to build trust and cooperation.

Therefore, while some activities were directly motivated by the REACH project, others coalesced with (research) plans of individual members in other projects or built on previous experiences.

The activity of this pilot was closely connected to two further research- or education-oriented projects, KREAS[10] and EMJMD TEMA+[11]. They participated in CUNI's diverse activity fields and also provided important structural support. The KREAS research project enabled extension of the communicative platform of academic partners around major themes of the pilot (resilience of small-town heritage) due to the organisation of workshops and by sponsoring conference attendances and visiting scholars. Research conducted in the KREAS research group on heritage, which included part of the REACH team, also fed into results of the pilot. KREAS will also enable the development of the interactive online map of small-town heritage, as one of the results of the pilot. The EMJMD TEMA+: Heritage and Development, in which the CUNI REACH team has been involved, provided a platform for disseminating pilot's results, but also enlarged the base for the collection of good practices by the students.

CUNI has a long-standing collaboration with colleagues from Białystok University (Poland). This university made an important contribution to the implementation of this pilot study, and to this deliverable, by contributing to its case studies. Furthermore, experts from diverse universities joined and supported this continuous debate providing a more international picture.

These previous activities and the on-going exchange and collaboration were very helpful for identifying interesting cases for this study and encouraging suitable partners to become associated with the project and to join the PPG to participate in the discussions on the role of CH and its use in its specific contexts. Due to CUNI team members' previous research-experience, knowledge and personal contacts in regions, institutions and academic positions, diverse Associate Partners (AP) could be chosen. In this way, it was possible to develop an extended and diverse network of APs on diverse administrative and political level:

Table of associated partners				
	Governmental, administrative	*Nature of corporation*	**NGOs, associations, private companies**	*Nature of corporation*
Transnational			ECOVAST Slovakia	*European network of small towns and villages*
National	CzechTourism (CZ)	*Propagation of Czech rep. as tourist destination*	Institut pro památky a kulturu (CZ)	*Promotion of good practices in heritage*
	Národní památkový ústav (CZ)	*Heritage protection agency*	Sdružení historických sídel Čech, Moravy a Slezska (CZ)	*Network of towns with urban heritage*
	Místa zblízka (CZ)	*Social innovation project*	Společnost Petra Parléře (CZ)	*Association of architects*
			Anthropictures (CZ)	*Applied anthropological research studio*

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[10] "Creativity and Adaptability as Conditions of the Success of Europe in an Interrelated World" (European Regional Development Fund, held by CUNI, Faculty of Arts)

[11] "TEMA+: European Territories: Heritage and Development" (Erasmus Mundus Joint Master Degree, coordinated by ELTE Budapest)

Regional	*Vysočina (Department of Culture, Heritage and Tourism) (CZ)*	*Regional administration body*		
Local	Brtnice (CZ)	*Municipality*	Povodí Stařečského potoka (CZ)	*Voluntary association (cultural and historical)*
	Svidník (SVK)	*Municipality*	Muzeum Kroměříž (CZ)	*District museum*
			CZ LOKO (CZ)	*Private company*

Figure 1: Table of Associate partners involved in the Small town's heritage pilot

On the basis of the APs' participation and contribution, this pilot focused on the regions of Vysočina in Czech Republic, Podlachia (Podlasie Voivodeship) in Poland, Šariš and Low Beskids (Nízke Beskydy) in Slovakia, three regions that can be considered (semi-)peripheral, agrarian and generally less urbanised. Even though this selection appears limited, these examples took into account different types of small towns as regards prestige of their local heritage and degree of international connections: the pilot thus surveyed towns with heritage inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List (WHL) (Telč, Třebíč, and Bardejov) as well as towns with lesser known and mainly locally-oriented heritage (Brtnice, and Stropkov), and towns emblematic for minority (Jewish, Orthodox) cultural heritage (Tykocin, and Supraśl in Podlasie; Třebíč in Vysočina and Bardejov in Šariš). Yet this small number of examples reveals the diversity of CH and its use as well as the overlapping and intertwining of diverse spheres/communities of stakeholders dealing with the same heritage but characterised by diverse objectives, approaches, perceptions and connections. With the aid of these case studies, it is possible to demonstrate the complex structures of small towns, and of the structures in which small towns are embedded. Therefore, this selection provides a valuable basis for the discussion on the possibilities of impact of the use of CH for: the towns, the communities, and the heritage itself.

Due to the diversity of the APs, CUNI designed various forms of activities to enable a broad exchange with stakeholders and with academics, including local encounters, workshops, conferences, informal talks, lectures, and interviews. In so doing, it was important that these events facilitated as wide a consideration of different perspectives and experience as possible.

Thus, the local encounters were designed as:
- multilevel (including stakeholder's representatives from different scales of heritage management and (re-)use, from local heritage institutions to transnational)
- cross-sectional (as stakeholders from different sectors were involved, such as administrative bodies, protection agency, cultural sector, and the academic sphere)
- top-down (as the network of participants involved mostly representatives of institutions and organisations).

As REACH focuses on access and participation, this combined approach of networking and collaboration (which was completed by infrastructure building) was not only designed for gathering information, the local encounters and collaboration with APs also served as a testbed of participatory research in CH. This deliverable will thus also consider the extent to which participatory research has been feasible, what its potential may be, where difficulties and obstacles have arisen and what solutions are conceivable.

2.3.2.2 Desktop Research

The gathering of information was complemented by desktop research that was conducted partly by the CUNI team and partly by academic APs. This aspect focused more on the representation and use of CH in the chosen regions and towns, taking into account local specificities. It was conducted in manifold ways: scrutiny of relevant publicly accessible sources (strategic analyses, development plans, competition applications, project descriptions, promotional materials, local histories, and expert analyses), municipal and CH institution websites, media, local histories, and various media of CH displays (museum exhibitions, pageants, and trails); on-site visits to several localities; and surveys (in Podlachia). In its approach, a set of methods and techniques were combined, such as data mining, document analysis, semantic analysis of representations, and when deemed appropriate, comparison. The principal questions were:

- Representations of local heritage:
  o what kind of heritage has been recognised and highlighted (or ignored) by small-towns?
  o how are small towns represented through their heritage?
  o what meanings are associated with heritage and to what spatial and identity frameworks is heritage linked (group, local-urban, national, European, transnational, humanity etc.)?
- Heritage-related events, activities, projects and strategies:
  o how has local heritage been used as a social resource by various actors?
  o how were these projects realised?
  o what objectives have been pursued (e.g., to safeguard heritage; build social cohesion, strengthen economic or touristic potential, raise local prestige, address difficult past and memory etc.)?

The knowledge gained here provided further insights into the local encounters, due to the complexity and variety of CH (re-)use in small towns considering in particular the potentials, limits and threats that the small towns have encountered in regard to heritage and its preservation, (re-)use, and management. Furthermore, it expanded empirical evidence for critical reflection on CH (re-)use in small towns and its relation to resilience, as it included the positions and objectives of further stakeholders that could not directly participate in the PPG. In addition, this desktop-research was combined with on-site visits and observations. In this way, it was possible to consider even more diverse opinions and agencies, to examine them against the background of current facts and circumstances and to discuss them within the PPG. Thus, the local encounters and the academic exchanges helped to put those plans and depictions within their local frameworks.

2.4. STRUCTURE OF THE DOCUMENT

Following this introduction, the deliverable is divided into three main parts:
In chapter 3, key concepts and theoretical background are presented relating to small towns, resilience cultural heritage and the use of heritagisation.

Activities that were undertaken during the pilot, including the six local encounters, the three regional case studies, details of academic dialogue, and the interactive map are described in more detail in chapter 4.

In chapter 5, results are presented which reflect in detail upon the pilot's activities and findings, identifying challenges and problems and making suggestions for heritage policies and for further research on cultural heritage in relation to small towns.

Chapter 6 provides concluding thought on the prior analysis.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3. 1. SMALL TOWNS

Small towns remain a distinct feature of European settlement. Small towns are frequently classified as those that maintain their traditions and memory and are oriented to the past. Small European towns are often per se part of CH, for their architecture, monuments, and for any other form of CH, as well as for the intangible heritage linked to the territory. However, this potential is still considered to be undervalued, not fully exploited, and often in danger because of lack of investment in preservation, natural disasters in less populated areas, and impact of large infrastructural works. Small towns´ heritage was chosen for analysis as a tool used to enhance publicity of the places, as a tool which supports self-identification of the citizens of small towns. Last but not least, heritage is used for marketing and touristification or commodification. Particularly small towns in remote regions search desperately for such tools while they construct their strategies of regional or local development.

Definitions of small-towns vary significantly between different urban studies disciplines and also depending on the geographical context (Klusáková 2018). Nonetheless, the shared focal point of interest in small towns is quite clear – to fill the gap deriving from the variously formulated dichotomies of urban/rural, industrial/agricultural, modern/traditional or central/peripheral. The lacunae that opened between urban studies and research on the countryside has been only rarely visited by scholars. Perhaps for the purposes of the pilot, the most important issue lies in the mixed character of small towns, which retain rural features (especially the character of community as opposed to urban society) (Steinführer, Vaishar, Zapletalová 2016). It is easy to just use the term small towns as if it was given what a small town is. On the contrary, the pilot team has encountered a variety of understandings of the smalltownness.

Smalltownness can be defined by size of population, spatial description or urban functions. Towns in Europe in many countries still must have a status to be considered as such. Recent geographic and sociological studies on small towns define smalltownness through the number of inhabitants and found consensus on the threshold of 20,000 (Kwiatek-Soltys 2017; Sztando 2017; Klusáková - Ozouf-Marignier 2017: 11-23). Along with this there may be further economic criteria of income or taxes, or urbanistic ones formulated by architects. A small town is "midway between big cities and rural regions, constitutes a secondary centre whose role is to serve a variety of minor or similar settlements, and which lacks the typical infrastructure of a metropolitan or central urban area." (del Espino Hidalgo in Klusáková et al. 2017: 118). Such towns do not offer all urban functions, and to settle certain issues, citizens have to travel to a town higher in hierarchy.

Yet another option is the approach which would be based on the self-identification of the place, how it, or rather its inhabitants and its managers, feel and express its urban functions or rural character, its identity or status (Mainet 2011). Such a typology would consider their role in the micro-region, or to their supra-local relations. The French geographer, Hélène Mainet recognises two principal positions of small towns in larger geographical contexts, which correlate with their varying self-presentations and constructions of attractivity that put more emphasis either on rural or urban qualities:

- small towns are located in the vicinity of large cities. They accentuate the benefits of the countryside: greenery, silence, and community-life. They function mostly as a dormitory, since the population commutes for work.

- small towns are located deeper in their regions. They emphasise their function as urban centres for their hinterland, microregion or even a larger region. They offer various urban services, administrative, commercial, and socio-cultural-health-care, schooling, entertainment and supralocal connections.

Mainet built her arguments on the French experience and relates identification to the attractivity of the place, while Andrzej Sztando points to the importance of supralocal influences and relations (Sztando 2017: 110-120; Mainet 2011: 75-89).
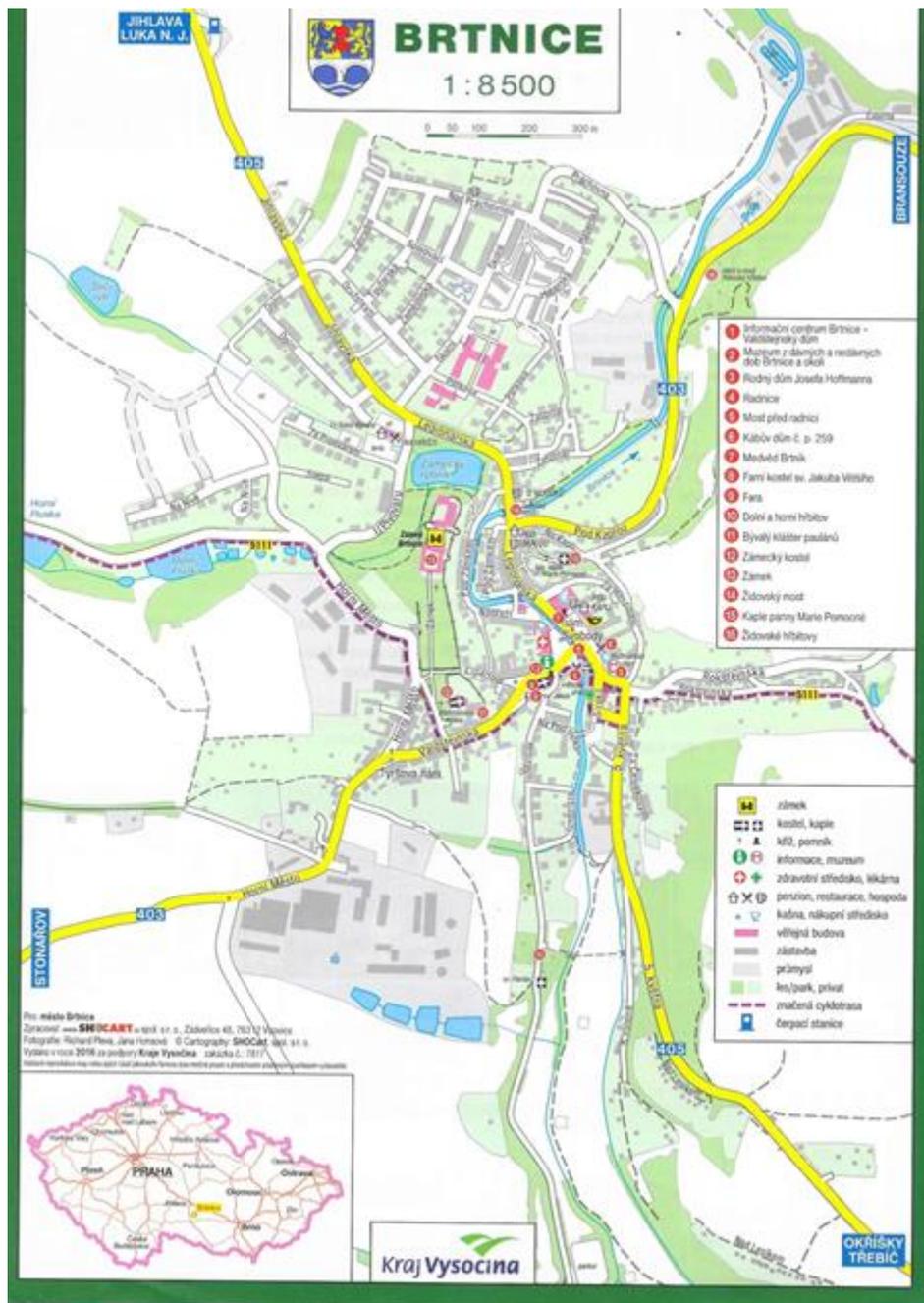

Figure 2: Map of the small town of Brtnice

The pilot team decided to pay decisive attention to the community´s self-perception. While basically looking at the towns under 20,000 inhabitants, the adopted criterion remained flexible: The town is small if its citizens consider it being small.

Part of the work in the pilot aimed at providing more accurate notions and distinctive traits of small towns as cultural (heritage) milieux, such as, the relational position of small towns in spatial relations, the role of (small) scale and proximity, the relative complexity of small towns (e.g., plethora of local institutions and links to larger institutional networks, social differentiation, demographic structure), limits and possibilities endemic in small town settings.

3.2. RESILIENT CULTURAL HERITAGE

Small towns have long been notorious for their precarious position in modern society, having been largely characterised as having been left behind by modernisation, large-scale urbanisation, economies of scale etc. Some scholars have focused on their marginalisation (Bell, Jayne 2006; Hannemann 2004), while others have criticised bias of contemporary development strategies toward cities (Lorenzen, Heur 2012). Yet the prospects of small towns may not be that pessimistic.

"Over the last decades, rural geography and history have paid attention to the revival of small towns with regard to peri-urbanization and the fight against the desertification of the countryside. The towns themselves have recorded a renewal of interest from people attracted by the quality of the living environment, while the authorities have tried to maintain the services and facilities available at a good level. Heritage and tourism, especially cultural tourism, are becoming important resources for local development. In most European countries, decentralization revalued the role of small towns and gave them more skills and powers. Since the 1990s, European regional policy has demonstrated the importance of social and territorial cohesion. Spatial proximity is seen as a crucial lever for implementing the ideal of solidarity and for generating concerted action in respect of economic growth. Local values, the uniqueness and specificity of a territory or the goods on offer have become successful tools of appeal and competition. National and European public policy, for example the "Leader" program, 8 encourage structuring action in small towns." (Klusáková and Ozouf-Marignier 2018: 13)

The Small towns' heritage pilot has worked with the assumption that cultural heritage is a valuable asset to be used as a resource by small towns in their strategies of development with the aim of making towns more sustainable and resilient. This is the ideal scenario that has also been endorsed by many recent policies and agendas of territorial development, though their accents may vary. For instance, the Territorial Agenda 2030 (2020)[12], which is currently being prepared, considers cultural and natural heritage as a resource for development of various places, including small towns, and accentuate their sustainable use. The recently published orientation paper Urban Agenda for the EU (2019)[13] has adopted a similar tone, but has put an emphasis on the sustainable development of cities, while explicitly considering cultural heritage as a "factor that increases the resilience of a city" and as "a source or asset of resilience" (Ibid: 46).

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[12]

https://territorialagenda.eu/files/agenda_theme/agenda_data/Territorial%20Agenda%20documents/TerritorialAgenda2030_201201.pdf (accessed 8/2/2021)

[13] https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/information/publications/brochures/2019/urban-agenda-for-the-eu-multi-level-governance-in-action (accessed 8/2/2021)

Yet, having built on recent developments in theory of resilience and cultural heritage, having adopted an actor-oriented perspective and critical heritage studies approach, and having delved into practical examples of small-towns and debates with stakeholders, the pilot problematised and revised the initial idea.

The concept of resilience has been circulating in urban studies for at least two decades. "Urban resilience" has been formulated from the planning perspective as the ability of the urban system (consisting of both material and human dimension) to survive various types of risks and hazards and changes, both natural and man-made (Meerow et al. 2016). In such a form the concept of resilience entered heritage studies in the wake of the last global economic recession of 2008. Building on the (often implicit) premise that cultural heritage embedded in the local environment (in this case small town) provides the symbolic basis for the identity of people and place, heritage experts argued that the urban system cannot recover or maintain integrity and character of the place without survival and care of local cultural heritage.

In order to further operationalise the concept of social resilience for the pilot's agenda, the team has also drawn upon a recent body of literature on social, community and place-based resilience that has defined the criteria of resilient communities. While accentuating different aspects, the authors largely agree on the importance of available resources; the capacity to develop and preserve them, as well as use them in a way that exploit their potential; and the importance of hard and soft qualities of the community, such as active agents, community networks or people-place connections (Magis 2010; Macleand et al. 2004). Some authors pushed the issue further and stressed the capability of communities to steer change, such as Abid Mehmood, who in regard to (small) towns, defined urban resilience "as a proactive rather than reactive view to planning, policy-making and strategic steering in which communities play a vital role for resilient place shaping through their capacity for active learning, robustness, ability to innovate and adaptability to change." (Mehmood 2016: 413)

This discussion especially provided the pilot with the question of how far heritage serves, the durability of the community, and also its capacity to adapt to changing conditions and take a proactive role. Based on this, the pilot's team was able to outline three axes around which debates with stakeholders and analysis of regions were structured:

- heritage as resource: what is considered to be heritage and why?
- uses of heritage: how is heritage used and managed, with what objective and impact?
- CH actors and institutions: their potential and limitations

In this respect, resilience had to be considered in three parts, and thus differentiated in terms of

- resilience of heritage, which may be defined as capacity not to be lost
- resilience of preservation, (re-)use and management of cultural heritage, which is their capacity to withstand discontent from stakeholders
- social resilience, that concerns small towns and their communities, including various stakeholders and subgroups, but also society at large, as small towns are part of larger socio-spatial structures.

The final point, and the major concern of the pilot, is the most complicated one, as it concerns many different aspects, such as the capacity of small towns to recover and reproduce themselves, social cohesion of their population, adaptability to change, strengthened economic potential, etc.

3.3. HERITAGISATION

Recent developments have significantly altered and problematised the notion of heritage: stripped it of its modernist connotations, and aspirations to objectivity and universality. Since the 1980s, the expert-led technocratic perspective on cultural heritage, fuelled by nation state self-legitimisation and characterised by highly centralised top-down institutional hierarchies and a focus on tangible heritage and art-history perspective, has given way to a more open understanding of culture and cultural heritage as related to collective memory (Halbwachs 2008). In this process, which can be broadly attributed to the general shift from "organised" towards "late modernity" (Wagner 2013), the definition of heritage and recognition of heritage values has significantly opened up and become a part of an open public debate. What has then followed, since the early 2000s especially, has been the unprecedented pluralisation of "heritages" and the widespread heritagization of the "pasts" and "collective memory".

This process was further fuelled by EU cultural policies, aiming at the development of sustainable and participatory heritage, which would represent local communities rather than elitist visions (Calligaro 2013). An important impulse came from the changing political economy with the dominant neoliberal approaches, that promote rolling-back of the state, also affecting heritage management and the consequential commodification of heritage in the context of mass tourism (retro-marketing etc.).

3.3.1 CONSTRUCTIVIST AND ACTOR-CENTRED CONCEPT OF HERITAGE

In parallel to this development, critical heritage studies were formed. Rather than seeing heritage as objects "out there", with some inherent value, this discipline has reconceptualised heritage, often linked with the adjective cultural or historical, as a product of social and discursive operations. It has also emphasised the interconnection of heritage discourse with politics and its instrumentalisation in reinforcing existing power hierarchies (e.g., Smith 2006). In this pilot, the "constructionist" perspective to heritage is adopted which regards the concept as referring to the ways in which very selective past material artefacts, natural landscapes, mythologies, memories and traditions become cultural, political and economic resources for the present (Graham and Howard 2008: 1-2). Following a critical turn in heritage studies, cultural heritage is broadly understood as the legacy (both tangible and intangible) inherited from the past generations, which acquires, at a certain point, symbolic value for a given community. Thus, instead of an analytical category, cultural heritage is approached here as an actor category, as something which may be understood as heritage by the community and which is subject to deliberate invention and re/production, next to conservation.

This approach implies the strong role of actors in the process of heritagisation, understood here as the construction of heritage out of past and contemporary artefacts, tangible as well as intangible. Many individuals, groups or institutions, experts as well as laypeople, stakeholders and third parties, are directly and indirectly involved or concerned. Somebody has to articulate the strategy, and decide upon the goals and tools to be used. Somebody takes on the role of "discovering" the useful heritage. It follows that heritage is continuously negotiated and disputed. When considering this statement, it is important to remember that each group or actor is embedded within their own individual context or network with particular agendas, backgrounds and objectives, and with particular perception of and access to heritage. In many instances, this diversity of perspectives is beneficial for heritagisation, as it helps make heritage more diverse and thus representative of plural societies, but there is always the possibility for hidden, less altruistic motives that stem from particularistic economic or political interests. It is therefore imperative that this process ought to be transparent and open to the wide public.

3.3.2   STRATEGIES AND PLANNING

Strategies of local development are operations closely interlinked with heritagisation, as they utilise and further sanctify what has been acknowledged as heritage, while they may also stimulate further acts of heritagisation. Development strategies usually emphasise economic and social goals, while cultural aspects are mentioned less explicitly; these are nevertheless present in strategic plans. For the pilot's purpose, it is important to see the relationships between strategy building and heritage use, commodification and marketing, as well as to understand the logic of reciprocal relationships between these operations on the one hand, and the heritage's identification, interpretation and representation on the other hand.

Strategies are rational actions oriented towards a certain goal, with a use of certain means. Recently, the term strategic planning was introduced to describe processes of designing more general visions and frameworks of strategy-making and decision-making, which involve actors from different sectors of the urban context (e.g., Kühn, Fischer 2010: 11-28). According to Marek Klodziński, who analysed methods of mobilising local forces and potentials for the benefit of rural and urban communities in Poland, strategy has to be articulated for a long-term perspective, with the aim of speeding up the development of the community. It has to be clear what goal should be achieved, and how. Klodziński links strategy with financial management of a community open to change. He explains that the term is not as much linked with the art of warfare (the original meaning) as with game theory, indicating that the actor articulates several ways how to achieve desired goal, and then chooses the way he considers as best for him (Klodziński 2006: 24-26). In his perspective, the methods of strategy building are a chance for local societies to get involved in drawing the plans for its development and later in the process of realisation of those plans (Ibid.: 22-23).

While strategies are important instruments that help steer the preservation, use and management of heritage and intervene in the heritagisation processes, the reality of heritage in small towns is a far more complex issue. Many bottom-up activities linked to heritage are pursued spontaneously. It can therefore be more rewarding to adopt a broader perspective and to explore the whole spectrum of heritage activities and uses in a small town. These may largely converge toward a common strategic vision, but there is always a possibility of dissonant images of what a desirable town should be and for what purposes its cultural heritage should be used. Also, the strategic documents are often vague or multiple in terms of objectives, and it is only the longer-term observation broader enquiry that can reveal the course of municipalities in regard to heritage uses.

3.3.3   AMBIGUOUS USES OF SMALL-TOWN HERITAGE

This chapter started with the claim that the small town's heritage is often underexploited. However, to sketch out the complete scene of the small town's heritage, examples and voices to the contrary need to be supplied as well: of its over-uses and ambiguous representations.

Historically, small towns were discovered as cultural heritage in the late 19th century, typically at the backdrop of modernisation and mass urbanisation. In many societies, small towns were adopted as part of national heritage, as they allegedly represented national architectural tradition, genuine culture of the nation, bygone or endangered national values, or organically grown interaction between inhabitants and their surroundings. In Germany, for instance, (historical) small towns became progressively seen as a distinctive feature of national landscape, and even as quintessential markers of German culture and tradition (Nowak 2013).

This example should nevertheless provide an alert to the malign forms of heritage use and representation; the adoration of small towns and their distinctive historical built heritage went often hand in hand with disguise to modern urban society and its values (Glaser 1969), and taken to its extreme, small town heritage might even be used as a source of Nazi regime propaganda, as illustrated by the story of Rothenburg ob der Tauber, "the most German of towns" (Hagen 2004). The ideology of small towns not only attacked the cosmopolitan and decadent big cities associated with Jewish communities, but ultimately wiped-out Jews even from the small towns, with an all-too known tragic end.

While less extreme in its ideological content and human effect, many uses of (small) town heritage, and even preservation measures, may have detrimental impact in one or another way, threatening the life of the town or its sustainable development. Terms such as museumification, Disneyfication, theme-parking, or even urbicide, have been coined to denote the backside effects of insensitive uses of heritage, or too strong preservation measures, often linked with touristification and labelisation. In regard to UNESCO, for instance, one critic went as far as to talk about the "UNESCOCIDE" (D'Eramo 2014), while remarking that smaller towns are more exposed to the hazard of mass tourism that often follows UNESCO's World Heritage listing. The comment about San Gimignano in Italy, about its inhabitants who live outside the walls, within which "everything has become a set for medieval costume movie, with inevitable products of 'invented tradition' on commercial display" (Ibid), might well be transposed to Český Krumlov in the Czech Republic, which also happens to be its twinned town, or even Telč, perhaps with a qualification that the movie scene would that be of Renaissance, and the products sold would include poor quality merchandise, produced especially for the global tourism market, and available in souvenir shops in Prague or Rome.

3.3.4   AUTHENTICITY, FANTASY AND THE TOURIST EXPERIENCE

The examples of overtouristified towns open up questions about what kind of experience should be created and offered to tourists. As Greg Yudin and Yulia Koloshenko have argued, two basic modes are suggested: creating a sense of authenticity or construction of pure 'phantasy'. Whatever mode is applied, and this may partly depend on the pre-existing local potential, the processing of history is needed:

"Sometimes, it requires effort to restore the atmosphere of authenticity by reconstructing the true history of a particular city, digging into its past to excavate famous persons or events related to it. In other cases, history must be amended to make the place worth seeing, and some pseudo-historical narratives that fit the general image of the place must be created. In still other cases, real history is completely replaced by a narrative that deliberately breaks all ties with reality, as happens in the construction of phantasy." (Yudin, Koloshenko 2018: 81)

Building on recent theories of tourism experience, the authors admit chimera and unattainability of authenticity, which can at best be only simulated, while pointing out that many tourists prefer to consume mere fantasies and fabricated myths, eventually mixed with some real-world elements, rather than real history of the place. The production of a tourist experience therefore "sometimes relies on generating exciting myths rather than on digging up the 'real' past. Some tourist sites may even reject history entirely and become attractive by completely transporting tourists into fairy tales." (Ibid.: 83). Yet, to be accepted by tourists who seek a sense of authenticity after all, even the most fictional myths about the town still have to be mediated by the community and be related to local history and tradition. (Ibid: 95-96)

3.4. SUMMARY

This chapter has elucidated the underlying theoretical premises of this deliverable, upon which the subsequent analysis will rest. Having clarified the category of small town, the concept of the community resilience has been discussed in relation to cultural heritage, and a framework outlined for further enquiry: what is considered to be heritage; how is heritage used; and who are the actors involved? As regards the notion of heritage, the constructivist position has been adopted, which places emphasis on various actors and on the socio-discursive acts of constructing heritage. Furthermore, the role of development strategies for heritage was discussed. Finally, the chapter outlined complexity, diversity and ambiguity as the key features of small towns' heritage and its (re-)use, having pointed to some of the problematic uses of small-town heritage, such as over-touristification, and having touched upon the issues of meaning making and manufacturing of the past in the context of tourism. These aspects are crucial and feature in the case studies presented in chapter 4, reflecting on the impact of CH for the town, its people and the region.

4. ANALYSIS OF SMALL TOWNS

Initially, this chapter details the local encounters organised by the pilot team that invited a broad range of CH institutions and regional stakeholders to meet, to share the important cultural heritage issues and challenges that small towns face The discussions identified a range of similarities and differences that provided a rich discourse for the team to analyse further, to both enhance the collective understanding of small towns and heritage, and to provide evidence to support REACH project conclusions.

The chapter then presents the desktop analysis of a range of small towns, in three regions, that has been undertaken by the CUNI pilot team. Structured loosely around the three axes of a) (what is considered to be heritage; b) uses of heritage; c) actors and institutions, the case studies aimed at disclosing the complexity and variety in dealing with CH across a range of places, while also mapping interesting examples of good and bad practices. Variety was an important starting point. Although small towns have their specific sorts of vulnerabilities and potentials that are endemic to their scale, they differ in many aspects, such as their relative peripherality, their position in urban networks, or their functions. Of particular importance for the pilot was their differing heritage potential. For instance, some towns have very dense and old built heritage, while others are modern, or have lost much of their historical landscape. At the same time, variety turned out to be one of the results; rather than yielding a homogeneous picture, the survey disclosed differences in various dimensions, such as, what is typically considered to be heritage; what kind of image is conveyed by towns' promotional strategies; what role the labels, such as UNESCO WHL, play; or what major objectives were followed through the heritage (e.g., to bring more tourism, to build stronger local attachment, to conserve built heritage).

The chapter culminates with an outline of the pilot team's involvement with other academic institutions, and then how the pilots' findings will be sustained via an interactive map.

4.1. LOCAL ENCOUNTERS

Local encounters played an important role in the Small towns' heritage pilot, as they provided opportunities to meet with stakeholders and associated partners. The format used was flexible, comprising organised meetings, both large and small, as well as visits undertaken by the pilot team (CUNI) in 2018/2019.

Starting with the first project related contact in November 2017, the network of associate partners (AP) was addressed on a regular basis by collective emails and in bilingual form (Czech and English). Luďa Klusáková was in charge of communication with the network, using for that reason the specifically created email conference (associatereach-cuni@promoter.it). The communication concerned information about project's activities and pilot progress, invitations to REACH-organised local encounters or heritage-related public lectures, information about specific events organised by APs, and news concerning the APs, such as the town of Brtnice winning of the award of the Historical Town of the Year.

CUNI organised three events (one workshop and two discussion rounds) in Prague that were designed to both realise participatory and collaborative networking activities, and to gain deeper insights into local circumstances, especially into the relationships, dispositions and interactions of local networks. During these meetings, detailed records were generated.

In addition, members of the CUNI team participated in three further meetings (one conference, one discussion/survey round and one interview) in some of the researched regions. Local encounters included representatives of small-town municipalities, regional administrative bodies, cultural workers, and heritage and tourism organisations that operate on a national level.

Local encounters with stakeholders			
Date	Venue	Form	No. of participants
February 15, 2018	Prague	Workshop	25
June 21, 2018	Jihlava	Conference	15
Autumn 2018	Białystok	Discussion/Survey	248
January 24, 2019	Prague	Discussion	2
February 15, 2019	Prague	Discussion	2
May 23, 2019	Białystok	Interviews	3

Figure 3: Table of the pilot's local encounters held with associate partners

These meetings were focused on the involvement of stakeholders as co-active agents in research agenda-setting and knowledge production; on *gaining insight* into different perspectives and experiences of involved representatives, in their mutual interaction, etc.; on collaboratively *identifying* strong and weak points in producing and dealing with cultural heritage in small towns (including: using, presenting constructing, preserving, and managing), as well as a range of good and bad (less successful) practices and themes for further research in CH. Furthermore, it was planned that the results of desktop research would be used during these meetings to challenge views and broaden the debate.

4.1.1 PRAGUE WORKSHOP, FEBRUARY 2018

The first local encounter was organised in Prague, at the premises of Charles University's, Faculty of Arts, on February 15, 2018. Although some invitees were unable to attend, the invitation still attracted 25 representatives from several associated partners (APs) of various kinds: municipal and regional institutions: Svidník in Slovakia, the association Povodí Stařečského potoka from Stařec, and the administrative region Vysočina; representatives of governmental institutions: National Heritage Institute and CzechTourism; non-governmental organisations (NGOs) with the nation-wide scope of operation: Společnost Petra Parléře, Institut pro kulturu a památky, and Anthropictures, and even with transnational links: ECOVAST Slovakia, as well as the private enterprise CZ LOKO from Česká Třebová and a few representatives of academia (University of Bialystok, and the Belarussian Academy of Sciences). (See the table in section 2.3.2.1 for details of APs.) Due to their experience and engagement in heritage protection, presentation and (re-)use, these corporations were invited to provide manifold insights into initiatives and activities realised on local, trans-regional, nationwide and even international levels. Participants contributed very particular perspectives and knowledge, as well as different approaches with regard to CH and its use as well as concerning collaborative work with further CH-actors. In this way, each partner highlighted very specific and various aspects which enabled the pilot team to broaden its considerations and place stronger emphasis on certain issues of concern in the designing of the pilot and the following analyses.

The day-long workshop combined presentations with discussions. Its objectives were to introduce the REACH project, establish ways of mutual cooperation and facilitate networking between APs. Panel discussion targeted initial research questions and raised further aspects of small towns' heritage. The first of the four sessions was devoted to the presentation of the project's major objectives and methodology. The second panel focused on collaboration with and between associate partners. The third panel opened the discussion to include ways in which national stakeholders approach local counterparts regarding (re-)use of heritage. The final panel was devoted to the heritage activities carried out by towns, places and associations.

The opening debate was fuelled by interesting cases of participatory activities in relation to cultural heritage that were presented on one hand by experts from official institutions such as National Heritage Institute and CzechTourism, and on the other hand by a range of different bodies, including architects operating as volunteers in European Council for the Village and Small Town (ECOVAST Slovakia) and in Petr Parléř Association presenting one perspective and local actors from towns such as the Svidník, Slovakia, a large factory CZ LOKO operating in Česká Třebová, and a micro regional project for participatory activities created by a group of citizens based mainly in Stařeč presenting another. The experts operating in NGOs: Institute for monuments and culture and Anthropictures, anthropology research studio, represented those who register, survey, motivate and support the participatory activities.

During Panel 2, which put its emphasis on the dimensions of collaborations with and between APs, the pilot team introduced a question on how to distinguish "large" and "small" actors participating in local cultural heritage. The connection between national/regional government and centrally-financed institutions, including incorporation through economic distribution, were discussed mainly by the Regional Department of Culture and Tourism of Vysočina. Contrary to this perspective, an example of specific cooperation, designed according to local actors' needs, was given by National Heritage Institute representatives – this is driven through a dense network of regional and local offices, which has a tight bond (both institutional and personal) with local actors.

Panel 3 was focused on the perspective of "large actors" of cultural management (e.g., central institutions, bureaus, regional governments and national organisations) on cross-sector collaboration/use of CH. The main discussion was on: how to build cooperation with small-towns cultural heritage stakeholders? How to incorporate and coordinate them in frameworks and projects? How to boost their activity? Based on the institutional perspective, this discussion dealt at first with top-down processes.

The representative of ECOVAST (European Council for Villages and Small Towns, Slovakia) noted the importance of finding/indicating a common interest for both small and large actors, as without a common base, the creation of collaborative initiatives would be impossible. They gave as an example, the Slovakian case of applying for the projects of regional culture development – project applications are based on area and socio-economic development General Plans of the applying locality. The problem is that the Plans tend to describe mainly the material (physical) characteristics of local heritage – they do not include intangible heritage or folklore thus. Therefore, the majority of projects' applications are focused on tangible heritage objects such as architecture, monuments and statues; funding renovation and preservation activities. ECOVAST therefore supports local actors (civil organisations, NGOs, municipalities) by providing them with know-how of assessing and evaluating local heritage and giving new perspectives on how to preserve and manage local heritage, both tangible and intangible.

According to ECOVAST, the most important step in supporting the local parties is to convince them of the advantages of "shifted" non-traditional approaches towards local heritage, building effective communication systems that involve all relevant stakeholders.

CzechTourism introduced another aspect of high concern: the over-touristification of small towns. Its representative highlighted the case of Český Krumlov. Although the town successfully entered the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1992 and has prospered economically since then, decades on, it suffers from the social effects of depopulation of locals, the town centre is over-crowded and the feeling of authentic culture is seen as lacking by the local community, which is mostly indifferent to the privatised tourist industry. In contrast, domestic tourism was noted as the trigger mechanism for boosting local tourism and the aspect of "local authenticity" was identified as a crucial element for both boosting local identity and willingness of the local community to participate.

Svidník Municipality provided an example of conflicting positions among local and regional actors. Its representative illustrated this on the basis of the planning of the local infrastructure. Since the Svidník region lacks wider transport connection to the largest urban centres (mainly Košice, which also had an airport, thus offering the possibility of growing capacity), its problem in profiting from tourism is that the region is limited in bringing tourists in, an issue compounded by the lack of related infrastructure capacities such as hotels and restaurants. The Svidník representatives felt that their locality would benefit if a highway from the regional centre could be built; however, this sits within the regional government's development strategy, and therefore cannot be initiated by the local municipality. As this is not seen as a regional priority, there is local frustration, for those people who believe that its construction is a key factor in the further development of Svidník. It seems a paradox that poor connections with the regional centre have forced Svidník into cross-border cooperation with small towns in Poland (mainly Krosno).

CzechTourism[14] noted again the importance of building up the heritage development strategies based on local authenticity, which can vastly support local resilience. ProPamátky added that small places touristification plans do not work well if they are based on confrontation with the higher-level tourist destinations ("central", "larger", "more famous"). It was also suggested that wider cooperation of similar small towns, even cross-border, is needed as a counterweight to central "large actors".

As a result of vivid discussion, the importance of local authenticity in small places' promotion, via local heritage, is strongly needed and can be seen as a general case of good-practice in heritage management.

Panel 4 offered an opposing, "bottom-up" perspective, asking – How is it possible to gain attention for small places? How is it best to motivate participation of the community? Specific cases were presented by small localities' actors.

To begin with, the chair noted the problem from a "small actor's" perspective, which can sometimes be tricky, due to close connections (socially, culturally, and economically, …) with larger actors (as receivers of funds, employees, co-operators, and even relatives etc.). This situation can lead to conflict over the meaning of "culture heritage". The understanding of this conflict from the bottom-up perspective is a key to analysing the sustainability and resilience of local communities. Thus, the issue of the role of central (national) actors and institutions in helping local communities to survive was raised.

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[14] CzechTourism, founded by the Ministry of Local Development, is a governmental organisation that oversees propagation of tourist destinations, regions, localities and sites in Czech Republic.

The representative of the Stařeč Brook region praised cooperation with the regional government of Vysočina stating that all of their applications for regional funding projects for local culture have been approved. Nevertheless, she noted that much greater collaborative activities are undertaken on the level of small-town – district cooperation. Hence, economical bonds with the regional centre work well, but much more work on culture and heritage in praxis is done through cooperation with local town Třebíč (namely cooperation with local museum and archive, cultural department of district, and with Třebíč high school). A wider consideration was that the basis for successful cooperation is in personal relationships among the actors involved. This was later taken as a good-practice case of cultural heritage management involving local community and regional institutions.

Discussion continued on how this "bottom-up perspective" approach can be facilitated in praxis by central institutions, as there are often obstacles on the local level, such as lack of trained employees, institutions usually being under-staffed, and the significant amount of time required. As such a central and national-wide acting institution, the National Heritage Institute is aware of the need for such a shift in approach small actors, suggesting that some reorganisation is required to provide greater flexibility. However, it was noted that the issue would not be resolved quickly.

Figure 4: The opening local encounter with associate partners in Prague, Faculty of Arts at Charles University, February 15, 2018. (Photographs by Jaroslav Ira)

Throughout the workshop, the concept of heritage was addressed several times. It was stressed that a broad understanding of the term is needed including intangible heritage and memory. Some speakers suggested that the pilot should draw more attention to bad practices, unsuccessful stories and failures, as these may be equally instructive and indicated several examples (e.g., local indifference or even hostility to actions implemented from outside due to failure to include the local citizens in the action or due to the memory clashes; low interest of local public in the local heritage protection).

The discussion indicated several themes for further reflection, such as:
- the persisting tendency to limit the idea of heritage in small-town setting to old and tangible monuments
- the discrepancies between the values of local residents and the perspectives of protection agencies
- the double-edged relationships between tourism and local sustainability
- the involvement of local citizens in all phases of heritage practice decision making, and their impact on its success or failure.

It was considered that the workshop had identified many important topics, issues and cases that would be further examined within the REACH Small towns' heritage pilot. These included discussion on various approaches to the valuing of cultural heritage, aspects of local sustainability/resilience and the question of harmony/conflict on various levels, with heritage actors placing a greater focus on practice cases and APs' experience.

The event has proven that such informal meetings are indispensable to achieve the goal of the project. The workshop was concluded in a friendly and fruitful atmosphere. The desire to meet again was the feeling generally shared by all participants, as well as by the organisers.

4.1.2 JIHLAVA CONFERENCE, JUNE 2018

Although organised externally, the international conference *Kultura a cestovní ruch v AT-CZ regionu* (Culture and Tourism in the AT-CZ Region), organised by Vysočina Regional Government in Jihlava ON 21 June 2018, provided an opportunity for a member of the REACH CUNI team to meet regional stakeholders and to update research cooperation established during the Prague workshop in February.

A significant topic covered the (im)balance between local sustainability and mass touristification. Topical issues of CH management, promotion and incorporation in local/regional economics were introduced and discussed by representatives of the small towns of the Vysočina Region. A roundtable discussion followed informal interviews held with the Mayors of Telč and Třebíč and Municipality Councillor for Culture of Jemnice. The problems of connection/coordination of tourism and local cultural heritage was agreed to be the main issue of local economic development by all of the small towns' representatives. Třebíč and Telč - both towns listed on UNESCO World Heritage List - have recently challenged the issue of touristification.

Problems of imbalance between the economic opportunities of mass tourism and the resultant threats of deterioration of towns' social networks and infrastructure were addressed. Factors of note were the discrepancy between short-term tourists, attracted by local heritage, and the depopulation of local citizens who are seeking more developed social infrastructure (school, hospital, and shops), culture and leisure time activities (theatre, cinema, and swimming pool) – especially in Telč. Therefore, two goals of the Telč municipality are in managing the cultural heritage: the better usage of the tourism income for the sake of the town's infrastructure development, and to overcome overcrowding of the town by encouraging tourists to visit other localities in the region. The town is currently at maximum capacity for its tourism services (i.e., transport, accommodation, and restaurants) but the number of visitors is still growing steadily, meaning that not only the town, but also its facilities are overcrowded. The Mayor also described the overcrowding as a negative factor for "citizens' comfort of living".

The Telč Municipality Promotion Strategy has shifted away from the UNESCO-based heritage[15] to the promotion of longer-term activities in close environs of the town, such as sports and leisure time (biking/skiing, fishing and camping, eco- and rural tourism) connected with visiting cultural heritage places outside the town (such as the medieval Roštejn Castle). According to the Mayor of Telč, the level of success of this strategy-shift has been seen, even in a relatively short space of time, through comparison of the annual municipal tourism statistics (number of visitors, and nights spent in local accommodation services etc.). This has enabled the municipality to react dynamically, retaining the option of increasing local cultural heritage promotion, if needed.

Although towns themselves are ambivalent towards the value of UNESCO-status, it does appear to be a positive framework for participation of local municipalities, institutions, stakeholders, entrepreneurs and citizens. There are no advantages to towns, as Czech legislative does not recognise UNESCO-labelled cultural heritage ("In fact, UNESCO is no benefit for us in terms of obtaining support from national institutions or government funding", cit. Mayor of Třebíč). On the contrary, in Třebíč, the label has created some difficulties in construction development.

As an alternative, the representative of Jemnice noted the importance of inventive approaches in the presentation of local heritage and ways of getting local people involved and participating. The importance of addressing cultural events and activities to specific social groups of the town (especially young people, school students, families with children, local "educated upper middle-class") proved to be crucial in the case of successful public involvement.

4.1.3 BIAŁYSTOK ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH EVALUATION, AUTUMN 2018

As Charles University has a long-standing relationship with the University of Białystok, links were made with Dr. Marlena Brzozowska who was developing a doctoral thesis on regional history and heritage management. To coincide with Small towns' heritage pilot field-work in Poland in 2018, a combined anthropological and sociological research evaluation was undertaken which consisted of questionnaires, a focus group and an observation carried out by historians.[16]

A questionnaire was distributed among the oldest students of three schools in Wysokie Mazowieckie. The analysis of 248 questionnaires indicated certain regularities concerning the subject of cultural heritage and knowledge of the particular students. The study involved the pupils of: King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk secondary school, Stanisław Staszic Vocational School Complex, Center for Vocational Training. Due to unclear answers, one percent of responses were not analysed. The focus group consisted of residents not only of the city itself, but also of the neighbouring villages (compare Zemło, 2016: 495), as they travel into the city on a daily basis.[17]

An interesting phenomenon is the fact that as many as 49% of respondents have never heard or have not paid attention to the concept of cultural heritage. 51% of the respondents were able to list elements of material cultural heritage.

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[15] "UNESCO has been connected to Telč for almost 30 years now; its label is now so strong that it does not need any further propagation", cit. Roman Fabeš

[16] The results of this case study were used to create a scientific publication Klusáková, Parafianowicz, Brzozowska (2019): http://www.anthrojournal-urbanities.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/6-Luda-Klus%C3%A1kov%C3%A1-et-al.pdf (accessed 8/2/2021)

[17] The group of people participating in the study are entering adulthood. They are familiar with the function of search engines and freely moving in the internet environment. They have unlimited access to knowledge available online and in school and public libraries.

The most recognisable, most frequently mentioned elements include: Catholic churches, monuments (general concept), Jewish cemetery, roadside shrines, folk costumes, castles, old photographs and parks. Noteworthy is the indication of very diverse elements in their answers, covering both monumental objects and those operating in the local and private sphere.

Very few teenagers - only 36% - have ever looked for information about the cultural heritage itself. The most frequently used source of information is the Internet (44% of responses), then family (20%), and books (16%). The knowledge transmitted by teachers and museums is the least frequently used source of information. Those interested in seeking information, in 93% of cases, found it in the above-mentioned sources. It is worth noting how important, in relation to the other answers, is family, especially the Grandparent generation.

The students' responses highlighted significant issues. One of the most important is the weak scope of the institutions' activities in promoting knowledge about cultural heritage. The lack of special presenters of cultural heritage in the local environment may be considered as the main problem according to the students' answers. Only 29% of the respondents could point out people working for the cultural heritage in their local sphere. The general conclusion that emerges from the analysis of the conducted research indicates the lack of responsibility for education aimed at young people. The lack of it is on the part of the authorities and the cultural environment in the region.

4.1.4 PRAGUE MEETING, JANUARY 2019

Almost a year after the first workshop, two small-scale meetings took place with stakeholders in Prague, once again at Charles University.

On January 24, 2019, a meeting took place including the head of the CzechTourism product management department, that presented a database of Cultural Heritage localities, and the anthropology think tank, Anthropictures, that is involved in the local community development project Místazblízka[18], as well as the CUNI REACH pilot team. The goal of this workshop was to present, discuss and identify topics of interaction between top-down and bottom-up initiatives of local development linked to the cultural heritage in small towns.

Based on experience, CzechTourism identified a crucial topic in small towns' promotion through cultural heritage: to develop a strong local-based tourism branding, i.e., to establish a tourist portfolio combining local cultural and natural attributes. To achieve this, it is useful to invent a narrative, e.g., a complex set of small castles on the river Orlice (reminiscent of Loire-castles in France) or Bohemian-Moravian Highlands' historical localities connected through the historic Prague-Vienna Imperial Road (cross-border cooperation with Lower Austrian localities). These localities may be connected not just by the common incorporative presentation, but also on an economic basis (including uniform admission tickets, coordinated discount programmes of local tourist services designed to encourage the tourist to stay longer).

Based on in-terrain experience of working with local communities, the Místazblízka coordinator raised a question on how this (top-down) supporting praxis is conducted in the localities continuing the discussion of the first workshop. At the level of small towns' communities, encouraging local people to use their local heritage occurs in two steps: at first, events are organised that arouse communal

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[18] Místa zblízka is a project co-funded by the EU and Czech Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, which is designed to develop and support local communities and social networks in peripheral, excluded regions of the Czech Republic.

interest and identify with local heritage (e.g., public exhibition, excursion and/or students' discussion). Once communal interest is initiated, the second step is for local people to be supported to carry out the activities by themselves (via local interested societies, NGOs, clubs etc.). This support usually comprises passing on know-how and methods of how to run heritage-based activities and events (legislative, management of events, financial policy, PR and communication strategy).
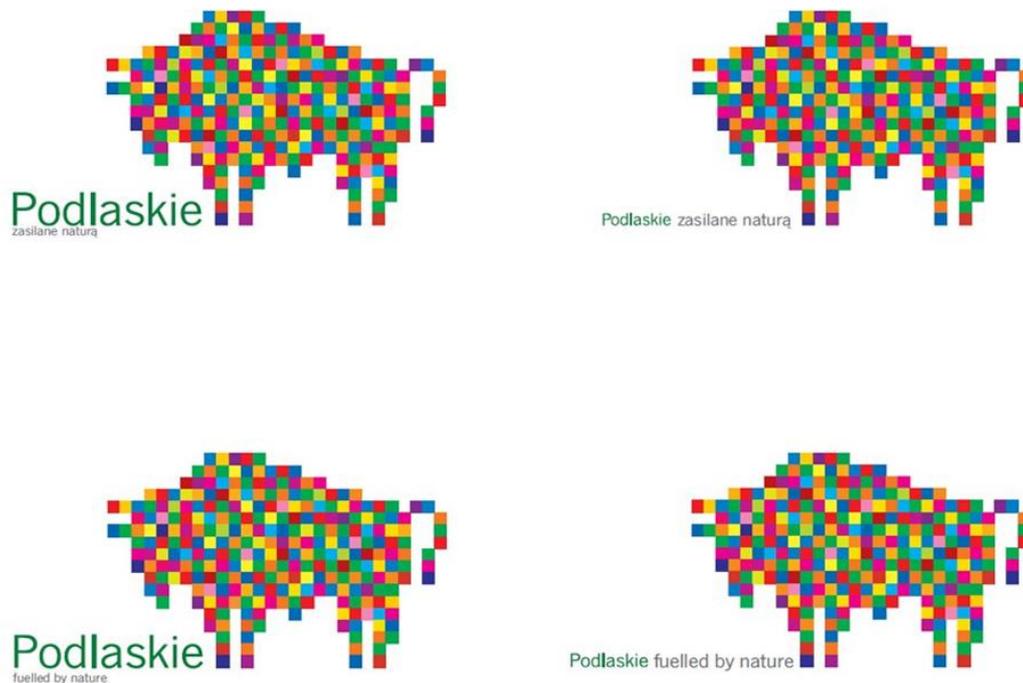
Figure 5: Examples of branding used for Podlaskie

CzechTourism has a network of agency branch offices (Destination Offices) in localities, which act as a mediator in top-down and bottom-up initiatives originating from both central, regional and municipal government and communal level, including supporting local people to react to these initiatives (e.g., traditional farmers and craftsmen heritage trail paths in Northeast Bohemia/Moravia). It is important to gain trust and provide support to "keen individuals" of local communities. The experience of Místazblízka affirmed this perspective, by sharing the experience of terrain-work of social support in Žatec municipality, where the project established an informal forum of local craftsmen, which resulted in their closer cooperation, coordination and established periodical fair trades of local goods, which has now become a municipal tradition.

In the discussion on the dimensions of region branding, the representatives supported some of the REACH pilot team's hypothesis on the role of local/global targeted propagation of small towns and their (de)centralised image. Based on research of the Bohemian-Moravian Highlands' small towns listed on World Heritage List (Telč, Žďár, Třebíč), there was a growing belief that the UNESCO brand is slowly becoming one that is unwanted, since it draws too much attention and overwhelms small towns with tourists, leading to issues of overcrowded in public spaces, and over demand for tourist services. Returning to the example of Žatec municipality, its project application for World Heritage List was intentionally decentralised away from the town and instead concentrated on the historical landscape of hops and brewery agriculture and surrounding industry.

CzechTourism confirmed that a list has been created, at the request of small towns themselves, of areas requiring no promotion, due to overcrowding as a result of mass tourism.

Finally, from the perspective of local community social participation, both representatives agreed on the high importance of local coordinators as mediators between the government, institutions, NGOs, and local stakeholders in relation to the management, preservation, (re-)use and touristification of cultural heritage. From the perspective of small towns' resilience to the challenges of the growth in tourism, has clearly been identified as needing a balance of wider regional cooperation and sustainable economic utilisation.

4.1.5 PRAGUE MEETING, FEBRUARY 2019

The CUNI team held another meeting in Prague on February 15, 2019, involving informal discussion between two partners from the Vysočina region: The Head of Vysočina Region's Department of Culture, Heritage and Tourism and a representative of the National Heritage Institute unit, detached in Telč. Further APs had been invited, but unfortunately, were unable to attend. However, this did not prevent rich dialogue that covered a range of issues and examples. This meeting adopted findings from the previous workshops and the desktop research. This included especially the decentralised shift, putting less focus on the towns themselves and more on their complex environs.

The National Heritage Institute criticised ongoing and poorly thought-out projects. The representative stressed that these often have been planned in a hurry (due to time-limited financial funding), and thus created randomly and without local input. As an example, they referred to the 'interconnection of historical landscape through the cycling paths' project. This criticism also applied to propagation strategies ("It is not clear to whom they are addressed? Tourists or locals?"). Another significant feature is how (local) communities are addressed ("Seniors do not need to be addressed by Instagram, they read newspapers, but youngsters will attend virtually every Facebook event…").

As within the original stakeholder meeting, concerns about the willingness of the local community to cooperate and participate in cultural activities were raised as an important and pressing issue, as it is a barrier to motivating stakeholders in promoting and implementing cultural events and activities. For example, community data gathered by the Institute has identified this especially for younger adults. However, this finding has been interpreted not as a result of their passivity – it is mainly due to the lack of a municipal social network for these citizens, especially healthcare and education. In consequence, young people study in larger cities, but do not return to settle in their hometowns after graduation, often rather seeking the culture and attractions in larger cities such as Jihlava. The Institute identified this "local-community consumerism" also as a result of the lack of social infrastructure ("People rather go to Jihlava to cinema and shopping malls", cit.).

Contrary to such concerns, the Regional representative of the Department of Culture did not see the peripherality as having poor/less developed accessibility (few roads, scarce public transport, social/cultural infrastructure) or that this was a negative factor to local community development. Rather she stated that the Region's central funding of the cultural sphere is generous and that the statistical data covering associated results reflect this.

The Vysočina Region representative also raised the issue of municipal museums, which are supposed to be the initiators of cultural heritage participation in the small towns, yet they are understaffed, overwhelmed by the bureaucratic work, thus lacking the time for expert work on heritage and its utilisation for strengthening the community.

Although the everyday public activities in the urban space should be scheduled on a more regular basis, some of the activities, focused especially on the younger community, are working very well (summer museum-camps, local history-based artistic contest for pupils and students…). The National Heritage Institute representative opposed that this is a problem of interaction between institutions and municipalities – town governments' demands for short-term goals in their development strategies, yet the participation support and establishment of public cultural events needs to be managed over a longer-term ("This is a conflict between "low" everyday needs and "high" cultural mission.").

The discussion turned to social participation, where the main issue is to find/invent functional tools/practices to support local people. It became clear that the role of the towns' infrastructure locations is fundamental (implying the depopulation of towns' centres caused by shopping malls located on the outskirts; but even the problems with some public lightning missing, which cause inaccessibility of some streets of historical Telč centre). "Festivalisation" in terms of annual music, arts and history events seems to be a plausible approach, since it supports both local people's participation and offers a tourist attraction. The disadvantage and limitations of events organised on a short-term basis still applies, although sometimes, these develop in their own right to become a vivid tradition (for example, "Vacancies in Telč" – a big multi-genre music and theatre festival, which engages the whole town physically and socially).

Participants identified a methodological need to establish a model of common consulting/monitoring of social participation on regional small towns' heritage. For this, they suggested a combination of academic, institutional and on-site perspectives as being very fruitful. In addition, the results of the discussion should be applied at local level (practices) and as academic outcomes.

4.1.6 BIAŁYSTOK INTERVIEWS, MAY 2019

A further meeting of note took place at the University of Bialystok, Poland on May 23, 2019. A member of the CUNI pilot team, met with the University's Head of History and Sociology Department, as well as the Curator of Art Collection and also a specialist of Education and Promotion from the Arsenal Gallery, Bialystok. This discussion was part of wider research on the role of cultural heritage in Central European peripheral regions' development strategies that also involved visits to local museums, galleries, castles and villages.

An initial interview took place with the Head of History and Sociology Department to verify the pilot's desktop-research based hypothesis about the character of regional and municipal presentation of cultural heritage. The prevalent narrative of local history as multicultural was found to be promoted by local institutions, which were specifically identified (the Municipal Museum of Bialystok, Regional Gallery). Minorities' history activities and presentations driven by local institutions and stakeholders (e.g., Department of Art History UwB-Jewish Trail Path, Orthodox Church of Bialystok-Orthodox Street Art Exhibition, Bialowieza Skansen Organisation-collection and preservation of Ruthenian and Belarussian Architecture of Podlachia) were mostly incorporated in cooperatively funded projects of multicultural character, with no specific culture/ethnicity/religion preferred or omitted. The municipal (as well as regional) strategy of cultural heritage promoted through the various multicultural historical specifics (mainly sacred architecture; folk traditions, customs and cuisine) of the locality proved to be unique within Poland. The ever-present multilingual character of local heritage propagation seemed to be an important part of this strategy which, besides Polish, mainly comprised Russian, Belarusian, Ukrainian, Hebrew and Esperanto.

The meeting was joined by experts of the Arsenal Municipal Gallery, which is one of the city's most active institutions in terms of public activities and civil society engagement. Besides collecting and showcasing fine pieces of local art, the Gallery regularly hosts public workshops presenting (and reproducing) local cultural traditions (e.g., projects focused on local artists reflecting local cultural heritage). The representatives gave detailed insight into the institution's mechanisms of social participation support, mainly material cooperation with local artists, the activisation of local social groups through media (digital media focused on students and youngsters), organising performances and artistic happenings in public space. An important case of good-practice was analysed on-site at the "Elektrownia Venue" – an example of a former power plant brownfield site that had been revitalised into a local community cultural centre. The Gallery ran a project, which funded the revitalisation, transforming it into an exhibition space, and theatre/cinema/concert hall, offering an open area for both official exhibitions and activities, as well as a centre for public cultural activities

4.2. VYSOČINA

In parallel with the varied local encounters taking place, desktop research was also undertaken. These dual strands were able to cross-fertilise the findings of the other, to highlight real challenges and issues facing small towns and the subsequent approaches that they have taken in relation to their cultural heritage.

4.2.1. INTRODUCTION

Vysočina is a relatively new administrative region, one of fourteen regions (*kraj*) of Czech Republic. At the same time, it represents a specific geographical and cultural whole, as it largely overlaps with the so-called Czech-Moravian Highlands (Českomoravská vrchovina), although their borders are not coterminous. Located in the middle of the country, the region is situated at the border between its two historical parts: Bohemia and Moravia. In economic terms, the region can be considered an internal periphery, with lower rate of industry or high-added value production, and lacking tertiary education (universities and colleges). The region is primarily rural, with a large number of villages, and is characterised by a polycentric urban network consisting of only middle-sized and small towns, with regional capital and the largest city Jihlava having slightly above 50,000 inhabitants. Small towns thus represent a relatively important feature of the regional geography.

The pilot opted for a differentiated and multi-sided approach in exploring the representation and uses of heritage. While some towns, such as Brtnice, were analysed more systematically, others served as examples for particular cases of heritage use, of good and bad practices, or problems. The local encounters with representatives of regionally based stakeholders (municipality of the town Stařec, branch of National Heritage Institute in Telč, and administration of Vysočina region) provided further data and insights to complement this case study.

4.2.2. BRTNICE: A CASE STUDY

Brtnice is a small town, with the population of 3,745 inhabitants. It is situated in the heart of Vysočina region, close to the regional capital city of Jihlava and to the highway, which connects Prague and Brno. It is reachable within an hour by car from Prague. Its origin dates back to the fourteenth century. In the mid-seventeenth century, the town became the residence of the noble family of Collalto, which sparked some building activity (chateau, bridges, and houses etc.). In the 19th and early 20th century, however, the town stagnated, as it was circumscribed by both the railway and larger industry, which resulted in low building activity and hence survival of the relatively intact historical core of the town.

(Kuča 1997: 342). The town maintained its semi-rural character in the 20th century, with the local population working mainly in agriculture and forestry, and to a lesser degree in smaller-size industries (leather and potato processing). Morphologically, the town is divided into an old part to the south, with a chateau, and the town centre in the valley surrounded by family houses, and a modern part to the north, with a housing district, primary school and other facilities that were created in the 1980s.

Brtnice belongs to the category of small towns with a compact and relatively well-preserved historical centre. The centre consists of Renaissance chateau complex (originally a Gothic castle) on the valley's brink and the old town stretching down the slope to the small brook, with irregular layout of streets and several Renaissance and Baroque features (houses, bridges, churches, and cloister) mixed with more modern objects. Due to the structural resemblance, the panorama of the chateau, the bridge with statues and the river is likened to the iconic panorama of Prague Castle and occasionally called "Brtnické Hradčany".

Figure 6: The town of Brtnice (photograph by Jaroslav Ira)

The value of the old town urban complex was authorised by having been proclaimed an *Urban Heritage Zone* in 1990.[19] On this basis, the town became a member of the *Association of Historical Settlements of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia* (SHSČMS). The heritage potential of the chateau has been limited by inappropriate use and lack of care during the Socialist period, and later by problems with property rights. This caused bad maintenance and serious decay of the complex and resulted in inability of the town to utilise its potential for tourism and cultural activities. In spite of this, some local civic initiatives secured elementary maintenance of the complex (new roof and cleaning of grass)

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[19] Urban heritage zone (*městská památková zóna*) is a tool of area heritage protection and building regulation. The zones contain well-preserved ground-plans and build-area compositions, but with less integrity than urban heritage reservations (*městská památková rezervace*). While some zones cover modern ensembles (industrial quarters, housing districts), most of them protect older (pre-19th century) historical cores. Currently, 255 urban heritage zones and 39 urban heritage reservations are listed in the Czech Republic (See more information at the National Heritage Institute website: https://www.npu.cz/en/NPU-and-heritage-conservation/historic-buildings-conservation-management/the-monument-fund/protected-heritage-areas (last retrieved 15/10/2020).

and have organised some limited uses of the complex, such as exhibitions of artistic photographs, historical festivals, guided tours, concerts, and small exposition of torture instruments. Since chateaux often function as major drivers of tourism in Czech small towns, a question may be asked how far the problems with Brtnice Chateau have assisted in allocating more focus and energy to different heritages, both tangible (such as former brewery and grain storage that are planned to be converted to museums) and intangible (tradition of plague processions, blacksmith competitions, and memory of renowned natives).

On a broader scale, the town can take advantage of the adjacent surrounding (agricultural landscape, a nearby ruined castle in Rokštejn as a favourite place for visits), and capitalise on the profile of Vysočina as a region with pleasing and pristine-looking landscape and with several smaller historical towns. The town lies close to the triangle of the sites inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List (Telč, Žďár nad Sázavou, and Třebíč), which creates potential for the town to become part of thematic clusters, such as the UNESCO heritage trail, designed by the Institute for Spatial Development (Ústav územního rozvoje, UUR): in segment II, connecting Telč, Třebíč and Brno, Brtnice is involved in the belt of 20 kilometres as site of interest.[20]

Representation of local heritage has been partly produced from within the town and partly by actors operating at regional and nation-wide levels.

Local institutions involved in heritage representation comprise the *municipal office* that has played a major role in the official promotion of the town, as it runs an official website and information centre, with a small exposition on local history, has commissioned promotional booklets and guides, created a local heritage trail, and organises heritage events, such as the Day for Old Brtnice, etc.

A couple of other local civic actors have been active in heritage representation and preservation, though with slightly different objectives: *Spolek pro starou Brtnici* (The Association for Old Brtnice) has been active in local history writing and publishing and in collection of living memory[21]; *Společnost Josefa Hoffmanna* (The society of Josef Hoffmann) focused on inscribing the memory of the local native, world-famous modernist architect Josef Hoffmann[22] in the town; *Brtnický zámek* o.p.s. (Brtnice chateau association) was an association that took care of the chateau renovation and *Život památkám* (Life to monuments) and has originated in the context of an effort to preserve Brtnice chateau and evolved in an corporation of regionally based architects that focused on sensitive renovations of historical buildings.

Of other institutional actors, the local *Catholic Church parish* has been involved in renovation and promotion of the renaissance Church of Beatified Juliana de Collalto, and the local primary school partook in some heritage promotion related activities, such as a competition of young people taking photographs of monuments, organised by SHSČMS, that aimed at raising attentiveness to heritage and sensitivity for local beauty. The *Museum of Josef Hofmann*, located in the native house of the locally-born architect, is part of the local heritage landscape, though it is run as a branch of *Moravian Gallery* in Brno.

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[20] See https://www.uur.cz/default.asp?ID=2195 (last retrieved 12/1/2021). The Institute is part of the Ministry for Regional Development of the Czech Republic.

[21] See: https://www.brtnice.cz/spolek-pro-starou-brtnici/d-126602 (last retrieved 12/1/2021)

[22] The Stoclet Palace in Brussels, inscribed in the UNESCO WHL in 2009, is considered his masterpiece. On the architect, see (Sarnitz 2016).

At regional and national levels, several organisations, such as the Vysočina regional government, CzechTourism or SHSČMS, have highlighted or produced representations of the town's heritage, usually as part of clustered images of Vysočina region or particular themes (network of historical towns; industrial heritage sites). (e.g., *Historical Towns* 2009; Beran et al. 2014).

The analysis of a variety of textual and visual media of representation revealed certain patterns and tendencies. The official presentation slightly prioritises built heritage over immaterial/intangible heritage (e.g., the front pages of promotional booklets and the municipality website), even though the annual plague procession, which was recently listed in the national registry of immaterial heritage, as well as the tradition of Josef Hoffmann, have become important markers. Preference of tangible heritage may be linked to the status of Brtnice as a historical town and seat of urban monumental protection zone.

In holistic representations of the town, emphasis on older strata of history (mainly Renaissance, Baroque) is notable, while recent layers of history – especially the late 20th century socialist part of the town – have been put into oblivion, which becomes obvious when compared with representations from the Socialist epoch, such as postcards and the urban biography from late 1980s (Janák et al. 1988). The spatial division of the town has assisted in this process: photographs can easily ignore the new build areas, while creating a pastoral image of a small town, circumscribed by hills with fields. The omnipresent accent on the town's historicity has been congruent with the sustained effort to brand the town as "historical town", complemented with imagery of the tranquil atmosphere in a cosy small town with a lot of green spaces. (Měřínský et al. 2006; *Život v Brtnici* 2015).

Finally, the representation of heritage remains for most part locally-based and oriented to a national audience, though foreign visitors are foreseen (as versions in English and German are available). A notable exception to the rule is the utilisation of Josef Hofmann. This architect's translocal and transnational dimension – his links to Austria and beyond, his fame amongst modernist architects – have been exploited in the design of a transnational cultural route, co-funded by European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), *The Traces of Modernism*, linking Brtnice with several other places in Czech Republic and Vienna[23], and several exhibitions that connected Hoffmann with other architects, such as Otto Wagner (On the Uses and Effects of Architecture, 2017, co-funded by ERDF as INTERREG project), and Josef Frank. Brtnice was suggested as a one-day destination from Vienna and Brno. While helping to get Brtnice on the map, the promoters also stressed the formative role of the small town on architect's future career: "Brtnice is the place, where Josef Hoffmann found his inspiration (…) Brtnice shaped Josef Hoffmann, that artist who would later change Vienna and Viennese society…" (Egger 1998: 30).

The desktop analysis of available sources indicates four sustained objectives of the municipality: to put the town on the map; to renovate built heritage; to augment the town's visual appearance; and to build and emphasise the community aspect.

The effort to get Brtnice on the map is evident in the competition for the "Historical Town of the Year" title. In 2018, Brtnice won the award, after several previous attempts. This is a competition among the towns, which are members of the Association of the Historical Settlements of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia (SHSČMS). It should be noted that only towns and cities, which have *urban heritage reservations* or *zones* can be members, which restricts the number of possible competitors.

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[23] See: http://en.postopachmoderny.cz/ (last retrieved 12/1/2021)

The competition has two tiers – regional and national – and is focused on the quality of the local heritage protection programme. The role of actors in the competition is summarised in the model below:
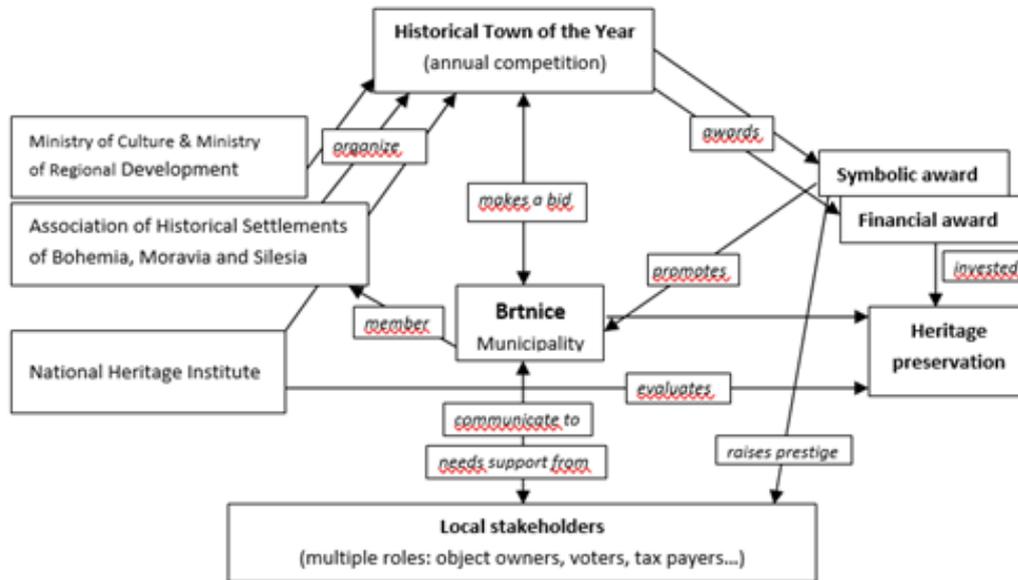
Figure 7: Historical Town of the Year Model (created by Jaroslav Ira)

While the town received some financial award that will be used for further renovation of selected features, the symbolic capital seems even more appreciated. The award has become the major point in the town's self-promotional strategy, which is immediately noticeable upon visiting the official website of the town. The reference to the title has also been supported by a list of articles on Brtnice's success that have been published in various media and are now stored on the town's official website.

Figure 8: Screenshots from the official town website that place visual emphasis on historicity and built heritage

Desktop research alone cannot answer how far public support for the bid resulted from efficient communication by urban leadership with the local stakeholders, or stemmed from widely shared consensus on the desirability of preservation. This certainly requires further exploration and comparison with other examples. In any case, Brtnice's title can be considered a success story in the sense of the ability of the municipal leaders to set up a durable and widely accepted programme of heritage preservation.

A strong accent on community-like qualities, social cohesion and wide public engagement has been a notable point in many of the texts. Several highlighted the cooperation of various local associations and individual citizens on common ventures, such as the gathering of texts and photographs for a recent promotional booklet about the town. A photo-gallery on the municipal website underscores participation – and, indeed, collective participation – in cultural heritage related events, such as walks around Brtnice, launches of local history books, not to mention the Plague Processions. The Mayoral address refers to a strong local attachment of residents and employs the language of community ("we", "we like our town").

What seems notable in the case of Brtnice, is the relatively low accent put on heritage as a driver to bring more tourism in the town. Rather, much effort has been invested to make the town appealing to (passing) visitors and attractive for actual or potential residents; also, a strong effort has been made to raise the prestige of the town. The media of town's promotion, events, and last but not least the discourse of local representatives, indicate more inward-looking and community-based strategies of town's development than those of dealing with its cultural heritage. Stress is put on communal living in a pleasant environment (with green spaces, nice urban landscape), on the balance between tradition and modernity ("We live in a modern way, but with respect to our history"), while making pride of the urban character of the settlement, which is documented by the emphasis on municipal charter from 2000, or in the new big inscription *radnice* (town hall) on the town-hall building. Local history seems to play a relatively high role in orienting and perpetuating the community.

4.2.3. HERITAGE AS A RESOURCE: WHAT IS CONSIDERED TO BE HERITAGE AND WHY?

Built heritage, mostly embodied by smaller towns and their well-preserved urban landscape, or by monuments located in them (chateaux and religious objects) represents a prominent feature in regional self-representation, together with natural landscape. A particular weight is put on the existence of three UNESCO sites (Telč, Třebíč, Žďár nad Sázavou). (Built) heritage and natural landscape are also seen as major regional assets, which need to be preserved, and which are still largely underexploited for tourism and economic development.[24] The emphasis on tangible, built, and mostly older artefacts has been reinforced by the small towns themselves, as well as by some of the actors that are involved in creating the dominant image of the region, such as CzechTourism and SHSČMS.

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[24] See, e.g. the official analytical document *Profil kraje Vysočina*, Krajský úřad Kraje Vysočina, 2020, accessible online at https://www.kr-vysocina.cz/assets/File.ashx?id_org=450008&id_dokumenty=4103186 (last retrieved 20/9/2020) or basic profile of the region, described at https://www.kr-vysocina.cz/vitejte-na-vysocine/d-4000086/p1=1205 (last retrieved 20/9/2020); a set of official promotional videos in the playlist „Pozvánky na Vysočinu" (Invitations to Vysočina) on region's YouTube profile confirms the accent to nature and built cultural heritage in terms of small towns and castles as the major markers and attractors of the region, with particular visual prominence given to the three UNESCO heritage sites https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLStx_5khqqcaOO2m0hV8NXD_DCuPYzO3z (last retrieved 20/11/2020).

Yet, a growing value assigned to intangible heritage is notable. Next to a wide range of folklore music groups, small towns try to increasingly promote their traditional and popular festivities, such as *Barchan* (historical pageant, run in historical costumes, which alludes to a particular historical event from the early fourteenth century) in the small town of Jemnice[25], or the Plague Procession in Brtnice, that have recently been registered to the national list of immaterial heritage of traditional folk culture. These festivities may be seen as part of the more widespread festivalisation of small towns in general, yet, unlike some of the more recent inventions, can boast a longer continuity, as they reach, as modern urban pageants, into the early twentieth century (with more or less continuous existence), and in their older - more religious - versions to the early eighteenth century. (Lochmanová 2018; Tříska et al 2010; Novotná 2015). The festivities have long been an integral part of the local culture, with local residents actively participating in their preparation and performance. In this sense, they can also be considered "authentic", although they have undergone changes over time, reflecting in part the changing political contexts. While increasingly adapting to the demands of tourism and the cultural economy, their main function still seems to be keeping the tradition and reaffirmation of local identity and sense of patriotism among the local inhabitants (Lochmanová 2018).

Třešť is an example of more varied representation. As a town close to Brtnice, and only slightly bigger, it also boasts monuments, historical figures of world fame, (such as Austrian, and later US-based economist Joseph A. Schumpeter) and intangible heritage linked to folk tradition, namely the local tradition of wood-carving of The Nativity Scenes (Bethlemens), in which several families are involved, and which gave birth to the so-called Nativity Scenes Path in Třešť, registered as a REACH example of good practice, i.e. the annual Christmas time display of the Bethlemens in the households for a wider public.[26] At the same time, however, the town represents itself through other features, though the past may still be employed. For instance, the recently renovated main square features a new sundial, allegedly the biggest in Central Europe, and this is related to the concept of time, around which the renovation of the square was organised.[27] The traumatic memory of the atrocities of the occupation and the WWII also seem more accentuated in the local urban space (monuments) and local history production (e.g., Bukvaj 2015). Finally, the local community seems to build its identity on an image of wealthy lifestyles, as apparent for example in the city-portrait book *Třešťská mozaika* (2015) and the preface of the town's mayor, and of a vibrant cultural (or art) scene, as represented not just in the long-established festival of amateur theatres Třešťské divadelní léto, but also in grassroot artistic initiatives, such as amateur theatre groups of a more avantgarde slant or young artist groups. A rap/hip hop-style song "Třešť city" (the English title) in an anthology *Akademie Vět* glosses over the atmosphere of the small town, while also points out a certain rivalry and contrast with the UNESCO town Telč: "...Telčers will suggest that we have no square, / that to the UNESCO town, one has to go for the happiness..."[28] This all points to the remark, coined by the APs from the region, that Třešť and some other towns "have to try harder" in terms of their culture and heritage offers, as they do not have abundant built heritage of the likes of Telč, Třebíč, and some other places.[29]

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[25] See: https://www.barchan.cz/ (accessed 8/2/2021)

[26] See https://www.open-heritage.eu/practic/36/ (accessed 8/2/2021)

[27] For the explanation of how the symbolics of time was inscribed in the urban space of the town's centre, see https://www.trest.cz/clovek-a-cas/ds-1102/p1=14023 (last retrieved 5/12/2020).

[28] Jan Tausch: "Třešť city", in: *Akademie Vět*, Brno 2016, p. 53.

[29] Prague, February 15, 2019 (discussion between the Head of Vysočina Region's Department of Culture, Heritage and Tourism and a representative of the National Heritage Institute unit, detached in Telč).

4.2.4. USES OF HERITAGE: OBJECTIVES AND IMPACTS

As the case study of Brtnice has shown, CH can be used for various objectives, such as augmenting the image of the place or promoting the town to a wider audience. Examples and experiences from other small towns illustrate other constellations between the town and its cultural heritage. The small town Telč, with its rich built heritage, represents a place, in which tourism has become an important issue. At the same time, it may be considered as one of many small historical towns in Europe, in which the effects - benefits as well as drawbacks - of the UNESCO WHL inscription may be explored. The next section specifically examines how the label has impacted the ways in which the town presents itself (with further evaluation in sections 5.2 and 5.3), issues of tourism impact and diversification, the role of local CH institutions, and the alienation of local citizens from their local CH.

4.2.4.1 UNESCO and Tourism: The Case of Telč

Telč is a historical town located on the periphery of Vysočina, in its southern part, approximately 30km from the border with Austria and near to the former border between Bohemia and Moravia. It was founded before the 14th century, and since the 16th century was an important aristocratic manorial seat, as well as the regional centre of trade, especially well-connected to Austria. It then slowly began to decline at the beginning of the 20th century.[30] Telč has about 5,500 inhabitants.[31] Although it is situated alongside one of the main regional roads, it is quite remote and far away from other larger centres. From a long-term perspective, since the first half of 20th century, Telč has shown some of the negative indicators of socio-economic development, such as depopulation, high average age, low education index, and higher unemployment.[32]

In 1950, the entire historical centre of Telč was declared an Urban Heritage Zone, which is currently the highest level of urban heritage protection in Czech Republic.[33] The centre around the main square, the so-called Inner City, is surrounded by ponds and consists of seven main heritage features:
   1) Gothic fortification (walls and bastions, ditches, gates and bridges)
   2) Gothic catholic Church of St. James
   3) Gothic evangelical Church of the Holy Spirit
   4) Baroque Jesuit area of monastery, college and Church of the Holy Name
   5) Baroque fountains and the Plaque Column of Virgin Mary
   6) about 50 Renaissance burgher houses enclosing the square
   7) Renaissance Chateau of Telč at the far end of the square.

In 1992, this urban heritage zone of the Inner City was enlisted on the UNESCO World Heritage List, as the first Czech (Czechoslovak) inscription, together with Prague and Český Krumlov.[34]

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[30] For more on the town's history see: Jan Evangelista Kypta, and Jan Beringer, and Jaroslav Janoušek, and Josef Rampula, *Dějiny Telče v díle místních historiků* (Telč, 2004).

[31] According to the Czech Statistical Office 2018, <https://www.czso.cz/csu/czso/pocet-obyvatel-v-obcich-see2a5tx8j>, (accessed 27/8/2018.)

[32] For more on the socio-economic development of the Vysočina region, see: Michal Illner, 'Regional Development in the Czech Republic before and after the Accession', in *Informationen zum Raumenentwicklung 11, 2001*; Jiří Musil, and Jan Müller, *Vnitřní periferie České republiky, sociální soudržnost a sociální vyloučení* (Prague: Studie CESES 2, 2006).

[33] The 1970 Declaration reviewed and broadened the original Urban Heritage Zone complex declared on 11 July 1950, see *Declaration of The Ministry of Culture of Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (27 April 1970)*, <https://www.kr-vysocina.cz/vismo5/dokumenty2.asp?id_org=450008&id=1010595&p1=1126>, (accessed 27/8/2018)

[34] UNESCO World Heritage List, *Description of Historic Centre of Telč*, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/621>, accessed 27 August 2018.

The other heritage objects in Telč are further away from the city centre, e.g., the Jewish synagogue and cemetery, Baroque Catholic church and chapel, the water mill and steam mill or the Museum of Machines and Techniques. Telč also has few heritage sites within close surrounds of the city, such as the Gothic forest Castle Roštejn and the ruins of the Gothic Castle Štamberk. Altogether, there are more than 100 objects declared as various types or levels of heritage, either by Czech National Heritage Institute or by UNESCO.[35]

Figure 9: The town of Telč (photograph by Jaroslav Ira)

To see how heritage serves in the self-promotion of the town, the official website of Telč is an important starting point, as it features three languages: Czech, German and English.[36] Interestingly, the content of the Czech page differs, when compared to the others.

On the Czech website, the first/top part (frame) of the presentation is filled with useful information for local citizens, including a catalogue of services and office contacts, weather, education, social services, and a local newspaper. The second frame is dedicated to general tourist information (a calendar of towns cultural activities, opening times, tips for walks etc.). There is simply no visible mention of UNESCO nor the other heritage objects on the homepage in Czech. It seems as if, in Czech, the town does not need to propagate itself through its heritage. Even before the UNESCO inscription, the cultural heritage of Telč, which is traditionally nicknamed "Moravian Venezia", is so familiar, that it does not need any further promotion.

When switching to German or English, it is apparent that the foreign versions clearly differ from the native language. The first part of the main page under the headline "Tourists Attractions" gives an interactive list of heritage objects and sites in the town and its surroundings. The order of the interesting attractions with links is: Chateau Telč, Houses on the square (incl. House of Telč-the museum and the Firemen House-the gallery), then Landštejn, Roštejn and Štamberk castles and at the end row the town's steam mill and the Museum of Machines and Techniques.

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[35] Central list of Cultural Heritage of Czech Republic, <https://www.pamatkovykatalog.cz/>, (accessed 27/8/2018.)

[36] <https://www.telc.eu/>, (accessed 27/8/2018)

Unsurprisingly, this order of objects is very traditional, as it is almost the same as in the tourist guides and leaflets produced from the 1950s until 1990s, which can be called "the pre-UNESCO era".[37] It is clearly visible that the composition of the heritage list presented by the town did not change after the UNESCO inscription. As with the Czech website version, there is no mention of UNESCO in the English or German version, not even under the links which provide otherwise comprehensive information about selected heritage objects. The town of Telč is presenting its heritage as a whole complex, not just picking the most prestigious objects and not distinguishing between UNESCO and non-UNESCO parts of its heritage.

Figure 10: Homepage of the official website of Telč (English language version)

Do the town representatives see the UNESCO label to be so self-propagating and global-known, that the town of Telč does not need to support it further? These remarks and questions were explained in an interview with Roman Fabeš, the long-term mayor of Telč.[38] In Telč, the town of 5,500 inhabitants, the mass of visitors per year doubled from 200,000 at the beginning of 1990s to almost 400,000 today, with 35% of foreigners (mainly from Japan, Germany, Russia and the United Kingdom). Fabeš claimed that even though UNESCO is such a successful global trademark and it is indisputably the main attractor for visiting Telč, the town is not seeking to attract any more visitors, because the capacity of its tourist infrastructure is already at its limit. Telč is currently looking for more quality, not quantity. Today, the UNESCO-enlisted town centre can be seen in half a day, the option that many foreign tourists follow. The town's strategy in presenting its heritage is to offer a more complex set of heritage, leisure or sport targets and activities, so that visitors will stay in the town or region for several days.

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[37] See František Kožík, *Až přijdete do Telče* (Telč, 1959), cf. e.g., Dalibor Kusák, *Telč* (Prague, 1965); Josef Rampula, *Průvodce Telčí* (Telč, 1946); Jan Tiray, *Vlastivěda moravská II. Místopis Moravy – Díl IV. Jihlavský kraj, Telecký okres* (Brno: Musejní spolek v Brně, 1913).

[38] An informal talk between the mayor of Telč and Jan Krajíček during the conference in Jihlava, June 21, 2018. (See also Ch. 4.1.2.).

In the case of Telč, the small peripheral town which has been experiencing the universal advantages of UNESCO-inscription for 26 years now, it turns out that the strategy of sustainable growth through cultural heritage is more complex, more locally-based and decentralised, not just simply focusing on the self-promotional and global UNESCO trademark, which is used rather to support and connect the local heritage, not to be the one and only topic of the heritage presentation. Overcrowding of the town is seen as a threat, but the dispersion of the UNESCO-attracted visitors to wider town's environs, to local heritage-, sports- or leisure-sites is seen as a development opportunity.

4.2.4.2 Renovations of Public Spaces: The Case of Počátky's Square

A different set of problems is illustrated by the example of Počátky, which is a small town of some 2,500 inhabitants, and the renovation of its central historical square. The plans for renovation appeared in 2007 and the square was reopened in 2015. For small towns, squares have a particularly important meaning, as they have strong representational function, and at the same time serve as centres of commerce, services, culture and sociability, but also as residential areas (Ambrožová, Kulhánková 2011). They are therefore subject to many competing needs and ideas. The renovation had already raised some criticism amongst some local politicians at the initial stages of proposal, and there was greater controversy among the wider public once the project was accomplished. For many, the project, funded by the EU, was seen as successful. The square was visually uplifted, with its historical appearance highlighted and car traffic reduced. The renovation was awarded the title "Construction of the Year 2015" in the Vysočina region. The award appreciated "solution, which contributed to unification and compactness of the given space, while respecting historical context",[39] although one of the critics claimed to the contrary that the renovation was bad, as it did not respect historical contexts, but rather created new structures, making the square neither modern, nor historicising, and blamed the award as a way of masking a bad project.[40]

Some local citizens also expressed their discontent, which then gained local media attention, and which manifested in a publicly displayed satirical rhyme[41], and in website commentaries which pointed out worsened pedestal accessibility, due to slanting surface, and at the reduction of parking spaces.[42] It is the latter point, the debate on the *promenade* vs. *parking* function of the main square that reveals different interests and expectations: while many of the comments liked the square without cars that might ideally turn into a space of pedestrian sociability, other feared a progressively dead space, with shops eventually closing and disappearing, or mentioned problems with accessibility to services. On a more general level, an exchange of views touched upon the meaning and desired functions of small-town squares in contemporary times.

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[39] The competition has been organised by the NGO *Stavba Vysočiny* Association that aims to promote high quality constructions and renovations in the region. More information on the square award is available here: https://www.stavbavysociny.cz/stavba-roku/archiv-souteznich-staveb/stavba-vysociny-2015/palackeho-namesti-pocatky# (last retrieved 15/11/2020).

[40]Jiří Jíra: "Nové náměstí cení odborníci i laici", *Pelhřimovský deník.cz*, June 15, 2016. Accessible at: https://pelhrimovsky.denik.cz/zpravy_region/nove-namesti-ceni-odbornici-i-laici-pe16.html (last retrieved 20/10/2020).

[41] The rhyme was displayed at one of the shop windows and mocked the reconstruction, targeting not just some of the technical aspects, but also the municipal government and the building company. (Photographed 22/7/2017 by Jaroslav Ira).

[42] Ilona Zelníčková: "Náměstí je stavbou roku, ale v praxi nepoužitelné, stěžují si v Počátkách", *iDNES.cz*, 1/8/2017. Accessible at https://www.idnes.cz/jihlava/zpravy/kritika-noveho-namesti-v-pocatkach.A170801_2342386_jihlava-zpravy_mv (last retrieved 2/9/2020)

Is a town square a representative space, a market place, a meeting place, or a leisure place? Some comments touched upon renovation as a way to anachronistic historisation (e.g., an out-of-date idea of promenading).[43]

Challenged with the persistent discontent, the mayor argued that it had been possible for the public to get involved in the planning.[44] According to an article in the local monthly, models of four versions were displayed in the square and an enquiry seeking the views of the public was launched in a local newsletter and on the municipal website. It was the winning version, chosen by the public, that was ultimately put into practice.[45]

The central square in Počátky (Czech Rep.) that was renovated in 2015 with help of EU funding	A stone that commemorates the "construction of the year 2015" award and "prize of the public"
In July 2017, a satirical poem was displayed in a shop window that mocked the reconstruction	Some people believe vivid social life will take place on the square; others fear of its disappearance

Figure 11: Various images taken in Počátky (photographs by Jaroslav Ira)

The controversy in Počátky has parallels elsewhere. For instance, in a small town called Stříbro in the western part of Bohemia, the renovation of its historical square, also received negative remarks on the town's web-forum, commenting on the low-quality, lack of ambiance and green spaces, likening the square to a "concrete heliport" and the concrete wall, which features panels on local history of the town in three languages, to "wind barriers".[46]

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[43] Ibid., forum under the article. The forum reached 155 entries.

[44] See Jíra, "Nové náměstí" cit.

[45] See: "Palackého náměstí bylo oceněno v soutěži", *Počátecký zpravodaj* 7/2016, p. 1.

[46] Accessible at: http://www.stribro.net/phorum/read.php?7,11518 (last retrieved 15/10/2020). The quoted comments are dated 12/5/2016.

It could be argued that projects of this scale - that affect many people - can hardly avoid criticism, no matter how successful they are. In other words, criticism seems to be an endemic part of many renovation projects. However, these examples reveal aspects worthy of further reflection. For instance, the meaning of "good practice" is partly negotiated here: even if the CH projects could be considered good practices in terms of positive accord between experts and part of the public[47], they can be viewed in a less positive sense, when seen through the more complex optics of community resilience. There needs to be a more general reflection on these – otherwise successful – projects of renovation of the squares and public spaces that may nevertheless create public discontent and give an impression that a given project has polarising effect, as it is seen, by some, as responding more to the requirements of tourism, to the purely aesthetic criteria of architects, or to the need by local elites to spend money at the expense of the practical needs of local inhabitants. While it is difficult to perfectly harmonise often quite divergent needs, these examples urge further thought about more effective participation by the lay public (and not just the expert public) - or limits that prevent participation - in the planning process and better communication channels, so that the risk of discontent is minimised and values optimised.

4.2.5. CULTURAL HERITAGE ACTORS AND INSTITUTIONS: POTENTIAL AND LIMITATIONS

The regional government of Vysočina proudly claims a dense network of cultural institutions, such as museums and information centres, galleries, cultural centres, as well as, albeit to a lesser degree, theatres, although in contrast, Jihlava only has a permanent series of amateur theatre groups.[48]

It is particularly the museums that represent a typical feature of heritage *cum* culture infrastructure in most of the small towns in the region. Some museums are detached branches of the regional museum in Jihlava and Třebíč. Others are related to districts or individual towns, often boasting a long tradition that goes back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In some towns, the museum has become a strong symbol of the urban character of the place, such as in Velká Bíteš, a town of some 5,000 inhabitants at the eastern margin of the region, where the municipal museum, established in 1925, continues to be a cultural landmark and marker of urbanity until today.[49] Some museums were established recently as private enterprises, and often as part of reconversion of former industrial sites or otherwise unused buildings. Whether initiated by top-down by a wealthy individual or organisation, or by local associations/groups in a more bottom-up manner, there is an opportunity for rich participatory experiences for local communities.

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[47] This understanding of good practices was put forward during the first local encounter e.g., by the Institut pro Památky a Kulturu (Institute for Monuments and Culture), one of pilot's APs, which specialises on the collection and dissemination of good practices in monumental care. (Prague, 15/2/2018, session 2; recorded, tape 1, 02:05:00).

[48] For details, see *Profil kraje Vysočina*, Krajský úřad Kraje Vysočina, 2020, p. 91-93; for the map of museums and galleries, ibid, p. 93. The portal Dědictví Vysočiny (Heritage of Vysočina) provides a comprehensive database for all sorts of heritage and cultural institutions, albeit in Czech only. See http://www.dedictvivysociny.cz/ (accessed 8/2/2021)

[49] See, e.g., the prideful speeches on the significance of the museum by several representatives of the town in the commemorative volume *Založení muzea ve Velké Bíteši: 75. výročí*, Velká Bíteš 2001.

The case study area has revealed a large variety in terms of museum forms and functions.[50] While most museums are more traditional and provide a basic display of local history, often in form of a narrative based on chronologically organised artefacts, others engage more actively with the public, e.g. by providing public lectures and walks around the local architectural features (such as in the museum in Pelhřimov[51], a smaller district town of around 16,000 inhabitants) and/or creating space for participatory activities, such as educational programmes for children, or joint exhibitions of photographs. While many museums remain oriented mainly to local audiences and Czech visitors, some have become more interested in attracting foreign visitors, as they are linked to transnational networks, such as the Museum of Josef Hoffman in Brtnice, which has been embedded into the cultural route of architectural modernity.[52]

In terms of museum concept, an outstanding example of an innovative approach may be the "Museum of New Generation" in Žďár nad Sázavou, a district town of 21,000 inhabitants, one of the three UNESCO sites in Vysočina. The museum was also identified by REACH as good practice and added to its database for several reasons. First, the exhibition of the museum, which claims to be "the most creative museum of Central Europe"[53], represents an excellent example of how to present local history in a modern and attractive way, using up-to-date technologies, such as holograms or interactive screens. Second, the very formation of the institution is based on a successful cooperation between a private investor (the noble family of Kinský) and the town, which led to the revitalisation of the local heritage complex (the castle) and its conversion into a vivid cultural centre. Third, the museum uses a range of communication strategies, such as Facebook, a website in five languages, and a local cultural periodical enabling access to information in order to increase awareness towards the institution and its activities. In this way it can attract both local people and visitors from abroad, into the castle-complex, where they can choose/experience specific activities/events (café, museum, gallery, periodical events in gardens, and fishing etc.).[54] The museum also represents a case of a cultural institution in a smaller town that has been linked with major CH institutions, such as the National Museum and National Gallery.

In addition to museums, other GLAM[55] institutions are actively trying to raise their profiles. An example is the gallery Art Zone 8mička in Humpolec, a town of approximately 10,000 inhabitants in the North-Western part of Vysočina region. Another REACH-listed best practice, the institution is an example of a successful reconversion of a former industrial site (a textile factory abandoned in 1990s) into a cultural venue and community centre that serves to promote and generate contemporary and up-to-date art and, not least due to its personal links to major cultural institutions in Prague, deliberately tries to blur difference between centre and periphery, combining the effort to stimulate local cultural scene with linking it to broader cultural horizons.[56]

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[50] The desktop survey of museums in Vysočina was complemented by the survey of a wider range of small-town museums in two other regions in the Czech Republic (Střední Povltaví, Podkrkonoší) that served as a basis for the presentation at REACH Berlin workshop in December 2018. The survey was conducted by Jiří Janáč, Luďa Klusáková, Jan Krajíček, and CUNI students Josef Kurfiřt, Lenka Prošvicová and Lucie Uriková.

[51] http://www.muzeumpe.cz/stezka.html (accessed 8/2/2021)

[52] http://www.moravska-galerie.cz/moravska-galerie/navsteva-mg/budovy-mg/muzeum-josefa-hoffmanna.aspx?lang=en (accessed 8/2/2021)

[53] See the museum website: https://www.zamekzdar.cz/muzeum-nove-generace/ (accessed 8/2/2021)

[54] See https://www.open-heritage.eu/practic/115/ (accessed 8/2/2021)

[55] Galleries, Libraries, Archives and Museums

[56] See https://www.open-heritage.eu/practic/113/ (accessed 8/2/2021)

The whole project of the brownfield transformation was financed by one of the major local businessmen, who put himself into the role of a local cultural and artists' patron. His activities of local-community support and cultural activation, which were greatly appreciated by locals, soon turned into a political campaign during the next municipal election, which gave his newly-established party a good position in municipal government. Nevertheless, the Art Zone is still very active in terms of the cultural events and public participation activities and is widely appreciated as a model for small-town community cultural stimulation.[57] On the other hand, this particular case underlines the ambivalent role of private entrepreneurs supporting or promoting their locally-orientated interests (either economic or political) through the act of cultural patronage to serve the local community.

Part of the pilot's inquiry focused on the key question of who are the producers of local historical knowledge and the mediators of local history and heritage. On the expert side of the spectrum, the relatively lower role of academia (as the region lacks its own university, it is typically scholars from the nearby universities in Prague, Brno, or České Budějovice that partly assist in local history research, museology etc.) complemented by university-trained staff in regional and district-level institutions, such as archives and museums, libraries, schools, and the National Heritage Institute, which has its detached expert centre in Telč.

This network of institutional experts in history and art history etc. has been complemented by durable networks of various local history associations, with varying levels of professional expertise, and engaged amateurs, such as the Association for Old Brtnice or Museum Association in Třešť. The latter may serve as an example of bottom-up initiative and a nodal point of participatory approach towards researching and promoting local heritage. The association consists of twenty members, but boasts a wider circle of external collaborators. Its main aim is to collect local history sources, write local history and present it in the form of local exhibitions, writing local history publications, or assisting in events organised in the town. While itself part of non-professional sphere, the association engages, on one hand, with wider lay public, e.g., in form of crowdsourcing of historical photographs, or organising widely visited common screenings of historical photographs and videos, the so-called "Třešťské muzejní Pátky" (Museum Fridays)[58], while at the same time collaborating with more professional institutions, such as the local museum, which is a branch of the Vysočina Museum in Jihlava. Furthermore, it cooperates with similar associations in the region and is supported by Třešť, the small town of 5,800 inhabitants. As such, it also represents a good example of a dense network of cooperation on a local and regional scale.

4.3. ŠARIŠ

4.3.1. INTRODUCTION

The Slovakian region of Šariš can be defined geographically by its location south of the Polish border, along the ridge of the Low Beskydy Mountains. As the hills of Ondavská vrchovina rise steeply to the sky, they create the impression of a mountainous, inaccessible landscape.

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[57] See List of Public Activities https://8smicka.com/press/ (accessed 8/2/2021), cf. nation-wide media reports, e.g. https://www.ceskatelevize.cz/ivysilani/10123096165-artmix/218562229000005/obsah/620472-artmix-plus-humpolecka-8smicka-zahajena, https://vltava.rozhlas.cz/kdyz-se-za-umenim-jezdi-do-maleho-mesta-aneb-fenomen-humpolecke-8smicky-8134892 (accessed 8/2/2021)

[58] See http://muzejnispolek.cz/kronika/muzejni-patek/ (last retrieved 20/11/2020)

Difficult accessibility is not an optical illusion, but a reality; examples being that the only railway line running from Prešov to Bardejov, where it ends, and the road that winds picturesquely to bypass the mountain ridges running south.

The number of municipalities greatly increased until the end of the 16th century, when it consisted of 371 settlements. Their number decreased by 270 by 1900. It is possible to use statistical data dating back to the first census in 1869. It confirms that by the end of the 20th Century the population had doubled, but it did not grow evenly. Many villages in the north of Šariš lost their inhabitants. Dynamics increased after World War II, expressed by a 73% increase. Until the middle of the 20th century, the largest towns of Šariš were Prešov, Bardejov and Sabinov. Svidník became a town in 1945 through unification of two neighbouring villages as a result of war losses. Statistics analysing population inventories from the beginning of the first decade of the 21st Century document the natural increase of the population and at the same time reveal the issue of labour migration in response to the lack of job opportunities.[59]

Figure 12: Šariš is located within Prešov administrative region, it does not have its own regional symbols, although it is recognised to be historical and ethnographic region

The economic situation of Šariš had changed by the turn of the millennium, having developed from its pre-industrial period. On the one hand, it was a picture of the unfavourable development of infrastructure, which was also the result of the shift of the economic centre to the west.

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[59] Many of those encountered during the Pilot's research regret the departure of young people, graduates or even qualified graduates for work abroad. According to the Slovak Statistical Office, all the districts of Šariš showed a decrease in the population in the last decade due to migration, which was compensated or mitigated by natural population growth, except for Stropkov. In this district, the decrease in migration exceeded the natural increase and the resulting balance is -3.34%. Unemployment statistics are a mirror and explanatory figure. While in 2002 the figure was 17.4% for the whole Slovakia, the Prešov region as a whole was 23.0%, and all the districts of Šariš were above the national average.

The north-south flow between the Adriatic and Baltic countries and the development of roads in the Šariš region ceased to be significant. The road and, more significantly, the rail network have remained underdeveloped to the present day. The secondary line runs from Prešov to Bardejov, where it ends. Its second branch continues to the east, splits and its northern branch ends in Medzilaborce near Ukrainian border. The space within the region, between Prešov in the south, Bardejov in the north and northeast to Svidník and the Polish border in the Dukla Pass is only served by car. The highway linking the west and east of the country with the capital is not complete, but is nevertheless taken to Prešov.[60]

4.3.2. HERITAGE AS RESOURCE: WHAT IS CONSIDERED TO BE HERITAGE AND WHY?

4.3.2.1 Characteristics, Status and Potential of Bardejov's Heritage

Bardejov has many common characteristics when compared to Telč. It is also located on the periphery, in North-Eastern Slovakia, approximately 20km from Poland, in the historical region of Šariš (which is also a hilly, remote and rural area).

Figure 13: The Inner Town of Bardejov, the town's historical centre surrounded by fortification walls, The Urban Heritage Zone (photograph by Jan Krajíček)

Established in the 13th century, it became the crown city and a centre of trade for the whole of Šariš, which was one of the wealthiest Hungarian regions. In the 17th century, Bardejov began to decay rapidly, for it was struck by plague epidemic and almost burned down in a great fire. Until the second half of the 20th century, Bardejov, as well as the whole region, was constantly depopulated.

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[60] The northeast of Slovakia is characterised by a specific dialect or dialects, and those in Šariš are very distinctive. Their variants, which were spoken in the countryside and in Bardejov itself, were portrayed by Ferdinand Buff in his Šariš memories. They are characterised by numerous Polonisms and specific intonation, also influenced by Polish. Many Germanisms penetrated the vocabulary of the Bardejov population, as a legacy of a large group of inhabitants of the city who claimed to be of German nationality. The influences of Polish are complemented by Ruthenian influence coming from the east of Bardejov.

Although the period of post-war Socialist construction brought new infrastructure and inhabitants to the town, Bardejov is still difficult to reach by transport, seen as a remote and distant place surrounded by the mountains. Even though it has a far larger population than Telč, Bardejov experiences very similar characteristics of underdevelopment (depopulation, high average age, unemployment, underdeveloped transport infrastructure), which is also typical for the whole Šariš region.[61]

When compared with Telč, Bardejov has again a very similar set of cultural heritage. The historical centre ("Inner Town"), is located within the fortification walls around the main square. Similarly, to Telč, it was declared the Czechoslovak Urban Heritage Zone in 1950.[62] The Inner Town consists of four main heritage objects:

1) Gothic fortification (walls, bastions, and gates)
2) Gothic catholic Basilica of St. Giles
3) Gothic-renaissance Town Hall
4) about 30 Gothic and Renaissance burgher houses.

Outside along the Inner Town's walls, is located the Jewish town ("Jewish Suburbia"), consisting of several blocks of houses and a synagogue. In 1970, the Old Synagogue was declared as a National Cultural Heritage object, which is still the highest national level of heritage object protection.[63]

In 2000, eight years after Telč, Bardejov also entered the prestigious UNESCO list. The whole complex of historical centre plus the nearby Jewish Suburbia was successful in getting the UNESCO World Heritage List inscription. In the accepted application, the stress was put not just on the picturesque square with main objects and surrounding, but also on the multi-ethnic tradition of Bardejov, documented by the nearby 'Jewish Suburbia', the features of which were ruined and deserted.

The other heritage objects of Bardejov are, as in Telč, quite remote from the centre, such as Evangelical, Orthodox and Greek-Catholic Churches, the well-known historical Spa (Bardejovske kúpele) with open-air museum of Šariš wooden architecture, or the huge ruin of Zborov Castle. Altogether, there are more than 130 objects declared as various types or levels of heritage, either by Czech National Heritage Institute or by UNESCO in Bardejov and surrounding environs.[64]

4.3.2.2 Ruthenian Identity of Šariš: Wooden Churches of East Slovakia
In 2008, a series of wooden sacral buildings in the Šariš region were also included in the UNESCO List. Bodružal, Ladomirová and Ruská Bystrá represent the Greek Catholic churches and host the Ruthenian minority community. There are two dedicated open-air museums; the Šariš Museum in Bardejov/Bardejov Spa and the Museum of Ukrainian Culture, as well as the Dezider Milly Gallery in the town of Svidník. In 2019, the Festival of Ruthenians-Ukrainians of Slovakia celebrated its 65rd year,

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[61] For more on the history of Bardejov see Ludvít Holotík, *Dejiny Bardejova* (Bardejov, 1975). For the socio-economic development of the Prešov region in the 20th/21th centuries, see René Matlovič, and Kvetoslava Matlovičová, 'Vývoj regionálnych disparít na Slovensku a problémy regionálneho rozvoja Prešovského kraja', in *Acta Facultatis Studiorum Humanitatis et Naturae Universitatis Prešoviensis, Prírodné vedy, Folia geographica XLII/ 8* (Prešov: PU Prešov, 2005), 66-88.

[62] Nowadays called the Heritage Bureau of Slovakia (HBS), it's status and agenda as the head institution of nation-wide heritage management and protection is basically the same as in the case of Czech NHI, see footnote above.

[63] Declaration of The Ministry of Culture of the Czechoslovak Republic, 11 July 1950, cit. in *Kutnohorsko. Vlastivědný sborník* (Kutná Hora, 2001), 58.

[64] UNESCO World Heritage List, Description of Bardejov Town Conservation Reserve, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/973>, (accessed 27/8/2018)

while the Rusyn Festival was held for the fifth time. Both festivals are hosted by Svidník, in May and June. These are social events are addressed primarily at the local community, as they take place before the main tourist season, although the performing ensembles are also "cross-border", from nearby Ukrainian and Polish regions.

4.3.2.3 Commemorations of War: Military Heritage of the Dukla Region

In contrast to the idyllic image of Ruthenian villages surrounding the medieval town of Bardejov with its Spa, the identity of the region, in the foothills of the Carpathians, is also shaped by a darker history, based upon poverty, war, destruction, painful loss and post-war reconstruction. These memories have formed the identity of Svidník, which, although has well-known history that dates back seven centuries, has almost no architectural monuments that would document the antiquity of the settlement. Before the Second World War, two relatively large neighbouring villages, Vyšný and Nižný Svidník, were situated on Pass to Dukla, Poland. In Vyšný Svidník, only three buildings survived the war - the manor house, which now houses the Dezider Milly Gallery, a building on the main square, which houses the Museum of Ukrainian Culture, and a house in which the city develops cultural and educational activities for young people. They are simple, late classicist buildings, as a message that there was a seat with a historical tradition before the war.

Svidník found itself in the front line in both the First and Second World Wars, as battles for the Carpathian passes were inevitable, leading Svidník to be destroyed. During the Great War, the front reached the southern slopes of the Eastern Carpathians, where the Tsarist army clashed with the Austro-Hungarian army. The fierce battles are remembered by military cemeteries and monuments on both the Polish and Slovak side of the border.

At the end of the Second World War, during the liberation struggles in difficult mountain terrain, the entire North-East of Slovakia, today's Dukla region within Šariš, was destroyed. After the war, the region was severely damaged and its population left devastated and suffering from famine. During the retreat of the German troops, the countryside was intensively mined, meaning that entering the forest, roads, fields or meadows was life-threatening. Even after the war, Ukrainian paramilitary troops continued to terrorise local settlements, with all municipalities of the region obliged to maintain defensive positions (trenches and bunkers). It was not until the beginning of December 1946, almost two years after the liberation, that the villagers were allowed to dismantle them.

4.3.2 USES OF HERITAGE: OBJECTIVES AND IMPACTS

Although Bardejov has a very similar set of cultural heritage when compared to Telč, the town presents it completely differently. In the case of Bardejov, the notion of UNESCO is present almost everywhere. Each language version of the official website contains similar content (in Slovak, English, German, Hungarian, Polish, and Russian). The official municipal website presents UNESCO in the most visible place of the webpage, and there are many other notions of UNESCO elsewhere in the text. There is a map and the list of Bardejov heritage objects and places with short descriptions, with those of UNESCO given a prime position. The municipal website completely omits the heritage located outside the town, such as the famous Spa or the huge Zborov Castle – it is almost completely focused on the UNESCO heritage. Moreover, there is only a short mention of the 'Jewish Suburbia', which is part of the UNESCO heritage, although it has been ruined for a long period and is still not completely restored today.

What is evident from the very basic visual and textual analysis of the presentation is that it seems as though the municipal website is trying to hide this not-so-picturesque part of the town, and is somewhat unwilling to propagate the objects which are not under the full management of the town. It is unclear whether this is a strategy, or just unintentional.

Figure 14: Homepage of the official website of Bardejov (Slovak language version).

The suppression of the 'Jewish Suburbia' has a long tradition in "pre-UNESCO era" of Bardejov's tourist presentations. The traditional set of the town's presented cultural heritage has consisted mainly of the Inner Town and the Bardejov Spa, with little mention of Suburbia, even after 1970 when the synagogue was declared a National Cultural Heritage object. Today, 'Suburbia' is managed separately by the Slovak Jewish Union, with little cooperation with the representation of the town.

For a complex presentation of the town's heritage, visitors need to follow the link to the Bardejov Tourist Information Office, which is a separate organisation run by the town to promote its heritage.[65] The main page is again in many language versions (besides Slovak, in English, Polish, Hungarian, Russian, Spanish, German and Slovenian), filled with various interactive UNESCO mentions, which are even present on every sub-page. The tourist web offers two main tourist targets – the UNESCO complex and the Spa. In addition, it shows the countryside surroundings of Bardejov (with castle and wooden architecture) and offers tourist information (accommodations, catering, leisure and sport activities). UNESCO-based heritage is displayed on the front row, separated in four frames: the walls bordering the square, the renaissance City Hall, the Basilica of St. Giles and the Jewish Suburbia, which makes the central part of the web presentation.

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[65] The Office is run by the Municipal Cultural and Tourist Centre (KTC Bardejov), established on 1 July 2008 as the town's public budget organisation, cooperating with the local Tourism Office Šariš-Bardejov, organised by the Prešov Region.
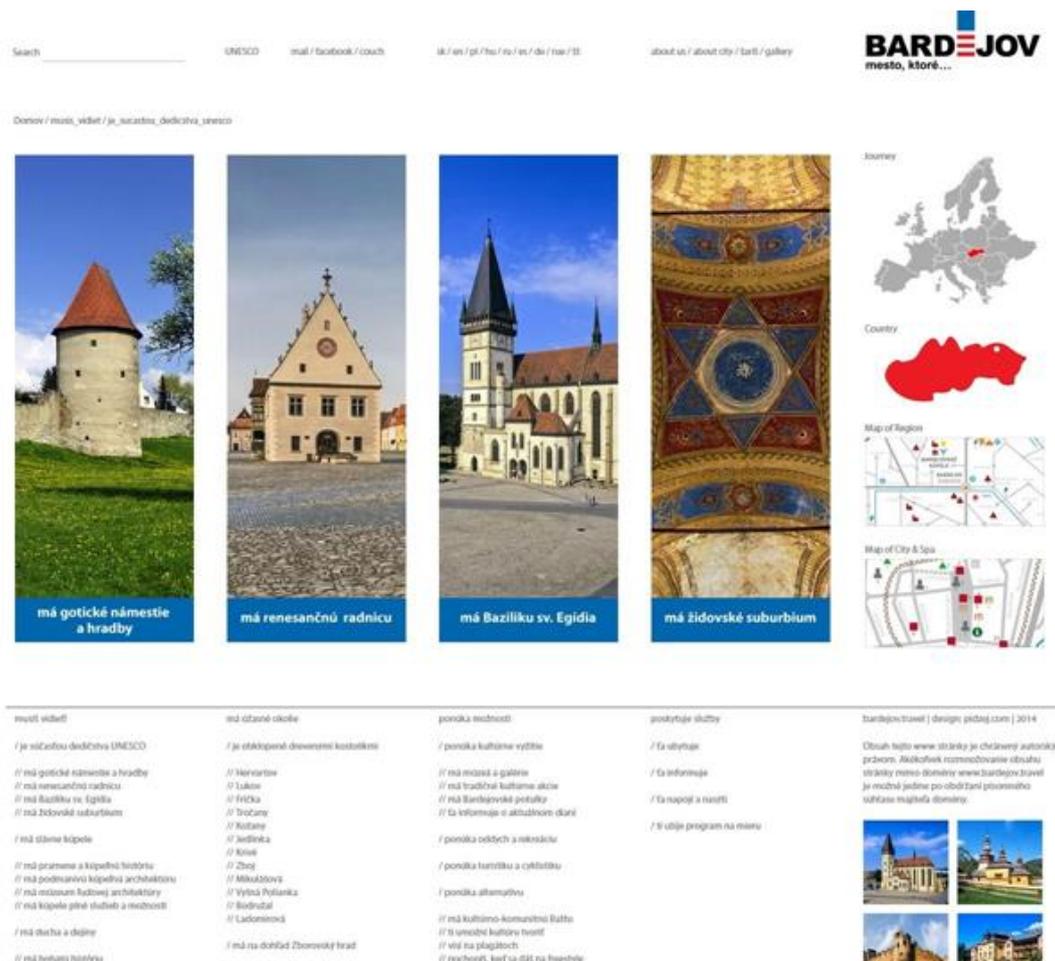
Figure 15: Homepage of the official website of Bardejov Tourist Information Office (Slovak language version).

When compared to Telč, there is clearly a different strategy of heritage presentation, and a markedly different approach to the UNESCO-status. With Bardejov, it seems as if heritage labelled with the UNESCO-mark is completely dominant and more important than the other objects and sites on the lower (national or local) level of heritage protection. While Telč is somehow trying to provide a more complex image of its heritage, Bardejov, in contrast, is strongly focusing on UNESCO Label, which is absolutely dominant in its current self-presentation. It is therefore worth examining the comparative statistics of visitors to each town. In Telč, about 35% of visitors come from abroad, and so the vast majority are from Czech Republic. In Bardejov, 49% of visitors are from abroad, most of them are attracted by the fact that Bardejov offers the UNESCO-listed heritage (except a strong group of Czech visitors, who are mainly attracted by the famous Spa). Again, this strategy has been explained by the town's municipal representatives. The long-term mayor, Boris Hanuščak (in post from 1999 onwards), claims that Bardejov, as the remote distant city in underdeveloped region, has no other choice than exploit the global advantages of UNESCO mark, whatever the cost. UNESCO is seen as an instrument of "internationalisation" and of gaining supra-regional attention. Besides the growth of tourism, which, contrary to Telč, is more focused on foreigners and thus has not yet reached its limits, the general strategy of Bardejov's heritage presentation is to utilise the globally well-known UNESCO mark for attracting entrepreneurs and business people, and to obtain some "comparative advantage" in gaining the subventions or infrastructure investments on a sub-national level (such as highway modernisation, and better connection to Poland, for example). Communications and the connection to Bardejov are currently seen as the worst obstacle in the growth, with UNESCO-status being used as a base for the demands for modernisation.

4.3.4 CULTURAL HERITAGE ACTORS AND INSTITUTIONS: POTENTIAL AND LIMITATIONS

4.3.4.1 Military Cemeteries and Dukla Liberation Festivity

The process of peace following the end of the Second World War included the construction of the National Cemetery in the Dukla Pass, the selection and compilation of a list of the heroes of the resistance to be included on the National Monument, and the organisation of celebrations of the anniversary of the liberation.

Regarding the Dukla battlefield, the state administration gave instruction and organised various actions: removal of mines from the area, listing of resistance participants and those that had fallen. The fallen Czechoslovak soldiers were ordered to be exhumed in the wider Dukla area and buried in the National Cemetery in the Dukla Pass. The fallen soldiers of the Red Army in the cemetery in Svidník, where a memorial was built especially for them. This connection with peace-building has not been lost over the years, although it has been transformed during the past quarter of a century, emancipated from the views of the metropolis and enriched with new known stories and new actors. The story of liberation seems now to be of greater importance than forty years of remembrance activities.

The district municipality was responsible for the commemoration of the first anniversary of liberation in January 1946, which included flag decorations of the municipalities, and ceremonial speeches by teachers, pastors or other significant representatives.[66] On the last day of April 1947, villages prepared for a Relay Run from Dukla, which was to start in the Pass on the morning of May 7th and end at the Old Town Square in Prague.[67] On the third anniversary of the Carpathian-Dukla operation, the ceremonial laying of the foundation stone of the National Cemetery in the Dukla Pass took place, October 6, 1947. The municipalities were given responsibility for the care of military cemeteries and war graves (for both World Wars), although this proved to be a challenging task for small, poor and destroyed communities. Sadly, many World War II war cemeteries fell into oblivion, and have only been repaired in recent years, largely through volunteer initiatives.

Further festivities, unrelated to WW2, were also conducted in the region of Šariš. In 1947, the 30th anniversary of the Battle of Zborov and the 30th anniversary of the October Revolution. By this time, a new political dimension had become apparent, including a reinterpretation of the Carpathian-Dukla operation. This was expressed by the exchange of the statue of a Czechoslovak soldier, for a statue of a Soviet soldier comforting a Slovak mother at the National Cemetery in the Dukelsky Pass. The memorial and cemetery are now managed by the Military History Institute in Bratislava, which returned a copy of the original statue in 2014 and restored the original form of the monument. This act completed the revision of the interpretation and relationship to the Carpathian-Dukla operation, not only in the academic environment, but also in public discourse.

4.3.4.2 The Switch of Historical Interpretation of Šariš Military Heritage: Ritual of Commemoration

Community activities, organised by the municipal government/district office, employees of museums and schools, as part of the annual commemorations of the Carpathian-Dukla operation, the liberation of Svidník and the Dukla Peace Run, maintain memory and unite the identity of regional small towns' communities.

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[66] At the end of the memorial gathering, a minute of silence was held and an evening of dance entertainment was scheduled.

[67] All the villages along the road from the pass to Bardejov participated, not only to the memory of the end of war suffering, but also to celebrate the beginning of peacebuilding.

Their contents are stories of war, liberation and reconstruction that have their heroes and the goal, their repeated telling, is to remember those who would otherwise be forgotten. The local organisers themselves belong to the first and second post-war generation, whose own adolescence is connected with the story of post-war reconstruction and the history of the war and the liberation that they learned through the stories of their parents and grandparents, hence this public tradition also became their own personal tradition, and part of their identity.

The separation of Czechoslovakia in 1993 raised a very sensitive question for the local community: who will now have the memory of the Dukla battlefield? Who will care about the fallen? Will this place of memory be nationalised to become only a Slovak historically significant place, or will it also remain a Czech place of memory? Amongst communities, it was possible to observe a whole spectrum of attitudes, from indifference to negative opinions. Some stakeholders in Slovakia and Czech Republic saw the preservation of memory as a problematic continuity with the previous regime and demanded a revision of the evaluation of the military operation. As a result, October 6th in the calendar of state-recognised Memorial Day has also been changed, instead of the day of the Czechoslovak army, it became the day of the victims of Dukla. On the contrary, city and district officials, as well as local people, were convinced that their remembrance was right and that the history of the military operation should be reinterpreted, not as a tragic story of national history, but as part of the great anti-Nazi struggle of European nations.

Ultimately, representatives of Slovakia, Czech Republic and Poland jointly created a ritual of commemoration of the Carpathian-Dukelian operation, as memories in places where five (six) historical memories meet - Slovak, Polish, Czech, Ukrainian (Belarusian) and Russian. After fourteen years of systematic work, this format of commemorative festivities was accepted as a tradition. It was created on the basis of agreement on the Slovak and Polish side of the border on the interpretation of the Carpathian-Dukelian operation as the most important mountain battle of World War II. The general background became clear: All victorious powers have their great battles; in this part of Europe, the great military operation was Dukla.

The newly conceived two-day commemoration usually begins on the Polish side of the border, from where troops boarded the ridges of the Carpathians.[68] The ritual evokes empathy and patriotic identification. The target group is mainly local high school students, who participate in remembrance rituals alongside veterans and other participants, or official guests. The ritual of worshiping the fallen at the cross and in burial grounds is accompanied by spiritual prayers. The intention of the organisers is that the memorial ceremony does not become a stereotype emptied in terms of content, therefore the order of individual elements of ceremony are changed every year. Over the years, local children and young people take a more active part in the ritual, as the group of war veterans diminishes. The text of the Appeal is not identical from year to year, its specific wording changes, while maintaining factual fidelity. The three levels are symbolically expressed, the Czech, Polish and Slovak anthems are played in the Dukla Pass, the Czech and Slovak anthems next to the statue of Ludvík Svoboda, the anthems of the Russian Federation and the Slovak Republic at the Red Army monument.

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[68] Three symbolic burial grounds of Czechoslovak soldiers were chosen from many places of battle - Nowosielce and Zarszyn, where soldiers of the Second Parachute Brigade are buried, and a military cemetery in the town of Dukla, where soldiers of the First Czechoslovak Army are buried. Army Corps buried together with Soviet and Polish fallen soldiers. Part of the ritual is a stop at the memorial cross, which is a donation of Pope John Paul II. The culmination of the commemoration is a military ritual in which the participants in the operation are commemorated.

The ritual also has a military element associated with honours, as well as a spiritual element expressed through speech and prayer, mostly evangelical, Orthodox or Greek Catholic clergy. The selection of denominations mirrors the region's majority Slovak religions.

4.4. PODLASIE

4.4.1. INTRODUCTION

Podlasie is one of 16 voivodeships established in 1999 after the administrative reform. It is situated in the North-Eastern part of Poland and borders with Lithuania (internal European Union border) and Belarus (external EU border). The province is organised into three "urban" counties (Białystok, Łomża, Suwałki) and 14 "rural" counties, each of which has its principal urban centre. Podlasie is one of the largest provinces in Poland, yet one of the least populated. The largest urban areas are mostly in Białystok, Łomża, Suwałki and Augustów. Agnieszka Kwiatek-Soltys containing 685 small towns (reaching the threshold of 20,000 inhabitants) in 2012, of these, 31 were in Podlasie (Kwiatek-Soltys 2017:25-240).

Białystok started to develop rapidly in the mid eighteenth century, when the Great Crown Hetman Jan Klemens Branicki was its governor. He developed artistic and scientific patronage which became essential for the future of the town.[69] After the partition of Poland, Białystok was under Prussian rule, but after the Treaty of Tylża in 1807 was incorporated into Russia. During the industrial period, the textile industry flourished and the town took advantage of rapidly developing trade. Its location was also a favourable factor, as Białystok is not far from Warsaw, as well as Vilnius, Minsk, Riga and Kaliningrad/Königsberg. The major international railroad from Berlin through Warsaw to Grodno, and then to St. Petersburg and Moscow, passed through the city, which was called "Europe's gateway to the East". In the second half of the nineteenth century Białystok and its suburbs (e.g., Supraśl, Wasilków) became the industrial centre, undoubtedly achieved the leading position in the Russian industry and retained this until the First World War (Dobroński 2014: 26-32).

For centuries in Białystok, as in all Podlasie, lived a multi-national and multi-linguistic community of Poles, Russians, Jews, Belarussians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Germans together in a symbiosis and peace but also, depending on the time period, in tension and conflicts. One by one, churches and temples of different faiths were built, often side by side, and today four necropolises remain: Catholic, Orthodox, Evangelical and Jewish. The industrious town at the end of the 19th century became a sort of Tower of Babel - mixed, colourful, and vigorous, with people speaking Russian, Polish, German, Lithuanian, Belarussian as well as Yiddish and Hebrew. Białystok was a "cross road" of these different languages, nations, religions and ethnicities. On many buildings, shops and institutions there were signs in Russian, Yiddish and Polish. A mixture of several languages was heard on every corner as well as at the factories and various business offices. Białystok was also the cradle of the Zionist movement and became well known as the centre of Jewish culture, social activities and philanthropy.

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[69] The design of the Branicki's palace reflects his royal ambitions and refers to the baroque residence of French kings, as do also the sobriquets: "Polish", "Northern" or "Podlasie" "Versailles". For centuries the palace impressed visitors by its unique interiors, beautiful park with bowers, ponds and zoological garden.

Both world wars impacted heavily on the city and the region, destroying most of what would be today its tangible and cultural heritage. The Jewish community was annihilated after the Ghetto uprising and almost disappeared from the local community. Decades after the Second World War Białystok was rebuilt and reconstructed as a modern town with a fully functioning infrastructure. Nowadays the city, with its urban area (about 300 thousand inhabitants) is the largest cultural and scientific centre of the region with theatres, a Philharmonic Hall and Opera House (the most modern and interesting piece of work by the prominent architect Marek Budzyński), museums, two universities and several academic institutions.

4.4.2. HERITAGE AS RESOURCE: WHAT IS TO BE CONSIDERED TO BE HERITAGE AND WHY?

The first case in the Podlasie region is of the small town of Tykocin, circa 25km away from the regional capital, Białystok. An old Polish royal town, founded in 1425, it has kept its special significance as one of the region's prime tourist destinations, mainly due to its surviving monuments and architectural heritage of past centuries. It is situated upon the Narew River and between two national forests and parks (Narwiański and Biebrzański). In 1950, Tykocin lost its town privileges, which it regained in 1993. The town (with about 2,000 inhabitants) is the best known for the complex of historical sites, which illustrate both its history and its multi-ethnical historic background.

Tykocin's most famous monument is the 17th century Great Synagogue and the Talmudic House from the 18th century. The impressive synagogue, built in 1642, is a very special historical treasure. It was constructed in the place of a 15th century wooden temple, in the centre of the area that became the Jewish district – Kaczorowo. This is the type of synagogue that developed at the beginning of the 17th century in the South-Eastern part of the Polish and Lithuanian Commonwealth. A synagogue featuring rich Renaissance decorations, it is the second largest in size in Poland, and the oldest after one in Krakow.[70]

Before the Second World War, nearly half of the population in Tykocin were Jews. Almost all of them were murdered by the Nazis who had gathered the entire Jewish population on August 25-26, 1941. They shot and buried them in mass graves near the village of Łopuchowo. During the Occupation the Germans partially devastated the synagogue, using it as a warehouse. They also stole some of the rich and valuable furnishings. After the war, a fertiliser warehouse was located in the building. In 1965, part of the building was destroyed in a fire. Luckily, its value was subsequently recognised, and in 1977, the Provincial Conservator of Monuments undertook the comprehensive restoration work of the Great Synagogue and the Talmudic House. It was among the very first reconstructions of Jewish sites in Poland in the post war period. Afterwards, they were commissioned to the District Museum in Tykocin, which is a branch of the Podłaskie Museum in Białystok.

The impressive architecture of the synagogue and many restored inscriptions painted on the massive walls in the interior are the real beauty of this site. It houses a permanent exhibition of Judaica and a rich collection of Jewish memorabilia and other items connected with the history of the town and remains as a memory of the town's former residents. In the low tower, an interior of a typical Jewish house has been reconstructed.

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[70] It is assumed that the design of the Tykocin synagogue was based on the fortified Pińsk synagogue, built in 1640. The massive, stone building in the late-Renaissance-Baroque style follows a rectangular ground plan. Initially, the synagogue had a concave roof with an attic, but it burnt down in the 18th century and was replaced with a mansard roof in the Baroque style. (Wroczyńska, Lechowski 2004: 1 - 40).

Besides Jewish heritage, there is further religious heritage in Tykocin, which illustrates the diverse cultural background of the region. Another beautiful and equally old monument of the town is the Catholic seminary, which has operated continuously since 1643 and the impressive Holy Trinity Church. Nevertheless, the greatest attraction of town is the recently reconstructed (or rather built from scratch) castle which was erected between 1550 and 1572 and was the largest fortress (so-called "arsenal") in Poland at that time. In the mid-17th century during the Swedish Deluge, it was mostly destroyed. Now, the impressive restored complex of the red brick castle hosts a historical museum, offering supra regional awareness and value (Maroszek 2012).

Figure 16: Images of the town of Tykocin

Another example of a small town in Podlasie dealing with a significant type of heritage is Supraśl, a small town with over 500 years of fascinating history, located in the vicinity of Białystok (about 16km away). Again, the specifics of diversity can be observed here. Nowadays approximately 4,500 inhabitants are settled in the town. In the first half of the 19th Century the monastery village in Supraśl was given the status of a town (with about 3,000 citizens) and became a flourishing textile industry centre in the Russian Empire for decades to come. Wilhelm Fryderyk Zachert, an entrepreneur from Zgierz, built a farm settlement for his workers. Nowadays there are remnants of the living quarters of the houses of weavers, as well as the Buchholtz Palace, which was built in 1892-1903, as the seat of one of the famous manufacturing families. Currently, the building is used by the High Art School. Nearby there are two churches: St. Trinity (Catholic, 1861) and the Evangelical-Augsburg Church (rebuilt in 1885, now also Catholic). The old cemeteries of all faiths and well-preserved Buchholtz Chapel also testify to the multi-cultural history of Supraśl. The most important cultural treasure situated in the town is the Orthodox Monastery with the fortified Church of Annunciation.[71]

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[71] The monks came here in 1503 and began the construction of the fortified church of unusual architecture, merging Byzantine style with Western European Gothic. The Church was famous for its frescoes, which were painted in the 16th

The third example of a small town in Podlasie combines various types of traditional local heritage – cultural (both tangible and intangible; architecture, crafts, and religion) and natural (nature protection, and forestry). Some 60km South-East of Białystok are the edges of the most famous forest of the Podłasie Province: the Białowieża Primeval Forest, which is Europe's last ancient forest complex, a UNESCO World Heritage Site and the World Biosphere Reserve (1977). Białowieża is also the name of a small settlement in the midst of the forest, which identifies and builds its image on the global fame of the forest as natural heritage. Białowieża was yet one of their settlements. It is a quite interesting, famous and ambitious village which pretends to be a town. It builds its identity on its old history, the cultural and natural heritage, and particularly on its role as the scientific centre of the Polish Academy of Sciences, gathering new residents and renowned scholars from the world. Its unique landscape and modern Natural History Museum attract increasing visitors numbers each year. Besides its natural heritage, the region also has cultural assets: The Orthodox Church was built by Alexander III in 1894-1897 and later Nicolas II constructed his hunting residence in the forest.[72]

Another example is Wysokie Mazowieckie, a small town with 9,590 inhabitants, located on the main road to Warsaw, in commuting distance to Bialystok. The city first rose in, presumably the 13th century (Kalinowski 2015: 37); however, this fact is not of paramount importance for its administrators nor even for its inhabitants. The organised Mazovian settlement in today's territory of Wysokie Mazowieckie started on a bigger scale at the beginning of the 15th century (Maroszek 2013 (b): 30). The city and its surrounding region are inhabited by descendants of poor nobility (Gloger, 1878: 494) who in the past were involved in patriotic actions (Gloger 1878: 209). The cultural heritage of this area lies in the heritage of these families. Unlike other towns mentioned in this section, this town has a web page, which offers information about the town´s history, and cultural activities.

4.4.3. USES OF HERITAGE: OBJECTIVES AND IMPACTS

The Jewish Museum and restored Synagogue in Tykocin, represents a very public active type of local heritage institution. The museum organises temporary exhibitions and staged observation of Jewish holidays, as well as concerts. The curators are not Jewish, they are mainly academics from Bialystok, as there is no longer a Jewish community in Tykocin.

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century by a group of painters under the direction of „Serbian Nectarios the painter". The style of the frescoes resembles Serbian monumental painting. The monks gathered in the monastery a priceless library of prints and manuscripts (e.g., Suprasl Codex of 11th -12th century). In 1609 the Supraśl Monastery was forced to accept the Union of Brest and became an important Uniate cultural and religious centre as the seat of the Uniate bishopric (till 1807). In 1695 monks started a monastery print shop, and in 1711, the first paper mill in eastern Poland. During the partition of Poland, Russian authorities transferred the Supraśl Monastery to the Orthodox monks. (Charkiewicz 2005). After the First World War the abandoned monastery passed into the hands of the Roman Catholic Church and during the Second World War the complex was heavily destroyed. The church was blown up in 1944 and only small pieces of the fragments of murals were saved and currently are the great attraction of the Museum of Icons. One of the main sources of their acquisition is the Białystok Customs Office, which confiscates them from smugglers. After the Second World War an agricultural school was established in the remaining building of the Monastery complex, while the regional museum was installed in another part. The ruins of the defensive Church of Annunciation were visible signs of abandonment and neglect for decades.

[72] The history of Białowieża Forest begins in the 14th century, when Jadwiga, Queen of Poland, married the Lithuanian prince Jagiełło. It then became a part of the royal property of the Kingdom of Poland and came under the special rules of the royal forests. In 1795, after the third partition of Poland the forest became a part of Russia and property of tsars. Białowieża Forest suffered most severely during the First World War because of extensive commercial exploitation by Germans. In 1921, the Białowieża National Park was established, the oldest national park in Poland. After the Second World War the whole forest was divided by the border into eastern part (Soviet Union) and western (Polish side), where in 1947 the Białowieża National Park was recreated. Białowieża is also the last natural habitat of Europe's largest land mammal – the European bison – where these animals are living at large in their natural environment.

Nevertheless, the town's Jewish heritage has become a "place of pilgrimage" for the Jewish youth and many tourists from Poland, the United States, Israel and other countries from around the world. The town centre, situated nearby the Synagogue and the museum building, serves as a car park for tourist buses. School trips and organised groups are usually scheduled all day in the season between April-October. The traces of Jewish culture are omnipresent even in the public space of the town, where there is the traditional Jewish restaurant Tejsza, which is very prosperous, according to the restaurant-manager.

Supraśl's cultural offer is diverse. There is the seat of the Wierszalin Theater and a High Art school (established in the former Buchholtz Palace). Since 2008, the Archimandrite Palace has hosted the Museum of Icons created and run by the regional government and by the Polish Ministry of Culture and Education respectively. It is the only Museum of Icons in Poland. Since 2014, the Printing and Paper Museum (*Muzeum Sztuki Drukarskiej i Papiernictwa*), has been run by a private foundation/local NGO, a historic society of amateur researchers, collectors and admirers of old craft and art. The Museum is also supported by the local Cultural Association "*Collegium Suprasliense*" (see further below). [73]

Wysokie Mazowieckie itself is the centre of many district and communal offices. Hence, it took over the administrative role. Officials presenting Wysokie Mazowieckie are rather sceptical, as they have little to say about the town's history. As there is little to show and little to be considered as architectural heritage, there is weak potential for the development of tourism in their view. However, when presented by its mayor, Jarosław Sekierko, it is the town of the future. Focused on ecology and building new infrastructure. Moreover, he does not highlight its historicity or heritage value (Dobroński 2014: 367). The local strategic development plan emphasises that the town is surrounded by fields and rural countryside, with excellent soil. This then sets certain limits to other investments and tourism development (*Strategia rozwoju gminy miejskiej Wysokie Mazowieckie na lata 2016 – 2022*: 13-14).

Despite this approach, small towns do need professional people involved in the promotion and protection of cultural heritage. Past experience has shown that one person who organised work around cultural heritage could carry out activities as effectively as an institution. An example of such an action is the page on Facebook: "Spacerkiem po Wysokiem Mazowieckiem" (web.facebook.com/Spacerkiem-Po-Wysokiem-Mazowieckiem) run by a group of local history enthusiasts and amateur researchers as well as educated professionals such as history teachers etc). The social network site gathers several thousands of actively participating fans. On the website, the administrator has placed archival, sometimes unique photographs of the city. He also organises actions related to active care of monuments, e.g., regular cleaning of the Jewish cemetery.

4.4.4. CULTURAL HERITAGE ACTORS AND INSTITUTIONS: POTENTIAL AND LIMITATIONS

In the case of Tykocin, heritage is both intangible and tangible. A strong focus is placed upon the memory of Jewish citizens and their tragedy and culture. In addition, the town's architectural heritage has experienced substantial reconstruction, not only of the Grand Synagogue, and the Talmudic House, but also of the Catholic Church, the wooden houses around the square, and the Town Hall.

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[73] The greatest attraction of the Museum of Icons are fragments of the monastery's murals that were saved after the destruction in 1944. One of the main sources of the museum's acquisition is the Białystok Customs Office, which confiscated them from smugglers. http://www.suprasl.pl/index.php/suprasl/historia-suprasla http://suprasl.pl/turystyka/index.php/pl/ (accessed 8/2/2021)
http://suprasl.pl/index.php/strategia-rozwoju-miasta-i-gminy-suprasl-na-lata-2016-2022 (accessed 8/2/2021)

The Castle is a new construction legitimised through the arguments supported by archaeologically through excavations. The town administration has created a project for strategic development 2015-2020, which is mainly focused on the improvement of infrastructures, designed, among other things, to enhance tourism. Tykocin is believed to have considerable potential for tourism development through its natural and cultural heritage (Projekt Strategii Rozwoju Gminy Tykocin na lata 2015 - 2020, 2015: 83 -90, 98, 103). The main goal in this context is the development of a new promenade alongside the River Narew, which should beautify the town centre and link it with the riverside. In the outline of the project are architectural objects, which together with the castle, are listed as heritage without their authenticity being challenged. Furthermore, this project is not only focused on the town's touristic development, but has the objective of enhancing and strengthening the relationship of the local people to their town. Thus, built heritage is presented in this strategy plan as having the potential for raising historical consciousness and stimulating identification with the town. This concern of the local atmosphere and communal life corresponds with the communication of the town administration. The website of Tykocin County is focused on practical issues for the comfort of the citizens. Tourists have to look for information on history and sightseeing on pages devoted to Jewish heritage. Information of both, the town and of the cultural sites, is almost exclusively in Polish. In addition, in the context of the various uses of heritage and its actors, it is important to also mention a local participatory initiative: a foundation entitled the Centre for Research in History and Culture of Small Towns (*Centrum badań nad historią i kulturą małych miast*) seems to be an engaged actor in heritage promotion. Together with the people who created TyKoCin24, this foundation provides an information web page primarily for local citizens. The owners of historical houses are their main target group.[74]

In Supraśl, the Monastery was ultimately transferred back to the Orthodox Church in the 1990s. In years to come, due to the generosity of private donors, (believers and Poles of all confessions, as well as foreigners, the Polish government and European Union money), the whole complex was nicely and completely reconstructed.[75] The local community is very active in various cultural initiatives and projects deal with the local history and the cultural heritage. For example, the Cultural Association "*Collegium Suprasliense*", founded in 2002, actively promotes the culture, history and the heritage of the town and its neighbourhood publishing the *Acta Collegii Suprasliensis* on small towns since 2001. This is very noteworthy: while in Tykocin the foundation for the research on small towns is mainly oriented towards local stakeholders, in Supraśl, it started as an initiative carried by scholars exploring small towns in Podłasie, and in Poland, as a specific feature. This interinstitutional/participatory activity conducted by all types of cultural, scholarly or academic institutions sought to establish a network of experts interested in small towns. One outcome is a series of scientific volumes presenting research on small towns (Zemlo, Czyźewski 2001).

Until the 1990s, the identity of Supraśl was linked strongly with the wood processing industry, replacing a formerly dominant textile tradition. What has been observed over the past thirty years are essential changes in the town´s orientation towards tourism. This is reflected, for example, in the reconstruction of the Orthodox complex, the establishment of the Museum of Icons and also in the increasing awareness concerning the attractions of this place. The town, situated in the middle of the Knyszyń Forest Landscape, also took advantage of its location and obtained the Spa Settlement in 2001.

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[74] http://shtetlroutes.eu/pl/tykocin-karta-dziedzictwa-kulturowego (accessed 8/2/2021)
[75] http://basniowysuprasl.pl/klasztor-supraslu-kartach-historii (accessed 8/2/2021)

The Lowland Climatic and Peloid Therapy Health Resort is one of the most recently established health resorts in Poland, attracting increasing numbers of patients and visitors. Thus, the successful transformation of the town´s functions and its identification as a cultural centre of key importance was completed (Strategia rozwoju miasta i gminy Supraśl na lata 2016 – 2022: 69); Supraśl became a popular centre of recreation and tourism. In addition, its proximity to the region´s capital Bialystok, fits well for commuting. Thus, in the future further demographic changes may be observed that will further develop the local identity and the dealing with the local heritage.

Today, due to its natural habitat and also its cultural diversity, Białowieża mostly attracts overseas visitors. It is one of the most important tourist attractions in the eastern Poland, where some remnants of its history and monuments from the 19th and early 20th century have survived. The Orthodox St. Nicholas Church is an interesting and visible testimony of its past and the cultural and religious diversity. It is traditionally Russian in shape (with "onion" cupolas, using the red bricks as principal building material) and unique ceramic altar, the only one in Poland. At the end of the main street of the village (shaped along the road as so-called *ulicówka*) stand in symbiosis the 19th century Orthodox shrine and the Catholic Church built in the mid-1920s for the villagers and visitors of the two confessions. While Białowieża village lies in the midst of the forest, Hajnówka is by its location on the main road from Bialystok, on its edge, as its gatekeeper. It is a young town, its community being very much focused on tourism development, which needs to have appealing attractions. These they find mainly in the forest and share with Białowieża village.[76] For instance, the Białowieża National Park offers a wide choice of attractions, e.g., Natural History Museum, guided tours into strict protection zones, educational trails and visits to natural reservations.

Figure 17: Podlasie: Towns in the region value natural heritage

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[76] https://sztetl.org.pl/pl/miejscowosci/b/665-bialowieza/96-historia-miejscowosci/67062-historia-miejscowosci ; http://www.gmina-hajnowka.pl/; http://www.gmina.bialowieza.pl/ (accessed 8/2/2021)

In the case of Wysokie Mazowiecke, the attitude towards the past of the town, which was found by the anthropo-sociological survey of three schools (see section 4.13 above) is quite unusual and raises many questions which deserve to be answered. Despite an apparently very limited relationship with cultural heritage, nevertheless, the case study has shown that young people unintentionally identify themselves with the CH. An example is a popular meeting place called in English "the Eagle". It was the unofficial name for the square in front of the Polish Military Organization monument (*POW)*. The monument was crowned with the figure of an eagle, as a symbol of Polish state, which was typical for interwar period monuments in the region to commemorate the local "military heroes". There were no names noted in the students' answers, either *POW* monument or other such official descriptions. Nonetheless, the Eagle was mentioned as the unofficial name used by inhabitants. In commemoration, the Municipal cultural centre organised a series of events including a summer concert at the fountain, and an outdoor cinema etc. (mok.wysokiemazowieckie.com). Every historical or national anniversary is connected with a strongly patriotic event. They are connected with memorials e.g., Independence Day (November 11) organised near to the Polish Military Organisation memorial.[77]

One local urban historian perceives Wysokie Mazowieckie as a historical town which has a story to tell and presents its heritage as that of a small provincial town and its nobility (Dobroński 2014: 359 - 367). Surprisingly enough it represents towns which are focused on ecology, and building new infrastructure. Their representations do not highlight historicity or heritage values. They ignore them, or do not have enough imagination to benefit from what they have, although not all of the town's inhabitants share this attitude of neglect. The analysis of answers of students from Wysokie Mazowieckie offers an important perspective from the heritage user. It suggests that the local citizens are not well enough informed. Thus, Wysokie Mazowieckie serves as a very fine example showing the importance of local-based education, fostering the knowledge of local history and traditions (focused i.e., on students and particular groups of local community) via participatory activities.

4.5. PRESENTATION OF PILOT FINDINGS WITHIN THE ACADEMIC SPHERE

In addition to local encounters and detailed case studies, the small towns' heritage pilot team members have shared and exchanged knowledge and ideas with academic associated partners and other institutions or scholars from the academic sphere. This exchange took the form of organised or visited scientific conferences and workshops, and of visits and public lectures by individual scholars.

Activities with academic partners, dissemination and exchange of ideas					
Date	**Venue**	**Name**	**Form**	**Organizer**	**Activity**
May 2018	Budapest	Resilient Cultural Heritage and Communities in Europe	Conference	REACH	Joint panel and posters with academic and other APs.
May 2018	Prague	Diversity in Local Contexts: Adaptation and Heritage	Workshop	REACH, KREAS, ISS FSS CUNI	Luďa Klusáková and Zdeněk Uherek presented REACH pilot

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[77] http://www.wysokiemazowieckie.pl/ (accessed 8/2/2021)

June 2018	Prague	The role of historian in public sphere	Workshop	North Carolina State University (NCSU)	Jaroslav Ira and Luďa Klusáková presented REACH pilot + debates on public history, heritage
September 2018	Rome	Urban Renewal and Resilience: Cities in Comparative Perspective	Conference (including session organized by CUNI)	European Association for Urban History (EAUH)	Case studies presented by Jiří Janáč and Jan Krajíček; discussion of small towns' resilience
October 2018	Košice		Workshop	URBANHIST	Luďa Klusáková presented REACH pilot at the Innovative training network (ITN) meeting
October 2018	Leicester	(not applicable)	Visit, Discussion	KREAS	Jaroslav Ira learned of heritage projects in Leicester thanks to Sally Hartshorne (Uni. Leicester)
November 2018	Prague	Resilience of Heritage in Resilient Cities	Workshop	KREAS	Paper presentations and discussion on urban resilience
March 2019	Castelo de Vide	Small cities & environment	Conference	International Network Small Cities in History (IN-SCIT)	Paper presentations by Luďa Klusáková and Jaroslav Ira
May 2019	Prague		Visit lecture discussion		Steve Hagimont (Toulouse) presented case study of small towns in Pyrenées
March 2020	Prague	Resilience for European Cultural Heritage	Workshop	REACH	Presentation of pilot' perspective on resilience

Figure 18: List of academic exchange activities

Figure 19: Luďa Klusáková presented the pilot at *The Role of Historians in Public Sphere* workshop, organised by North Carolina State University European Centre, in Prague, June 9, 2018 (photographs by Jaroslav Ira)

Colleagues from universities, such as Tampere (Finland), Seville (Spain), Toulouse (France), Warsaw and Bialystok (Poland), North Carolina State University (US), Ferrara (Italy), and Banská Bystrica (Slovakia), participated in the academic exchange. This exchange was aimed to provide, discuss and gather information and experience concerning small towns' heritage and its management, (re-)use and preservation; to broaden the network of researchers interested in CH in small towns; to disseminate information about the pilot's activities; and to debate about rising trends and potential in practice and in research.

4.6. INTERACTIVE MAP

An important objective of the pilot, as of the REACH project in general, was to establish a wide and durable platform that would enable continuous exchange of ideas among CH researchers and CH stakeholders, and which would continue beyond the project's end. Part of this expectation has been fulfilled by the open-heritage.eu portal. The specific complementary output of the small-towns' heritage pilot is the interactive map of small towns' CH activities, activists and best practices.

During the pre-project phase, several forms of the map were discussed by the CUNI team. In its most ambitious version, the map would form a virtual open space, or a forum, that would be open to external users, who could directly add comments and other inputs to examples of cultural heritage objects and practices dotted in the map, or additionally supply their own examples. While this ambition remains an option in the post-project phase (and will eventually be developed under the KREAS project), the team has for the time being opted for a more limited option, partly after taking into consideration practical issues that would emerge with ongoing editing of inputs.
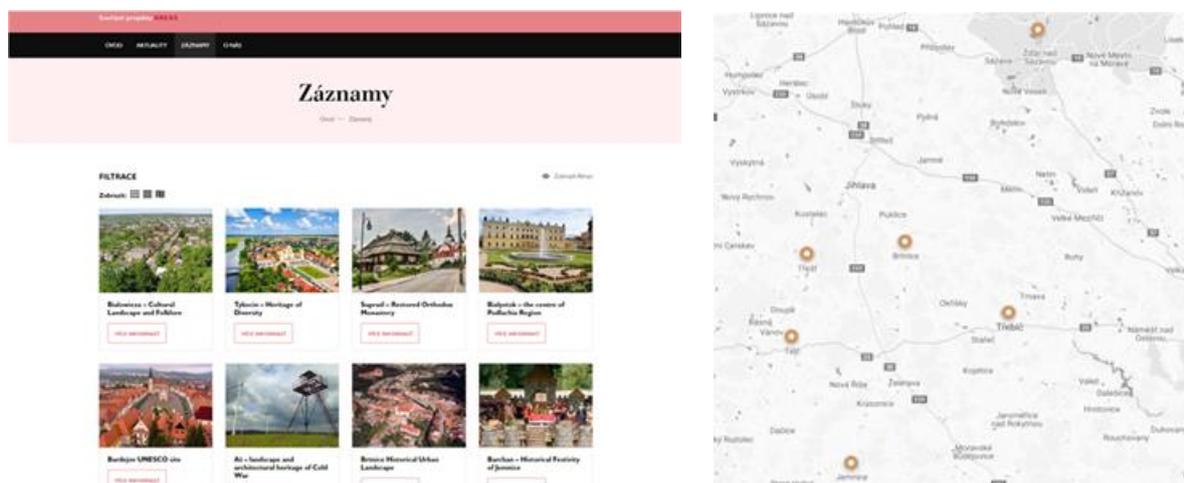

Figure 20: Two basic modes (out of three) of visualising the records on the website Cultural Heritage: mosaic and map

Currently, the output takes the combined form of a database and map of good practices, and is hosted by the KREAS portal, the project-related website of the Faculty of Art of Charles University, as one of its sub-domains, called Cultural Heritage. The database and map are accessible under the tab *Záznamy* (records).[78] The website offers three modes of data visualisation: a mosaic of pictures, a simple list suitable for an easy search (structured along the name of the record, the locality and the type of cultural heritage), and the main mode: the map of localities with the records.

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[78] https://culturalheritage.kreas.ff.cuni.cz/zaznamy/ (accessed 8/2/2021)

The basic map overlay is taken from Google Maps, so that it can be easily operated by any user, including creating new records, and disseminated.

The map of records follows the categories of the REACH Database of good practices, with three of them pivotal: the locality in general, the type of recorded heritage and the exact GPS coordinates. While the type can be further categorised and specified (in/tangible, local-national-UNESCO, private-public, institution-NGO etc.), the coordinates underscore the importance of spatial categorisation and provide the exact data for the map.

Records have been collected since 2017 according to the REACH good-practice database guidelines that focused on mapping, recording and categorising successful cases of cultural heritage activities and practices, especially where involving participation. The Small towns' heritage pilot team has looked for practices related to the regions researched (Vysočina, Podlasie, Šariš), with close cooperation from the Associate Partners, which has also resulted in the mapping and recording of cases from other regions (e.g., the region of Aš, a former Iron Curtain zone).

The map and database will be maintained and further developed within the KREAS project (see 5.6). The examples of good practices gathered during REACH mapping will be inserted, while new ones will be added by the KREAS research team. The database will be developed into an online exhibition *In Sitú* in 2022. The exact form and content of the database, as well as of the individual records, is subject to further discussion. In addition, the map will be disseminated to APs of both projects. Last, but not least, the database will serve educational purposes in courses at Charles University related to cultural heritage.

5. RESULTS AND IMPACT

Desk-top explorations and local encounters with associate partners (and representatives of diverse stakeholders) have provided critical insights that can be further used to identify major challenges that encumber a more sustainable and resilient use of CH in small towns, as well as to highlight positive experiences and suggest better avenues. Furthermore, they may be used for critical review and finetuning of relevant policies and agendas, as well as for to develop further research in the CH field.

As discussed previously, the pilot team has distilled three axes, around which debates with stakeholders revolved and analysis of regions were structured; these will be used to structure the following evaluation:

- heritage as resource: what is considered to be heritage and why?
- uses of heritage: how is heritage used and managed, with what objective and impact?
- CH actors and institutions: their potentials and limitations.

5.1. HERITAGE AS RESOURCE: WHAT IS CONSIDERED TO BE HERITAGE AND WHY?

5.1.1 STRENGTHS

The pilot has proven that cultural heritage is considered to be an important asset by small towns, both from the perspective of steering elites and also the wider public. Heritage is a prominent part of a town's self-presentation and serves to make towns more attractive for residents and visitors. On-site visits, analysis of websites and documents, and discussions with stakeholders have largely shown that a robust infrastructure of heritage presentation is often the case even in very small towns: a combination of information/tourist centre, a museum, information tables and/or heritage trail, and guidebooks or leaflets has become a standard offer.

Figure 21: Reconstruction of lost heritage: plurality of ethnicities and cultures

Some towns, such as Brtnice, have set up successful programmes of urban heritage preservation that have embraced wider circles of stakeholders and have helped to promote the town. The mapping also disclosed many examples of (re-)use, or reconversion, of former industrial or otherwise outlived objects, such as a power plant in Bialystok).

Many towns have progressively engaged with multicultural heritage (in Podlachia) or heritage of bygone minorities, such as the Jewish community (renovation of synagogues and Jewish cemeteries in small towns in Vysočina and Czech Republic in general, is highlighted in official presentations). Examples from Vysočina have also confirmed the growing popularity and relevance in representations of immaterial/intangible heritage, typically when it takes the form of events that provide space for participation, such as historical festivals and processions (plague procession in Brtnice), traditional competitions (*Barchan* run in Jemnice), or displays of popular creativity (display of wood-crafted "Bethlehems" in Třešť). Furthermore, many examples have shown that heritage mobilises local activism: the ruined chateau in Brtnice or the abandoned town of Zahrádka that made way for a new dam in 1970s, the memory of which is in danger of fading away[79], shows that endangered heritage often motivates spontaneous reaction, from volunteering activities through to the establishment of associations. The pilot has further revealed a strong interest in local history among local populations and vivid local history activity, which runs in parallel with professional experts in museums and archives, and which takes the form of many local history associations (e.g. Spolek pro starou Brtnici/Association for Old Brtnice), the production of history books, the collection of memories, or history-related community events, such as commented projections of historical photographs and place-related historical films (e.g. Muzejní pátky/Museum Fridays in Třešť). The pilot has confirmed that heritage and history are important resources of local identity in small towns, as well as assets on which place-making and strategies of development can build.

5.1.2 WEAKNESSES

This largely optimistic image should, however, be balanced with limits and weaknesses that became obvious following closer examination. While (some) small towns have embraced larger meanings of heritage, that goes beyond tangible monuments and built historical cores, for others the understanding and presentation remains biased towards older, tangible, monumental, and visually consumable heritage. This may create problems for those towns, that for various reasons, such as war destruction, disasters, massive rebuilding in the era of Socialism, and industrial history, have lost their monuments and built heritage, and are left with the gloomy perception of "nothing to offer." The clear task here is to turn deficiency into a factor of creativity and innovation. In fact, towns with less obvious heritage may be more inventive in creating new forms of heritage, or discovering approaches with more variety. While disadvantaged, the towns with "nothing to offer" may thus become vanguard in developing new concepts of heritage. From the opposite perspective, the presence of a dense and well-preserved built cultural heritage, such as in the UNESCO towns of Telč and Český Krumlov, can be a burden that reduces the image of a town to that of a theme park, that obscures other layers and dimensions of the town's history and contemporary life, and that may be detrimental to creative solutions.

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[79] The voluntary association "Friends of Zahrádka" that cares of the memory and remaining monuments of the town has been registered as REACH Best practice. See: https://www.open-heritage.eu/practic/45/ . About the association, see: http://www.zahradka.euweb.cz/index.html (last retrieved 10/12/2020).

It is also worth noting the results of the anthropological and sociological research evaluation that was undertaken in Wysoke Mazowieckie, Poland, in 2018, that highlighted the perceptions of young people concerning cultural heritage. As many as 49% of respondents had never heard or had not paid attention to the concept of CH. Only 51% of the respondents were able to list elements of material CH, including churches, monuments, castles, and parks. Very few teenagers - only 36% - have ever looked for information about the cultural heritage itself, with the Internet (44%), family (20%), and then books (16%) providing information. One of the most important issues is the weak scope of the institutional activities in promoting knowledge about cultural heritage, as only 29% of the respondents could point out people working in CH roles in their local sphere. The general conclusions that emerge indicate the lack of responsibility for education aimed at young people by the authorities and the cultural environment in the region (although this might not be surprising given that the town has taken the decision to present an ecological branding rather than to promote CH).

Sometimes, institutional frameworks assist in downplaying other forms of heritage, such as urban development plans that remain blind to forms other than built heritage (see the ECOVAST example in the first local encounter, section 4.1.1). This also applies to heritage protection institutions, such as NPÚ, associations such as Association of Historical Settlements of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia (SHSČMS), and competitions and awards, such as Historical Town of the Year, that by default prioritises built, tangible and historical heritage. However, other factors play a role: e.g., the overemphasis on tourism, combined with preconceived expectation of tourists, often leads to the production of homogeneous (inauthentic) images of towns ("historical town") that overshadow different layers of the urban landscape. The politics of memory works in a similar way, with many Socialist era objects and districts rendered valueless, if not unwanted.

The biased understanding of heritage in turn assists in obscuring or marginalising groups that were less connected with its production. This is the case for minorities, such as Roma people, Vietnamese communities, or more recently settlers from Eastern Europe, whose heritage remains mostly unrecognised - even if it may be sometimes displayed in the public space, as illustrated by the example of the *Day of Children Vietnamese Culture* in Jihlava (Aug 19, 2016), the winning cultural event of the annual competition Zlatá Jeřabina (Golden Rowanberry) awarded by the region of Vysočina[80], as it often lacks spatial and material referents (folklore, life-style, traditions, and memories), or is too recent, or is not considered as valuable heritage (e.g. Vietnamese shops, bistros and marketplaces). Ignorance of the full picture of urban fabrics or historical periods distorts the official collective memory, and may stigmatise communicative memory of certain generational groups, thus aggravating for instance, generational cleavage. Furthermore, such unbalanced representations undermine a sense of ongoing development, as the town's dynamics and ever-changing character is concealed.

5.1.3 GENDERED PERSPECTIVES OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

An important element of the REACH project has been to evaluate the role, and portrayal, of the contributions of women in and to CH. This has included current involvement in heritage activities and decision making, as well as identifying longer-standing gender-biases (or gender-blindness) in the use

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[80] This example was pointed out during the local encounter in Prague, Feb 15, 2019. For more information, see https://www.kr-vysocina.cz/zlata-jerabina-r-2016/ds-303390/archiv=0. (accessed 8/2/2021) The award of Zlatá Jeřabina is based on public voting after prior preselection by a committee of experts and is divided into two categories: a) cultural activity; b) care for cultural heritage. As such, it represents an example of participatory approach in cultural heritage, albeit only in its post-realisation (evaluatory) phase.

of heritage. From the project's perspective, it can be acknowledged from attendance at the different local encounters and links with APs, that women are now much better represented in the field of CH.

One of many indicators for gender-biased representation of small-town heritage is obviously apparent in the lists of noteworthy personalities (famous inhabitants etc.) and their monumentalisation in the forms of statues, plaques and street names monuments, or in published galleries of famous people. The lists usually reflect the fact that most of the people who had the opportunity to pursue careers were, up until the twentieth century, male (e.g., mayors and office holders, politicians, entrepreneurs, inventors and intelligentsia, military heroes, and to some degree even artists). Thus, in one of the lists of famous natives in Brtnice, for instance, there are six men, but no woman (Měřínský et al. 2006: 42-46). This radical imbalance is even more pronounced in the nearby, and slightly bigger town of Třešť: thirteen men versus not a single woman (*Třešťské osobnosti* 2011). Women, in their traditional roles of wives and mothers, and less prestigious occupations, such as maids or agricultural workers, are not memorialised, or if so, just in the form of anonymous and collective representations: e.g., mothers in the war memorials' iconography. Exceptions to the rule are figures of female aristocrats or religious patrons, such as Juliana de Collalto in Brtnice.

It is clear that the role of women in local development has structurally been marginalised and has to be addressed. This includes local heritage experts making an effort to identify and recognise forgotten female heroes, as well as to acknowledge more diverse, gender-balanced, experiences that have made contributions to community wellbeing. This is all the more pertinent, given that local heroes often serve as role models and thus send strong messages on what are desirable aspirations.

5.2. USES OF HERITAGE: OBJECTIVES AND IMPACTS

Whereas in an ideal scenario heritage (re-)use, management and preservation of CH serves as a desired development of a town, making it more resilient, reality however may show different results. Thus, heritage may not be efficiently exploited; it may be used for the benefit of some parts of society at the expense of others, thus violating the principle of equity; it can be used in an unsustainable way that ultimately leads to its loss; it can be used or managed in a way that stirs up discontent rather than consensus; and finally, although its use may lead to clear benefits e.g. in economic terms or spatial improvement, it may not foster resilience in the sense of innovation or flexibility to change. Some of these problems surfaced quite clearly during the encounters with stakeholders, often in relation to specific uses of heritage, such as tourism, promotion of cultural life, and social intervention programmes, or in the context of heritage protection measures or labelling of places by brands such as UNESCO. In other cases, the problems were not directly thematised by stakeholders, but became evident during mapping activities.

The pilot's desktop analysis has produced several findings. Perhaps the most important was of diversity in terms of pursued strategies of small towns. These sometimes correlate to differences in heritage potentials. For instance, the representatives of the Polish town Wysoke Mazowiecke deliberately articulate their development strategy around the themes of "town of future", ecology and modern infrastructure, rather than around historical heritage, as there is allegedly little to offer in terms of built heritage, unlike other small towns in the region of Podlasie (see Klusáková, Parafianowicz, Brzozowska 2019). In other examples, the variation is conditioned by different experiences with the similar heritage potential, especially varying successes in attracting tourism. Although both Telč and Bardejov have rich built heritage that has been listing on the UNESCO World Heritage List, their approach to the label, and to tourism promotion differs considerably:

Telč has already reached the capacity of sustainable tourism, and thus tries to reorient to more qualitative forms of tourism and cultivations of its cultural offer. The remotely located Bardejov in Slovakia, on the other hand, still strives to tap the tourist market via UNESCO, to the extent of making the label dominate the town's self-image (Krajíček 2021). Several towns do not follow the growth of tourism as the primary objective, but clearly highlight other aspects, such as community building, place-making or growth of cultural life. Here, cultural heritage serves more to help stimulate local pride, to get the town onto the map, to engage the local population in collective activities (such as pageants or festivities) and to raise a positive image of the town (e.g., Brtnice or Stařec). Other towns, while still promoting their existing heritage, are foregrounding more recent or contemporary cultural activities of an avant-garde nature (experimental theatre and literature), alluding in this way to more metropolitan culture (e.g., Třešť). It turns out that there are as many stories and trajectories as there are towns, though patterns do exist.

5.2.1 TOURISM IN SMALL TOWNS

Tourism may be considered to be one of the uses of small-town heritage, in which some of the above-mentioned issues have surfaced. Tourism was a widely discussed theme during the local encounters, which can partly be attributed to its prominent position among heritage-based strategies of development in small towns, and its ability to generate income and job opportunities. Although the orientation of some small towns to tourism has a longer historical tradition, which has been linked to growth of mass tourism and leisure since the late nineteenth-century, in the past few decades tourism has become a panacea, especially for many small towns that have lost industry in the wake of post-industrial transformation and global relocation of production areas.

Yet, what emerged from the meetings and mapping activities, was a sense of differentiated experiences. On the one hand were stories of towns in which the lack of tourism is felt as a problem and more tourism is desired. From this perspective, the major problem is how to attract tourists (the offer and branded image) and how to get them to the town (infrastructures). On the other hand, some other small towns undergo the experience of over-tourism and the negative impacts of reaching or exceeded capacity. The major problem then becomes the qualitative change of tourism and/or the redirection of tourists to other places or wider regions.

In the pilot's sample towns, this polarity was best presented by the contrasting cases of Telč in Vysočina (CZE) and Bardejov (SVK), two UNESCO listed towns. As the comparative analysis of Telč and Bardejov has shown, tourism itself is not an absolutely wanted and 100% positive phenomena. As Telč is currently reaching the limit of its tourist capacity (meant as ratio between the number of incoming tourists and the capacity of local infrastructures), both the municipality and local community are therefore against further promotion of tourism inside the town (they have ceased to promote the town within the UNESCO label and instead aim to spread the influx of tourists to the nearby countryside). A similar situation has been recorded in Český Krumlov, which in 2019 was already stretched beyond its means. This has also been reflected in the political preferences of voters, where voters clearly preferred those politicians who declared that they would defend the interests of local people over those of tourists.[81]

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[81] Zdeněk Uherek: "Discourse on public spaces in Prague and selected little towns of the Czech Republic", paper at the workshop Diversity and Local Context (Prague, 24 - 25 May 2018)

Bardejov's development strategy has the completely opposite goal: the municipality and local organisations are desperately trying to attract more people (as the local heritage sites and services can cope with a larger number of visitor who would spend money in the locality), but the main obstacle is the insufficiency of regional or national transportation infrastructure (e.g. the weak motorway connection, a new highway is needed – which is a matter of supra-regional/national negotiation and support).

Clearly, in those two opposing scenarios, sustainability and resilience acquire somewhat different meanings. On the one hand is the question of the sustainability of the tourism offer, industry and infrastructure (such as the longevity of cultural programmes or the ability to retain tourists for a longer period and over the year). On the other hand, is the matter of a sustainable tourism that does not destroy the liveability of the towns, their authentic characteristics, damage heritage, or make the town economically vulnerable in the face of sudden change of economic trajectory (as seen in the context of Covid-19 and its impact on over-touristified towns and cities, such as Prague). From the perspective of resilience, the extremes can be framed as:

- the heritage potential remains underdeveloped, largely due to:
  - factors exogenous to cultural heritage, such as poor infrastructure (limited transport connection; lack of accommodation capacities, language barriers etc)
  - endogenous factors, e.g., failure to clearly promote heritage, to make it into an appealing offer, or to recognise and profit from a wider range of heritage.
- overuse or misuse of heritage for tourism in ways that break the sustainability principles of equity and environment, and often stimulate discontent and conflict.

One of the main topics of either bottom-up or top-down initiatives of supporting local tourism, e.g., of both small towns' development strategies, as well as central destination agencies policies is to encourage visitors to spend more time in the locality. Typically, the pilot's APs agreed that this can be achieved by the combination of sufficient tourist infrastructure (services, accommodation, restaurants) and a wide offer of activities. Hence, the portfolio of tourist activities tends to be focused on the mix of passive and active leisure time (spent typically on culture and sports, which is very well-connected, namely in the Vysočina region, but also very strongly promoted in Eastern Poland).

Some potential of small-town heritage for (transnational) tourism is still underexploited. e.g., non-European tourists may value the authentic atmosphere of small towns, but more calibrated marketing strategies are also needed. In addition, communication between local stakeholders and nationally based tourism agencies has not always been fully effective. A key task would be to discuss strategies and representations of local heritage with stakeholders at various levels and to establish effective communication channels.

In the terms of the quantification of strategies for tourism promotion, organisations such as CzechTourism and Regional Tourist Bureaus evaluate these by the numbers of visitors entering cultural or sports venues and by the number of nights spent by people in local hotels, pensions etc.

The strategy of keeping visitors within the locality was seen as absolutely positive by APs from centralised institutions, but local actors often expressed concerns about adapting such concepts to the municipality development plan – in the cases of small towns like Telč, Brtnice, Svidník and Bardejov, the culture heritage sites and attractions can be visited in just a day, so the importance of a wider portfolio of activities is seen as crucial.

These regions are now starting to build cycling or skiing paths, rafting or supporting eco-tourism, based on spending time in "retro" rural areas. "Festivalisation" in terms of annual music, arts and history events also seems to be a plausible instrument, since it supports both local participation and attracts tourists in the longer-term. There is indeed the limit of the short-term nature of such events, but some of the themes have already become a tradition. "Prázdniny v Telči" (Holidays in Telč) – for example is a large multi-genre music and theatre festival, which energises the whole town physically and socially.[82]

Figure 22: Visitors are encouraged to visit Vysočina's open air museum (photograph Jan Krajíček)

As the experience of CzechTourism has proved, a crucial topic in small towns' promotion through cultural heritage is to develop a strong locally-based tourism branding, i.e., to establish a tourist portfolio based on the connection of local cultural and natural specifics into one complex whole. In terms of touristification of small towns' cultural heritage, it seems to be useful to invent a plausible narrative framework, e.g., a complex set of small castles on the river Orlice (reminiscent of the Loire-castles in France), or the Bohemian-Moravian Highlands' historical localities connected through the historic Prague-Vienna Imperial Road (cross border cooperation with Lower Austrian localities). These localities may be connected not just by the common incorporative presentation, but also on an economic basis (uniform admission tickets, coordinated discount programmes of local tourist services encouraging tourists to stay for longer etc.[83]

Some small towns are already at the limit of sustainable tourism (e.g., Český Krumlov – UNESCO site) with the culture and heritage that is presented to the tourists often inauthentic, with a strong environmental footprint, with the local population removed from the historic centre, and the old houses being bought by outsiders with the sole purpose of making profit out of them. It was suggested that stressing the authentic experience – with services oriented positively towards visitors – is the way of overcoming this situation. The small-town atmosphere should be retained and promoted.

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[82] Example that was coined during the local encounter in Prague, Feb. 15, 2019. For the festival info, see: http://prazdninyvtelci.cz/eng (accessed 8/2/2021)

[83] Local encounter with CzechTourism representative, Prague, Jan. 24, 2019.
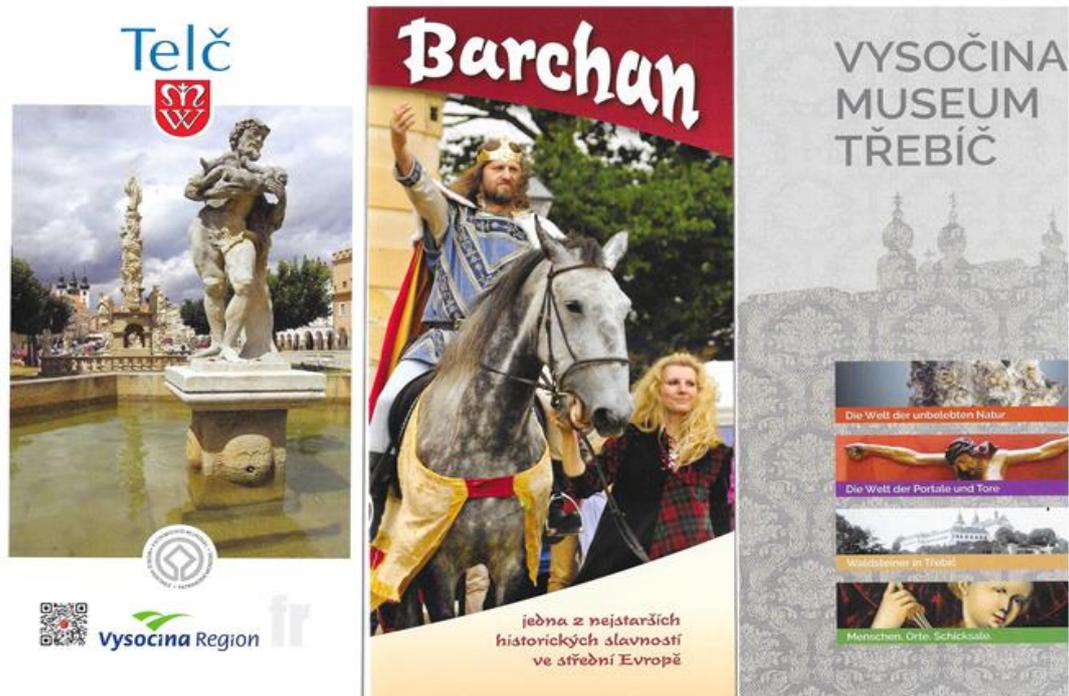
Figure 23: Heritage branding of small towns within the Vysočina region

Small towns tend to be affected by tourism much more than cities or places of interest with previously built infrastructure (transport, services, accommodation), thus both positive and negative impacts seem to be much sharper in small localities. The case of Český Krumlov proves that over-touristification (e.g., mass tourism overwhelming local infrastructure capacities) can negatively affect the local community in terms of the depopulation of town-centres, the stagnation of the community's cultural and social life and subsequently changes in urban characteristics changes (e.g., the shift of residential and service quarters to outside of the town etc.). Although Český Krumlov suffers from over tourism and a source of high income, it has limits precisely because it is a protected monument. Thus, the day-to-day tensions between the town business people and the National Heritage Institute, which do not allow monuments to be freely rebuilt in order to increase accommodation capacity at the expense of destroying the historical value of buildings are being monitored. Another phenomenon is that although over-tourism in a town increases employment, the jobs offered do not often not relate to the education and qualifications of the local people, instead, they are low level service roles which are not professions that are in high demand, nor are they well-paid.

5.2.2 REPRESENTATION AND SPATIAL IMAGINATION

The way that local heritage is presented reveals how it can reimagine its spatial relationship more broadly. Local historians, museum curators and other interpreters need to be encouraged and trained to use innovative approaches that link local history and heritage to multiple wider spatial frameworks. This task is all the more important in the case of small towns, while at the same time also more challenging, as these have been less evidently linked with the transnational sphere and have long been considered, at least in hierarchical spatial orders, as just a part of a geographical region. Small town museums are still largely oriented to provide detailed narratives about place, with a vague link to general processes of historical development mostly in terms of national frameworks.

However, there are examples of museums that provide different perspectives, e.g., the Museum of Josef Hoffmann in Brtnice, which is linked to Moravian Gallery in Brno, and more importantly, to

interregional modern architecture networks. This facilitates an interest from, and an influx of, specialised visitors (such as art historians and architects) from elsewhere, including abroad. There are further examples of these attempts to highlight new figures that represent links to the wider world. In a nearby small town of Třešť, town promoters have played with the figure of J. A. Schumpeter, a local inhabitant who became a well-known Austrian and American economist. Stories of transnational connections are also excavated and cultivated: one such example was related during the first local encounter, of the little town Stařeč, to which a man from Italy arrived, to rediscover roots of his Grandfather, a man who had been born in the town during World War 1, at a time when several Italian families from the war zone in southern Tirolia had fled to Moravia.[84] From a different perspective, the massive restoration of Jewish heritage (and dark heritage of the Holocaust) provides a flavour of links to transnational phenomena.

In these circumstances, what needs to be avoided is the merely ornamental use of this world-connecting heritage. Potential options to support this approach are by linking towns and regions through EU cooperation programmes, bringing communities together to demonstrate shared values, interests, knowledge and expertise, and adding new perspectives and practices to activities and planning, including the management, (re-)use and preservation of CH.

5.2.3 DIVERSIFICATION

What is important, is for small towns to evaluate their traditional approaches and explore new ways in which to diversify them. The case studies in chapter 4 revealed examples of how this is being explored, especially in relation to tourism, by encouraging visitors to stay in an area and to see and/or to undertake multiple activities. For towns, this might mean integrating non-historical, less-picturesque, dark and maybe traumatic, intangible elements into the portfolio, which in turn means reconsidering their self-presentation/branding. This approach could help to break down the perception that CH is only about monuments and old buildings that should be presented to the public in a traditional manner, instead bringing intangible heritage to the fore. It may also encourage a different kind of visitor, that is looking for an alternative experience, which may take place throughout the year, thereby helping to overcome the challenge of seasonal temporality. Throughout this process is the need for a town to make decisions to change its approach and to define its new strategy, which can lead to questions of authenticity. There is also the degree to which local communities had the opportunity to help shape the strategy, or choose to be involved, as well as any collaborative approach with surrounding towns and the wider region (top-down versus bottom-up approaches to participatory heritage.)

A way to make this change could be to use funded programmes as a catalyst; however, this is not always straight-forward. As described in the fifth local encounter, the discussion between two representatives working in the Vysočina region who had very different perspectives on the use of funding, especially given its requirement to meet specific criteria within a short-time frame, rather than addressing the perceived issues that local people prioritised. Funding will become available for certain initiatives, but disappear following the change of political administrations and their perspective on future developments. Even projects that are aligned with local needs, will have a finite lifetime and ultimately come to an end, which may make it difficult to sustain activities that had been

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[84] Prague, Feb 15, 2018, session 4; talk by the representative of Spolek povodí stařečského potoka (Association of the catchment of Stařeč brook; voluntary local history and culture association).

of community benefit, especially they were based on the leadership, vision and enthusiasm of a few dedicated personnel.

One thing that has clearly emerged from the pilot is that it is imperative for initiatives to emerge from within the locality, have authenticity that local people can identify with, even if they lead to the establishment of revised strategies and the creation of new traditions.

5.3. CULTURAL HERITAGE ACTORS AND INSTITUTIONS: POTENTIAL AND LIMITATIONS

As explained in chapter 3, it is the actors/stakeholders that are seen by the pilot as the crucial part of heritage, since it is them who decide (in a top-down manner) what is considered to be heritage and why. The interactions, connections, interests, views, and competencies of the actors of all kinds, such as towns as public corporations, CH institutions, various local public and social groups, heritage experts and other individuals active in CH, are essential for understanding both the potential and limitations of the CH sector in the development of small towns. The pilot has therefore focused, in part, on the institutional aspect in the desktop research, and set up local encounters with representatives of several institutions to delve more deeply into the actor (bottom-up) side of CH in small towns. These encounters confirmed the importance of this perspective, while also pointing out many potentials and problems that need to be integrated into CH plans and policies. Regrettably the exchange of ideas was not sustained and thus the insights, in this sense, are only fragmentary. However, the interactions with stakeholders still revealed many themes that concern the both the human and the institutional aspects of small-town heritage.

5.3.1 HUMAN POTENTIAL

As many current and historical examples show, there has indeed been a strong potential in localities in terms of active people, volunteers, spontaneous activity, existing attachment to place. The core of active and creative groups has, of course, undergone changes. While it is easier to leave small towns for cities, the new digital communication technologies have led to changing patterns of work (such as home-office, flexible working time) and a tendency of skilled professionals to leave cities for smaller places (neo-ruralism), leading to new influxes of people living in small towns. The mixture of professionals, students, and lay amateurs has formed a durable base is a very important asset that should be recognised and valued. It does however raise the question of how these new residents will challenge local values and traditions, rather than automatically fitting with those associated with the town.

The survey in Vysočina revealed the existence of an active local population that engages in many CH and local history related activities. Yet the debates with pilot APs sounds a note of caution based upon undue generalisations. An interesting confrontation of the positive and negative stories provided during the first local encounter in Prague made it clear that while many places indeed have quite vigorous groups of active locals, who manage to involve wide circles of the local population in cultural activities (as reported for the very small town Stařec in Vysočina); in other places, such as in the Sudetenland (border regions in the North-Western and North Eastern parts of Czech Republic), the situation is often quite different, with rather passive local populations. In such cases, it is the external agents and initiatives, such as the applied anthropology studio Anthropictures, or social innovation projects led from above, that have to set up the process and help create active, self-learning and durable communities of engaged actors amongst the locals.

These divergent scenarios may correlate with different regional conditions, determined by historical trajectories: demographic continuity and long-established traditions (such as in Vysočina), or discontinuity (e.g., the borderlands, with the new population arriving after WWII and the expulsion of German speaking inhabitants being less rooted in the regions and not tied to pre-war local traditions).[85]

The role of the human factor in coping with local cultural heritage was analysed over the long-term period by AP Anthropictures, who gathered data, experience and know-how on how to support local communities in their activeness and how to "get the wheels rolling". According to anthropological research, the process of boosting public participation usually begins with the initial spark of public engagement activities, and usually comes from interested and educated individuals. Since they form a minority in distant localities, they need to gather attention of larger actors in the locality (municipality, local school, museum, and/or already active NGOs, etc.) As for the Anthropictures experience, on the level of small-town communities, the activation of local people towards the deliberate use of their local heritage occurs in two steps: at first, events focus on arousing the communal interest, and on identification of local heritage that needs to be carried out (e.g., public exhibition, excursion, and/or students' discussion). Once communal interest has been initiated, the second step is for local people's needs to be supported, to be able to carry out the activities by themselves (thus there is a need to support local interested societies, NGOs, and clubs etc.). This support usually comprises passing on know-how and methods on how to run heritage-based activities and events (legislative, management of events, financial policy, PR and communication strategy, cit. Meeting on 24 Jan. 2019). This description fits well with that of "Participatory Heritage" that was discussed within REACH deliverable D3.1, the need for a top-down initiation, to provide a foundation to enable communities to then take over and form a more bottom-up approach to using their own heritage.

As experiences and examples outlined by the APs proved, the sustainability of small towns' cultural projects' is directly related to local community activity. Typically, local interested individuals tend to gather in groups of interest (in legal terms usually NGOs, civil societies, or clubs etc.), which are the basis for proposing heritage-based activities within the locality (heritage from below). Support for projects is then negotiated with "higher" (centralised) institutions and organisations both within the locality (e.g., needing the support of the local council) and on the regional/national level (e.g., centralised support in the form of funding, cooperation and assistance from central institutions). All of the small towns' REACH good-practice case studies show that the success of cultural projects focusing on local communities can be described via a generally similar process: gathering of local interested actors, gaining the publicity within the community, gaining the support of local council (and cooperation with other local cultural organisations, if they are already present). Local community support is crucial for strengthening local identity and for boosting the sense of importance of local heritage (e.g., the idea of the project). In addition, gathering support from the local council is important in the terms of economic and material backing of the proposed projects (e.g., co-financing, lending of places, and/or promoting activities etc.).

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[85] Prague, Feb 15, 2018, session 4; talks by the representative of Spolek povodí stařečského potoka (Association of the catchment of Stařec brook; voluntary local history and culture association) and Anthropictures, and subsequent debate (Recorded, tape 2, 01:50:35 and 02:30:00).

The debates with pilot APs pointed out the need for specifically trained professionals: mediators who actively work and communicate with the public, and who link various initiatives together. It was seen as important to support someone actively taking care of presenting cultural heritage in the town, so that the deadlock of passive museums, and passive texts is broken. Educators stationed in the towns are certainly one possible solution, and this is the case of Telč, in which the National Heritage Institute has its expert and educational centre, next to detached centres of the Masaryk University, although this may not be an option for many other small towns. Alternatives may be through the training and expertise provided to local cultural workers by professional institutions that specialise in heritage interpretation. It has also become clear that many skills need to be acquired by contemporary local heritage workers, such as the effective operation of social media and communication with different audiences (e.g., to attract and engage younger people). Last, but not least, ever more knowledge is needed in the field of project applications, and an awareness of, and grounding in, financial and legal issues. In this respect, effective cooperation with higher institutions (regional governments etc.) can be seen as crucial. In contrast to local enthusiasm, some APs pointed out understaffing and over-dependence of CH work on just a few individuals in small towns and small CH institutions, which often does not allow for more active work with the public (for example, local museum workers often have to spend much time on administrative issues). The problem of the burn-out effect on some engaged individuals was also mentioned, as was the termination of activities after those individuals have moved away from a particular locality.

5.3.2 PUBLIC LEGITIMACY AND INVOLVEMENT

Some examples from the desk-top survey, such as the controversy around the square renovation in Počátky, as well as reflections from the local encounters, have pointed to negative experiences concerning the lack of support for certain heritage-related measures, and with negative reactions to some projects. Several reasons may stand behind this. The lack of public involvement in the initial and preparatory phases of cultural heritage activities (if still predominantly a top-down approach) may undermine its support in later phases. Indeed, communication with the locals and their involvement in the very early stage of any project was seen by many stakeholders as a crucial condition of a project's success and acceptance. As a further negative example, the Anthropicture's representative offered a well-intended project in one Czech borderland locality that was aimed to foster reconciliation in Czech-German historical memory, but which was prepared entirely without the involvement of local people, and which ended up in discord, partly because the interpretations of memory by the locals were quite different from the narratives of the German visitors.[86]

The failure to involve locals in the externally initiated projects may be just one of many negative scenarios that can delegitimise cultural heritage projects. Another one can be the blocking or ineffective participation of the lay public in projects, in which experts have a major say. However, sometimes conflict and lack of legitimacy stems from a dissonance between the perspective of expert knowledge, and the needs and desires of small-town inhabitants, who may have other preferences: e.g., practical: traffic, leisure facilities; economic: preference of cheaper construction methods to more expensive, though monument-friendly. Related to this may be a lack of conscious appreciation of local cultural heritage among parts of a local community. These issues were most eloquently put forward by the representatives of National Heritage Institute (NPÚ) branch in Telč.

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[86] Prague, Feb 15, 2018, session 4; talk by the representative of Anthropictures (recorded, tape 2, 02:30:00).

Many points were made: for instance, though living in the UNESCO-valued historical town, the local community seems much more interested in sports than in culture; when a student-led happening simulated the rebuilding of the local synagogue into a kitschy hotel, many local respondents remained indifferent; rich cultural heritage, rather than being appreciated, seems to be simply taken for granted; local urban policy-making reflects the conflict between "low everyday needs" (e.g. shopping mall) and "higher goals" (heritage and culture). Furthermore, the question was raised about low benefits of (built) heritage for the locals. This all complicates efforts to persuade local people that the built urban landscape is *their* heritage and that they should care for it.[87]

The initial disillusion and the experience of "culture clash" between heritage protection experts and the small-town community in Telč (Vysočina) has nevertheless led to a realisation, on the side of NPÚ staff, that enquiries among locals about their values, needs and perspectives are no less important than the long-lasting and incremental process of educational work with the public about heritage value.[88] Next to sustained communication of the importance of cultural heritage and culture, some APs saw it as important to start with the younger generations, to cultivate their sense of culture and attachment to heritage. From this perspective, an important role was assigned to locally-based institutions such as the Elementary Schools of Arts (ZUŠ)[89] that serve as incubators for culturally sensitive groups of local inhabitants.

5.3.3 ROLES, LIMITS AND RELATIONS OF THE SMALL-TOWN BASED CH INSTITUTIONS

Part of the debates during local encounters touched upon the roles, functions and relations of CH institutions as factors of success in managing, preserving and (re-)using cultural heritage or fostering cultural life.

Local educational and local cultural organisations such as music schools, museums and even grammar schools are seen as key actors in supporting the local community in terms of social participation in cultural heritage. In addition to their role in co-organising the events (e.g., musical ensembles) and providing material support for the local community in term of facilities (schools or museums are often the only places suitable for cultural events in small localities), they produce culturally educated locals, that typically turn into "interested individuals" through the perspective of local cultural activities, e.g., they are the vivid base of the local cultural community.

These institutions are typically governed by the municipality or region (and are thus centralised to some extent), and can therefore be seen as a connection between local communities and central government in local cultural heritage management. As the example of National Heritage Institute branch office in Telč, as well as the Bialystok Arsenal Gallery, proved, the experts working for these institutions are typically also members of the local community and culturally active citizens at the same time, which makes the winning of the support of locals' bottom-up activities much easier and

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[87] The issue was addressed in Prague, Feb 15, 2018 and reiterated in Prague, Feb 15, 2019 meetings.

[88] *Ibid*. Telč has become a laboratory for exploring the issue of local inhabitants' perspectives on rich built cultural heritage. See e.g., the currently running research project "Doma ve městě UNESCO: Hmotný a nehmotný veřejný prostor měst se zvláštní památkovou ochranou, pilotní projekt Telč", led by Masaryk University in Brno. https://www.muni.cz/vyzkum/projekty/44426 (accessed 8/2/2021)

[89] In Czech Republic, there is a wide network of primary art schools (503 in total) that provide education for children and adults in music, dance, visual-arts, and literary-dramatical fields. While a few of them are private, most are publicly funded, and all are supervised by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports. Due to the density of the network, many small towns below the level of district towns are linked to one.

better targeted than if targeted directly from central institutions and managed by the persons from outside the community. In addition, the notion of trust and authenticity plays an important role in local community activities – the cooperation and central support from "above" can be easier approached when presented by the local community members, even if they are representatives of central government or organisations based outside the locality. In fact, some of the speakers during local encounters challenged what they saw as crude dichotomies between local versus external factors, or small versus large actors.

What also turned out to be an important aspect is the position of an institution in the broader system of CH management. Not surprisingly, many of the participants at the first local encounter took care to clarify their role in CH, while sometimes stressing the operational limits and obligations defined by their status. For instance, although aware of the importance of public consent and involvement, the National Heritage Institute has to perform its legally defined tasks in heritage preservation, that are often viewed negatively as measures that hinder individual property rights. It also became clear that various actors often have very different understanding of the CH and the problems on the field, depending on where they are positioned within the system of cultural heritage. In the future, important tasks would therefore be to encourage stakeholders to mutually clarify their positions, specific experiences, and also the structural constraints upon their activities.

Networking has often been stressed in theory as a factor that fosters sustainability, competitiveness, exchange of ideas, innovations and resilience. At the same time, it can partially serve as a barometer of a town's adaptation to the transformation of its socio-spatial structure in the wake of globalisation, European integration, loosening of borders among the EU states, relative decline of hierarchical spatial orders, and new communication means, etc. Four dimensions of networking may be distinguished:

- vertical: upwards to higher scales (district, region, national agencies, EU/UN)
- horizontal: with other towns and communities (neighbouring), trans-border towns, international
- internal: cooperation between local associations, organisations
- cross-sectoral: private and public sphere.

The APs involved in the pilot have also identified the importance of networking. CzechTourism, for instance, saw horizontal cooperation among towns as a way to create a stronger regional portfolio, and stressed the importance of a smooth vertical flow of communication from local contacts (who have the local knowledge needed for preparing a sound and authentic tourist offer) to the higher level of coordination. Anthropictures stressed the importance of networking for many actors within a particular locality as the crucial step in building a sustainable active community. Desktop research also highlighted many existing links. Horizontal links include voluntary associations of communities on a micro-regional basis, but also broader and thematically clustered associations (such as SHSČMS), or international cooperation, such as town twinning (partner-towns), international networks and movements (e.g., ECOVAST or Cittaslow) or transborder cooperation. An example of the latter is Svídník in Slovakia that has turned to Polish counterparts partly out of necessity, due to the lack of transport infrastructure available to bring visitors from Slovakian cities within the region. What is clear is that multiple links already exist in many directions. What needs to be explored further is their effectiveness, durability and ability to enhance the capacity of a community and/or an institution, e.g., in terms of sharing and utilising expertise.

Cooperation between stakeholders is fundamental. As the example of the small Czech town Stařeč shows, that the role of central (national) actors and institutions in helping the local community to survive is not that crucial, except in respect of financial backing. Although the Stařeč representatives praised the cooperation with regional government of Vysočina (all of the recent applications for regional funding projects for local culture were supported by the Region), much more of work is done together on the level of small-town – district cooperation (with in depth cooperation with Třebíč, a nearby district town). Although the economic links with regional centres work well, in practical terms much more work on culture and heritage is done through the cooperation with Třebíč district (namely cooperation with local museum and archive, cultural department of district, and Třebíč high school).[90] This finding is similar to the case of Bialystok multicultural municipal tourist trails project, which was started by the local Museology organisation (individuals interested in multicultural history of town, cooperating with local museum and local university Department of Art History), and gathered financial funding from the centre, while the realisation of heritage trails through the town that commemorate pre-WW2 multicultural characteristics of Bialystok was completely undertaken by the local community.

5.4. FINAL STATEMENTS AND POLICY SUGGESTIONS

From the perspective of resilience, it is possible to draw certain conclusions. Heritage is not a positive asset *per se*, as many policy documents seem to imply, as there are inherited issues from the past in small towns that are seen as a burden, as "unwanted heritage", or otherwise difficult to recognise as a source of value. They can remain unrecognised and unexploited, but also be sources of contention. The management, (re-)use and preservation of cultural heritage can also have detrimental effects, as over-touristification illustrates. In addition, the road to resilience can also be jeopardised by those CH actors and stakeholders involved, where a lack of skills and cooperation, poor communication, or low personal capacity may block or even reverse the potential of heritage. The relationship between heritage and small towns' resilience thus turns out to be a complex and open-ended issue: heritage may either enhance the resilience of a small town, make no difference, or even have a detrimental effect, increasing the vulnerability of a small town.

Any future policies and strategies of territorial development have to take these aspects into account. What comes out of this reflection is the still undervalued role of humanities and social sciences that are generally more sensitive to – and capable of providing insights into – actual functioning of local communities. A somewhat simplified and sociologically untenable image of small towns (and even cities) as uniformly acting and internally homogeneous entities that face external threats is one of the shortcomings of current system-based approaches and policies.

5.5 EVALUATION OF THE PILOT'S PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

As stated in the Introduction, an important aim of the pilot was to test the applicability and usefulness of the participatory approach, based on a close and developing collaboration with stakeholders in the cultural heritage field. As part of this evaluation, pertinent questions include: what worked well, what problems were faced, and what lessons could be drawn? When preparing the pilot, several objectives were established. It was expected that a durable network of associate partners (APs) would be created and maintained, which would enable a long-lasting exchange of ideas and feedback between REACH members and the APs themselves, as well as among APs.

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[90] Prague, Feb 15, 2018, debate in session 4. (Recorded, tape 2, 02:20:00).

It was also expected that a combined methodology of desktop research, local encounters and semi-directed interviews would help disclose major problems and incongruences in small-town heritage management, (re-)use and preservation. While in many ways an invaluable experience that brought many interesting results, it also turned out, while undertaking the pilot, that some of the original plans and expectations were not achievable, were less rewarding, or wrongly approached. In the following section, some of the problems that the pilot faced are summarised, and lessons for future research in the field are drawn.

On the positive side, many of the institutions addressed by the pilot showed interest in its work and became an AP. The first local encounter on February 15, 2018 was widely attended by APs and also attracted a wider range of visitors from outside of this group. The encounter revealed a genuine interest on the part of many participants to present their perspectives. In general, the meetings with partners from the applied sphere brought many important insights as well as suggestions for further research. The diversity of the Participatory Project Group (PPG), and the space devoted to mutual discussions especially during the first local encounter, were particularly rewarding, as they stimulated critical exchange of views that went beyond ordinary presentations.

For example, one of the most illuminating exchanges of views during the first local encounter was related to the meaning of cultural heritage and its conflicting nature. Surprisingly for the pilot team, some of the discussants did not share, and indeed eloquently opposed, to the degree of exalted statement ("...we are at the academic floor here, and I do understand that you have your own expert literature, but we all here have our own expert literature, and you have to adapt yourselves to our views..."). This demonstrated the idea that heritage is inherently conflicting, in the sense of disagreements between what the large and expert-based actors, such as UNESCO, consider "proper" cultural heritage, and what the lay population (or various non-professional groups of local history enthusiasts) may consider to be heritage.[91] While this exchange stimulated reflection on some other themes, such as the boundary between legally defined monuments - with all consequences, such as preservation measures - and heritage in a broader sense of an object considered valuable by people, it also revealed that the seemingly shared vocabulary conceals quite different understandings of the CH field. It was also evident, even if not explicitly said, that many participants saw other's views as simplistic. This was clearly reflected by the fact that each of the actors saw CH in quite different contexts and situations (e.g., as an administrative issue, a political problem, a practical task, an economic question), with specific aspects that were not seen by other actors. Some of the misunderstandings and disagreements that surfaced during the debates can thus be seen as a valuable experience, which should stimulate further reflection on the possibilities of common CH dialogue across a vast spectrum of stakeholders.

Discussions with academic (associate) partners proved to be vivid and enriching, with many successful workshops, conferences and meetings. In some cases, such as at Bialystok University, the interaction materialised in collaborative texts. In other cases, the interactions broadened the pilot team's understanding of the complex relationships between small towns, heritage and resilience.

Ultimately, it became apparent that it was too ambitious to conduct the pilot and write this deliverable in a broad and comparative scope, as was originally planned, (especially after the loss of the pilot leader). Many of the interactions will nevertheless be fructified in the project afterlife (see chapter 5.6). Beyond the circle of associated partners, two groups of students at Charles University were

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[91] Prague, Feb 15, 2018, debate in session 4. (Recorded, tape 2, 02:27:35).

involved in the survey of small-town museums and in the collection of good practices that are now publicly available on the REACH open-heritage.eu website.[92]

On the negative side, the pilot team encountered decreasing interest from local stakeholders: this was apparent in relation to the two meetings in Prague. Although the first workshop was well attended, not all of the invited APs responded. Representatives of only two APs joined the second meeting, a year later. Some plans were therefore not realised to their full extent, such as the direct confrontation of APs with the findings of the pilot's desktop research. Even so, the meetings went well with representatives of APs with long-established personal links (e.g., with former students, with friends and colleagues, or where family ties existed) and provide further insight for the pilot.

Unfortunately, the organisation of two planned encounters in the region failed: one was planned for September 2018 and envisaged meetings with three partners in three different towns in Moravia; another one was envisioned for May/June 2019 in Jihlava, the regional capital of Vysočina, with the aim of bringing local and regional stakeholders together. Apart from force majeure factors (severe illness of the pilot leader), it turned out to be a problem to find a date that would suit the pilot team (that had to follow an academic calendar) and tough schedules of individual AP representatives. More successful were individual journeys (research trips) of pilot members, notably visits to Podlachia in Poland.

A change in strategy took place in the case of interviews. The initial intention of gaining insight into existing dynamics between stakeholders active in heritage management and governance in a given small town community. By conducting a set of interviews with actors positioned on different hierarchical levels (i.e., national/regional administration; National Heritage Institute; municipal authorities; NGOs), proved rather disappointing. Contrary to expectations, the vast majority of interviewees tended to present a picture of smooth cooperation based on mutual respect and understanding and shared interests. This over-positive and consensual image of the situation extracted from interviews contrasted with tensions that were observed concerning different preferences and interests between representatives of local communities and heritage policies of national expert institutions especially. After yielding such unsatisfactory results from the first set of interviews in Spring 2018, it was decided to abandon this approach and instead focus on workshops and local encounters as entry points to heritage debates at a community level.

Although the general design and objectives of the project were presented during the first meeting and the desired forms of collaboration explained, it seemed that the pilot team was still not clear enough about the philosophy of the project. This may partly be as a result of the specific jargon of the project and its form (CSA, social platform), that was not sufficiently "translated" to non-academic stakeholders. It also turned out that some stakeholders saw the meetings mostly as an opportunity to promote themselves, rather than identifying problems and providing useful contributions to the research (such as practical assistance, presentation at international stage, directly applicable know-how). A well-implemented impact plan that would take different expectations and needs into consideration would certainly have helped to have avoided some of these problems. Furthermore, a detailed and regularly updated map of the pilot's progress and tangible objectives were not sufficiently communicated, although the APs were kept informed about pilot activities. This resulted in critical remarks from one local encounter participant, about the unclear direction of the project and about mere talking as a waste of time.

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[92] AHSV10775: "European Cultural Heritage Database - Construction Process - Hands on Seminar", Fall semester 2019/2020, lectured by Jan Krajíček.

Figure 24: Associate partners attended meetings to promote themselves,
with little interest in the opinions of others

All of these experiences brought important lessons for any future participatory research. It turned out that a declaration of interest in the project (e.g., a letter of interest) does not automatically facilitate genuine participation. The creation of a PPG, or any other network, turns out to be an easier task than keeping the PPG running (although, again, this was clearly hindered by the loss of the pilot leader). Obviously, a longer-term and more continuous process of communication and trust-building is important, as is the need for adopting clear and appropriate language and communication strategies. In addition, the burdens of stakeholders (lack of time or cost of travel to events), as well as their needs and interests (e.g., to legitimise or balance the costs of participation), have to be taken into account. Last not least, it became clear that the adopted top-down approach in the construction of PPG, which was oriented to institutions and their representatives, had its own limits, too, as it could not unearth all critical views and perspectives of the broader population.

5.6 FURTHER USE OF RESULTS, AND IMPACT BEYOND THE PILOT

The pilot has helped to make the challenges of small-town heritages' more visible. It has also provided the opportunity for some small-town representatives to see that their achievements, challenges and concerns are relevant issues in the academic sphere and beyond.

The results of Small town's pilot will be sustained and further developed within the KREAS: *Creativity and Adaptability as Conditions for the Success of Europe in an Interrelated World* project[93], that runs until December 2022, and in which uses of cultural heritage, as an adaptation strategy, form one of several sub-themes.

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[93] KREAS is a European Regional Development Fund project held by Faculty of Arts of Charles University https://kreas.ff.cuni.cz/en/ (accessed 22/12/2020)

Continuity has been secured by personal overlaps between the projects' teams (including the late Luďa Klusáková, Jaroslav Ira and Jiří Janáč), as well as by interrelations between objectives, major tasks and deliverables. More specifically, the results yielded in REACH pilot will partly feed into KREAS deliverables including a:

- handbook for CH experts, with the working title *Heritage Analysis and Heritage Interpretation: From Local to Global: UNESCO and EHL*
- catalogue of indicators of Europeanisation of cultural heritage, as an on-line exhibition
- policy brief on cultural heritage policies;
- range of scientific texts in the form of articles and book chapters.

The virtual exhibition will take place on the portal *Cultural Heritage* hosted by the KREAS website. It will include some of the REACH best practice cases, related to small towns, but also a range of otherwise defined examples of heritage management, (re-)use, and preservation (including bad/less successful practices and controversial cases).

As the KREAS research agenda presupposes collaboration with stakeholder and experts from the applied sphere, the team will use part of the existing REACH network of associated partners (APs), as well as incorporating others. The direct collaboration will continue with Anthropictures, which is also a member of the KREAS research team. The cooperation with APs will be relaunched after the presentation of major results such as this pilot results deliverable. For that reason, a more attuned communication strategy will be created, so that REACH results, such as the open-heritage.eu platform and pilots' deliverables are more understandable for stakeholders. The partial translation of the REACH website into national languages should also help within this task. Plans are already in place to address stakeholders in relation to specific the research agendas of REACH investigators.

Another result of collaboration connecting REACH and KREAS research is that the KREAS Cultural Heritage research group will take into account the outcomes of the REACH pilot study, to create the website database with an interactive map of Central European resilient places[94] (see section 4.6). The analysis of small towns, as well as the REACH database of good practices, has provided KREAS with data to incorporate into this website. The map will be a powerful tool for ongoing KREAS research, as it supports the spatial (geographical) dimension of data collection.

As the process of creation of the good-practice database of cases of social participation in cultural heritage was continuously supported by the data gathered during the pilot's research, the outcomes will be further utilised in two ways. Firstly, the database was disseminated to the vast network of APs and stakeholders, who may use the selected cases as a tool to gain inspiration, know-how and general experience with heritage practice in their specific situation. Secondly, the database will be used as a digital tool for exercises, as well as a case study repository in the thematic BA and MA courses in TEMA+ and Erasmus academic programmes.

The team will continue its cooperation on an international level: it will support the development of a stronger CH related research community that the REACH project has sought to develop, and will use this platform for further dissemination of KREAS research findings.

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[94] https://culturalheritage.kreas.ff.cuni.cz/zaznamy/ (accessed 8/2/2021)

Further cooperation is also envisaged in the academic sphere, with institutions focusing research on cultural heritage, urban studies, small towns, space and regional development. Collaboration will continue with REACH partner ELTE within the framework of EMJMD TEMA+: European Territories: Heritage and Development, which will remain a platform for the use of REACH pilot's results in teaching until 2023. The results of the Small towns' heritage pilot have also provided a theoretical and empirical base for the collaborative research of associate partner Anthropictures, together with the peripheral towns heritage research group of Institute of Western and Southern Slavic Studies at Warsaw University. As a result, there is potential for a further, highly promising, partnership in the field of CH small towns and peripheral regions, with Warsaw University over the coming years. Contacts have also been developed with the Institute für Raumbezogene Sozialforschung (IRS) Erkner in Germany, and collaboration within the field of Public History should continue with North Carolina State University.

Results and experiences from the Small towns' heritage pilot will be also fructified and further developed within individual projects of the investigators involved. Jaroslav Ira will partly utilise them in his ongoing research on small towns' creativity and imaginary in historical perspective, as well as in his research in social functions of local history. Some of these results should be presented during the upcoming conferences in Berlin in August 2021 (organised by the International Federation of Public History) and in Antwerp in September 2021 (organised by the European Association of Urban History). Jan Krajíček will continue with his doctoral research on revitalisation strategies of peripheral regions in East-Central Europe that has been directly linked to the analysed regions in REACH pilot on Small towns, while maintaining relationships with APs and stakeholders in the respective regions.

Based upon the findings of the small towns' heritage pilot, a number of scientific publications are due in 2021:
Title: Building community resilience through heritage in small towns: case study of Vysoké nad Jizerou in the 1990s
Authors: Jiří Janáč
Journal or equivalent: Luďa Klusáková and Blanca del Espino Hidalgo (Eds) Small Towns Resilience and Heritage Commodification, Peter Lang S.A. – International Academic Publishers, Brussels

Title: Balancing Between Local and Global: Heritage Presentations of Central European Small Towns (Case of Telč and Bardejov).
Authors: Jan Krajíček
Journal or equivalent: Luďa Klusáková and Blanca del Espino Hidalgo (Eds) Small Towns Resilience and Heritage Commodification, Peter Lang S.A. – International Academic Publishers, Brussels

Title: Principles for heritage-based resilience in small towns facing the global era
Authors: Luďa Klusáková and Blanca del Espino Hidalgo
Journal or equivalent: Luďa Klusáková and Blanca del Espino Hidalgo (Eds) Small Towns Resilience and Heritage Commodification, Peter Lang S.A. – International Academic Publishers, Brussels

Title: Heritage characterization and strategies for resilient small towns
Authors: Luďa Klusáková and Blanca del Espino Hidalgo
Journal or equivalent: Luďa Klusáková and Blanca del Espino Hidalgo (Eds) Small Towns Resilience and Heritage Commodification, Peter Lang S.A. – International Academic Publishers, Brussels

Title: Iron curtain in Aš: socialist heritage and its destiny after 1990.
Authors: Linda Kovářová, Jan Krajíček, Jan A. Šturma
Journal or equivalent: Colloquia Humanistica 10 (2021 - accepted for review)

5.7 REACH PROJECT EVALUATION

The full title of the REACH project is RE-designing Access to Cultural Heritage for a wider participation in preservation, (re-)use and management of European culture. The pilot has explored how small towns have worked to preserve their particular heritage, managed communities' participatory activities to help to maximise its potential, with the option of (re-)using it in new and innovative ways, including rebranding to attract a broader and more diverse range of visitors.

REACH deliverable D3.1 – *Participatory models* - evaluated the results of the assessment of prior projects and messages from REACH conference and workshop presentations and, at an early stage of the project, drew a number of conclusions. One of the roles of each of the four REACH pilots was to test them, to see how applicable they were in very different fields of cultural heritage. Although the following italicised bullet points provide only brief summaries taken from those conclusions, it is possible to identify themes that feature in the Small towns' heritage pilot:

When comparing the themes of D3.1 with the pilot, the first that is apparent is

- *Reappraisal*

Small towns always seem to be in a process of reappraisal, as they hold a dual role. They sit between the local communities on whose behalf they make decisions and the regional municipalities that hold the purse strings, often having to make decisions and steer a pathway between the conflicting priorities of each group. Small towns are usually in the orbit of a city, and yet located in the countryside, and therefore have to weigh up their strategies, which often also fall between cultural heritage needs and promotion, and economic pressures.

For people living in towns, there is always the attraction of the big city, that has more resources, facilities, jobs and cultural heritage options to be enjoyed. This often leads to young people moving away, into the cities rather than staying in the place where they had grown up, especially if they have left to study.

- *Revitalise/Rebuild – questions of authenticity, relating to the new purpose*

Small towns feel that they have to take action to attract or keep residents. Options include developing a strong local-based tourism branding, establishing a tourist portfolio combining local cultural and natural attributes e.g., a local castle town or a place of historic interest. Although regional planning processes only tend to acknowledge heritage centred around tangible monuments, Intangible CH also has a major role to play.

However, heritage and economic factors could also come to the fore, as the drive to attract tourists, could lead to liberties being taken with the truth, with an area inauthentically rebuilt or repackaged, in order to meet the idealised expectations of tourists rather than to provide an accurate experience, to fit a political agenda. Another option is the renovation/modernisation of the town centre, to make it easily accessible, with spaces for events to take place, but even this approach is not universally welcomed.

- *For activities to become transformative, both short- and longer-term plans/strategies are needed to embed activities*
- *Local people must be at the heart of planning and decision-making phases to maximise benefits.*

Where activity is top-down, from the local municipality, without having the approval of local people, there is always likely to be criticism, as seen in several of the small towns that the pilot has worked with that have updated their public spaces. The REACH model has seen the need to involve local people in decision-making, both in the short and longer terms, albeit the opportunity could have been offered and not taken up, still leading to dissent. In these instances, there is a need to introduce processes slowly, to build trust, potentially appointing someone or a small group of trustees in an interlocution or mediation role. Community activities are therefore to integrate people into decision making processes, through events and informal *fora* to gradually build dialogue and closer cooperation.

- *Community – workshops and demonstration*

At the level of small towns' communities, encouraging local people to use their local heritage occurs in two steps: at first, events are organised that arouse communal interest and identify with local heritage (e.g., public exhibition, excursion and/or students' discussion). Once communal interest is initiated, the second step is for local people to be supported to carry out the activities by themselves (via local interested societies, NGOs, clubs etc.). This support usually comprises passing on know-how and methods of how to run heritage-based activities and events (legislative, management of events, financial policy, PR and communication strategy).

- *Online – social media and web presence*

In recent years, web presence, supported by the use of social media, has become ever more important for small towns. This begins from the point of deciding on a local branding and how a town wishes to represent itself and the strategy that it will pursue to maximise its potential. Some towns choose to play up aspects of heritage (which might be UNESCO listed) or prefer to demonstrate wider opportunities, either placing tourist information in a primary location or down playing it. What is certain is that in today's world, an online presence, using multiple channels is essential for towns to survive and thrive.

As D3.1 (p. 50) describes, at the start of the REACH project, it was expected that the primary participatory model would be one taking a bottom-up approach, although following initial analysis, this was revised for two of the four pilots. This deliverable has provided a deeper evaluation of the issues that assess whether this is predominantly the case for small towns' heritage, or if contextualised results demonstrate that this expectation may, in reality, be more nuanced than first anticipated. It was also hypothesised in D3.1 (pp. 38-39) that the four pilots loosely fall into two pairings:

- *Minority and Rural heritage*
  - *complex community relationships, built on trust, with a desire for a bottom-up approaches, but not always having the authority to fulfil objectives*
- *Institutional and Small towns' heritage*
  - *although innovating, a more traditional, restricted approach is taken (due to laws, rules and regulations); there may need to be top-down initiation to enable activities to begin.*

What has become clear through the work of the Small towns' heritage pilot is that the reality is far more complex than these initial assumptions. Clearly, in some cases, top-down initiatives are needed for a project/activity to start: what can be described as a "participatory heritage" model (D3.1 p.15). Only once a certain infrastructure is established, can more bottom-up community-driven initiatives begin to take place. However, it is also important to note the situation of a small town, sitting between its local community (that has strong views), but still trying to make its voice heard at regional level, as that is the place where certain (financial) decisions are made. It is therefore important to view this model more in terms of a sliding participatory scale, rather than one that has only two positions, with small towns moving up and down it in relation to different aspects of CH, economics and daily priorities.

6. CONCLUSION

This deliverable has offered a summary and analysis of the REACH Small towns' heritage pilot that focused on participatory activities devoted to the (re-)use of urban heritage. It has explored the uses of cultural heritage in small towns. More specifically, it has identified how cultural heritage has been defined, represented and used by small towns (to build an interactive map). Drawing on many insights from debates with local stakeholders and cultural heritage professionals, the pilot has delved into the complex issues of cultural heritage and small-town resilience, especially in disadvantaged regions. A major objective was to recognise the potentials and problems that either foster or block pathways for uses of heritage in resilience-enhancing ways, and to outline avenues for better practice.

The pilot focused in particular on the Czech Republic and small towns in the Vysočina region, with further examples drawn from Podlasie in Poland and Šariš in Slovakia. A range of documents were analysed, such as towns' self-promotional materials. In addition, local heritage-related institutions' initiatives, measures and events were mapped, which provided the pilot with an understanding of the common patterns and diversity in how cultural heritage is used as an asset in small towns, by whom and for what purposes.

Discussion took place with representatives from various institutions, that ranged from transnational networks (such as ECOVAST), to nation-based agencies (CzechTourism, National Heritage Institute), to regionally based institutions (Region Vysočina, representatives of towns) and expert institutions (Institut pro Památky a Kulturu, Anthropictures, Petr Parléř society) all of whom have helped to identify some of the most typical weak points and desiderata of cultural heritage practice. At the same time, local encounters served to explore the potential of participatory approaches in cultural heritage research, based on collaborative identification of major themes, such as:

- questions and good or bad (unsuccessful) practices to be analysed
- providing mutual feedback between academia and the applied cultural heritage sphere
- mutual learning from cross-sectoral interactions.

1. The pilot proved that the heritage is a prominent part of towns' self-presentation and serves to make the towns more attractive for residents and visitors. On-site visits, analysis of websites and documents and discussions with stakeholders largely showed that a robust infrastructure of heritage presentation is often the case even in very small towns, consisting of: a combination of information/tourist centre, a museum, information tables and/or heritage trail, and guidebooks or leaflets as a standard offer.

Cultural heritage is widely used in the promotion of small towns, and a range of media are often available to instantly represent it. However, the overall images and stories often remain biased towards tangible, monumental, and old heritage, with little effort made to address (intangible) issues such as a town or region's difficult past and its contemporary problems, or to make visible and explain links to wider spatial referents, such as Europe or other places.

2. The pilot shows that heritage is connected with large investment and tourism. The research indicated two opposite scenarios, where sustainability and resilience acquire somewhat different meanings. On the one hand, there is the sustainability of the tourism offer, and industry and infrastructures. On the other hand, it is important to build a sustainable tourism that does not destroy the 'liveability' of the towns, their authentic character; that does not lead to damage of heritage and that does not make the town economically vulnerable in the face of sudden economic change.

3. The pilot has shown that human agency is an important element in the dynamics of the use of cultural heritage. At the local level, the interests of individual actors are often in conflict, and their actions can significantly affect the situation, either positively or negatively. The mere presence of monuments does not mean that this cultural heritage will be used effectively for locals or external visitors. Some of the researched localities with significant heritage potential have long suffered from the lack of interest from the general public.

4. In UNESCO listed heritage sites, where the heritage industry is strongly rooted, municipalities are able to accumulate great wealth, which they can reinvest into the city's infrastructure. However, in the case of Telč, it is apparent that even the effective commercial use of heritage does not fully solve the problem of the brain drain from small towns, population decline and the depopulation of city centres. It will only partially solve the social problems of the population. For Český Krumlov, for example, it is clear that although the heritage industry provides a living for a small group of people, from the least qualified strata, a significant part of the population will not find employment with their qualifications in a small town, even assuming that the tourism offer is strong, since their qualifications are not applicable. Therefore, cities cannot focus solely on earning through cultural heritage.

5. The pilot indicates that there has indeed been a strong potential in localities in terms of active people, volunteers, spontaneous activities, and an existing attachment to place. As several examples have shown, small towns' cultural projects are frequently directly related to local community activity. Typically, interested local individuals tend to gather in likeminded groups (in legal terms usually NGOs, civil societies, clubs etc.), which are the basis for proposing heritage-based activities within the locality.

The small towns that have engaged with the pilot have often demonstrated robust networks of engaged individuals and devoted institutions. Examples include innovative participatory approaches and beyond-standard efforts in heritage representation and cultural activity. However, stronger support, in terms of finances, expertise and coordination, is needed to maintain and further develop this socio-cultural capital.

6. In terms of recommendations, the pilot has stressed the important role of networking. Networking has often been highlighted as a factor that fosters sustainability, competitiveness, the exchange of ideas and innovations and resilience. At the same time, it can partially serve as a barometer of towns' adaptation to the transformation of socio-spatial structure in the wake of globalisation, European integration, loosening of borders among the EU states, the relative decline of hierarchical spatial orders, and new means of communication, etc.

Management, (re-)use and preservation of cultural heritage may foster small-town resilience but may also have negative effects, as the prioritisation of some goals and perspectives, such as over-reliance on tourism, may destroy the place for its residents, who find that they can no longer live there. A resilience perspective requires thinking beyond the narrow horizons of immediate economic profit and day-to-day renovation projects, and instead needs to find ways of using cultural heritage to cultivate the long-term social, cultural, and political qualities and skills of the small-town communities.

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APPENDIX: DEFINITIONS OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AP: Associate partner

CH: Cultural Heritage

CUNI: Charles University

CUH: Centre for Urban History (based at University of Leicester)

CZE: Czech Republic

CZT: Czech Tourism

EAUH: European Association for Urban History

ECOVAST: European Council for Villages and Small Towns

ELTE: Eötvös Loránd Tudomanyegyetem University

EMJMD TEMA+: Part of the Erasmus Mundus programme

EU: European Union

GLAM: Galleries, libraries, archives and museums

KREAS: Creativity and Adaptability as Conditions of the Success of Europe in an Interrelated World (research project held by Faculty of Arts at Charles University and funded by European Regional Development Fund).

MZB: Místa zblízka (Places at Closeup)

NCSU: North Carolina State University

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

NPÚ: Národní památkový ústav (National Heritage Institute)

IN-SCIT: International Network Small Cities in History

PPG: Participatory Project Group

SHSČMS: Association of Historical Settlements of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia

SVK: Slovakia

TEMA: Erasmus Mundus Joint Master Degree TEMA+: Heritage and Territories

URBANHIST: Innovative training network (ITN)

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

Organization

WHL: World Heritage List

ZUŠ: Základní umělecká škola (Primary School of Arts)