HERITAGE AND THE METROPOLIS

Current status, emerging trends and contributions to sustainability

A preliminary analysis based on individual city reports

On behalf of the Heritopolis initiative:
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June 2022

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Preface

Heritage and Metropolis (Heritopolis) is a loose research network established during 2021 to explore how metropolises are being (re-)shaped by heritage redefining their meaning. This largest category of city is growing rapidly in number and their demographic, economic and governance importance globally. The UN predicts one new metropolis to emerge every two weeks over the next five years. Metropolises are also where many of the sustainability and resilience challenges – including potential loss of natural and cultural heritage – are particularly profound. Recognising these dramatic changes, our research began by posing questions such as 'What specific role heritage can play in 21st century metropolises?' and 'What are the limits of the current heritage paradigms and how metropolitan authorities can change them?'

The work undertaken to date, including the initial analysis of our first baseline survey reported here, confirms the validity of the initial hypothesis: that there is indeed a need to delve deeper into the nature of metropolitan identities and that this is likely to bring significant innovation in the heritage field as an enabler for sustainable development.

Heritopolis addresses these challenges linking research and practice to the UN-Habitat UNI partnership within the framework of the New Urban Agenda, and UN-Habitat's MetroHUB. The Heritopolis research forum will provide the debate and discussion needed to better understand these trends and share experiences over a wide range of disciplines and

metropolises. There is no saving without creation – the architecture of today will be the heritage of tomorrow.

To date, 20 metropolises have joined or are considering joining the network, namely Amsterdam, Bangalore, Barcelona, Buenos Aires, Cape Town, Delhi, Istanbul, Johannesburg, Krakow, London, Milan, Mombasa, Moscow, New York, Paris, Rio de Janeiro, Seoul, Shanghai, Stockholm, Sydney and Tel Aviv. We encourage more to join (see the Conclusions below). Only a proportion of them joined early enough and were able to participate in the baseline survey reported here; more will be included as their results are received.

1. Introduction

This report provides a preliminary comparative analysis of responses received from city teams participating in the baseline survey designed by the informal leadership group during late 2021 and early 2022. These are Buenos Aires, Delhi, London, Milan, Moscow, Paris, Rio de Janeiro, Seoul and Tel Aviv. This survey was designed to collect information from the cities on five thematic sets of questions as a foundation to inform development of the Heritopolis agenda and future work plan. These sections addressed the current situation; emerging trends; perspectives on the future; key questions about heritage and sustainability; and engagement with relevant Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) respectively. In undertaking this analysis, we have combined the current situation and most of the key questions into one section in order to maximise coherence and minimise overlap and duplication. We have also combined several questions about use of the SDGs, New Urban Agenda (NUA), UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape and other tools into a separate section.

Inevitably, with such a globally diverse set of cities in different national and regional socio-cultural and geopolitical contexts, the survey responses differ considerably in the level of detail on the different components, and the emphasis and priorities these reflect. The first stage of work was to collate the responses into a standard format in Excel spreadsheets, with one sheet per thematic section. This facilitated verification of responses and follow-up

to try to fill any gaps. The spreadsheets were then used as the basis for the summary analysis that follows, highlighting and assessing the range of responses on each variable or question. This overview will in turn facilitate subsequent more detailed thematic analysis for publication and funding applications. The following sections assess the respective sections of questions. Because of their size, the spreadsheets are not attached to this report but are available on request.

2. Current Situation

This initial part of the survey describes the role heritage plays in the metropolises and the existing policy framework that addresses heritage identification, conservation, management and promotion at the scale of the metropolis.

There is no definite layer of consciousness of the object of a metropolis. What makes up the nature and identity of the metropolis and what constitutes its cultural values? The metropolises differ considerably in levels of awareness and agenda.

One of the main characteristics is their complexity and their speed of transformation. The metropolitan urban fabric can be read not only in terms of density, but also of grain describing the mix of uses in every area or describing the city as a set of dynamic patchworks at varying measurement intensity, held together by eminent points and the junctions of the green-grey infrastructure. A characteristic element is the way in which an ecosystem functions between the urban and rural elements. Not to forget the dimension of conflict and conflicted heritage. Heritage in the metropolis is something different from heritage in cities and small towns. Crucial in many metropolitan areas is the challenge of addressing areas with diverse histories and conflict and how the metropolises are seeking to embrace conflict-laden and conflicted heritages.

We state the current general challenges in cities: sustainable development, resilience as the most striking topic, climate change, international and urban-rural migration. But these

challenges are more stringent in metropolises. And the differences between the diverse towns and regions in a metropolis are a crucial issue too.

Some metropolises, like Paris and London, have very important cultural heritage, to the point of being very distinctive in this respect and it functions as an asset for the economic attractiveness of a world's leading tourist destination. But often there is a lack of heritage policy. In other metropolises like Moscow, heritage conservation practice is even of an objective and symbolic nature (e.g., more of an Asian approach). The integrity of the environment (protected zones), the surroundings of the monument and authenticity, and the integrity of the architectural concept are often not considered when planning conservation measures. Indeed, on the contrary, the integrity of the architectural concept is often violated and historic materials are replaced.

The heritage of Latin American metropolitan areas like that of Buenos Aires must be considered as an archipelago of fragments of diverse scale surrounded by a sea of fabric built and very diverse green spaces. Heterogeneity is the norm from all points of view and in all situations, even in the "historic centers" of the Capital City and of the municipalities.

a)   ***Can you provide a short historical background of your metropolis?*** Cultural heritage in the various metropolises is extremely rich. Delhi comprises remnants of its historic capital cities of several ruling dynasties and reveals seven capital cities within the present city. Whereas both London and Seoul were founded at least 2000 years ago and have experienced several important defining periods as historic cities in very different world regions, Rio de Janeiro had its origin in the 16th century. Although certain parts of present-day Tel Aviv metropolis date back to Roman times or beyond (for instance, the ancient harbour of Yaffa was established about 3800 years ago), the modern city and metropolis arose since the late 19th Century, and there are gaps between the management and perspectives of antiquities and Modernism. The Parisian heritage is the product of a rather continual conception of the metropolis.

b)   ***When and how have the definitions of heritage and its protection expanded or evolved over time since they were first listed and protected***? The preservation of heritage in

Paris has a long history, going back to the 19th century, in Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires. It began in 1937, which instituted in Rio de Janeiro the listing of cultural assets and in Argentina with the institution of the first state bureaucratic structure the 'Superintendency of Museums and Historic Places'. A regional and municipal heritage policy in Rio de Janeiro was established in the 1970s and 1980s. The Milan Metropolitan Territorial Plan is the first nationally recognized Plan of this kind together with that of Bologna, including new global development goals. In Moscow the law on cultural heritage objects was adopted in 2003, and the majority of heritage sites remain state property.

c) ***The main regulations, planning and governance systems that support cultural heritage in the metropolitan area and their general timeline of formation***: We have collected details of all the principal laws, ordinances and related regulations at municipal and metropolitan levels in each city. Protection of cultural heritage in Delhi occurs in three layers: at the national level for monuments of national importance, at the state level for monuments of state importance, and at the local level through municipal-level categories. In London, heritage policy is formulated at all three scales but protection occurs only through designations at national and local/metropolitan levels. In other metropolises, like Moscow, the integrity of the protected zones, the surroundings of the monument and authenticity are often not considered in planning conservation measures. The heritage system in Paris is solid and has high legitimacy. At the national level in Argentina, the 1913 Law on Archaeological Protection inaugurated the legislative procedure in matters of cultural property. At the provincial level of Buenos Aires State, various laws have been promoted and developed that protect heritage. But the Buenos Aires state and city governments have unfortunately shown that the first priority on their agenda is the real estate business, and that has provoked patrimonial catastrophes, the Law of Heritage Protection, for example, which mandates the protection of buildings constructed before 1941, was not passed until 2008.

> In Israel, the inscription of buildings and objects occurs strictly at the local level. Tel Aviv district has no integrated metropolitan heritage conservation policy in Tel Aviv district, so there is no such layer of consciousness in metropolitan Tel Aviv. The regional planning committee manages the metropolis, which deals with needs of planning that derive from local needs from the cities in the region. Every city makes its own policies regarding heritage. As a result. there are gaps in decision making, which lead to disparities in execution and design in heritage areas.

d)   *How has the value of intangible heritage been discussed in the metropolis?*

Intangible cultural heritage is discussed in some metropolises as in various governmental, academic and civil society discourses and well acknowledged but not protected. In other metropolises there is little debate on this subject. In terms of intangible heritage in Seoul, the system of preserving and utilising intangible historical assets provides metropolitan Seoul citizens with wider opportunities to experience traditional culture. The value of the modernist heritage in Tel Aviv changed over recent decades from an object-oriented analysis to greater appreciation of the greater value and quality of the fabric, the urban context and strength. This blends tangible and intangible dimensions of heritage, reflecting Tel Aviv and Yaffa's multicultural status. The TA 5500 Master Plan is currently being updated to include social attributes of historic cities. In Buenos Aires, both tangible and intangible legacies, like the unique Tango dance form, are of great importance.

e)   *What is the impact of heritage policies of the metropolis upon nationwide heritage policies*? The metropolises mostly being the capitals of their nations have their influences. The pattern was followed in making master plans or nominating World Heritage Sites. In other cities of the country, there is often in a metropolis greater scope for heritage's potential to be acknowledged and explored but likewise heritage can also be a source of tension and conflict and the heart of conservation about dissonant and contested heritage. It is important that national regulation and policies apply to the metropolis, because the pressure on land and real estate in theses globalized metropolises is very strong. Seoul is regarded as an exemplary case in urban heritage management, with a more efficient exploration than on a national level. In a Latin American metropolis there is no link between local and national preservation policies.

g)   *How is natural heritage preserved and protected in the metropolis?* In most metropolises there is a direct link and connection between the presence of natural heritage and human-made heritage, usually termed cultural heritage. The relationship and approach often need to be recognized in a more holistic way, not least since natural and cultural heritage responsibilities commonly lie with different organisations. Important natural heritage assets are the water systems, not least since many heritage buildings are located next to water. Natural heritage comprises the main element in the constitution of

metropolitan cultural landscapes with slopes, water courses, forest covers, often beaches as landscape characteristics, among important elements. Because all metropolises are protagonists of exponential growth, especially in economic terms, and show a heavy increase and concentration of the population, there have been strong efforts to preserve and protect the environment and natural heritage by various organisations.

h)   This issue was explored further via a follow-up question on **how innovatively the metropolis promotes cultural and natural heritage as key features of diversity and richness in identity formation and future ambitions?** The level of innovation varies, sometimes in terms of strategic measures such as the Province of Buenos Aires' Undersecretary of Creative Industries and Cultural Innovation. Moscow has no such innovative focus. National-level debates and policies can also provide influential, such as how the economic, social, and environmental benefits of heritage are recognised within UK national and regional planning policy. Within London, heritage is contained within definitions of good growth and sustainable development in the London Plan but there is certainly greater scope for realising the potential of heritage. Nevertheless, heritage can also be a source of tension and conflict, and London is currently at the heart of national conversations around contested heritage and the re-evaluation of what, and whom, should be memorialised and why. In Seoul, the concept of future heritage is defined as modern/contemporary historical resources related to the identity and memory of most citizens as the basis for heritage designations. The process to select the future heritage sites emphasised the voluntary recommendation by citizens and the collaborative process of decision-making with not only heritage experts but also local communities. The Seoul Future Heritage was launched in 2012 as a legal and institutional device led by the Seoul Metropolitan Government (SMG) in terms of its Ordinance on Conservation, Management and Utilization of Future Heritage. A separate Ordinance on Conservation and Promotion of Cultural Diversity sets out policies related to cultural diversity.

i)   **The role played by culture and cultural heritage in metropolitan reports**, which exist only in a minority of metropoles covered by this survey, tends to reflect the priority attached to cultural heritage and the instruments enacted in that light. For instance, in Buenos Aires, cultural policies have become considerably more prominent in recent decades, emphasising

plurality and diversity as tools not just to promote access for formal facilities and performances like museums and shows, but also to transform social relations and promote creativity and influence in civic life. However, this is most advanced within the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires, where cultural and creative industries continue to grow in importance, generating over 9% of national gross value added, rather than at the metropolitan level.

In London, the metropolitan Greater London Authority operates strategically, and the London Plan (approved in 2021) includes heritage within its definitions of good growth, contains policies addressing the historic environment and also covers heritage in various other policies and objectives. Whilst the London Plan does allow some flexibility for community-valued assets to be given protection, and local planning authorities have mechanisms such as local lists of heritage assets and the designation of conservation areas to offer greater reach, there are disagreements as to whether existing planning framework (under which the majority of heritage is managed) is properly equipped to incorporate greater representation. The current focus of heritage management remains on the tangible; since heritage is managed predominantly through the planning system, Intangible heritage is unsatisfactorily represented.

The re-evaluation of heritage and the different values connected to it is an issue being explored across the UK and in London, where several initiatives over the last twenty years have sought to explore the complexity of London's many identities. These issues are deep-rooted, however, and recent global events, as well as more local campaigns, have publicly highlighted the fact that some of London's communities continue to feel overlooked, undervalued, and underrepresented.

Moscow has no comprehensive metropolitan report but submits annual reports on 14 regional state programmes, one of which is Moscow Culture. This contains sub-programmes on formal facilities and events but also the development of interregional and international cultural relations, of human resources and of scientific and methodological support, and protection, conservation, use and promotion of cultural heritage sites. The report includes various quantitative indicators. The Seoul Metropolitan Government also publishes an annual plan for the preservation, utilisation and management of cultural heritage. The 2021

plan identifies four key tasks, namely discovery of cultural heritage and expansion of designations; continuous and systematic preservation and management; utilisation and activation; and preservation and management of the Seoul City Wall. The report details 88 specific projects, including to have the City Wall designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

j)   How, if at all, are indigenous/traditional cultural sites and monuments, events, rituals and other practices included within the metropolitan approach to heritage? Again, following from answers to the previous few, there is considerable diversity. Responses range from a lack of explicit inclusion where official attitudes and policies are not conducive, to deliberate and comprehensive inclusion through at least inclusive and semi-participatory processes, such as that about to be launched by the Greater London Authority (GLA) and Historic England to develop the GLA's London Heritage Plan over the next few years. Sometimes cultural heritage is represented by means of a landscape-based approach, such as the delta, Pampean region, urban area, Rio de la Plata, and coast in metropolitan Buenos Aires. However, the various planning instruments do not consider the cultural landscape directly. Intangible heritage is covered by national legislation adopting the relevant international conventions.

The UK is largely aligned with international thinking on heritage management (a 3-grade listing system was introduced after World War Two, and area-based protection in 1967 soon after the Venice Charter), but diverges in one key area, intangible heritage. The UK has not signed the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage; intangible heritage is maintained and preserved by communities, with some funding available from the Arts Council and Heritage Lottery Fund but is not currently managed through the planning framework. This may, however, change once the London Heritage Strategy (see above) is adopted. In London there are more than 19,000 statutorily listed buildings. For heritage assets that do not meet the standards of national importance there are two main mechanisms for protection: Conservation Areas which offer area-based protection and are designated by the Local Planning Authority, and locally listed structures, which often reflect the assets valued by communities. Registered Parks & Gardens offer statutory protection, and London has 168 such areas of designation. There is an elaborate system relating to London's four World Heritage Sites and policy on future designations.

In sharp contrast, there is no comparable agenda or articulated approach to promote indigenous heritage within the Moscow metropolis. Some strong traditional localities, like Jewish quarter, maintain their cultural sustainability and develop due to strongly established community engagement and cultural continuity.

This question actually raises one key challenge that merits problematisation and investigation later in the Heritopolis programme, namely how indigeneity and 'tradition' are understood and codified in the respective metropolitan and national contexts. This is discussed in the Conclusions below.

k)   Which other stakeholders play active roles in heritage management/conservation?
The questions posed to the respective city researchers were deliberately complementary in an effort to avoid gaps and ensure that issues perceived and organised in different ways in individual cities would be captured. Accordingly, the scope for potential overlap is acknowledged, and this comparative assessment of the responses seeks to avoid duplication by means of cross-referencing. This one is no exception since key entities beyond metropolitan and municipal authorities active in the heritage sphere have already been identified in answers to earlier questions and these details will not be repeated. The range of important players varies hugely, but generally includes specific national and provincial or regional ministries, departments or statutory agencies, non-government organisations (NGOs), civil society groups and private firms – including trusts and foundations owning or controlling individual monuments, sites and localities. In many cities, the list is exhaustive and the challenges of inventorising, managing and developing coherent and inclusive policies become extremely complex, potentially conflictual and hence even impracticable.

3. **Does the metropolis use SDGs, NUA or the Historic Urban Landscape Recommendations, relating to heritage sustainability and report on progress to national government, UNESCO, the UN High Level Political Forum; undertake a Voluntary Local Review (VLR); or report to any city networks?**

Here we seek to understand how and to what extent each metropolitan authority is engaging with global governance tools and instruments to advance heritage activities and measure progress in that regard. Some or all of the SDGs are incorporated into the metropolitan policies of many metropolises, but sometimes in a rather reduced way for two reasons: it is the national state that mostly conducts this policy and since the international position of the metropolis is not questioned, there is little re-examination and adaptation of SDGs to the modalities of protection and conservation of cultural heritage.

The responses received are varied and ultimately reflect the divisions of powers, responsibilities and resources among the various local government bodies. These are weighted strongly towards individual municipalities, boroughs and equivalent bodies, with metropolitan areas generally having small heritage roles. Hence, even where a metro authority engages actively with the SDGs and/or the New Urban Agenda, as in London and Moscow, heritage dimensions – particularly relating to cultural heritage – are generally not directly relevant to them. Seoul Metropolitan Government is an exception, having announced the Seoul Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 2030 in 2018. Reflecting the SMG's roles and responsibilities, Goals 8 (Decent work and economic growth); 11 (Sustainable cities and communities), and 15 (Life on land) include targets related to culture and natural heritage (8.7, 11.4 and 15.3), which are being actively pursued. Conversely, while the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires (CABA), the core city within the metropolitan region, is active in relation to the SDGs, NUA and has undertaken its first VLR, this is not true for all municipalities or the entire metropole.

The draft vision document for Delhi intends to strengthen efforts to implement SDG Goal 11 to make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable and specifically Target 11.4 to protect and safeguard the cultural and natural heritage. The vision document has identified specific indicators for this target: World Heritage Sites, historical sites free of encroachment,

adequate tourist sites. The Sustainable Development Strategy of Milan is remarkable in establishing internal governance involving public universities and other local stakeholders. The Metropolitan City of Milan is about to conclude the path that led it to develop the Metropolitan-Urban Agenda for Sustainable Development, which includes all 17 SDGs. Furthermore, the Metropolitan City of Milan has developed an IT platform capable of measuring and evaluating sustainable project strategies, in decision making process and already puts in action advanced process and tools for planning operationally for monitoring and evaluating the natural and cultural heritage of the metropolis.

4. Emerging Trends

This section of the survey seeks to understand the evolution of thinking about conserving heritage from the past as well as the making of new heritage in future as each metropolis is being transformed.

(a)   ***How can the way the metropolis is being transformed create potential future heritage, or reveal attributes that could be valued as new heritage?*** In old industrial and increasingly post-industrial cities like London, Milan, Moscow and Paris, the emphasis is on both enhancing conservation of existing heritage sites and intangible assets and on creating new heritage to ensure that key examples of particular architectural styles and building types (residential, industrial, commercial and recreational), associated with particular periods or regimes (such as the Soviet era in Moscow) and in underrepresented areas now incorporated within the metropolis (such as suburbs (*banlieues*) and outlying districts in Paris) are not lost with rapid urban redevelopment but are adapted and repurposed. Indeed, recycling or upcycling of buildings is increasingly being lauded in the architectural and construction industries as part of wider efforts to reduce the sector's carbon footprint and promote sustainability. However, as argued for London,

> … for heritage to truly be a vehicle for change, the sector needs to be more outward looking and engage with wider problems than just the protection of historic buildings. Heritage can be a unifying topic around which people convene, but it also adds complexity. Alongside collaboration with other disciplines, therefore, a

compelling vision is needed to encourage public and political buy-in to heritage's potential as a driver for future change. This does not currently exist …

Attention is also given to conserving representative examples of personal and other material culture, as well as intangible heritage practices through specific legislation, regulations and specialist institutions.

Sometimes, major infrastructural programmes, such as construction of a new mass transit Metro system in Tel Aviv, provide both the necessity and opportunity for more integrated strategic thinking and interventions to redesign space and conserve heritage elements that could otherwise be lost. NGO and community activism – including demands for conservation of cultural and natural heritage elements at risk – often play a key role. Seoul has over 2000 years of human habitation and is now expanding more slowly, providing new opportunities:

> In terms of the Seoul Future Heritage, the concept of future heritage is a common memory or emotion that Seoul citizens have made together … However, these memories and emotions must have the sustainability to drive new creation by sharing them with various generations and transmitting them into the future. In other words, future heritage is a historic resource that has room to accommodate new changes by future generations based on values inherited from the past.

By contrast, rapidly growing and more recent metropolises in low and middle-income countries, like Delhi and Rio de Janeiro, are concerned principally with conserving individual historic assets and the historic urban landscape (HUL) more generally, often spurred by the 2011 UNESCO Recommendations on the HUL and activities around the 10th anniversary of their adoption in 2021. In Buenos Aires, which has a long and complex urban history and has experienced some deindustrialisation, heritage policies have moved on from initial concern with individual buildings and monuments to an area-based approach with more comprehensive conservation policies in Historic Protection Areas (APH), constituted as distinct districts in terms of the Urban Planning Code.

(b)   ***The extent to which cultural heritage is reflected in metropolitan-level policies and plans*** differs according to the respective powers and responsibilities of metropolitan authorities relative to their constituent municipalities, boroughs or other local government

units. This doubtless reflects the particular histories of urban development and governance, in particular, when in the process the metropolitan authority was established and what roles it was designed to play. In London, for example, cultural heritage sites resort under individual borough councils and a plethora of other statutory and private bodies, with the Greater London Authority (GLA) having little direct role beyond seeking to promote an enhanced and co-ordinated approach to conservation and development of both cultural and natural heritage through the London Plan. Much the same applies in Paris, with the diversity of forms of cultural expression posing a challenge taken up by the Greater Paris Project in 2008 because Paris region has no heritage remit. Moscow's metropolitan policies do not prioritise heritage, focusing on more immediate perceived needs such as affordable housing. By contrast, in Tel Aviv, construction of a Metro has catalysed more holistic regional planning, as mentioned above, seeking to use improved mass mobility to integrate heritage with other land uses and recreation for people across the metropolis, particularly by linking the secondary cities with the core. In terms of Seoul Future Heritage, the metropolis of Seoul is currently asking how citizens would like to create heritage based on their memories? How does future heritage help to create the identity of citizens of Metropolitan Seoul? Although it is a historical resource that reflects the value of stories and contexts of the past, in the end, heritage is a process in which present and future generations interpret its meaning and assign value to it.

Consistent with the approach outlined above in Delhi, the Delhi Master Plan, which has a forward horizon to 2041, identifies Heritage Management as one of ten Key Focus areas and designates Delhi as a cultural Capital with numerous heritage assets. Preservation of assets and their adaptive reuse are promoted, with the building of strong economic linkages and opportunities for cultural experiences seen a vital to protect and enhance heritage and cultural fabric. More innovatively,

> the MPD has identified culturally significant areas in the form of heritage zones, archaeological parks and cultural precincts where provisions for preservation, regeneration and adaptive reuse … focus on introduction of Heritage Transferable Development Rights (TDR). It also sets out strategies for conserving and leveraging the city's heritage and those for enhancing the public realm of the city by managing and integrating public spaces and Delhi's heritage.

Overall, the MPD approach is trending towards defragmentation on hand one hand and re-fragmentation on the other hand. The situations in Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro resemble that of London, where the governance landscape with heritage responsibilities is complex but there is little active metropolitan-level engagement with cultural heritage.

(c)   ***Emerging trends in the relationship between cultural and natural heritage*** are also highly variable*.* These also reflect the evolution of metropolitan governance, divisions of powers, responsibilities and resources. The situation in London was outlined in (b) above, although natural capital, as it is now called in UK local government parlance, features prominently in GLA strategies, both within the London Plan and a specific 2019 report produced with the National Trust and other bodies. These highlight and identify the need to address the great variations in green space provision and accessibility across and within London boroughs. Many National Trust properties combine important elements of both natural and cultural heritage. Similar issues apply in Paris, although the integration appears stronger:

> It is largely through its cultural value that natural heritage is perceived: landscapes, parks and heritage woods… while [t]he concept of "nature in the city", used in national and regional urban policies, is indicative of the values of urbanity that are attached to this aspect in France. The ecological, biological and even metabolic dimensions that must also be promoted must take this aspect into account.

As elsewhere, the value of, and inequalities of access to parks and urban green space were underlined during the COVID-19 pandemic. In Moscow, leisure and recreation provide the main impetus for combining these dimensions of heritage, with a major effort at landscaping over the last decade. Urban modernity in Tel Aviv has been based on Patrick Geddes' Garden City design, to which green space and culture are central. Until the 1980s, natural spaces and heritage were largely ignored, although the situation has changed markedly since the first heritage listings then:

> It indicates the evolution in our understanding of heritage … which means it is all very new as a terminology in our culture. This realization that the open areas are part of heritage is a revelation really, and still is far from being obvious.

Green spaces between individual buildings and within street blocks continue to diminish with ongoing densification, posing a threat to the integrity of the Garden City design. "But if we want to challenge ourselves and keep it, the open and the green public spaces, which are at the core of the Garden City code of planning, we should and can aim to preserve these qualities in the bigger public spaces; the small spaces are in greater risk of loss." A research project to develop a management plan is currently under way.

In Rio de Janeiro, the links between cultural and natural heritage are diverse but nature is seen as integral to culture – as reflected, for instance, in the UNESCO World Heritage listing of Rio's cultural urban landscape in 2012. Except for archaeological heritage, natural and cultural heritage in Delhi are treated separately to the extent of being the responsibilities of different metropolitan departments.

(d)   ***How climate impacts are handled in relation to heritage*** is a key question in the context of ensuring the future sustainability and resilience of heritage assets as environmental conditions change. The precise combinations of changing rainfall patterns and prevailing temperatures vary by city and over time and affect the likelihood of flood, drought and other extreme events that can threaten individual heritage sites and/or entire elements of cultural and natural landscapes. The evidence from this survey suggests that such concerns are still only weakly identified in many cities, let alone the subject of appropriate prioritisation and investment. In Paris, for instance, the emphasis in regional policies falls on rural areas such as the fourth ring and Sur-et-Marne. This applies even more strongly outside the OECD, where resource constraints and other climate change priorities exist. This applies clearly in India, where the only platform for addressing such concerns is ICOMOS India's fairly recently established National Scientific Committee on Climate Change and Cultural Heritage (NSC CCH), but which has yet to focus on Delhi. In Rio and Moscow, there has also been no such discussion or action. By contrast, in London, there has been a growing discourse around sustainability and climate change in relation to heritage, although little systematic action to date. Several boroughs have declared climate emergencies and/or net zero emissions targets, but demolitions of old buildings and sites remain high, despite some repurposing and façade conservation. Private resources and some heritage organisations like the National Trust are being mobilised around specific sites.

(e)   ***Have issues such as the role of conservation areas and monuments in the representation of all histories come to the forefront and how?*** London was declared the world's first National Park City, presenting important opportunities for integrated green space planning but achieving this in conjunction with meeting ambitious new metropolitan housing targets will be a challenge. In Paris, a process to unify heritage protection procedures for the many conservation sites by means of the 'Remarkable Heritage Site' (SPR) formula is underway, though it is premature to assess its effectiveness. In Moscow, the emphasis has always been on glorification of military leaders and victories though monuments and battlefield sites, with no attention being given to broader debates and policies around heritage. Similarly in Rio de Janeiro, conservation of monuments and sites are prominent but it is questionable to what extent public authorities are debating the broader issues. The overt politicisation of cultural and natural heritage is strongly evident in Delhi, where the NITI Aayog decolonisation of heritage has been a strategic government policy since 2014, followed by De-Islamisization of Muslim heritage and more recently De-Nehruization. The result is a degree of fragmentation, with the central government claiming much of Delhi's historic core, while also promoting redevelopment plans in the periphery.

(f)   ***Are issues related to the representation of under-represented communities being discussed?*** In many cities, including Moscow and Rio, these issues receive little attention, not least because there is little if any direct consultation or participatory engagement between planning bodies and local communities. In Paris, such issues emerge through the issues of peripheral heritage relating to the working or dominated classes (social housing, garden cities, industrial heritage or, to a lesser extent, market gardening (for instance, no valorisation exists for precarious housing), and marginalised ethno-cultural groups, for whom very little is taken into account. These challenges are compounded by functional mutation through the removal or loss of numerous functions representative of centrality and of the capital: Palais de justice, Préfecture. etc and trivialization by allocating the centre of Paris (Airbnb) and public space (banks of the Seine) increasingly for leisure/tourism uses, hyper-gentrification and extension of the luxury economy into the central areas. This has become highly controversial.

In Delhi, the processes outlined under (e) above, indicate the exclusion and marginalisation of minority communities and their heritage. This suggests a widespread 'democratic deficit' and highlights how much work remains to be done to promote collaborative and participatory governance in general and in relation to heritage in particular. Indeed, in some contexts, it might be possible to use heritage as a pilot for such multi-stakeholder consultations in seeking to implement UNESCO guidelines and global agendas like the New Urban Agenda (NUA) and SDGs to promote urban sustainability and, if successful, then to attempt similar experiments in other spheres.

By contrast, there has been considerable official attention to such issues in London by the GLA since at least 2005, seeking to identify and include minority ethnic and other communities and their tangible and intangible heritage. Institutions such as Historic England are also active in this arena. Ongoing debates over discriminatory treatment of the Windrush generation of West Indian migrants, the Statues must Fall movement, as well as local campaigns like Save Brick Lane, have underscored the importance of these issues and that some communities continue to feel overlooked, undervalued, and underrepresented.

> Whilst the London Plan allows some flexibility for community-valued assets to be given protection, and local planning authorities have mechanisms such as local lists of heritage assets and the designation of conservation areas to offer greater reach, there are disagreements as to whether the existing planning framework (under which most heritage is managed) is properly equipped to incorporate greater representation. Furthermore, the fact that intangible heritages are more difficult to incorporate into a system based on the planning of the physical environment means that those communities whose heritage is not necessarily attached to physical structures are less easily captured and protected within London's heritage management framework.

(g)   *Is re-recognition of events, individuals, groups that have played a role in the city's cultural history being discussed?* Responses to this question follow closely those to earlier questions, particularly (e) and (f), reflecting the extent of participation and inclusion in metropolitan governance. Unsurprisingly, therefore, there is considerable activity in this respect in London, led by Historic England, which holds national responsibility for policy and associated guidance. Two other official bodies play critical roles in this arena, namely the National Lottery Heritage Fund and the Arts Council. While the NLHF has played an

important role in broadening the scope of what is defined as heritage and supporting community participation,

> [t]o what extent NLHF and Arts Council would recognise the community activities and initiatives within their remit as encompassing 'intangible heritage', as opposed to 'culture', is a question that will be explored in further research.

Meanwhile in Paris, re-recognition is occurring through four avenues: social and political movements that offer interpretive itineraries during commemorations and festivities around important historical events; re-valuation of particular neighbourhoods and places with important artistic and creative histories, such as Montmartre, Montparnasse, Argenteuil, and Giverny); wars and past tragedies; and celebration of colonial history.

By contrast, and following from (f) above, there is no such official debate or consultation in Moscow or in Rio, although in the latter, communities do have limited representation through associations or university-based advocates. In Seoul's past, the desire for Western-style modernisation and its resulting clash with traditional culture caused a crisis of gradual marginalisation of intangible traditions. Conversely, this phenomenon seems to have provided an opportunity to emphasise the importance of intangible heritage at a time when Korean society was trying to re-examine traditional culture. Intangible traditions can still be unfamiliar to modern Seoul citizens, but it will be necessary to find a way that the experience of tradition can lead to a living heritage that remembers history in everyday life. This can provide a way for Seoul to exchange mutual interests between the realms of tradition and identity. In addition, the accumulation of memories of metropolitan citizens should strengthen the link between metropolitan area and heritage.

> Metropolis and heritage need to be addressed from multiple perspectives from urban planning to tangible historical assets to intangible heritage connecting citizens' memories and history related to individual lives. A metropolis can be a representative example of a nation's identity, and the discussion of metropolis and heritage can form questions on how to reproduce the cultural and historical identity of the state. From this point of view, wider discussions are necessary to integrate the value of collective memory of metropolitan citizens and Seoul's 2,000-year history.

Consistent with the evidence above about the Indian government's Hindu nation-building strategy, there is a trend towards re-recognition of events, individuals, groups that have played a role in the city's cultural history but only from the perspective of reinforcing 'Hindutva'. Accordingly, national discourse projects Delhi as Indrapratha, the city of the Mahabharata, in a process of decolonizing heritage. At the same time, however, it is being made less and less inclusive.

(h) The final question on *how use of information technology (IT) is changing the perception and management of heritage*, elicited varied responses. At one end of the spectrum, in London IT has enabled use of open-source data and community reporting of valued heritage, alongside concern by some officials that they might be marginalised if they don't maintain control of these processes. In Paris, it is still fragmentary but evolving. In Moscow, IT is widely used for heritage management, conservation and popularisation – digital inventories and heritage documentation facilitate public access and official conservation efforts. In Buenos Aires and Rio, the IT revolution has enabled and deepened some such connections, particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic, but has also highlighted disparities in access to IT and the Internet by different social classes, which is an issue that needs to be tackled urgently – not just in relation to heritage. Similarly, in Tel Aviv, IT is seen as a potential game changer for enhanced heritage management but disparities – geographical, financial and in terms of institutional capacity as much as social – constitute a major barrier:

> … the gap between Tel Aviv and other cities' abilities has become an obstacle for general management at the regional or metropolitan scale. There is no shared standard, shared system, common platform to work through, so cooperation is very difficult and the segregated existing situation stays the same, where every city in the metropolis is separated. So the gaps are even getting bigger because of IT and smart data, while the physical fabric is continuous and there is no real boundary between the different cities in the metropolis. It holds back any attempt to have a regional perspective on heritage, and the narratives stay local and stuck there, which is false reading of the reality, which is metropolitan in nature.

In Delhi, in the context of Heritage of Delhi, IT is gradually being introduced for heritage management. NITI Aayog has proposed a comprehensive National Database and Documentation which will include 10 complementary elements, ranging from an

archaeological database and use of LIDAR surveys to collaborations with foreign universities to introduce and train staff in the latest survey techniques, and e-governance capabilities. However, what impact these might have on perceptions and practice in future remains unknown. At the other end of the spectrum, the Metropolitan City of Milan has developed an IT platform (DECI.METRO Sistema Decisionale della Città Metropolitana di Milano) capable of measuring and evaluating sustainable project strategies, in decision making process, to locate potentially more useful field adaptation actions to achieve territorial resilience. The platform is based on three main thematic axes: potential climate adaptation actions, then deeper analysis of possible adaptation interventions, and selection of relevant parameters.

5. Future Heritage, Future Metropolis

This section describes various visions regarding the development of heritage policies in the next 30 years as a normal span of time for metropolitan frameworks of urban heritage.

a)   ***How will demography and physical changes affect the perception and the role of heritage in the metropolis?*** Most metropolises will grow in the next 20 years, often by 50%, due to population increase and to in-migration. Even Tel Aviv will double itself. And some other metropolitan areas will be enlarged in space in the future. There is a growing need for new housing. Facilities and open spaces will become increasingly inadequate. As the metropolis grows, built heritage suffers more pressure from the real estate market and could be replaced. On the other hand, the need to preserve heritage becomes more evident in the eyes of citizens and interested groups.

The pandemic itself was and still is a challenge, with the change in habits and that are already occurring, such as teleworking, fewer trips, disuse of some heritage buildings in the centre, refunctionalization of others and lack of equipment for conversions to housing.

b) ***Will heritage play a greater role in cultural policies, governance, regulations, and in the overall construction of the identity of the metropolis and of its different parts****?* Many inhabitants move out from historic city cores to new properties into the periphery. They will have a new perception of their metropolis and its heritage. The notion of time layers and evolution of the metropolis is growing, the concept of heritage begins to gradually expand. But generally, in all metropolises, heritage has a greater role to play in the construction of the local identity of the metropolis and of its different parts. Ideal is the role of heritage in Milan, where landscape at the metropolitan scale is regarded "as a palimpsest of tangible permanencies interlaced by intangible meanings: irrigation canals, water regulation artifacts, terraces, embankments, alignment trees, forests, as well as roads and agricultural buildings" as some of the tangible traces and agricultural techniques, as signs of intangible living heritage.

c) ***How are future generations involved in transforming their ancestor's historical place into heritage****?* Future generations are generally inadequately, if at all, involved in transforming their ancestors' historical places into heritage.

d) ***What are the alternatives to cope with future risk relevant to heritage management in the metropolis?*** Particularly because of high built densities and old buildings, extreme events and disasters like earthquakes, fire outbreaks and flooding turn hazards into high risks in some metropolises. Preservation of assets and their adaptive reuse prevent degradation and loss of urban historic structures. The roads that connect the different cities of the metropolis and to other cities in the country represent a form of heritage in Tel Aviv. They link the city with the open areas, the agricultural territories, different historic time layers and evolution of cities. Social participation contributes to public cultural policies, which are underpinned by various studies contributing to the city's overall resilience strategy.

e) ***How could heritage become a game changer or a driver for improving quality of urban life?*** It seems that heritage has the power to accelerate the achievement of the wellbeing of the people in the metropolis. It helps to achieve the wellbeing of the planet, especially through an integrated culture–nature approach and landscape-based solutions

and fosters social cohesion and dialogue to accomplish peace within and among societies. But this possible trend should be explored further. At any rate, looking at heritage in the metropolitan context will change the way to understand both heritage and the metropolis.

But there are metropolises such as Moscow, where the demand for heritage preservation, in contrast to housing and infrastructure, is not sufficiently strong to be gain attention. Only small groups of townspeople in the public space are concerned about heritage. In other metropolises, like Tel Aviv, heritage is becoming an important factor in the metropolitan economy, particularly linked to further development and promotion of tourism.

The great challenge is to propose a framework of tools (a toolbox) in relation to the protection of the landscape understood with the holistic view of heritage. There is the need to reconceptualize heritage and understand it as an evolutionary concept, the need to rethink the scope of the general protection of the Historic Protection Areas, the need to incorporate the natural landscape as an essential part of the heritage as well as the need to introduce the protection of visuals as another key dimension.

f)   ***How can heritage policies be better associated with long term spatial and economic planning?*** Right now, heritage policies are not well associated with long-term spatial and economic planning. Culture is not given a central role towards planning and policy making. Tax reliefs and specific lines of credit and bank financing for residents in heritage preservation areas and listed monuments are inadequate. Various communities in a multi-metropolitan structure should benefit more from heritage. Heritage is a very important 'capital' and should be a support for the sustainable development. Public-private partnerships in the conservation and management of heritage should be promoted.

g)   ***What are the foreseeable changes in the current governance and management frameworks of the metropolis in the medium and long term?*** In economic hubs like Delhi and Moscow, culture is not at the centre but nevertheless the quality of their historical urban landscapes and urban life in different parts of the metropolises have been changing and improving; in Rio de Janeiro this is not the case. At this time, the municipality there is focusing on maintaining the existing structures. In Tel Aviv one can find metropolitan

strategies for multi-centres, infrastructure, housing and employment. A new notion of heritage in a multi-layered way is in the making. And in the Milan metropolitan case, the metropolitan authority plays a co-ordinating and guiding role within the field of conservation and preservation of natural and ecosystem heritage: In metropolitan plan document, heritage of the Metropolitan City of Milan and its territory is extremely complex in its components and extremely rich and in need of further development. The Metropolitan City of Milan is already putting into action advanced process and tools for planning operationally for monitoring and evaluating the natural and cultural heritage of the metropolis.

There will be an important challenge to generate a more comprehensive and holistic metropolitan approach and a new body of heritage tools (legal, management). The theoretical and methodological conception of heritage must evolve, as well as heritage itself.

6. Conclusions

This analysis has revealed many features and processes distinctive to individual metropolises, as well as great diversity. Nevertheless, there is also some scope for generalization. In terms of governance, the older metropolises in high-income countries tend to have long-established structures and significant responsibilities with respect to heritage, most often natural heritage, although principally at the strategic level. Many powers and responsibilities, especially for cultural heritage, actually lie with the respective municipalities, boroughs or urban districts that make up the metropolis, and also with a range of other agencies and institutions straddling the public, private and NGO/civil society sectors. London and Paris exemplify such situations. Even so, exceptions exist, with Moscow metropolis having no overall heritage plan, although it reports annually on cultural heritage. Conversely, Seoul has a well-established and resourced metropolitan government and some of the most comprehensive integrated heritage roles and responsibilities anywhere. The situation is also diverse in middle- and lower-income countries. Whether a metropolis also serves as the national capital may be significant in terms of investment in national symbols and historical heritage. In this sample, Milano, Tel Aviv and Rio de Janeiro are not capital

cities, although the last-mentioned held that status until the inauguration of Brasilia in 1960.

Overall, probably the most important issue relates to the nature and appropriateness of the division of powers, responsibilities and resources for natural and cultural heritage among national, regional/provincial and local government in each country. Within local government, the metropolitan authority commonly has a strategic role, although more often with respect to natural than cultural, and tangible than intangible, heritage. Buenos Aires and Seoul attach distinctive priority to cultural heritage. The main powers and responsibilities lie with the individual municipalities, boroughs or urban districts and with the other categories of organization mentioned above, rather than with the metropolitan authority. There is also great diversity among the respective municipalities within a metropolis, with the core city being far better resourced and having more developed heritage interests, roles and capacities than more recently established and suburban or peripheral municipalities. The Autonomous City of Buenos Aires and Tel Aviv municipality illustrate this particularly well within their respective metropolitan areas.

In those cities with longstanding heritage policies and appropriate staff capacities and resources, policies have generally progressed from a focus on individual monuments and sites to more integrated, area-based conservation approaches that combine natural and cultural heritage assets and seek to utilize rather than just preserve them.

Other key conclusions are that, notwithstanding decades of action by UNESCO, ICOMOS, ICCROM and other international bodies, as well as dedicated work nationally and locally, most metropolises and their constituent local government entities together do not possess adequately integrated, coherent and resourced cultural and natural heritage policies and programmes. Moreover, the existing heritage regimes are more often backward looking rather than forward looking, concerned with preservation of monuments and sites, or ensuring that museums and heritage parks are well visited, rather than engaging adequately with ensuring that heritage as a whole plays a key part in metropolitan sustainability and resilience strategies.

The evidence provided by this survey and initial comparative analysis suggests that there is a

strong need for the Heritopolis initiative and that there is considerable potential to enhance the role of the metropolis in integrating heritage more appropriately into forward-looking sustainability and resilience strategies. While there is much work to do across many dimensions as Heritopolis moves forward, we conclude by drawing attention to two issues arising from the survey findings and which require thoughtful attention.

The question of how, if at all, indigenous/traditional cultural sites and monuments, events, rituals and other practices are included within the metropolitan approach to heritage actually raises one key challenge that merits problematisation and investigation later in the Heritopolis programme. This is how indigeneity and 'tradition' are understood and codified in the respective metropolitan and national contexts. In situations of relative ethnic and cultural homogeneity, e.g., Seoul, this may be fairly unproblematic, referring to different historical periods and technologies. In multicultural, culturally and ethnically diverse and socio-economically unequal contexts, however, particularly where imperial or colonial histories and other sources of structural inequality are implicated, the issues may be complex, sensitive and conflictual. While differing in nature, extent, balance and cultural 'style', this applies both to former imperial and colonial capitals like London, Paris and Moscow, and former colonial cities like Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro and Delhi – in the last-mentioned case also with an indigenous pre-imperial urban history. Different blends of these issues also apply in Milano and Tel Aviv.

Tangible assets like physical monuments, sites and green open spaces are generally better covered by existing laws, ordinances and regulations than intangible heritage assets. Official histories, monuments and heritage policies often reflect the dominant interests in each metropolis, defined historically, geographically, socio-economically, ethno-culturally and often politically. Echoing the key point from the previous paragraph, the importance of inclusive policies and programmes to ensure that the interests and priorities of minorities and marginalised or excluded groups are integrated are gaining recognition but this remains far from universal or substantive in implementation. Becoming more inclusive will be instrumental in gaining trust and 'buy-in' from such marginal(ised) groups as part of metropolitan sustainability and resilience strategies. Such inclusivity will, in turn, be important in how awareness of, and pride in, heritage contributes to the ethos and spirit of

each metropolis, perhaps expressed as the essence of being bonaerenses, Londoners or Parisians, or of Milanesity, for instance.

One other important focus will be on how the metropolis 'fits' institutionally with a larger and more functional approach based around natural bioregions, watersheds or river basins rather than politico-administrative boundaries. This city-regional perspective is gaining attention in terms of nature-based solutions, natural capital, ecosystem services and other approaches as underpinnings for sustainability and resilience strategies. This will also introduce additional complexity since some such areas are classified as rural, with different land-uses and administrative authorities. Dedicated lead institutions, such as l'Institut Paris Region, may therefore be needed.

Our Road map to 2024 and beyond as part of the Decade of Action

- With the Heritopolis UNI consortium, we will provide evidence and momentum to support cultural and natural heritage as a vital component of the metropolis on the (New) Urban Agenda Platform.

- We hold bi-monthly research forum meetings identifying cross-cutting subjects and providing new actions across participating cities.

- Provide consistent data for the periodic follow-up and review by Countries of the New Urban Agenda for a "qualitative and quantitative analysis of the progress made in the implementation of the New Urban Agenda and internationally agreed goals and targets relevant to sustainable urbanization and human settlements."

- Support Countries in their *Voluntary National and Local Reviews reporting*; coordinate *Knowledge Management*; support *Data Analytics*, *Learning and Capacity Development* through research and practice, *engagement and participation*.

- Hold an annual debate on UN-Habitat metropolis week in October and leading up to WUF 12 in Cairo in 2024.
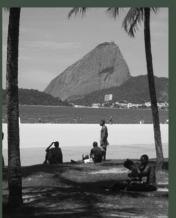
In order to benefit from the widest possible range of metropolitan experiences, we invite additional metropolises to join Heritopolis and to contribute to the research and production of case studies. Details on how to do so will be discussed in the Networking Event and are provided through our website, www.heritopolis.org.

Acknowledgements

A full list of the metropolises and the respective universities participating in Heritopolis can be found on our website, www.heritopolis.org.

Delhi (Photo: David Simon)

London (Photo: David Simon)

Milan (Photo: Valentina Galiulo)

Rio de Janeiro (Photo: David Simon)

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HERITAGE
AND THE
METROPOLIS