



Norwegian Institute for  
Cultural Heritage Research

## Exploring participatory heritage governance after the EU Faro Convention

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Published in: *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development*

DOI: 10.1108/JCHMSD-03-2021-0041

Publication date: 29 November 2021

Document version: Author Accepted Manuscript (AAM)

Citation for published version:

Colomer, L. (2021). "Exploring participatory heritage governance after the EU Faro Convention", *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development* Vol. ahead-of-print No. ahead-of-print. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JCHMSD-03-2021-0041>

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**Exploring participatory heritage governance after the EU Faro Convention**

Journal:	<i>Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development</i>
Manuscript ID	JCHMSD-03-2021-0041.R1
Manuscript Type:	Research Paper
Keywords:	community, democracy, participation, Europe, expertise, authority

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## Exploring participatory heritage governance after the EU Faro Convention

### Introduction

Two decades ago, the Council of Europe launched the *Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* (2005; hereinafter, the Faro Convention, or simply Faro). It introduced new notions of cultural heritage and its management. It expresses that preservation of heritage is not an end in itself (i.e., conservation for future generations) but has the object of furthering the well-being of individuals and wider the expectations of society. It thus establishes heritage as an action, a product, a process for society (Fojut, 2009) rather than a product in itself and for itself. The main actors undertaking this action are citizens, operating under the Faro notion of 'heritage community'. They become, alongside heritage institutions and expert bodies, primary actors in defining heritagization processes. In this respect, Faro has been described as a people-centred convention (Fairclough, 2009). This transfer of knowledge and authority (or put another way, sharing of duties) from professional experts to the lay public is established under the notion of democratic participation, which is also described as the way to foster generic democratic values among European citizens. Therefore, the Convention not only frames cultural heritage in the realm of instrumentality beyond heritage *per se*, now for democracy, but reframes both the relation between communities and the public authorities, and the role and legitimacy of public authorities as both the unique expert voice and the final decision-maker (Leinaud, 2009). While it is a significant shift on paper, it is not free of practical challenges specially in relation to heritage governance and authority, making the implementation of Faro a challenging task which results in a diversity of experiences.

This paper will analyse the key Faro notions of 'heritage community' and 'democratic participation' as defined in the Faro Convention, and how they challenge core notions of authority and expertise in the discipline and professional practice of cultural heritage. To illustrate this paper's arguments, two cases will be introduced: Finland's process of ratifying the Faro Convention in 2008, and the constellation of cases that have flourished in Marseille's northern neighbourhoods since early 2000. Both cases have approached Faro differently. The former to ratify the Convention; the latter to solve socio-economic issues in a suburban area. They have also interpreted the notions of heritage community and democratic participation differently: the former framing a new administration position; the latter developing a cooperative model. These two cases also exemplify the implementation of Faro following different legal procedures. France has not ratified Faro but Marseille's northern neighbours have used the Convention as an umbrella to develop bottom-up cultural community projects. Finland instead is a top-down process of transforming the full national democratic governance, affecting these also changes

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3 the management of cultural heritage which from now embrace the Faro Convention. The aim in  
4 introducing these cases is to understand the mindset in interpreting and thinking about Faro as relevant  
5 principles for civic and cultural practices. There is no aim in using these two cases to exemplify good or  
6 bad practices (if they ever exist). They are instead used to reflect on how the notions of 'heritage  
7 community' and 'democratic participation' entail an interesting reinterpretation of heritage expert's  
8 roles when facing the new forms of heritage governance (cf. Waterton and Smith 2010; Schofield, 2014;  
9 Neal 2015; Jones, 2017; Hølleland and Skrede 2019; Ireland *et al.*, 2020). The Faro Convention Network  
10 comes to help communities interested in democratising heritage governance (see more details below).  
11 Next to this official channel, there are many community-based initiatives that are aware of the Faro  
12 Convention even though they are not explicitly designed to implement it (e.g. Beeksmann and De Cesari,  
13 2019). Similarly, other initiatives aim to democratically open heritage to the public as part of the  
14 countries' participative mindset without directly encountering Faro (e.g. Guttormsen and Swensen,  
15 2016). Conversely, some academic literature has explicitly framed its analysis under the Faro umbrella  
16 even though their research or community projects do not derive from any Faro Action Plan (e.g.  
17 Schofield, 2015; Colomer, 2014; 2017; Feliu-Torruella *et al.*, 2020). Finally, members of the Faro  
18 Convention Network have published a range of experiences regarding the implementation Faro  
19 Convention Action Plan (e.g. Cerreta and Giovene di Girasole 2020) but without necessarily relating  
20 them to academic debates on community heritage (as framed in critical heritage studies, after Marshall,  
21 2002; Waterton, 2015; Waterton and Smith, 2010), or to participative democracy (e.g. Pinton and  
22 Zagato, 2015; cf. Olivier, 2017). This diversity of encounters with the Faro's principles might be read as  
23 one of the outcomes of a convention shaped as a framework convention, a legal figure that provides  
24 foundations but not the statutory tools necessary to implement them [1]. In fact, Faro leaves signatory  
25 countries a "margin of discretion" (Thérond, 2009, p.10) as to the means of implementation, making the  
26 Convention more a declaration of intentions for new democratic scenarios in Europe than a detailed set  
27 of binding rules and policies for heritage managers. The other level of 'discretion' refers to participatory  
28 democracy. Faro does neither clarify how a participative process in heritage management would  
29 reinforce democracy and diversity in Europe, nor how participative processes in the heritage sector  
30 could be implemented to finally achieve "sharing responsibilities" in heritage decision-making processes.  
31 The Convention simply leaves these Gordian knots to be dealt with by each Faro initiative, following the  
32 legal framework of each signatory country. This ambiguity results in many qualitatively different  
33 experiences and levels of commitment to Faro principles, but it also ends up creating disparities,  
34 ambiguities and further challenges, not only in their implementation (at the very least) but also in the  
35 resulting cultural heritage practices under democratic governance.  
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### Introducing Faro

The Faro Convention was published in 2005. At the end of 2009 it was further promoted through a conference in Faro (Portugal) and was accompanied by the publication of a book entitled *Heritage and Beyond* (Council of Europe, 2009). This volume is a key text in understanding the Convention's mindset and its implications, particularly the two introductory chapters by Daniel Thérond and Noel Fojut, who together provided the guiding inspiration and executive force behind the work of the Council of Europe's committee of members and experts that wrote the Convention (see also Fairclough, 2009, 2012). Fojut (2009, pp.17-19) adds that Council of Europe (hereinafter CoE) agreed that existing heritage conventions were focusing too strongly on conservation for its own sake. Instead, there was a desire for heritage to become a new instrument serving society, and therefore balancing the cost of conservation against the value of heritage to everyday public life. In this context, terms like values, human rights, identity, diversity, and inclusion were aligned with economic sustainability and shared responsibilities. Prosper Wanner (2017) frames the birth of the Convention also as a strategic move by the CoE to face an increasing crisis of political representation, an increasingly unsustainable economic scenario and growing socio-cultural tensions. In responding to these aims, cultural heritage was described as a factor in improving the living environment, by strengthening intercultural dialogue and democratic participation. Faro has been also seen as the final outcome of decades working with the notion of a common cultural heritage in Europe (Johler, 2002; van der Auwera and Schramme, 2011; La Barbera, 2015). Other authors have highlighted Faro's effort to create a common cultural milieu for Europe after the conflict in the Balkan region (Filipovic, 2009), as the latest outcome of the Treaty of Lisbon of 2007 in setting either a common mindset to all European citizens through heritage (after Sassatelli, 2009), and as a way for enhancing strategies of democratization in accordance with the 1992 Rio Earth Summit and Local Agenda 21.

Paradoxically, Faro initiatives have spread over Europe both in countries that have ratified the Convention and in those who have not yet ratified [2]. To provide guidance and support to these civil initiatives, the Faro Action Plan was put in place by the CoE as a mechanism to both put Faro principles into practice, and to monitor its implementation. It provides field-based knowledge and expertise for member States to better understand the potential of the Convention, as it gives life, shape and meaning to the concepts expressed in the Convention. In particular, "[t]he operational structure of the Action Plan encourages a dynamic process of action-research-reflection where concepts on heritage governance, various initiatives for community engagement and cooperation, economic dimension and relationships between heritage and other fields are explored with a synergetic approach" (Faro Convention Action Plan Team, 2018, p.7). All this work is carried out by the Faro Convention Network (FCN) which is made up of a growing number of "heritage communities" participating in a dynamic pan-

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3 European network, offering extensive knowledge, expertise and tools, within a framework for  
4 constructive dialogue and cooperation. The Network identifies good practices and practitioners,  
5 conducts workshops, promotes Faro among national authorities and civil society organisations, and  
6 establishes research partnership with academia. So far there are several well-established Faro  
7 experiences, like *L'Hôtel du Nord* (Marseille, France), the *Mihai Eminescu Trust* (Viscri, Romania), and  
8 *Faro Venezia* (Venice, Italy). Other projects are emerging, like *Patrimoni* at the Jaume I University  
9 (Castelló de la Plana, Spain), *Patios Axerquía* (Cordova, Spain), *Progetto Casa-Bottega* (Fontecchio, Italy),  
10 *Emilianensis* (San Millán de la Cogolla, Spain), *Les Oiseaux de Passage* (France) and *DiCultHer Faro Sicilia*  
11 (Sciaccia, Italy) [3]. Others. Other initiatives have finalized, like Pilsen-European Cultural Capital 2015,  
12 COMUS Project and Forlì-ATRIUM.

### 23 **The Faro's notion of "heritage community"**

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25 According to the Convention, a "heritage community consists of people who value specific aspects of  
26 cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to  
27 future generations (Article 2b). Whereas the rights to cultural access and use are entitled to the person  
28 (i.e., it is an individual right because it is granted as a human right; see Zagato, 2012 and 2015), it is 'the  
29 people', constituted as a community, who become the subjects of action. Cultural heritage's significance  
30 thus becomes a socially-determined process, defined by a group of people with a particular interest in  
31 working for and with an inherited past. This community is not a legal entity, but a flexible, transversal  
32 and open group, more or less spontaneous but rather united by a shared interest in heritage. It has no  
33 direct relation to naturalized categories under methodological nationalism, or essentialized forms of  
34 defining groups marked by the politics of identity, and therefore it applies to all citizens in Europe,  
35 regardless ethnic, religious groups, or passport definitions of identity. The members of the community  
36 can have a more or less wide territorial extension (local, regional, national, supranational); and can be  
37 occasionally or permanently constituted in an association. There is no predefined scheme that restricts  
38 the structure of a heritage community, except their intention to act in relation to and for the past, and  
39 their interest towards cultural heritage could be aesthetic, identitarian, societal or economic. In this  
40 sense, Faro's 'heritage community' is very different from the sense of "natural" communities defined,  
41 for example, by the 2003 UNESCO Convention ICH's notion of 'community and groups' (Article 2,  
42 paragraph 1), commonly understood as based on membership of an ethnic group, a territory, and a  
43 shared history (Hertz 2015), it aligns instead with the notion of community defined under the Australian  
44 ICOMOS Burra Charter. These circumstances imprint a different way of approaching cultural heritage  
45 from the perspective of a multivocal and intersectional society (after Grahn, 2011), and might help to  
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3 relieve identity-related tensions and facilitate new cultural landscapes (Colomer and Catalani, 2020).  
4 Faro's heritage community is thus a self-organised, self-managed group of individuals who are  
5 interested in a progressive understanding of heritage as way to enhance their well-being. It adheres to a  
6 mode of collective aggregation, a group of interested people, a "community of interest" (Fairclough,  
7 2012, p.35) aiming to use cultural heritage both to enhance the well-being of their territories and to  
8 enhance democratic practices among citizenries. This notion of community finds its logics when  
9 togetherness is defined by "routine performances of conviviality, shared interests, constructions of  
10 otherness, structures of feeling and/or everyday labours and mundane experiences" that "continually  
11 [are] re/constructed both consensually and contentiously" (Waterton 2015: 57). Catalani and Colomer  
12 (2020) noticed that the human geography of Europe today is much complex than traditional forms of  
13 identity narratives. Today it is made of outside EU migrants and of inner mobilities caused by work,  
14 health, marriage, and Erasmus programs reasons. These creolised citizens generate and negotiate the  
15 merging of new identities and cultural narratives. The resulted mosaic fosters a diversity of interests on  
16 the uses and significance of heritage, and where Faro's notion of heritage communities could help to  
17 amalgamate new visions on the significance of heritage from multivocality and intersectionality.  
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### 31 *Marseille*

32 Framing cultural heritage as a mediator of intersubjective individual interactions rather than a  
33 representation of collective identities, provides Faro as a cultural mediator tool in difficult scenarios.  
34 This is precisely what happened in Marseille, France. Since the mid-1990s Marseille's northern districts  
35 have experienced complex situations of social exclusion due to failed plans for urban redevelopment  
36 which also placed at risk key cultural sites connected with Marseille's 19<sup>th</sup>-century industrialisation and  
37 early 20<sup>th</sup>-century migration process. In 2009, four district mayors encouraged a shift in local governance  
38 and established an area of participatory democracy by offsetting up heritage committees (or  
39 communities, to use the Faro lexicon) which served as a framework for consultation, conflict  
40 management, suggestion, and exchange of knowledge between citizens, their elected representatives  
41 and official institutions about everything to do with the common heritage of the neighbourhood. This  
42 consultation process further developed collaborative projects designed and implemented by several  
43 heritage communities, among which the following could be cited: *L'Hôtel du Nord* (a co-operative of  
44 residents offering hospitality and heritage itineraries), the Aygalades Waterfall (a street art and  
45 educational project conducted by local young people guided by an artist), the ADDAP13 urban heritage  
46 itineraries (designed by several local stakeholders and now guided by young unemployed people), and  
47 the Marseilles soap route (aiming to reveal a historical area of local industrial knowledge to tourism and  
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3 culture, and to enhance corporate identities). According to Prosper Wanner, a cooperativist, one of the  
4 main promoters of the Marseille's initiatives and nowadays CoE lead expert for the Faro Convention,  
5 these Faro actions easily developed among the locals a common mindset binding society into one  
6 distinctive shared project. It transformed the heritagisation processes undertaken "into a participatory  
7 process that promotes the emergence of these social imaginaries, essential (...) to establish and hold  
8 together the different components of a society" (2017, p.63) [4]. For Wanner, the sense of community  
9 was created precisely when shared ideas and thoughts on localness were turned into actions. Heritage  
10 in this process of togetherness was simply the means that has enhanced a sense of belonging, and a  
11 sense that people's initiatives could empower the neighbourhood in the face of unsuccessful external  
12 top-down programs. The application of the Convention's principles, combined with the support of public  
13 institutions and the willingness of civil society, triggered new methods of cooperation in local  
14 community affairs, designing and updating the nature of relations between political power, public  
15 institutions and heritage communities (Marseilles Forum, 2013). Between 2016 and 2019 this  
16 community was transformed into *Les Oiseaux de Passage* (<https://lesoiseauxde passage.coop>), a  
17 cooperative platform under the French model of a Cooperative Society of Public Interest (with an  
18 innovative action-research dimension applied to the social economy) for the purpose of developing a set  
19 of online tools for promoting and commercializing an alternative kind of hospitality, which includes  
20 services of sharing local cultural heritage community-generated knowledge (Miedes-Ugarte, *et al.*,  
21 2020). Summarizing, Marseille's example exemplifies the Faro ideal that a heritage community becomes  
22 a group of geographically located citizens with different views but with a common interest in enhancing  
23 cultural heritage for societal use.  
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#### 41 **Participation and heritage governance**

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43 Since the Treaty of Lisbon of 2007, the European Union has had a great interest in reinforcing three  
44 fundamental political principles: democratic equality, representative democracy, and participatory  
45 democracy (Cuesta-López, 2010). The term "participatory governance" can be here understood either as  
46 a process by which authority is released and empowerment ensured, or as a process which allows for  
47 the adoption of management models whereby responsibility is shared and where decisions are taken by  
48 communities along with or, rather than, by exclusively expert institutions (OMC, 2018). The term is  
49 today a fashionable term in public administration, from town planning to local government budgeting  
50 processes, implemented though a range of angles and circumstances, from citizens' decision-making  
51 processes (Ganuza *et al.*, 2010, Sintomer and Ganuza, 2011; cf. Ganuza *et al.*, 2016) to tokenistic  
52 participatory engineering inspired by neoliberal rationalities (Magnetite, 2003; Saurugger, 2010; Kutay,  
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2015; see also Alonso *et al.*, 2018; Sanchez-Carretero *et al.*, 2019). This diversity derives directly from the actual political agendas behind developing these actions. Some international governmental bodies, like the UN and the World Bank, have made states responsible for ensuring and determining which communities and relevant NGOs are to be involved in participative projects, provoking top-down control of the resulting processes (for UNESCO see Hertz, 2015). Participation can, however, follow other itineraries, for example those aligned with collaborative economies, cooperativism and assembleary models within global justice movements, aimed both at making up for shortfalls in representative democracy, and at reinforcing the governability of the public in neoliberal contexts (Reiter, 2009). Most of these collaborative and horizontal social initiatives are designed to settle social and economic disputes in particular territories or cities, mostly peri-urban and/or gentrified areas. Due to the complexity of the issues involved, most of these grassroots projects need to end up in dialogue with local authorities, those providing the local services and regulating territorial socio-economic dynamics. But not all heritage officials understand this dialogue in terms of participation and if they do so, they do not necessarily perceive decision-making processes in the same way as groups emerging from assembleary models. In this scenario, the question of participative democracy moves from being a mere topic on heritage management to become a full political issue (Ruiz-Blanch and Muñoz-Albaladejo, 2019). In fact, some local authorities see participation as a form of neoliberal governability in terms of cost-efficiency and unloading of services (Coombe, 2013; Sánchez-Carretero and Jiménez-Esquinas, 2016), where community-based organizations take on responsibility for managing heritage places formerly owned by the local authorities. The transfer of responsibility aims to secure a local service but mostly could be seen either as a way of raising revenue by selling off cultural assets and saving the public costs of maintenance and services, or as a way of ending with state bureaucracies and leaving administration in the hands of citizens. Or a combination of both (Delgado 2016, cited in Alonso *et al.*, 2018). Other administrations simply do not agree with sharing spheres of power, knowledge, and heritage decision process with citizens (e.g. Roura-Expósito, 2019; Jiménez-Esquinas, 2019), making it almost impossible, for example, to implement the Faro principles beyond individual or cosmetic initiatives.

According to Faro, if heritage communities are the subjects of action, it is then necessary to define their capacity for action, that is, how these citizens gathered together as a heritage community signify cultural heritage. Faro encourages people to define and redefine the value of existing heritage and declare new heritage elements in the light of their interest. This means making them active creators of knowledge, of heritage narratives. Traditionally, this role is played by heritage experts, meaning someone with specialist knowledge and professional training, and therefore perceived as holding objective criteria. Faro opens this role up to the public as well, acknowledging their (greater) ability to

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3 both perceive the meaning of cultural heritage (e.g. informed views on place-making) and decide how to  
4 transform it into means of sustainable development for their territory. The Convention does not  
5 explicitly advocate that “we all are heritage experts” (Schofield, 2014, p.2) but acknowledges that a  
6 public narrative of heritage exists side by side with that of experts and officials (Fairclough, 2012; see  
7 also Ireland *et al.*, 2020, pp.837-839). Accordingly, rather than detracting from, it calls for redefining the  
8 authoritative position of expert voices. However, this democratization of knowledge creation (or co-  
9 creation, as in Waterton and Smith 2010) around the meaning of heritage (and therefore its  
10 management) raises questions about how these opinions and values might need to be negotiated in  
11 order to reach a consensus on signifying the uses and management of cultural heritage. This is a  
12 relevant issue when fostering democracy practice through cultural heritage as proposed by Faro. The  
13 question is no longer ‘whose’ or ‘which’ heritage but ‘how’ to enhance heritagization processes: how  
14 people and expertise work together to define heritage significance and uses today. In her seminal work,  
15 Arnstein (1969) established three stages, of what she called the ‘ladder of participation’ (fig. 1)  
16 depending on the working relationships between experts and laypeople: the non-participative, the  
17 tokenism (defined by meetings and public audience to inform and listen to stakeholders, which voices  
18 are not necessarily taken into account in final decisions-processes), and the citizen power stage (when  
19 citizens’ voices affect qualitatively managerial processes). Aiming the latest stages of Arnstein’s ladder  
20 means to determine how non-expertise voices are integrated in heritage governance together with  
21 those from heritage officials as part of the managerial practices, and to find consent in disparity of  
22 voices and agendas. Admittedly, here the Faro Convention is again vague about how this proactive  
23 process should be carried out. As a framework convention it sets out objectives, identifies fields of  
24 action and directions for progress, but it leaves it up “to each party to select their preferred means of  
25 achieving the goals in line with their individual political and legal traditions” (d’Oliveira, 2007, p.107).

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45 [Fig. 1. Diagram showing Sherry Arnstein's 'Ladder of citizen participation' (1969). By DuLithgow, CC BY  
46 3.0 Wikimedia Commons]

#### 51 *Finland*

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53 Some administrations have already opted to run to some degree participative processes within their  
54 heritage institutions as part of a wider national interest in broadening democracy. This is the case of  
55 Finland which Faro ratification process was favoured by the nationally-acknowledged balance between  
56 the requirements of fair public representation and empowered participation, together with a general  
57 strong trust in the administration and its official experts, a widespread feature of Nordic countries. The

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3 Finnish process of accession to Faro started in 2014–2015 when the National Board of Antiquities (now  
4 called Finnish Heritage Agency) and the Finnish Homeland Association carried out a background study  
5 [5]. The resulting report formed the basis for the Government to propose ratification to Parliament,  
6 which took place in September 2018. The document argued that Finnish national heritage legislation  
7 meets the requirements of the provisions of the Convention, and therefore there was no immediate  
8 need to amend the national legislation for the ratification. This acknowledgment is based on the fact  
9 that the Finnish law already establishes a division of responsibilities in cultural heritage matters,  
10 between several national heritage and cultural administrative partners and municipalities, who play an  
11 important part in heritage management. Next to them, the list notices the existence of hundreds of  
12 cultural associations engaged in activities directly related to cultural environments [6]. Summarizing, the  
13 document acknowledges that both citizen's voluntarism and the national decentralized heritage  
14 administration align both with Faro's notions of democratic participation and sharing responsibilities,  
15 and therefore the country does not need further legislative amends for the ratification of the  
16 Convention, except for further amplify and strength the democratic model, something that the country  
17 is already embarked on at all levels [7].  
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29 The Finnish Heritage Agency Report admits that embracing the spirit of the Faro Convention goes hand  
30 in hand with taking responsibility for driving even further processes of "openness and empowerment in  
31 the actions and structures related to cultural heritage administration" (Salmela et al., 2015, p.11). This  
32 includes administrative efforts to promote open access to cultural knowledge, to promote the co-  
33 creation of knowledge, to enhance administrative transparency in management decision processes, to  
34 promote citizens' participation in policy-making processes, to open up the experts' role to citizens, and  
35 to design communication with citizens in plain language to facilitate understanding of technical  
36 arguments.  
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#### 45 **Insights and limitations of the Faro way**

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47 The two key notions of 'heritage communities' and 'democratic participation' have been examined here.  
48 Marseille and Finland cases have been used to explore the particulars surrounding their implementation  
49 as a background to discuss these notions when implemented. They will now help us to frame some of  
50 the insights and the limitations of the Faro Convention. The Marseille and Finnish cases show different  
51 ways of complying with Faro and its principles. The former is based on social activism, and the latter on  
52 a process of broadening democratic state structures. These two paths also reveal differences in  
53 expanding on the core notions of the Convention: participation, heritage governance and the heritage  
54 community. The Marseille experience uses the way cultural heritage is formulated in the Convention as  
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3 a framework for experimenting with bottom-up initiatives, particularly to foster economic feasibility,  
4 political regulatory and cultural impact in neighbourhoods affected by impoverishment and inequalities,  
5 and where the residents feel forgotten, isolated, rejected and invisible. Nowadays, the model is  
6 exploring cultural tourism from a social economy perspective, under the form of the cooperative  
7 network *Les Oiseaux de Passage*. In this context, the initiatives pursued under the umbrella of the Faro  
8 principles help to enhance a sense of community, where individuals feel recognised as full actors, find  
9 mutual trust, assistance and conviviality, and have a sense that their views and visions regarding the  
10 neighbourhood are listened and put in practice. It enhances a sense of citizenship, where social  
11 cohesion comes along with participation and involvement (Wanner, 2017). Accordingly, cultural heritage  
12 has been used in Marseille as tool, a mean, for social cohesion and sense of place-shaping. In this  
13 context, co-responsibility in cultural heritage management matters applies only to discursive levels, that  
14 regarding practices of heritage dissemination: most of the initiative developed in Marseille involved the  
15 creation of local heritage trails with alternative heritage narratives produced by the local actors. It does  
16 not involve the management of core issues in local listed heritage assets, for example, because this will  
17 mean involving the French cultural heritage administration in participative processes of heritage  
18 governance, a practice that so far has been not implemented in France. As for the Finnish Heritage  
19 Agency, once Faro is ratified the administration should also include a way forward in democratising its  
20 structures if the voices of the community are not only to be heard but their opinions and suggestions  
21 should affect decision processes regarding Finnish cultural heritage (Salmela *et al.*, 2015). This  
22 admittance has led to search better forms of communication between (heritage) communities and  
23 heritage officials (experts) under forms of co-responsibility and heritage partnership (e.g. Dobat *et al.*,  
24 2020). Admittedly, this means that, beyond the existing wide network of voluntary local  
25 historical/heritage associations, there is still a need to qualitatively improve top-down communication  
26 so that citizens' knowledge is actually incorporated into administrative decision processes. That is,  
27 actually moving from a unidirectional participation process where citizens are simply informed to a  
28 placation model where citizens' advice or plans are taken into account, though the ultimate decision is  
29 in fact taken by the heritage and local authorities (Halme *et al.*, 2018). This is an important shift in  
30 heritage governance involving Finnish heritage communities that need to be further clarified. First,  
31 assuming that local historical associations tend to hold rather traditional views on what might be today  
32 the national and local heritages in times of globalization and world mobilities, do these associations  
33 represent the diversity of today's creolisation of cultures, identities and heritages in Finland? The notion  
34 of 'heritage community' is an excellent theoretical tool as it widens the notion of community beyond  
35 geography, lineage, ownership and direct stakeholders, and it incorporates iconoclastic ways of  
36 engaging with cultural heritage. But it might be limiting if we associate 'heritage communities'  
37 exclusively with long-established, culturally-defined practices of associationism that might exclude  
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3 different kinds of citizen alliances developed differently across our multicultural and globalized societies.  
4  
5 And secondly, how we could include in heritage management processes informal (unregistered) groups  
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7 of citizens that would like to operate on occasion as a heritage community, or should we limit  
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9 participation, for the sake of efficiency, to heritage voluntary associations that have long established  
10  
11 links with local heritage (as in Finland), or to cooperatives with well-established interests on the  
12  
13 sustainable development of a territory (as has *Les Oiseaux de Passage* ultimately). How are these voices  
14  
15 managed, do they account equally?

16  
17 How the two cases engage with the Faro principles shows another element of dissonance, this time on  
18  
19 what exactly they draw on. Whereas Finland reads the Convention as directly affecting the heritage  
20  
21 management processes, Marseille subordinates cultural heritage to a social project. The Marseille  
22  
23 experiences do not directly deal with issues of the management of cultural heritage but focus on  
24  
25 residents making sense of their territory, providing local heritage assets with new narratives, and  
26  
27 creating a system of off-the-beaten-track cultural tourism. Information is collected, knowledge is  
28  
29 generated, and new civic cultural initiatives are designed to foster a sense of belonging to the territory.  
30  
31 Wanner openly declares that the experiences led by him “do not contribute to extending cultural  
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33 heritage fields by adding new actors like heritage communities, new users or new heritage categories  
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35 but (...) to recognising cultural heritage, in the spirit of the Council of Europe objectives, as a value for  
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37 the development of a peaceful, stable society, built on the respect for human rights, for democracy and  
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39 for the rule of law” (2017: 74). The Finnish ratification imply processes of “openness and empowerment  
40  
41 in the actions and structures related to cultural heritage administration” (Salmela et al., 2015, p.11).  
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43 However, it does not address issues regarding democratic quality, neither aims to tackle the lack of  
44  
45 public involvement in societal issues. It focuses much of its interest in addressing issues of openness and  
46  
47 democracy in the heritage sector itself, and consequently in its management practices. All these efforts  
48  
49 conclude in one final interesting assertion: that the “Administration should act more and more as a  
50  
51 facilitator” (Salmela, 2017, p.3). In this new role of facilitator in heritage governance, the heritage  
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53 official (expert) would be actively creating, maintaining, and enhancing partnership between actors, and  
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55 maintaining standards of openness, rather than becoming the authority in charge of what, how and why  
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57 in heritage management processes. Only in this way “the role of the civil society, with its changing new  
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59 forms including heritage communities, will grow stronger” (Salmela, 2017, p.3). The Finnish ratification  
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61 process has thus confirmed what other voices had also envisioned when developing community heritage  
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63 in the UK (e.g., Thomas 2008; Jones 2017), that the role of heritage experts should be as community  
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65 heritage guides and heritage facilitators. In fact, participatory democracy, as a form of heritage  
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67 governance, might require involving heritage communities in decision-making processes regarding  
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69 structural matters of heritage management, like protection, administration, and the use of cultural  
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3 heritage for society. At least if it aims to move beyond mere exchange of views, something that only  
4 tend to reinforce the expert-based status quo (after Waterton and Smith 2010), or merely pluralising  
5 interpretations and narratives. The question, then, is whether cultural heritage experts/officials are  
6 ready for this radical shift in their professional practice and have the tools for becoming heritage  
7 community facilitators.  
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## 14 **Conclusions**

16  
17 The Faro Convention is an important statement within the realm of European heritage policy-making in  
18 that it approaches cultural heritage from a people-centred perspective. It is a recognition of the need to  
19 put people and human values at the centre of an expanded, cross-disciplinary concept of cultural  
20 heritage and of the value and potential of cultural heritage used as a resource for sustainable  
21 development and quality of life in a constantly evolving society. This, in turn, promotes inclusive models  
22 of participation in defining what heritage is and what values it conveys. The Faro Convention encourages  
23 bottom-up democratic synergies that may encourage citizens and stakeholders, organised in heritage  
24 communities, to take decisions on and pool resources for the management of cultural heritage. These  
25 participative practices may not only help to provide long-term sustainable solutions for heritage places,  
26 but also foster democratic governance around heritage practices. Following this democratic governance  
27 in defining the meaning and use of cultural heritage, Faro aims “to encourage sustainable development,  
28 and peaceful and inclusive societies in which heritage is considered a social, political and economic  
29 resource” (Fojut 2009: 14). The ‘Faro way’ approaches cultural heritage in terms of sharing  
30 responsibilities, encouraging citizens and heritage administrations to enhance social sustainability  
31 through the practice of valuing, interpreting, and managing cultural heritage. In this sense, Faro makes  
32 cultural heritage the means through which to consolidate or enhance citizenship and democracy in  
33 Europe. In this respect, Faro represents a powerful political project aiming at the core goals of the  
34 Treaty of Lisbon of 2007 regarding EU provisions on enhancing democracy. Participation not only  
35 contributes to the construction of more transparent, efficient, and democratic ways of governing, but  
36 also constitutes privileged spaces for civic learning and for the redistribution of political capital, from  
37 representative democracy to participative democracy. Consequently, the Faro Convention carries  
38 participatory democracy over from public European law and political social science theory to the realm  
39 of heritage management studies. The way citizenries come together in communities of interest is key to  
40 any Faro-way project, not only as subjects of action but also as subjects of political performance. This  
41 operation is key to understanding how Faro aims to design a new kind of heritage governance, and more  
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3 generally a new citizenship in Europe, but also to understand where the failings or shortcomings in  
4 implementing the Faro process lie.

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7 As seen throughout this paper, the Convention does not explicitly determine how democratic heritage  
8 governance is to be implemented. Neither does it explain what it actually means by 'participation', who  
9 participates and how, nor the levels in the participation's ladder in which heritage communities and the  
10 administration have to engage. And finally, nor does it explain how the administration is to design  
11 participatory processes together with heritage communities, so that they can share responsibilities in  
12 heritage preservation and management. The Finnish and French cases used here to explore these  
13 questions show that not only there is not a one-size-fits-all implementation process to implement Faro,  
14 but there is a disparity between the participatory instruments proposed and the way in which they are  
15 implemented. This disparity is caused by differences in the basic legal framework of each European  
16 country regarding cultural heritage matters, which actually facilitate participation processes (as in  
17 Finland) or hinder its implementation (or even hold back the ratification of Faro in certain countries).  
18 But what it also seems evident is that participatory heritage models raise conflicts at the heritage  
19 management level, between stewardship and regulation on the one hand, and engagement and  
20 empowerment on the other. The cases analysed here exemplify a model approaching participation and  
21 the heritage communities but resulting in two different outcomes. In Marseille, after the earliest  
22 experiences, the local actors have actively continued to pursue a range of cultural initiatives, specifically  
23 sustainable cultural tourism driven by a social economy model besides any heritage administration. In  
24 Finland, the heritage management institutions are those directly interested in opening the existing  
25 voluntary local groups to heritage governance. In Marseille the process results in empowering  
26 citizenship through cooperativism practices but it lacks any direct co-designed intervention regarding  
27 cultural heritage listed places probably because the French institutional milieu is still not ready for these  
28 governance challenges. In Finland the process fosters to redefine heritage management structures,  
29 which includes questioning the role of heritage officials (experts), from a position of authority towards  
30 one of facilitators of citizens' heritage practices. In both scenarios, all goes down to two relevant  
31 questions. First, the capacity of transforming the power-authority roles within a professional system  
32 determined by expertization of knowledge. In plain words: "how much social participation are we  
33 [heritage expertise] willing to accept (...) how much knowledge-power are we willing to give up, and  
34 what degree of autonomy in management can we tolerate" (Jiménez-Esquinas, 2019, p.111 [9]). And  
35 secondly, how well equipped, skilled or trained are heritage experts to ensure better and fruitful  
36 engagements with heritage communities willing to follow the Faro way. In this new heritage  
37 management context, it is urgent to create multidisciplinary teams with professional profiles in  
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3 conducting participative processes with skills in intersectionality, cultural and social mediation, conflict  
4 resolution, and local politics diplomacy (after Schofield, 2015, Sutcliffe, 2014, Willems, *et al.*, 2018,).

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7 As Cath Neal (2015) declares, participation is a complex and politically loaded idea, not something to  
8 embrace with the best of intentions, uncritically and naively. Whereas at the policy level it requires an  
9 understanding of the power logics of decision making in today's neoliberal democracies (Alonso *et al.*,  
10 2018), at the management level it requires a more nuanced understanding of what community  
11 engagement and participation mean in relation to professional practice, incorporating in this reflection  
12 both high levels of critical understanding of the politics of knowledge within heritage management, and  
13 the way of designing multidisciplinary or interdisciplinarity in heritage management programs. Basically,  
14 it raises the fundamental question of how to practice heritage today when implementing Faro principles  
15 or community heritage programs, or aligning cultural heritage with social sustainability and democracy  
16 as in the Agenda 2030.  
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## 27 Notes

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29 [1] Arguments for setting Faro as a framework convention: "Framework conventions define broad  
30 objectives and identify areas for action, as well as the directions in which the Parties agree to progress.  
31 Instruments of this type may identify generic activities but, unlike ordinary Conventions, do not create  
32 obligations to specific actions. There will often be alternative means of achieving the objectives, and it is  
33 open to Parties to choose the route most suited to their own national traditions of law, policy and  
34 practice, always taking into account the need to ensure that their own approaches are consistent with  
35 those of neighbouring States and other Parties. A framework convention identifies the direction and the  
36 destination of an ambitious European journey, but is not a detailed route-map or timetable. The  
37 Convention presents a new way of considering Europe's cultural heritage. While previous instruments  
38 have concentrated on the need to conserve that heritage, and how it should be protected, this  
39 instrument identifies a range of ways of using the cultural heritage, and concentrates upon why it  
40 should be accorded value." (CoE, 2005, p.4).  
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45 [2] By May 2021, 26 countries had signed the Convention, of which 20 had ratified it. Among those who  
46 have ratified it are mostly new additions to the EU (Croatia, Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, Latvia and  
47 Estonia) and the so-called Associated Countries (Armenia, Moldova, Ukraine, Georgia, Norway,  
48 Switzerland, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, North Macedonia). Among those whose membership to  
49 the EU family dates from before the 1990s, only Luxemburg, Austria, Portugal, Finland and Italy have  
50 ratified the Convention. See [https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-  
51 /conventions/treaty/199/signatures?p\\_auth=dg2WfyCT](https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/199/signatures?p_auth=dg2WfyCT)  
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55 [3] See full list of members of the FCN and their project websites at  
56 [https://www.coe.int/fr/web/culture-and-heritage/faro-active-  
57 members?fbclid=IwAR3tmqJi9IZYzkppyC4X\\_M-4zjlu\\_00NYN7VD5mMMnB9QXVnfRqmfEm38ho](https://www.coe.int/fr/web/culture-and-heritage/faro-active-members?fbclid=IwAR3tmqJi9IZYzkppyC4X_M-4zjlu_00NYN7VD5mMMnB9QXVnfRqmfEm38ho)  
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60 [4] Translated from French by the author



[5] See <https://www.museovirasto.fi/uploads/Meista/kohti-kestavaa-kulttuuriperintotyota.pdf>

[6] See [https://www.eduskunta.fi/FI/vaski/HallituksenEsitys/Sivut/HE\\_87+2017.aspx#SisaltoKuvaus](https://www.eduskunta.fi/FI/vaski/HallituksenEsitys/Sivut/HE_87+2017.aspx#SisaltoKuvaus)

[7] See <https://www.demokratia.fi/>

[8] Voluntary work in Finland has been characterised by a focus on membership. In fact, around 75%-80% of the population are members of voluntary organisation(s) in their lifetime, and many individuals are members of several different organisations over the course of their lifetime. This means that a significant part of voluntary work has been performed within the framework of an organisation. Although the number of voluntary organisations remains high, membership-based volunteering is in decline because members of local voluntary organisations are getting older, and young people prefer now project-based volunteering (GHK 2010).

[9] Translated from Spanish by the author.

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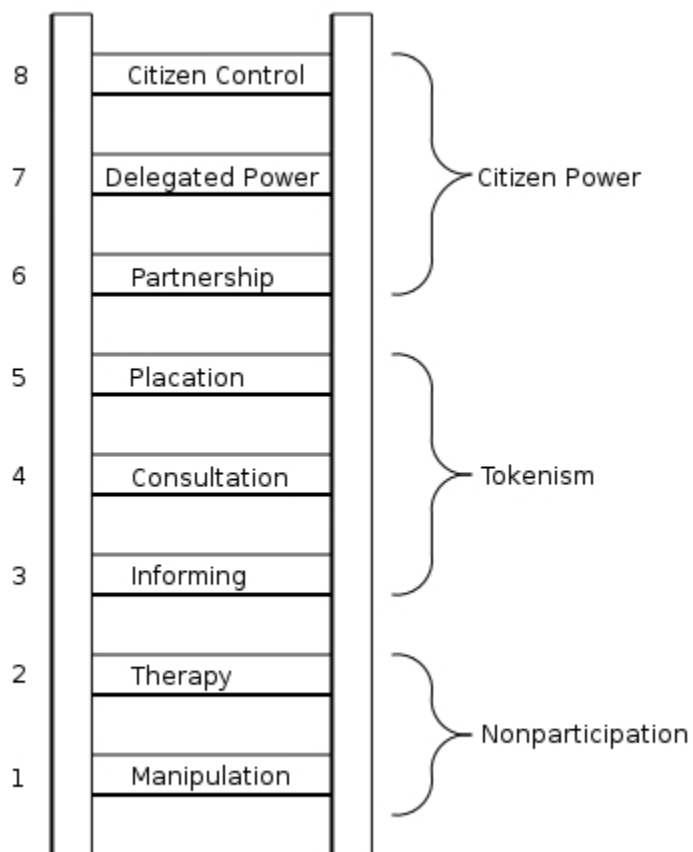


Fig. 1. Diagram showing Sherry Arnstein's 'Ladder of citizen participation' (1969). By DuLithgow, CC BY 3.0  
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