

Management of Castles in Poland in the Early 21st Century

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Abstract

This thesis represents a multidisciplinary approach to the analysis of heritage management, using the example of castles in Poland. Heritage professionals have recently admitted to the inadequacy of the system of castle protection and management in Poland in the context of modern challenges and opportunities. This thesis investigates the feasibility of creating a new model of management of castles in Poland, built upon suitable economic premises. The hypothesis assumes that to realize the full potential of castles in Poland, the new model needs to encompass the conservation, social, and economic aspects of heritage management, and to treat heritage as a form of capital.

The study is carried out in two stages. First, in order to design a new Castle Management Model, the thesis critically analyses, from an economic standpoint, current theory at the intersection of heritage, tourism and economics, and it reviews the institutional arrangements for heritage protection, conservation and management in Poland. Second, the thesis explores the viability of the theoretical premises and the practical applicability of the Model in the context of empirical data. The purposefully collected data-set consists of the first known extensive postal survey of over two hundred castles in Poland, and a series of recorded interviews with selected castle administrators.

The critical appraisal of current theory at the intersection of heritage, tourism and economics indicates that built heritage represents socio-economic potential which has not yet been fully explored, but which requires that the conventional perspective on heritage values be replaced by a new, subjective approach. The original, theoretical contribution of this thesis lies in enhancing the concept of the 'use value' of heritage with new economic insights, and in exploring the importance of entrepreneurship in heritage management. The thesis also demonstrates coherence between commodification of heritage and its sustainable management, once heritage is treated as capital.

The findings of the theoretical part of the thesis lead to the creation of a Castle Management Model. The subsequent exploration of this Model establishes its potential for implementation in Poland.

For my wife, Anna

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Thesis background and overview

Castles are a unique and inseparable element of the cultural landscape of Poland. Nearly all of the approximately five hundred known castles in Poland are legally protected in recognition of their historical, scientific or artistic characteristics (Dziennik Ustaw 2003: Article 3, Janczykowski 2004: 51, Koskowski 2006). Historical defensive architecture is notably the most commonly recognised example of built heritage in Poland (Mącik 2008: 290), and castles are typically cherished as tourist attractions (Pawlikowska-Piechotka 2004: 128). One castle in Poland - the Teutonic Knight's former capital at Malbork (Marienburg) - has also been inscribed as a World Heritage Site (ICOMOS 1997, see also Section 2.2).

However, as demonstrated in this thesis, the role, function and contemporary significance of castles in Poland at the beginning of the 21st century seem limited and unclear. In addition, the current practice of castle management in Poland - and of management of heritage in general - has been described as inadequate in the context of modern challenges and opportunities. Factors which limit the effectiveness of management of castles in Poland, and hinder the realisation of their potential, are numerous.

In 1989, a rapid transformation process began in Poland from state socialism and command economy to democracy, capitalism and a market-based economy. With regard to built heritage, this meant a decline of the central, authoritative role of the state in the creation and implementation of the rules and canons of heritage protection (Szmygin 2007b: 4, Gawlicki 2009: 31). It also triggered the gradual inclusion of historical buildings and sites in the re-emerging real estate market (Molski 2008: 57). In particular, since the 1990s, the state has no longer been the exclusive owner of all castles in Poland (Malawska 2007: 81). The developing free market and re-modelled legal system accelerated the growth of private enterprise, private ownership, and tourism in Poland (Instytut Turystyki 2008). The highlight of the political and economic transition process was the accession of Poland to the European Union in 2004, accompanied by the steady shaping of a civil society in Poland.

Szmygin (2007b: 4) described the complex changes that took place after 1989 as

a period of transformation of the system of protection of monuments, which is a logical consequence of the change of the political, economic and social system which took place in Poland. In the previous political system the state declared and took responsibility for protection of all its historical assets. The state could not fulfil that responsibility, but those activities which could be afforded were subject to strict conservation requirements. ... The new system has been founded on respect for private property, for free disposal of that property, and for unrestricted economic activity, as well as on reduction of the role of the state in social and economic life, and on withdrawal of all possible state subsidies.

It has been argued that the heritage sector in Poland did not respond well to the new challenges. The political, social and economic changes in Poland after 1989 not only happened very quickly but also, according to Szmygin (2007a: 129-132), the transformation of all but the very central areas of public policy has been a largely unplanned process. At the time of writing, the conceptual and legal framework for a new system of heritage protection and conservation has not yet fully emerged in Poland, and the process of redefinition of the core notion of heritage began in fact only in the second half of the first decade of the 21st century (Szmygin 2007a: 134).

The core of the new legislation concerning heritage is the 2003 Act on Safeguarding and Protection of Monuments (Dziennik Ustaw 2003). Characteristically, the Act takes much of the responsibility for heritage away from the state and puts it on the shoulders of the owners and users of heritage (for more details see Section 2.4). As discussed in more depth in Chapter 2, the new law has been criticised for its failure to establish adequate mechanisms of financing of heritage protection and conservation (Szmygin 2007b: 4), and of control of those processes by relevant institutions (Janczykowski 2009: 79-82). The severity of sanctions available against owners of built heritage, embedded in the new law, has raised much concern, but so has also the limited ability of the conservation authorities to enforce these sanctions (Sławomirska 2004: 205).

Moreover, authorities responsible for the protection and conservation of built heritage in Poland have been criticised for their purist application of

conservation techniques, and their conservative aversion to revitalisation, restoration or reconstruction projects. It has to be noted, that both the public and the private owners of castles in Poland nevertheless increasingly often attempt such projects (Malawska 2007: 90, Szmygin 2009a: 14, Bryła 2011). It has also been reported that public opinion in Poland has grown considerably in favour of such projects in the first decade of the 21st century (Mącik 2008: 285, Zamek Tarnowski 2012), thus increasing the pressure on the conservation authorities. In general, it has been argued that, in consequence of the new law, owners of heritage buildings - particularly their new private owners - often find themselves treated unfairly and forced to adopt commercial agendas (Szmygin 2007b: 4, Janczykowski 2009: 84).

The current debate amongst conservation professionals in Poland resembles the discourse which originated in Western Europe in the 1970s (Cleere 1984, McManamon and Hatton 2000). Some of the recent academic contributions regarding castles in Poland (Brykowska 2008, Czuba 2009) resemble West European heritage management theory of the 1970s when it 'focused on conserving the heritage resource itself [and so] the problem was ... the visitor' (Hall and McArthur 1998: 5). Other contributors in Poland are calling for a review of the failing rules and regulations pertaining to conservation and protection of the limited and - in their opinion - endangered castle resources in Poland (Malawska 2007a, 2008, Janczykowski 2009, Malawska 2009, Szmygin 2009).

However, it has to be taken into account that, whilst worldwide the study of heritage has been developing for over three decades, in Poland it began in earnest only in the early 21st century (Szmygin 2009a: 14). Since then, the means of planning, control, and particularly of financing, available to the conservation authorities in Poland have been drastically reduced. Indeed, widespread resentment has been recorded towards any 'state-led cultural policy planning' (Mazan 2011: 680). Moreover, a number of new stakeholders have claimed their interest in castles, often in disagreement with the fledgling heritage policy and its related rules and regulations, epitomised by the increasingly contested legal and administrative status quo of the role and ownership of castles in Poland (Broński 2006, Szmygin 2007b). Finding new uses for historic buildings, which would satisfy modern needs and the

requirements of all interested parties, including those of heritage conservators, has become a major problem (Pawlikowska-Piechotka 2001: 1).

In the face of the conservation authorities admitting that they are no longer financially and structurally capable of protecting the national heritage resource (Szymgin 2008: 30), the situation of castles in Poland at the beginning of the 21st century has been described as critical (Zalasińska 2009: 3). The situation is made worse by the perceived lack of contemporary utility of castles. According to Tomasz Merta, the late Deputy Minister of Culture and National Heritage and General Inspector of Monuments, castles fall into the category of those monuments in Poland which do not and cannot perform their original function, and therefore, 'alongside manor houses, palaces, and parks ... are a real problem' (Jaruzelska-Kastory 2008).

Many castles in Poland, which could be called 'unhappy castles' (Koskowski 2008b), currently deteriorate through neglect. Often, the 'unhappy castles' are those which also fall into the category of 'non-Polish', and as such they become victims of the phenomenon of 'unwanted' or even 'undesirable' heritage (Macdonald 2006: 11, Kobylński and Paczuska 2007: 81, Szymgin 2008: 30, see also Section 1.4 below). On the other hand, there are many castles which, as already said, are subject to previously unseen investment pressures. Such pressures are often perceived as heightening the risk of the loss of authenticity and of the architectural coherence of those castles, and thus threatens their status as legally protected historic monuments (Malawska 2007: 90, Janczykowski 2009: 88). Overall, it can be said that the reduction of the role of the state in heritage management and conservation has created a vacuum which has not yet been filled.

Fairclough (2008) calls this process a 'democratisation' of heritage and remarks that such 'growing-up' and maturing of heritage, as a concept and a cultural phenomenon, takes time. In Poland, however, the unusually rapid pace of such heritage 'democratisation' quickly gave precedence to economic arguments before social, conservational or moral positions could be well established in the current debate about the values and the role of built heritage (Koskowski 2008). It inspired such apparently paradoxical conclusions on the part of conservation professionals that, for example, an excess of private funding for heritage can indeed be a conservation problem (Czuba 2009: 41).

Moreover, the overall composition of the 'castle asset', including the actual number of castles in Poland, is still uncertain (as will be shown in Section 2.3). Definitions of what a castle is can vary widely and depend often heavily on the local historical context. Also, the issue of castles *in Poland* - as opposed to *Polish* castles - is still far from being resolved. Additionally, as demonstrated in Chapters 7 and 8, despite their sheer enthusiasm and substantial professional experience, many castle administrators across Poland, in their everyday practice of castle management, seem to be in need of direction, structure, confidence and coherence. These are further issues which this thesis attempts to address.

Other concerns regarding castles in Poland, addressed in this thesis, comprise contested and/or often changing ownership of many castles in recent years; lack of co-operation between castle administrators or even of relevant networks which could facilitate it; and communities failing to identify with their local heritage (see Chapter 8). All of these problems are compounded by insufficient resources at the disposal of central and local authorities, who are responsible for the protection and conservation of built heritage, and who also strikingly often fail to recognise built heritage as an economic asset (see also Chapter 8).

Considering all of the above, it is surprising that there have been few attempts in Poland to identify factors, other than conservation requirements, that influence the management and valuation of castles by the increasingly diverse body of owners and administrators (Pawłowska and Swaryczewska 2002: 110, Kobyliński and Paczuska 2007: 82, Szmygin 2007a). This thesis attempts to fill this gap from an economic standpoint.

This thesis originates from an examination, from an economic point of view, of the theoretical problem of commodification of built heritage, such as castles, for the purpose of tourism (Koskowski 2001). The focus group of this thesis are administrators of castles in Poland (see Section 1.4.1 for a detailed definition), i.e. the 'supply' side of the castle management process. Tourist views are not subject of this thesis, however, it is acknowledged that a separate project, addressing the 'demand' side of castle management, could contribute to a complete picture of the situation of castles in Poland and particularly of the phenomenon of 'castle tourism' (see also Chapter 8, Section 8.2.6).

Like every economic contribution in the field of Heritage Studies, this thesis inevitably crosses discipline boundaries and has a significantly explorative dimension (Mason 2005: 3, 19). Despite recent theoretical developments within the field of Heritage Studies, conveniently summarised by Carman and Sørensen (2009), the role of economics in the study of heritage has so far been limited, and sometimes even seen as controversial. The long history of resistance against subjecting cultural phenomena to economic analysis has been expertly analysed by Peacock (1998). More recently, Jackson (2009) argued that, at least, mainstream economics is still unable to understand and analyze cultural processes (for more discussion of the mainstream and the heterodox schools of economics see Section 3.2).

Only gradually did economics assume its role in heritage discourse (see, amongst others: Lipe 1984, Lichfield 1988, Frey and Oberholzer-Gee 1998, Throsby 2001a, Howard 2003, Liwieratos 2004, Mason 2005, Peacock and Rizzo 2008, Rebanks Consulting and Trends Business Research 2009). The beginning of the steady rise of economic interest in Heritage Studies can perhaps be dated back to Lichfield (1988: 113), who found economics essential to reconcile the classic dilemma of 'conflicting goals of development and conservation in the face of limited resources'. A decade later, the Getty Conservation Institute undertook an initiative to examine values of cultural heritage from an economic perspective (Mason 1999a). At that time, the overall body of work concerning the economics of heritage was still considered relatively small (see the discussion by Bluestone *et al.* 1999: 19). As part of the Getty initiative, Klamer and Zuidhof (1999: 23) set out to address

the ultimate concern ... that economists and economic practices insufficiently appreciate the wide range of values of cultural heritage ... Economists, conversely, complain about culturalists who fail to acknowledge the economic realities regarding cultural heritage and efforts of conservation.

In effect, Klamer and Zuidhof (1999: 23) claimed that they were the first 'to integrate the economic practice in the general discourse on cultural heritage', until then dominated by 'culturalists', and announced that an economic approach could be adopted more broadly.

Four years later, Howard (2003: 33) firmly noted that the economic explanation of the 'demand-and-supply relationship is fundamental to heritage

and its management'. In spite of Howard's observation little had changed in the field of heritage management. In 2005 a study was commissioned by English Heritage, the Heritage Lottery Fund and two UK government Departments which reported that the 'application of economic valuation techniques to the historic environment' was still a relatively new phenomenon (eftec 2005: 7). In the same year of 2005, Mason (2005: 1-2), formerly a professional planner and conservationist at the Getty Conservation Institute and now a faculty member at University of Pennsylvania, also concluded that

the field [of economics of historic preservation] is not thoroughly studied, nor is there much agreement on answers to basic pragmatic and policy questions ... there is an excellent research infrastructure supporting the work of physical science and material conservation aspects of the field; there is less in the area of historic and cultural aspects of the field; there is almost none in the realm of social sciences, including economics.

Even as recently as 2010, Rebanks (2010: 79) noted the poor quality or even the 'lack of evidence and analysis relating to the economic impact of some of our most important heritage assets'.

In Poland, Heritage Studies does not exist as a discipline or a separate area of study. Heritage management is a novel concept and until recently it has existed almost exclusively as a sub-discipline of archaeology (Kobyliński 1998). Literature on the economics of heritage is scarce; sporadically, it appears in the context of urban planning and development (Broński *et al.* 1997, Purchla 2000), and in philosophy (Gutowska and Kobyliński 1999, Gutowska 2000). The only distinctly economic, Polish contributions in the field of Heritage Studies known to the author have been made by Broński (2006) and Barełkowski (2008, 2009). Broński (2006) broadly summarised the problem of heritage management in Poland since 1989, i.e. throughout the recent economic and political transformation of the country after decades of communism, and carried out a preliminary exploration of the potential of heritage as a factor of economic growth. Barełkowski (2008, 2009) undertook a specific economic feasibility study of designing cultural landscapes which involved investigating public perception of castles in the context of landscape.

Recently it has been recognised that the possible inclusion of an economic perspective in the debate on heritage conservation in Poland could

indeed reveal the 'hidden, potential values that enable it [i.e. heritage] to generate and stimulate social and economic processes' (Rouba 2009: 103). Additionally, Gawlicki (2009: 31) and Szmygin (2010: 3) observed that conservation professionals in Poland have only recently, and not without hesitation, recognised the need to find the right balance between heritage conservation and its use in the world of increasingly diversified meanings and values, discussed by Hall and McArthur already more than ten years ago (Hall and McArthur 1998: 5).

In light of all of the above, in a manner typical for economic methodology, and in order to inform and organise subsequent stages of investigation, this thesis offers a tentative theory (Mises 1996 [1949]: 115) - a *hypothesis* - which it then sets out to test.

The hypothesis in this thesis assumes that:

to realise the full potential of castles in Poland in the given circumstances at the beginning of the 21st century, it is necessary to create a new management model.

Further, the theory posits that the new model should encompass not only conservation, but also two other significant, but currently largely neglected in Poland, aspects of castle management - the social and the economic. Suitable economic premises would need to be determined for such a model to be built upon, which could bring to the fore the often undervalued concept of the 'use value' of built heritage (Carman 2005: 54, see also Section 4.3.3).

The key opportunity arising from adoption of the 'use value' approach to castle management would be that castles could be treated as a form of capital. As capital, castles could be valued not only according to their own characteristics, but also reflecting the variety of benefits provided to the stakeholders. As a result, the approach proposed in this thesis could help to combine and reconcile the three, currently often dissonant, aspects of castle management in Poland (see Chapters 7 and 8): (a) the doctrine of built heritage conservation, undergoing a process of adjustment to the market reality; (b) the changing characteristics of social values attached to built heritage; and (c) the dynamically changing and growing role of built heritage in economic development.

The above stated hypothesis translates into the Research Question, subsequently pursued by this thesis (see also Section 1.2 further in this chapter). The purpose of this thesis is, therefore, to investigate the current state of management of castles in Poland, in order to create a new management model which would improve the way the potential of castles in Poland is realised - considering the specific circumstances at the beginning of the 21st century.

The thesis is arranged in two parts. In the first, theoretical part, it critically analyses the current theory at the intersection of heritage, tourism and economics, in order to determine the design of the new management model for castles in Poland. In the second, empirical part, the thesis investigates the viability, applicability and potential of the theoretical management model in the context of purposefully collected, extensive real-life data about the current practice of castle management in Poland.

As far as the theoretical background is regarded, this thesis primarily draws from the insights of the growing body of work under the 'Heritage Studies' label, with focus on built heritage, heritage management, and heritage tourism. In particular, this thesis draws from - but also enhances with additional economic rationale - the concept of heritage as a subjective phenomenon (Smith 2006) and a 'product of the present' (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996: 15).

This thesis also reflects on relevant political economy and public policy literature, as well as on literature pertaining to international economics, product marketing, management, and tourism economy. In EU countries heritage is typically strongly connected with the built environment (Ashworth and Howard 1999: 28), therefore built heritage conservation is another field of research which features prominently in this thesis. As far as the EU is concerned, this thesis also spans the time between the first and the last required ratification by a Council of Europe member country of the *Council of Europe Framework Convention on the value of cultural heritage for society*, also known as the Faro Convention (Council of Europe 2005a, De Vos 2011). Bearing witness to the inception, development and entering into force of the Faro Convention, the thesis also represents the Convention's overarching principle to shift focus of heritage research and discourse from 'the methods of protection' to 'the ethics of use'.

Moreover, theories discussed in this thesis also fit within the broad and much studied concept of sustainability. The thesis' *idé fixe* - to maximise the realised potential of castles in Poland while maintaining the balance between their use and protection - resembles the overarching principle of sustainable development as defined by the World Commission on Environment and Development (better known as the Brundtland Commission): 'to meet the needs and aspirations of the present without compromising the ability to meet those of the future' (Brundtland 1987: 39). By addressing the relationship between heritage, tourism and economy, this thesis also reflects on the concept of sustainable cultural tourism in Chapter 5.

The original contribution of this thesis in the field of Heritage Studies is threefold. First, it enhances the 'heritage values debate' (Baxter 2009: 93) with the first known adaptation to the heritage context of the subjective and individualistic framework of the Austrian School of Economics (ASE) (for a more detailed introduction of the ASE see Section 3.3). The ASE was established in the second half of the 19th century in Vienna as a liberal school of economic thought, and by the 1930s gained international reputation as one that 'ran decidedly counter to the dominating spirit of the age' (Schulak and Unterkofler 2011: 167). Most of the proponents of the ASE, in the wake of the Second World War, migrated from Europe to the USA (Mises Institute n.d.). After the War, there was no space for liberal economic thought, but even today the ASE remains 'outside the mainstream policy debate' (Evans 2010: 265). As mentioned above, the specificity of this thesis lies not only in its adherence to the principles of the ASE - this thesis is also the first ever known application of the ASE's approach to the study of heritage in Poland.

Having assumed the theoretical position of the ASE as central to this thesis, it is posited here that the focus of the castle management process becomes the castle itself, seen as a form of capital. As highlighted earlier, instead of being only a depository of value, or simply a background to other events of their own value, this thesis argues that a castle can be seen as a renewable *source* of value to its direct and indirect users, otherwise called 'the interested parties', or *stakeholders* (Hall and McArthur 1998: 41). It means that a castle can be repeatedly and sustainably 'used' in the management process as a base to produce a variety of subjective, individual values (Ashworth and Howard 1999: 45). This way, heritage does indeed become synonymous with

'contemporary use of the past' (Ashworth 2008), and thus one of the drivers of socio-economic development, especially at a local level (Rypkema 2009: 2, see also Section 4.3.4).

The proposed Castle Management Model has also been shaped by the methodology of the ASE, which promotes a value-free economic approach. Value-freedom is a natural approach in economics, and one of the pioneers of the ASE explained that 'economics is a theoretical science and as such abstains from any judgment of value' (Ludwig von Mises 1996 [1949]: 23, see also Rothbard 1973, Mason 2005: 19, Peacock and Rizzo 2008: 1, and Section 3.3). However, it is worth noting that, despite it is uncommon in Heritage Studies (MacKenzie and Stone 1994: 11), value-freedom - or value-neutrality - is not an exclusively economic phenomenon; for instance, it is also one of the key elements of the concept of Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) developed by English Heritage (Fairclough 1006: 62).

The idea and consequences of value-freedom in research - both in the economic and the non-economic terms, such as the HLC approach - will be further explored in Section 3.3.2. In short, for this particular thesis it means that castles and the processes of their management are recorded and studied as far as possible in disjunction from any values attached to them and shared by their administrators and/or stakeholders, i.e. without deciding about their moral or ethical character. The focus of the proposed Model is, therefore, to determine to what extent a castle's potential has been realised in respect of the identified needs, expectations and satisfaction of its stakeholders.

The second contribution of this thesis lies in creating the first contemporary, extensive database of diverse, predominantly economic, information about castles in Poland, and about the practice management of castles in Poland, such as their ownership, functions, tourist offerings and visitor characteristics (for more details see Sections 3.5 and 3.6). Given the absence in Poland of dedicated literature on the subject of castle management and the scarcity of heritage management literature in general, this thesis is believed to be an altogether novel undertaking, and a step towards establishing Heritage Studies as a permanent field of study in Poland.

The third original contribution of the thesis is constituted by the Castle Management Model itself (see Sections 6.5 and 6.6), which is intended not only as a theoretical exercise, but also as a practical tool. It can of course remain

only a 'tool for thought' (Waddington 1977: 130), i.e. a tool for analysis of the complex system of heritage, in this case on the example of castles in Poland (see also Section 6.4). However, it is hoped that it can also provide useful guidance in the everyday practice of castle management. This, however, can only be established through a case study exercise, which remains outside the scope of this thesis.

By promoting the concept of built heritage as a form of capital, this thesis stresses and upholds the importance of finding the right balance between the current use of built heritage, and its conservation in expectation of long-term returns for its stakeholders (Schumacher 1993 [1973]: 4). It might be justified, therefore, to compare the proposed Castle Management Model to the three-dimensional approach adopted in 1987 by the Brundtland Commission, which identified environment, society and economy as the three pillars of sustainability which need to be kept in balance (Brundtland 1987, Landorf 2009, Pereira Roders and Oers 2011). The same three components of sustainable development feature in the European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe 2000), which also emphasises the quality of landscape as an economic resource in a very similar vein as this thesis looks at built heritage as an economic resource (see also Chapter 6, Section 6.4.2). The notable difference between the above 'three-legged stool' approach and this thesis is that the environment component is replaced by the conservation component, but - as already mentioned - the principle of achieving balance across the three dimensions remains the same.

The proposed Castle Management Model also resolves the classical contradiction between conservation and profit (Aas *et al.* 2005: 29) by offering a new, alternative direction for heritage management. Once applied in practice, the Model is intended to create opportunities to mitigate against both the risk of exploitation of heritage for immediate gains, associated with the typical business approach, and the possible excessive protectionism, associated with the typical academic and conservation approach (Stone 2011). At the same time, however, the Model does not completely exclude either of the two approaches from the process of management, but it employs them to serve the overarching purpose of maximising the realised potential of a castle. In doing so, the Model rearranges the currently prevailing hierarchy of heritage values, and promotes a new perspective on heritage, treated as an unlimited resource.

Thus, this thesis goes a step beyond the defining and protecting of the existing attributes of significance of heritage (Emerick 2001: 281), and it demonstrates how significance can in fact be created and/or enhanced in the process of heritage management, subject to the entrepreneurial abilities of heritage administrators.

Amongst the castle stakeholders considered in this thesis, a significant group consists of heritage tourists, since tourism is agreeably a major user of heritage (Stone 2006: 9, Ashworth 2008, Stone 2011). By accepting the subjectivity and the variety of values that are created in the process of castle management, the proposed Castle Management Model also accommodates the concept of heritage commodification (Graham *et al.* 2000: 143), and thus of a castle as a tourist product (Koskowski 2001, see also Section 6.4). It is acknowledged that heritage commodification is not free from difficulties and that the process can adversely affect heritage authenticity and visitor experience (Landorf 2009: 57). This thesis attempts to resolve some of the problems brought about by heritage commodification thanks to the three-dimensional structure of the proposed Model, which apart from the economic also entails the conservation and the social aspects of castle management. Additionally, the thesis also addresses the often underestimated concept of tourism as a social force - with emphasis on the individual and inter-personal aspects of tourism, rather than the large-scale and industrial (Higgins-Desbiolles 2006). Notably, by addressing individual motivations of heritage tourists rather than the wholesale demands of the tourism industry, the proposed Model can assist in sustainable management of the impact of cultural tourism on heritage sites (Landorf 2009: 57).

Further sections of this chapter introduce the research question and its related set of aims and objectives, a delimitation of the time frame and geographical scope of this thesis, definition of the key terms used throughout, and, lastly, an outline of each of the ten chapters of this thesis.

1.2 Research Question, Aims and Objectives

This thesis is structured around the following Research Question:

What is the current state of management of castles in Poland and how can a new model of management, built on suitable economic premises, improve the way that castle administrators realise their potential?

In the attempt to answer the above Research Question, the following Aims and Objectives have been identified:

Aim One

Investigate the historical background and explore the present setting and situation of castles in Poland, and the current legal and institutional framework relevant for the management of castles in Poland.

- Objective 1a Introduce the history of castles in Poland as far as necessary to provide context for the thesis.
- Objective 1b Identify the current number and the basic characteristics of castles in Poland today.
- Objective 1c Identify and analyze the current legislation and heritage policy in Poland, relevant to the management of castles.
- Objective 1d Identify the key institutions involved in the process of castle management in Poland, and the prevailing approaches to the management of built heritage in Poland.

Aim Two

Identify the suitable economic approach applicable to this thesis, and employ it to explore the relationship and the mutual impact between economy and heritage, with particular focus on the valuation and use of built heritage, as well as the economic aspects of heritage tourism.

- Objective 2a Determine the economic approach capable of making a substantial and lasting contribution to heritage management and to the heritage values debate.

- Objective 2b Explore the relationship between heritage and economy in terms of their mutual impact and interdependence.
- Objective 2c Analyse the role of heritage in economic development, especially in the context of diminishing public financial support for culture and heritage.
- Objective 2d Explore the notion of heritage values, valuation and utility, analyse the relevant valuation techniques, and identify the key concepts and drivers of heritage management.
- Objective 2e Characterise modern tourism from an economic perspective, and explore the concepts of heritage tourism and heritage as a tourist product.
- Objective 2f Identify and discuss the opportunities and threats at the intersection of tourism, economy and heritage.

Aim Three

Introduce the theory of models in economics, investigate the viability of creating a new management model in the context of this thesis, and develop a theoretical model for the management of castles in Poland.

- Objective 3a Introduce and explore the concept of economic modelling, and analyse the advantages and disadvantages of models in economics.
- Objective 3b Analyse the need for a new model and the applicability of an economic model in the context of heritage management, and determine the theoretical foundations of the proposed Model for the management of castles in Poland.
- Objective 3c Develop the necessary assumptions of the proposed Model, present the Model graphically, and analyse its strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats.

Aim Four

Investigate the current practice of management of castles in Poland and test it against the proposed Model in order to critically assess the viability of the theoretical premises of the Model and its applicability.

- Objective 4a Investigate the structure and forms of castle ownership in Poland, the duties of castle administrators, the states of

preservation and originality of castle fabric, explore the functions, the tourist offering of castles in Poland, as well as the characteristics of 'castle tourism'.

- Objective 4b Identify the advantages, deficiencies and challenges of the current practice of castle management in Poland, and the areas of existing or potential dissonance and challenge.
- Objective 4c Assess the assumptions and premises of the proposed theoretical model in light of the collected and analysed data about the practice of castle management in Poland.
- Objective 4d Investigate the possible practical and legal obstacles for the implementation of the proposed Model in Poland.

See Appendix A for a table of the aims and objectives of this thesis, including details of information required to realise each objective, the related sources of information, methods of research, as well as the actual chapters and sections where each objective is addressed in this thesis.

1.3 The time frame and geographical scope of the thesis

The time frame of the thesis spans the first decade of the 21st century, and the sets of field data used in the thesis refer specifically to the years 2003-2008 (castle survey) and 2009 (follow-up interviews).

It has to be noted that in the former People's Republic of Poland, which was the official name of the Republic of Poland in the years 1952-1989, private property was to a limited extent respected and private enterprise existed on a small scale. However, the 1944 Agricultural Reform Decree of the newly formed communist Polish government ruled that all rural estates in Poland of more than 50 hectares must be nationalised (Bennich-Zalewski 2003). As a result, there remained only one known private castle in Poland - Janowiec Castle - which was eventually sold to the treasury in 1975 (Kurzątkowski and Żurawski 1995).

The economic calculation of profit and cost was not part of the policy of the communist state, which operated within the system of central planning; therefore the actions of administrators of castles in Poland in that period are not the subject of this thesis. Nominally, favourable conditions for castle

management re-appeared in Poland in 1989, and the issue came to the attention of the author a little more than a decade later (Koskowski 2001).

The geographical scope of the thesis is the territory of the Republic of Poland at the beginning of the 21st century. However, this thesis is concerned not with *Polish* castles but rather with castles *in* Poland. It is an important distinction, because, due to the many territorial changes in Central Europe throughout the ages, and particularly in the 20th century (Figure 1), a large number of castles are found within the territory of Poland only since the end of the Second World War.



Figure 1. The changing national boundaries in Central and Eastern Europe during the twentieth century (Graham et al. 2000: 186).

Today's nation and state designations did not exist at the time when castles were built. However, by using modern categories to largely simplify but also to clarify the argument, some of the castles currently in Poland can be described as being of German, Czech or Hungarian origin. Likewise, there are

castles which could be described as 'originally Polish', which can be found in present day Ukraine and Belarus. In the same spirit, Ashworth and Howard (1999: 67) argued that the category of 'heritage in Europe' is more acceptable than the potentially dissonant 'heritage by Europeans or heritage of Europeans'. Therefore, the formulation of the 'castles *in* Poland' category in this thesis makes it possible to leave aside problems of continuity of inheritance or identity, which have already been discussed at great length elsewhere (see for example Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996, Olsen 2001, Macdonald 2006, also see Sections 2.2 and 2.3).

Another advantage of the category of 'castles *in* Poland' is that it remains open for joint inquiries into the past and the present of castles from all sides of historical boundaries. At a time when nations and communities redefine their identities and revisit their understanding and valuing of heritage - which is currently the case within the structures of the European Union (Council of Europe 2005, 2009) - a common interest in the past can be seen as a major incentive for crossing boundaries, even if it carries contradictory narratives (Dolff-Bonekämper 2004, 2008). Indeed, Fojut (2008: 17) reports that the so-called "cross-border heritage" has now become a respected sub-discipline of heritage studies'. Furthermore, the Council of the European Union (2010: 9) emphasises that by 'creating links between citizens', heritage plays an important role in cultural integration and socio-economic cohesion of contemporary Europe.

Analogically to the above observation about Heritage Studies, Olsen (2001) and Evans (2002) have also observed the uniquely conciliatory potential of studying the shared past in, respectively, archaeology and history. Notably, Evans (2002: 9) observed that the modern study of cultural history shares

the belief that historical writing can enhance our appreciation of the human condition by bringing to life and explaining beliefs and cultures that are very different from our own, and so perhaps adding to the richness of human experience and understanding, and fostering tolerance of different cultures and belief systems in our own time.

Furthermore, Benny (2004: 10) argued, by reference to a North African unit that was once stationed at the Roman military garrison at Hadrian's Wall in the north of today's England, that common heritage of multi-ethnicity can lead to

a greater understanding and inclusion of ethnic and other minorities within the dominant culture today. In a similar manner, castles - once designed as a barrier - are seen in this thesis as a potential link between previously antagonistic cultures, as their common heritage (Koskowski 2008).

This thesis also differentiates between the macro and the micro scale of management of castles in Poland, as suggested by Mazzanti (2003: 550), who proposed that 'the economic benefits provided by cultural heritage should be disentangled in microeconomic and macroeconomic benefits'. The macro and micro scale here concern both the actual process of management, and the benefits/values provided by castles as a cultural resource and a form of capital. In particular, in this thesis, the macro scale denotes the state policy and benefits created at the society, the region or the community level, and the micro scale denotes the practice of individual castle administrators and benefits accrued to individual users/visitors of castles in the process of castle management. Due to the individualistic methodological perspective introduced below and explained in more detail in Chapter 3, this thesis is specifically concerned with the micro scale and in the processes and effects of castle management at the individual level, with specific focus on the aspect of entrepreneurship in heritage management. It is at this level that the proposed Castle Management Model is designed to operate (see Chapter 6).

1.4 The key terms

Economics is a deductive system which, with the help of logic, undertakes to understand 'the behaviour of man [sic] as he really is and acts ... under conditions and presuppositions which are given in reality' (Mises 1996 [1949]: 62-65). In this respect, economics is not distant from Heritage Studies which are also concerned with the effects and achievements of human action, and are characterised by a 'direct relationship between theory and practice' (Howard 2003: 28). Yet, the lack of precise definitions of the phenomena, which this thesis sets out to explore and discuss, makes a meaningful economic contribution in the heritage field difficult. To minimise ambiguity, this section specifies definitions of the key terms used throughout the rest of this thesis, i.e.: management, administration, entrepreneurship, culture, cultural resources, and

castles. Special place and attention is granted in this section to the definition and perspective on heritage, adopted in this thesis.

1.4.1 Management and administration

As already mentioned, the subject of this research is the management of castles in Poland; the term administration is also used. A vast literature exists on the subject of management worldwide, both generally, and also more specifically in the heritage context. In essence, management can be described as a continuous process entailing elements of analysis, planning, implementation and control (Kotler 1994). Definitions of management usually also feature such notions as leadership, programming, and measurement (Shead 2010), as well as evaluation, selection and monitoring (Lichfield 1988: 47). Management proves to be one of the most flexible modern concepts, in both public and private contexts, with applications ranging from sport, through risk, to time and relationship.

According to Baxter (2009: 85), management entered the realm of heritage at the time of the evolution of public administration into the 'new public management' in the 1980s (see also Section 4.2.2). Frey (1997, 1998) associated heritage management with governments and public administrations, and with the related politicization of heritage. By the time of writing, it has been observed that the role of the state in heritage management may be changing (Emerick 2001: 284), nevertheless it is still maintained that heritage management has 'by tradition' been mostly a responsibility of the public sector (Olsson 2008: 115).

The Cambridge Dictionary Online (2010) defines management as 'the control and organisation of something'. The same source defines administration as 'the arrangements and tasks needed to control the operation of a plan or organization'. Both descriptions include the element of control, and the observable semantic difference between the two definitions lies in the distinction between the organisation of something (in management), and the operation of something (in administration).

In brief, management implies a degree of power over the shape and design of the managed entity, and administration focuses on the practical aspects of running an already existing entity. A brief study of the etymology of

both terms leads to a similar observation - namely, that both terms differ little with regard to the element of control, and the only difference lies in the degree of independence of the acting agent. According to the Online Etymology Dictionary (2010) an administrator is essentially someone 'who acts upon the authority of another', and a manager is someone who directly 'conducts a business'.

Both terms are similarly understood in the Polish language. Broński (2006: 13) associates management with the advent of the economic dimension of heritage in Poland after 1989, and with the necessary in the process of management introduction of marketing instruments. Broński (2006: 13) contrasts the modern concept of management with the relatively routinised and short-term oriented notion of administration, typical for the times prior to the socio-economic transition in Poland: 'in market economy cultural assets, and consequently also heritage assets, have their economic dimension, and like any other economic assets must be not only administered but also managed'. In a word, 'administration' to some degree would be synonymous with today's concept of 'operational management' (Liwieratos 2004: 230). However, the term 'administrator' (spelling identical as in English) is more familiar to the Polish language, whereas the term 'manager' is a modern import from English, and carries connotations with business management and profit maximisation. As such, it has never been used in Polish heritage literature.

Administrators and managers of castles in Poland use, with little variance, the title 'Dyrektor', regardless of their role being more managerially or more administratively inclined, and whether the castle is private or not (see Chapter 7). It must also be mentioned that three quarters of castles in Poland at the beginning of the 21st century are still state owned and their position regarding profit maximisation is ambiguous (see Section 2.2.7, and also Section 7.3). Therefore, in order to ensure coherence, relevance and simplicity, and to avoid discrimination on the basis of the type of castle ownership, in this thesis the term 'castle administrator' is used to refer to the highest ranking individuals both at the non-state owned and the state owned castles.

Some authors differentiate between 'management [aspects] and policy aspects of built heritage' (Mazzanti 2003). Therefore, in this thesis the term management is used to refer specifically to decisions or actions taken on heritage on the micro (site-specific) level, as opposed to the macro (policy)

level, which requires a different methodological approach than the one adopted in this thesis.

1.4.2 Entrepreneurship

Mainstream economics sees entrepreneurship as one of the four factors of production, alongside land, labour, and capital (Holcombe 1989: 115). Entrepreneurship has been known as one of the fundamental concepts of the ASE (Foss and Klein 2002: 3), which, however, perceives it as much more than just a factor of production. For the ASE, entrepreneurship is 'an attribute of the market mechanism that can never be absent' (Klein 2006).

An entrepreneur 'is an individual who perceives profit opportunities and consequently takes action' (Colombatto 2006: 246). In other words, the entrepreneur's role is 'to react to and create change in the market' (DiLorenzo 2007). Entrepreneurs do this primarily for their own benefit, of course. However, through their ability to take risk, to lead others, and 'to break through ordinary constraints' (Beugelsdijk and Maseland 2010: 166), entrepreneurs also act - indirectly - for the benefit and wellbeing of society in general (Coyne and Leeson 2004: 237).

Hall and McArthur (1998: 16) perceive entrepreneurship as a necessary condition for the successful long-term management of heritage. In this thesis the term entrepreneurship is used primarily in order to describe the original, creative character of the process of castle management, as reflected in the actions of castle administrators. The interviews with castle administrators - discussed in detail in Section 7.4 - demonstrated that effective castle management does indeed require such entrepreneurial abilities as opportunity seeking or innovative thinking.

The concept of entrepreneurship with reference to heritage, and to castle management in particular, will appear a number of times throughout this thesis. In Section 3.2 it is pictured as one of the fundamental factors of change and development. In Section 4.4 entrepreneurship is shown as one of the key elements of the proposed Castle Management Model. Section 6.4 discusses how the entrepreneurial concept of profit-seeking in the context of heritage can merge with the concept of maximising the realised potential of heritage - in this thesis: the potential of a castle.

1.4.3 Culture and Cultural Resources

Throsby (2001a: 27) observes that the variety of meanings and contexts in which the term 'culture' is used every day makes its definition nearly impossible. However, his proposition that culture is defined as 'the entire way of life of a people or society' (Throsby 2001a: 3) seems too vague for a meaningful economic study of heritage. On the other hand, however, any attempt to conceptualise culture in more detail may easily result in a tangle of diverse and often conflicting judgments of value and politicised discourses, which are the general subject matter of the discipline of Cultural Studies (Inglis 1993, Ashworth and Howard 1999, Barker 2004, O'Connor 2004). Heritage Studies tend to be relatively more practical, disciplined and action driven (Ashworth and Howard 1999: 27, Filippucci 2009: 320), therefore the definition of culture adopted in this thesis should rather emphasise action and its effects, as does the definition suggested by Howard (2003: 24): 'the sum total of human activity and achievement'.

In consequence, it can be derived that all the effects of a culture, i.e. all the results of human activity and creativity, whether material (tangible) or immaterial (intangible), created in the past and retained in the present, can be referred to as 'cultural resources'. It is a view endorsed by Lipe (1984: 2), who referred to 'cultural resource base' or 'cultural materials', and more recently by Broński (2006: 12), who characterised cultural resources as 'all goods created by human talent'. There is a confusion resulting from the fact that the body of work on cultural resources has developed relatively separately from the literature on heritage (McManamon and Hatton 2000, Jameson 2008, Schofield 2008). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss that issue in detail. Instead, it is important to recognise the distinction between natural resources, or goods, i.e. the natural environment, and cultural resources, or goods, i.e. the human-made environment (Lichfield 1988), such as landscapes, buildings, items, beliefs or traditions.

Interestingly, it has been observed that 'not all cultural materials from the past have equally high resource potential ... within a given context' (Lipe 1984: 2). Without making an explicitly economic observation and writing before economics entered the realm of culture for good, Lipe (1984) highlighted the very economic issue of *subjectivity* of the process of cultural resource valuation.

The issue of subjectivity has been recently expressed by the Council of Europe in the definition of cultural heritage contained in the already mentioned 2005 Faro Convention: 'cultural heritage is a group of resources inherited from the past which people *identify*, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions' (Council of Europe 2005a, emphasis added).

In this thesis it is assumed that cultural resources are all of 'some potential value or use' (Lipe 1984: 2). However, only when their value is affirmed, or their use realised, or any other individual affinity identified, do cultural resources *become* heritage. Ashworth and Howard put it that 'things are not heritage until recognised as such' (1999: 21). In this context, culture can be described as a 'source of heritage' (KEA European Affairs 2006: 36).

1.4.4 Heritage

This section attempts to determine the basic characteristics of heritage and its relative position against the already defined concept of cultural resources. At the time of writing, heritage has become a much studied academic domain. In the course of exploration of the phenomenon of heritage, 'an explicit area of research' has developed, called Heritage Studies (Sørensen and Carman 2009: 3), which encompasses approaches from within a variety of disciplines, such as archaeology, sociology, geography, psychology, history or economy (Uzzell 2009: 326).

Cambridge Dictionary Online (2010) defines heritage as 'features belonging to the culture of a particular society, such as traditions, languages or buildings, which still exist from the past and which have a historical importance' (see also Zetti 2008: 55). However, upon closer examination this definition seems limited and one-sided in that it highlights only the historical aspect of heritage.

Heritage used to be a precise legal term, describing simply someone's inheritance, before it underwent a 'quantum expansion' in the second half of the 20th century (Graham *et al.* 2000: 1), to the effect that currently 'there is (...) no agreed and undisputed term for this topic' (McManamon and Hatton 2000: 3). Hall and McArthur (1998: 4) voiced complications resulting from the then recent 'emergence of multiple perspectives on heritage'. Ashworth and Howard (1999)

also saw the definition of heritage as problematic. Throsby (2001a: 27, 75) associated the ambiguity surrounding the definition of heritage with ‘postmodern, left-wing relativism’, and called heritage, perhaps bitterly, an ‘elastic’ term. More recently, Schofield (2008: 17) deemed heritage ‘capricious’. Nevertheless, heritage continues to be ever more widely used in a variety of contexts, from identity and wellbeing to socio-economic development, and it is also one of the central concepts of this thesis.

Ferrero (2005: 250) noted, that “[h]eritage” as a term has never been adequately defined, and nor should it be, because definition is exclusive ... a heritage site is not in the past, it is in the present; new experiences are formed at ... [heritage] site[s] every day’. Ferrero’s observation highlights an important issue from the point of view of this thesis, namely that, contrary to a view which is still common in Poland, heritage is increasingly seen not as a petrified asset, represented by permanently conserved historic sites, but as source and driver of new values and benefits, determined by a variety of new uses of heritage. It is in this spirit that Ashworth and Howard (1999: 25) wrote that ‘heritage always exists in the present’. Even though certain affinity between heritage and history cannot be denied, it only exists as far as heritage ‘quarries from history’, in order to ‘create something new for today’ (Ashworth and Howard 1999: 26).

With the above highlighted divergence of opinions about the definition and nature of heritage in mind, two approaches to heritage have been discerned for the purpose of this thesis: objective and subjective (Table 1).

Table 1. Two approaches to heritage discerned in this thesis.

Approaches to heritage	
Objective	Subjective
Product Property Public Static Limited	Process Activity Individual Dynamic Unlimited

Conventionally, 'heritage has been about protecting things - fabric - against loss' (Fairclough 2008: 299). According to Araoz (2011: 59), President of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS)

[o]ver the past 200 years, the modern heritage conservation movement developed under the assumption that values rested mostly, if not entirely on ... material form. The philosophy of conservation and its resulting doctrinal foundation, the protective legislation, the identification and official registration processes, and the methodological framework and professional protocols for intervening in heritage places are all fixated on the protection of the material vessels that carry the value.

This traditional approach, represented by ICOMOS, UNESCO, and the heritage policies of most European countries, can be traced back to the 19th century and became enshrined in the 1931 Athens Charter, the 1954 Hague Convention, the 1966 Venice Charter, the 1972 World Heritage Convention, and the 1990 ICOMOS Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage (Holtorf 2001: 287). In a manner typical for this approach, the World Heritage Convention refers to heritage as a property: 'items', 'belonging' to someone (UNESCO 1972) - in other words, 'things of value that are inherited' (Hall and McArthur 1998: 4). In consequence, heritage is perceived as something thoroughly material and static: a 'living witness' to the past (ICOMOS 1964), a 'store of memory' (Kristiansen 1989: 27), 'things of value that are inherited' (Hall and McArthur 1998: 4), 'material vessels of value that reside[s] in the form, materials, workmanship and setting of the place' (Araoz 2011: 59).

In this approach, also known as the 'preservation paradigm' (Ashworth 2008), heritage is characterised as possessing intrinsic and inherent, or integral, values - scientific, historic, aesthetic, etc. - which are discovered or learned, and assessed by experts predominantly for the purpose of conservation (for a comprehensive summary of heritage value typologies see Mason 2002: 9). Once the value of an item, site or a building is recognised, the item is elevated into the 'cultural canon' (Throsby 2001a: 27), and the machine of the state is expected to become involved in the process of its conservation. As a result, heritage becomes part of what Smith (2006) critically calls 'Authorised Heritage Discourse', with the purpose to be used 'mainly for the self-legitimation of the

state' (Ashworth and Howard 1999: 41). Heritage identified this way becomes protected and preserved, but, as Araoz (2011: 59, emphasis added) points out

[i]f we analyze what has guided the conservation endeavour, it becomes clear that heritage professionals have never really protected or preserved values; the task has always been protecting and preserving the *material vessels* where values have been determined to reside.

A similar perspective on heritage has been adopted in urban conservation by Lichfield (1998: 63-68), who defined heritage as 'all that [any society] inherits from its forebears', with the particular obligation to 'hand it over to the succeeding generations'. Ideally, in this approach everything surviving from the past into the modern day should be preserved and protected as heritage (Peacock 1998: 22). Such perceived heritage is seen as a finite, i.e. non-renewable, resource (Darvill 1993 cited in Holtorf 2001: 286). In consequence, once its inherent value is identified, heritage defined in this traditional way becomes of such importance to the public that its protection becomes the responsibility of the state, often enshrined in fundamental legal acts of the country (such as for instance in the Constitution of the Republic of Poland, see Dziennik Ustaw 1997).

It is often pointed out that one singular consequence of the traditional approach described above is that heritage becomes an element of politics of national identity (Ashworth 2008, Baxter 2009: 86). The governance of heritage by the state tends to disengage current generations from direct use of their heritage (Smith 2006), and the process of nationalisation of heritage results in the amalgamation of heritage management, heritage research, and the current political ideology (Kristiansen 1989: 27). Moreover, Ferrero (2005: 249) points out that the term 'national heritage' is largely a harmful invention, which leads to 'crass national stereotyping and the continuing of a false history and a false tradition'. As already said (see Section 1.4 above), in order to avoid such pitfalls, the category of 'castles *in* Poland' has been adopted in this thesis - instead of '*Polish* castles'. The methodological subjectivism and value-freedom of this thesis (see Section 3.3.2) direct the proposed Castle Management Model away from the above ideological issues. The following analysis of interviews with castle administrators carried out as part of this thesis (see Section 7.4) only

shows how correct was the above quoted Ferrero (2005) in his opinion about the vitality of the concept of national heritage in this traditional view of the term.

After Holtorf (2001), in this thesis such traditional, authoritative approach to heritage, as discussed above, will be called 'objective' (Table 1). At the time of writing such approach still dominates the monument conservation theory and practice in Poland (Szmygin 2009: 20).

Tweed and Sutherland (2007: 63) call such 'objective' approach 'heritage by designation', as opposed to an alternative, called 'heritage by appropriation'. The former approach rests almost exclusively on expert and professional judgments, passed over values seen as inherent in heritage. The latter approach emerges primarily from sentiments, associations and actions of individual users - or stakeholders - of heritage, who define heritage for their own use by individually attaching to it their own sets of subjective values.

A noteworthy example of such alternative approach to heritage in the mainstream conservation movement is the already mentioned Council of Europe's 2005 Faro Convention. The Convention highlights the recent evolution of the role of conservation experts: 'they are no longer the exclusive leaders of heritage conservation but rather facilitators in the process of identification and presentation of heritage. Their role is not only to study heritage as something "objective" ...' (Pirkovič 2008: 25).

The Convention also introduces a concept of 'heritage communities', defined as 'groups which may not be linked by language, an ethnic tie, or even a shared past, but are linked by a purposive commitment to specific heritages' (Thérond 2008: 10). 'Heritage community' is obviously a collective phenomenon, and, unlike 'stakeholders', it seems impossible to disaggregate it - whereas this thesis, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 3, is methodologically committed to the notion of individualism and the primacy of individual before any group associations. Nevertheless, the Faro Convention will be called upon in this thesis a number of times, as the first EU document which officially heralds the tendency to depart from the domination of professional expertise in heritage valuation and management in Europe (De Vos 2011: vi).

In this thesis such 'bottom-up', individualistic perspective, in which heritage is seen as the 'contemporary use of the past' (Graham *et al.* 2000: 2), will be called the 'subjective' approach to heritage (Table 1).

In this subjective approach, heritage does not stop being 'something we want to keep' (Hall and McArthur: 4), but the reason to 'keep' it changes. It is no longer because an inherent heritage value has been recognised by experts. Instead, heritage is 'kept' because individual, subjective value, or rather a variety of values, have been attached to it. Heritage seen this way becomes 'part of the past which we select in the present for *contemporary* purposes' (Krus 2008: 87, emphasis added).

One particular consequence of the subjective approach to heritage is that it produces 'an almost infinite variety of possible heritages' (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996: 8, Ashworth and Howard 1999: 46). Merriman (1991: 131) explained that 'people use the past in many varied and creative ways to suit their own needs and their own feelings about their position in the world'. Of course, the variety of uses, interpretations and often conflicting values that individuals attach to heritage, present a challenge. The multiplicity of subjective heritage values becomes the very reason for heritage management to exist (Liwieratos 2004: 228). In fact, Clark notes that heritage management rests primarily on an 'understanding of competing and conflicting values' (Clark 2008: 91).

On a yet another level of narrative, the objective approach to heritage, introduced earlier, is thought to be a product of 'confrontational opposition to proposals for change' (Fairclough 2008: 299). By contrast, the other, subjective approach perceives heritage as part of the organic, natural process - or system - of change occurring in the world, and encapsulated in the Heraclitean expression *panta rhei* (meaning: 'everything flows', see also Weckowicz 2000). Heritage can therefore be described as 'a dynamic process' (Bluestone 2000: 65) rather than a discernible object, and 'a meaning rather than artefact' (Graham *et al.* 2000: 5). In a video-recorded interview, Ashworth (2008) summarised heritage as 'the way we create from pasts', adding also that 'very rarely there are right ways and wrong ways [of doing it] ... it's the experience that is important.'

Such redefined heritage, which rests on subjective, individual and/or community- and site-specific meanings, and on dynamics of change, becomes 'concerned first and foremost with people' rather than with items (Filipucci 2009: 320). In this perspective, the physical fabric of built heritage is valued not only for its historic, scientific or artistic aspects, but also for its role as 'the material

substance of identity' (Macdonald 2006: 11, see also Section 4.2.2). From the perspective of castle administrators 'the linkage between heritage and identity is crucial to understanding ... the significance of heritage as something to be valued' (Hall and McArthur 1998: 4). In this thesis, the identity aspect of heritage is seen as part of the social dimension of castle management (see Section 6.6).

The apparent transcendence of form and meaning in this alternative, subjective approach to heritage blurs the division of heritage into tangible and intangible. As Brizard *et al.* (2007: 5) explained

the close relationship of intangible ideas and traditions to material objects, artefacts and cultural spaces suggests that 'material' and 'intangible' are not separate categories of cultural heritage resources, but parts of an evolving whole in which the ideational and the physical are becoming inextricably intertwined.

This interconnection between the material and the immaterial aspects of heritage has also been accommodated in this thesis - in the *total product* theory, developed in Section 6.7. In brief, it rests on the assumption that the immaterial aspects of heritage are represented by the *core* layer of the total product, which corresponds with the needs and expectations of visitors, and the material aspects of heritage are represented by the *augmented* layer of the total product, which corresponds with 'packaging' of the product (see Section 6.7).

Another consequence of the subjective approach to heritage is that it forces a revision of the current conservation doctrine. According to Araoz (2011: 59)

the values of the emerging heritage paradigm most often rest on intangible vessels, for which the existing conservation toolkit is of little assistance. Under this paradigm, the value of a heritage place can rest on a specific traditional use or a habitation pattern that is important or even indispensable to the wellbeing of a community.

A yet another implication of the subjective approach to and the individual recognition of heritage is that it makes heritage become an 'integral element of a larger environment', according to Erica Avrami, Director of Research and Education at the World Monuments Fund (cited in Dodd 2010). This expansion

of heritage occurs as a ‘bottom-up’ process, which always begins with individual valuation and recognition of a given cultural resource as heritage, which then, through processes of nationalization, Europeanization and globalization, can reach broader recognition as, respectively, national, European and eventually global heritage (Figure 3). Heritage management can influence this process through a variety of techniques, relative to available infrastructure and the degree of community involvement (Rebanks 2010: 81-82).

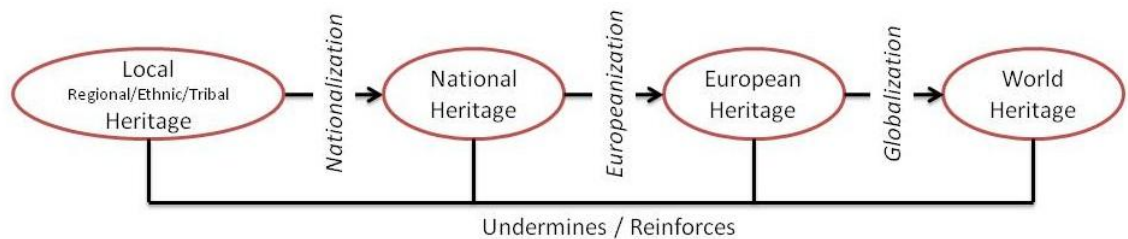


Figure 2. The interaction of heritage at different spatial scales (Graham *et al.* 2000: 182).

As said above, the expansion of heritage begins with an individual. Polish sociologist Mikułowski-Pomorski (cited in Wojnar 2008) calls this an ‘individualisation’ of heritage, and relates it to a worldwide civilisational shift from ‘collective’ to ‘individual’ (Wojnar 2008: 114). Similarly, Carman (2005: 58) refers to society as a ‘collective of individuals’, and Graham *et al.* (2000: 4) stress that, ultimately, ‘all heritage is someone’s heritage.’

This centrality of an individual, which is the key feature of the subjective approach to heritage characterised in the last few paragraphs, fits comfortably with the theoretical framework of the ASE, adopted in this thesis. The mechanism of individual valuation of heritage corresponds directly with the mechanism of individual valorisation of goods and services in a market, where the process of exchange of individual valorisations determines the prices. This particular parallel between the price of goods and the value of heritage is central to the reasoning, presented in this thesis, that justifies economic analysis of the problems of heritage management.

The subjective approach to heritage appears to closely resemble Carr’s concept of history as an individually and subjectively defined phenomenon. E.H. Carr (cited in Merriman 1991:19, and also in Cannadine 2002: xii) maintained that history is ‘an unending dialogue between the present and the past’. It is a

far cry from the classic, Positivist search for facts in order to 'show how it really was (*wie es eigentlich gewesen*)' (German emphasis original) (famous quote from Leopold von Ranke cited in Carr 1961: 5). Carr's lasting methodological contribution was to highlight the fallacy of objectivity in history and in historic methodology which had claimed that '[h]istory was the scientific study of the past (...) contributing to the creation of a firm basis of knowledge on which to take political action and political decisions in the present' (Evans 2002: 4). Carr broke away from the mainstream, 'single objectively true history' (Merriman 1991: 19) in a manner similar to Karl Menger and Ludwig von Mises, co-founders of the ASE (see Section 3.3), who broke away from objectivity in economics (Foss and Klein 2002: 2).

Subjectivity of heritage has been increasingly recognised by organisations such as UNESCO, whose perspective on heritage has shifted significantly since the 1972 World Heritage Convention. The 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage replaced the concept of 'outstanding universal value' with the notion of community-based, subjective values of heritage (UNESCO 2003), and the 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions reaffirmed this new focus on subjective, 'distinctive nature of cultural activities, goods and services as vehicles of identity, values and meaning' (UNESCO 2005: Article 1(g)).

On a final note in this section, it is interesting to observe that Carr and his followers (Cannadine 2002: xi) were not as appalled at the popularisation of history as Lowenthal (1985), Hewison (1987) and others were at the popularisation of heritage. Carman and Sørensen (2009) dismiss Hewison's protest as personal and biased, but it does not stop them from sharing Hewison's concern with the issue of politicisation and ideologisation of heritage (Carman and Sørensen 2009: 18). Politicisation of the past is a recurring theme in heritage management and also a practical problem in its own right - this thesis can only acknowledge its existence, as it has acknowledged the particular problem of nationalisation of heritage earlier in this section. The element of politics and its influence on heritage will also be accommodated amongst the assumptions of the proposed Model (see Section 6.5).

1.4.5 Castle

In contrast to the above concepts of culture and heritage, the term *castle* seems relatively easy to define, although it is also not entirely free of ambiguity - for more insight into the current castle debate see Wheatley (2004) or Liddiard (2005). Leaving aside local conventions and exemptions, a *castle* has been simply defined as a 'fortified residence of a lord' (Brown 1977: 14). The three aspects and/or functions of castles - the lordly (feudal), the residential, and the defensive - usually help to distinguish castles from other types of more or less similar buildings in Europe, such as bastles, brochs, duns, forts, fortresses, peele houses, manors, or palaces.

In Poland, Guerquin (1984) notes that although the term '*zamek*' [a castle] replaced the Old Polish term '*gród*' [a fort] in the Polish language at the break of the 15th century, as a specific architectural term *zamek* appears only in the latter half of the 19th century and thus can still seem vague. Similarly, Kajzer (1993: 13) highlights the uncertainties surrounding the term *zamek*, and, in addition to other distinguishing criteria, ponders the existence of a 'minimum required' size and number of defensive features that would indeed qualify the use of the term *castle* to refer to specific types of structures (see also Wheatley 2004: 10). Nevertheless, Szolginia (1992: 179) agrees with Brown (1977) that what constitutes a castle are enclosed, defensive structures - such as walls, turrets or towers - and elements of a lordly residence - such as a hall, a chamber or a chapel. This research, therefore, defines a castle as an 'enclosed defensive and residential structure'.

Castles were erected by both lay and religious figures as 'residences, centres of local administration and architectural markers of prestige and power' (Wheatley 2004: 8). As such, apart from their defensive functions, castles were designed to impress, radiate power and command respect, as well as to carry symbolic meaning, with Biblical and mythological references (Wheatley 2004: 14). As much as they were typically owned by private individuals, castles were also hubs of a 'castle community' (Liddiard 2005: 147), public places (Wheatley 2004: 51), and economic entities, which played a key role in the local and regional network of production, consumption and exchange. Today, they are still a 'well recognised element of the European cultural landscape ..., a distinctive element of heritage and a significant tourist interest' (Koskowski 2006). A brief

account of the history and variety of castles in Poland will be given in the following Chapter 2.

One last notion requiring clarification at this point is the role of castles as heritage. As already noted, not all cultural resources are recognised as heritage (Figure 3), which often results in neglect, mismanagement and eventual destruction of the unrecognised resource as consequence of its 'exclusion' (McKenzie and Stone 1994). It is argued in this thesis, that such 'excluded' castles - here also referred to as 'unhappy castles' (see Section 1.2 earlier in this chapter, and also Section 6.8) - can still become appropriated as heritage (Smith 2006: 3) as a result of specific decisions taken in the process of management.

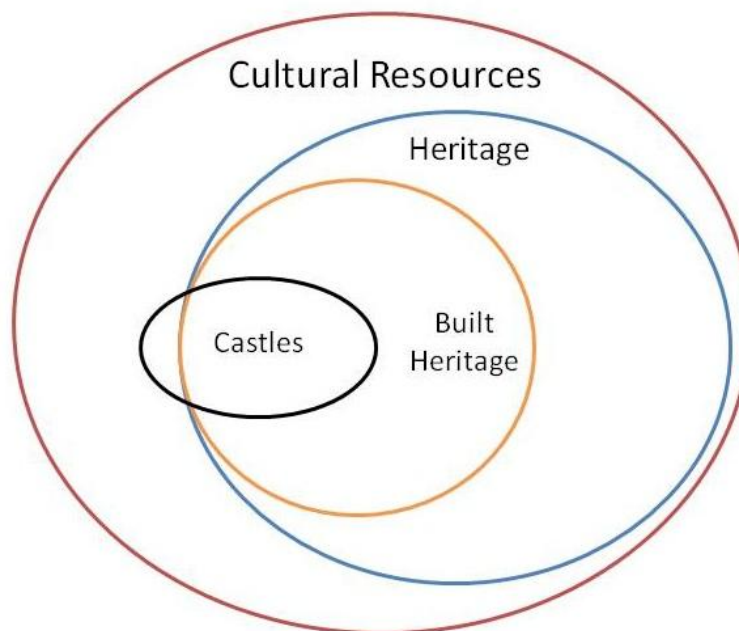


Figure 3. Castles as a subset of cultural resources.

1.5 Chapter Outline

This research, as already mentioned in section 1.1, is structured in two parts, theoretical and empirical. The first part, comprised of Chapters 1 to 6, represents the theoretical aspect of the thesis, whilst the empirical aspect is represented by Chapters 7 and 8. Both parts are brought together in Chapter 9, which discusses the theoretical background and the assumptions of the proposed Castle Management Model in the context of the empirical findings of this study.

This introductory chapter outlines the context and the approach of this thesis, and identifies the extent of related academic research. It also states the hypothesis, the research question, and the related aims and objectives. The scope of the thesis is also determined in terms of the time frame and the geographical area of investigation. The main problems with which this thesis engages are highlighted - the inadequacy of the current legal and institutional arrangements for castle protection and management in Poland, the gradual withdrawal of the state from financing protection and conservation of built heritage, and the growing relevance of aspects of free-market economy for heritage management. The chapter defines the key terms used, such as management, entrepreneurship, culture and cultural resources, heritage, and castle. The definition of heritage is accompanied by an analysis of two alternative approaches to heritage - objective and subjective. The chapter concludes with a justification for adopting the subjective approach.

Chapter 2 presents the historical background and examines the current legal and institutional context of castle management in Poland. It presents the history of castles in Poland and of their development in terms of form and function, from their origins until the present time. By doing so, the chapter identifies the context in which castles exist in Poland at the beginning of the 21st century. In addition, problems associated with establishing the current number of castles in Poland are analysed briefly. The chapter also critically reviews the legal framework in which castle administrators and heritage conservators operate in Poland, in order to identify specific issues which might affect applicability of the management model developed in the course of this thesis. With the same purpose in mind, the chapter examines the organisation and responsibilities of public administration and other institutions involved in castle conservation and management in Poland.

Chapter 3 introduces and discusses the methodology and techniques adopted in this thesis. The issue of methodology is approached in a dual sense - first as the philosophy of science, and then as the choice of particular methods and techniques of research. The chapter discusses the two major traditions of economic thought, and analyses their applicability in the context of the study of heritage. Next, the chapter introduces and characterises the theoretical framework of the ASE as the economic approach of choice in this thesis. Then, the selected, relevant for heritage management, aspects of the ASE's

methodology are discussed. Lastly, the chapter identifies and evaluates the methods and techniques of enquiry and data collection applied in this thesis - specifically, the postal survey and interviews - and it concludes with an overview of the limitations of the chosen methodology.

Chapter 4 explores the relationship between heritage and economy in order to identify the socio-economic potential of built heritage. The chapter continues the discussion of the problem of value and valuation of heritage initiated in Chapter 1. The chapter explores various approaches to heritage management, conservation and protection, and examines a range of relevant theories and aspects of public policy. Then, the chapter investigates the mutual impact of heritage on economy, and of economy on heritage. It also investigates selected economic aspects of the so-called heritage values debate and concludes with an evaluation of selected aspects of the debate from the perspective of the ASE. In particular, the chapter explores the concepts of entrepreneurship and capital in the context of heritage management.

Chapter 5 explores the relationship between tourism, economy and heritage. It introduces and characterises the tourism industry and explores the complex relationship and interdependence between tourism and culture, including the notion of sustainability. Next, the chapter introduces the categories of cultural and heritage tourism. The chapter concludes with an examination of various forms of impact of heritage on tourism, and of tourism on heritage, as it seeks to determine the advantages and disadvantages of heritage tourism, especially at the micro scale and from the perspective of local communities, and also in the context of sustainable cultural tourism.

Chapter 6 develops the new Castle Management Model, proposed in this thesis. First, the chapter explains the rationale behind the creation of a new heritage management model, and it discusses various aspects, the purpose and the weaknesses of models in economics in general. Then, the chapter introduces the concepts of heritage as an economising system, and castle as a capital good, as fundamental elements of the proposed Model. Further, the theoretical assumptions of the proposed Model are introduced and justified. Then, the Model is presented graphically, and its principles explained in detail. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of the proposed theoretical model. This chapter closes the theoretical part of the thesis.

Chapters 7 and 8 comprise the second, empirical part of this thesis, in as far as they refer to the real-life data collected during the fieldwork phase of this study, i.e. in the course of the castle survey and the interviews with castle administrators. Data resulting from the castle survey, realised in 2008, is presented in the form of graphs, charts, and tables, and analysed in Chapter 7. Chapter 8, in turn, overviews and analyses information collected during the series of interviews with selected castle administrators in Poland, carried out in 2009.

Chapter 9 completes the investigation as it discusses the rationale of the Castle Management Model in the light of the fieldwork findings of this study. In doing so, the chapter binds together the subjective approach to heritage, the economic perspective of human action, the heritage values debate, and the theories of heritage management reviewed in Chapters 1 to 6 with the empirical data about the contemporary practice of castle management in Poland, emerging from the castle survey and the interviews, and analysed in Chapters 7 and 8. The chapter critically investigates the assumptions and the premises of the proposed Castle Management Model, and it discusses the challenges to the implementation of the Model in the current socio-economic and political context in Poland at the beginning of the 21st century.

The concluding Chapter 10 revisits the research questions, aims and objectives of this thesis. It summarises the main arguments of the thesis, reviews its limitations, and also briefly makes recommendations for further research.

Chapter 2

History of castles in Poland until the present time and the current legislative context

2.1 Introduction

The study of the past provides the necessary context in which sites, artefacts and traditions are recognised as heritage in the present (Howard 2003: 21). For this reason, this chapter first introduces the history of castles in Poland. The development of castle architecture has been typically presented in literature in terms of practical military engineering progress and, despite growing critique of this approach (Wheatley 2004: 8), this thesis nevertheless introduces the history of castles in Poland in a similar, chronological manner, for the sake of the narrative. Further, to complement setting the scene for this thesis, this chapter also reviews the current legal and institutional arrangements for heritage protection, conservation and management that are currently in place in Poland. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion about the actual, and still uncertain, number of castles in Poland.

2.2 Castles in Poland, or Polish castles?

Geographically, Poland lies in the centre of the European continent (Davies 2001: x), in a cultural and economic 'in-between' area linking the west, east and south of Europe (Małowist 2006: 6-7). For a number of historical and political reasons discussed, amongst others, by Szporluk (1982) Miłosz (1986), and Worthington (2012), a variety of terms have been used with reference to this part of Europe: e.g. *Eastern Europe*, *East-Central Europe*, *Central and Eastern Europe* and, more recently, *Central Europe*. Following the recent study by Worthington (2012: xiii-xvii), the term *Central Europe* will be used in this thesis due to its precision and accuracy as a historical and cultural category (Figure 4).

The distinctive, 'central' location of the country of Poland has brought about an array of factors which have shaped the social, political and economic conditions in which castles were built and have existed throughout history.

Changing borders, conflicting directions of expansion, shifting political interests, mutual cultural, political and technical influences between neighbouring countries, etc., affected the distribution of castles, as well as the methods, purposes, styles and the chronology of castle building in Poland (Kajzer *et al.* 2001: 9-22, Małowist 2006: 11-23, Economist 2010).

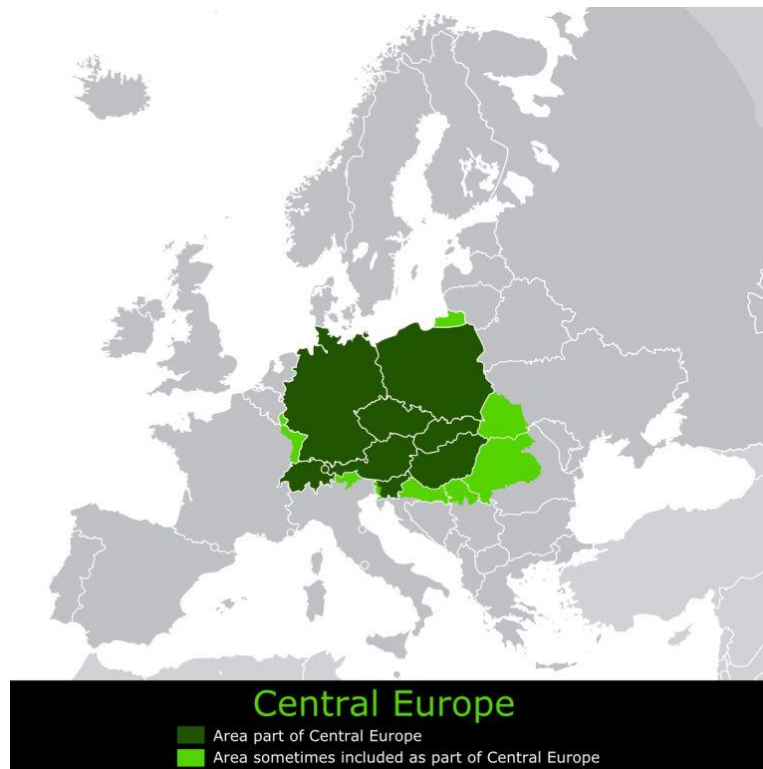


Figure 4. Central Europe, core countries and territories that are sometimes included. Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Central_Europe

The matter of changing state borders in Central Europe has already been noted in Section 1.4. One of the already mentioned consequences of that turbulent past is the need to resort to the category of castles *in Poland* - i.e. found within the country's modern territory - instead of the category of *Polish* castles. Throughout the history of castle building, Polish territory included - at various times - parts of today's Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania. As a result, these countries have incorporated elements of Polish historical architecture into their own canon of national tradition (Piwowarczyk and Sturejko 2009: 165). Moreover, as will be discussed below, castles found in modern Poland include also those of Bohemian and German origin, as well as castles funded independently by Orders of the Knights Templar, the Knights Hospitaliers and the Teutonic Knights. Particularly, the military orders raised castles as

administrative centres of their local 'commandries', or, as it was in the case of the Teutonic Knights, as the backbone of the infrastructure of their autonomous state.

Discussion about what constitutes a *Polish* castle falls beyond the remit of this thesis - it requires a separate study of its own. However, it has to be noted, that as yet no publication about *Polish* castles has ever been compiled (Kajzer *et al.* 2001: 9), and all notable contributions refer to castles *in Poland* instead (Zachwatowicz 1965, Guerquin 1984, Kajzer 1993, Kajzer *et al.* 2001, Malawska 2007a). One of the reasons, perhaps, of this gap in the field of castle studies, would be the fact that interdisciplinary studies of castles are a very recent phenomenon (see Section 2.2.7 further in this chapter). Indeed, Wheatley (2004: 4) noted that '[c]astles have for a long time been excluded both from the mainstream of medieval architectural studies and from any ideological or symbolic significance'. Interestingly, interviews with castle administrators, discussed in Chapter 7, shed much light on the issue of 'Polishness' of a castle, and provide strong argument against such category as a *Polish* castle in general (see Section 7.4).

2.3 History of castles in Poland

According to a number of authors (see for example Piskadło 1977: 372, Kajzer *et al.* 2001: 9, 32), the first castle in Poland was built between 1238 and 1241 in Legnica. Before that time, the only fortified places in what is now Poland were the earth and timber forts of the Slavic tribes, known as *grody* (Piskadło 1977: 364-369, Bochenek 1989: 65, Kobylński 1997: 147, Figure 5).

Kobylński (1997: 147-154) argues that the earliest of the Slavonic strongholds appeared in the second half of the 6th century AD, following a long period of open tribal settlement in the form of small farmsteads and hamlets with no permanent defensive structures (also discussed in Barker 1985: 158, Purton 2009: 144). *Grody* were enclosures typically located on, often elevated, naturally defensive sites, built of earth and timber in a communal effort, and surrounded by ditches and ramparts. They served primarily as administrative centres but their sheer size and defensive features - such as immense ramparts up to 20 meters broad at the base and 10 meters high, topped off with palisades

(Purton 2009: 145) - meant that they could effectively shelter large numbers of people during times of conflict (Kobyliński 1997: 150-151).

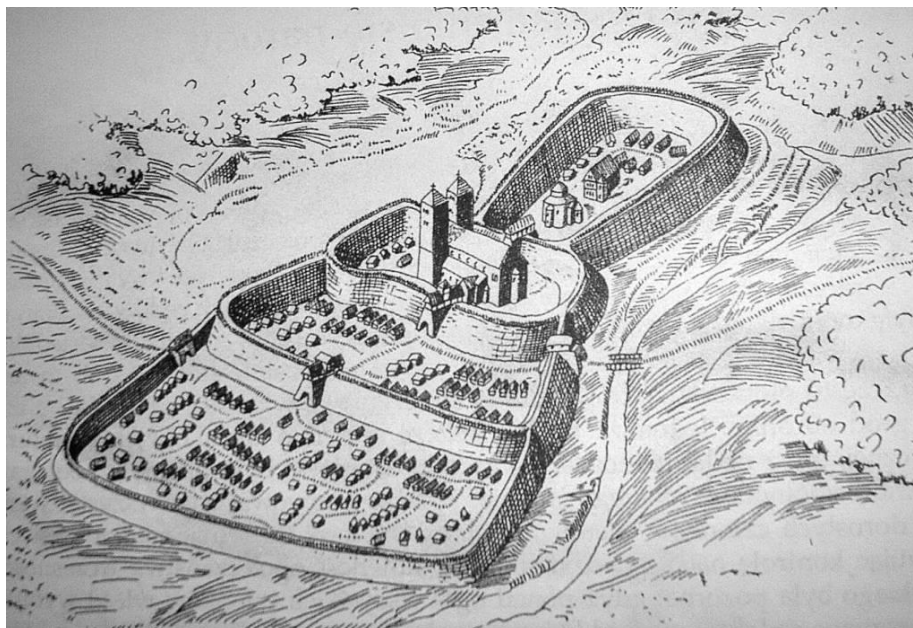


Figure 5. Reconstruction of the Slavonic gród of Gniezno, the formal capital of Poland in 10th century AD. Source: <http://www.piastr.neostrada.pl/strona9.html>

As a matter of comparison, therefore, the Slavonic *grody* could be, to some extent, compared in British history to the much earlier Iron Age *hillforts* (Cunliffe 1991: 312, Darvill 2003: 133) or to Saxon *burhs* (Liddiard 2005: 15). Some *grody* contained ducal residences similar to the Ottonian palaces in Germany (Purton 2009: 144), and several served as seats of bishops and housed the early cathedrals, in a pattern similar to France and Rhineland (Pounds 1976: 272), and in Britain to settlements such as Durham or Old Sarum (Shortt 1965: 12-18). Pounds (1976: 272) also notes that the *grody* of Central and Eastern Europe became gradually surrounded by pre-urban suburbia, and evolved into centres for crafts and trades in the same manner as their contemporary, early feudal castles and monasteries in Western Europe.

The decline of *grody* forts - relatively late, compared to their British and German counterparts (Pounds 1976: 272) - was stimulated by two particular events. First, a monarchic crisis of 1138 which, for almost two centuries, divided the Kingdom of Poland between rivalling branches of the ruling house who could not afford and did not need to raise such large structures like forts

anymore (Piskadło 1977: 369, Strzelczyk 1999: 535). Second, a devastating Mongolian invasion of 1241 which left a great number of wooden fortifications in Poland burnt to the ground (Mała Encyklopedia Wojskowa 1967: 592, Piskadło 1977: 372).

Medieval Poland, along with Hungary and Bohemia, was influenced continuously by the 'more established states to the west' (Purton 2009: 196). Between the 12th and the 14th centuries, Poland experienced a 'cultural transfer' from the west (Gieysztor 2000a: 46), mainly through large numbers of German-speaking settlers, otherwise known - in Germany - as *eastern colonisation* (Koch 1996: 398). Along with the later conquest and settlement of the Baltic coast by the militant, and predominantly German speaking, Teutonic Order, the *eastern colonisation* brought new building techniques, new artistic and philosophical ideas, and new social arrangements, as well as an increased economic exchange with Western Europe. One of those cultural imports was *feudalism*, a new social system which, amongst others, carried the concept of a castle as a 'visible expression of lordship' (Tabraham 1986: 73, see also Bochenek 1989: 296). Indeed, Davies (2000: 240) observes that the greatest number of stone and brick castles can be found in the western and northern parts of today's Poland, where the Germanic influence had been the strongest throughout the ages. Summing up, in the early 13th century, conditions appeared in Poland which allowed for the development of the *castle* as defined in this thesis - historians refer to this moment as the beginning of the gothic period in Poland (Piskadło 1977: 371, Koch 1996: 177, Kajzer *et al.* 2001: 36).

The first 'organised' castle building scheme in Poland also took place in the 13th century, in the territory of today's Silesia region and was initiated by the Dukes of Świdnica and Jawor (Piskadło 1977: 372-376). Another castle-building programme, this time of country-wide character, took place between 1333 and 1370, during the reign of King Kazimierz Wielki (Casimir the Great, Figure 6).

Kazimierz Wielki devised and executed a central plan of fortifying 28 cities and constructing or modernising of between 35 and 57 castles throughout the Kingdom of Poland (Piskadło 1977: 383, Kajzer *et al.* 2001: 44, Pietrzak 2002: 147). At the end of the 14th century, the Kingdom of Poland was defended by systems of strategically located castles and fortified towns which guarded the borders with neighbouring countries, and the main trade routes; yet

another system of castles protected the capital city of Krakow, where the royal Wawel Castle also saw significant investment (Pietrzak 2002: 147).



Figure 6. Political map of Europe in the mid 14th century, at the height of castle-building in Poland. Source: Pounds 1976: 314

Today's distribution and locations of castles in Poland still reflects the extent and magnitude of that royal castle building effort (Figure 7, Figure 8).

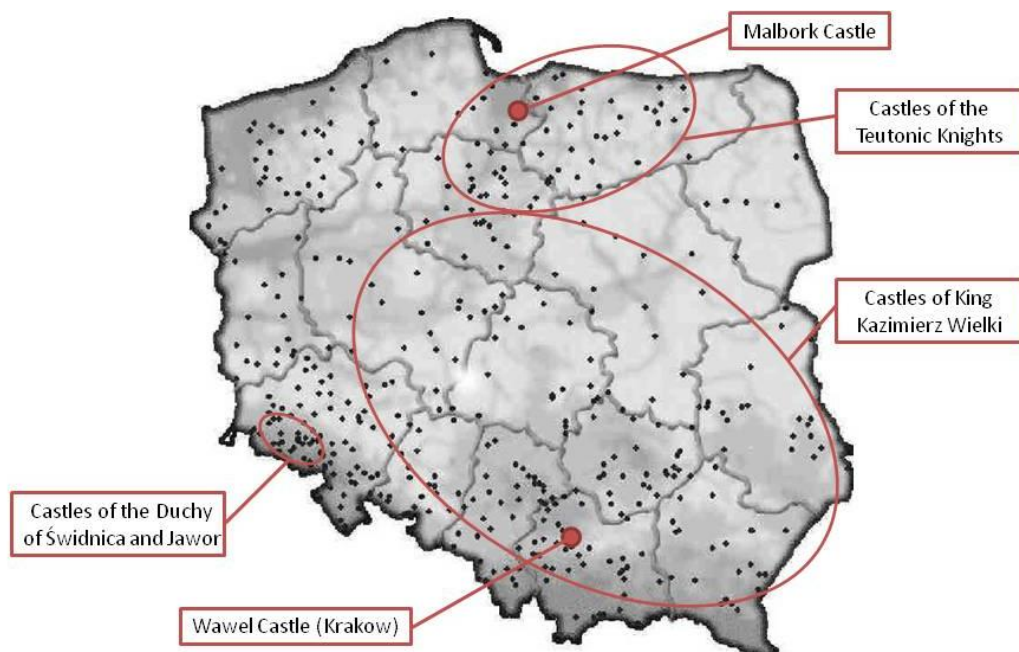


Figure 7. Contemporary distribution of castles, castle ruins and alleged castle sites within the current administrative borders of Poland. Based on ZeroJeden (2001)



Figure 8. Mirów Castle, one of the castles built by King Kazimierz Wielki, later passed into private ownership, nationalised in 1945, purchased again by a private owner from the local government in the first decade of the 21st century with an aim to partly reconstruct it and reopen to visitors. Source: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/polandmfa/4789919378/in/photostream/>

The territory of Poland today also includes most of the lands which historically belonged to the Teutonic Order, also known as the Knights of the Hospital of St Mary of Jerusalem. In 1231 the Teutonic Knights established themselves to the north of the borders of the Kingdom of Poland following a call from one of the Polish princes, Konrad Mazowiecki (Conrad of Mazovia), for military assistance against pagan tribes known as Prussians (Czaja 2010: 55). By the end of the 14th century, the Teutonic Order had conquered the Prussians; they had used force, diplomacy and deceit to establish themselves as sovereign rulers of the conquered territories, and built about 200 brick castles to control and defend them (Davies 2000: 101-103, Figure 7).

The Teutonic Knights castles were built in a distinctive style, 'combining the functions of a monastic foundation with that of a defensive structure' (ICOMOS 1997: 99-100), which also influenced many castle projects in the neighbouring lands of the Duchy of Lithuania and in the bordering provinces of the Kingdom of Poland, such as Mazovia or Pomerania (Kajzer *et al.* 2001: 38-40, Sieradzan 2010: 76). Today, original Teutonic castles can still be found in the territories of Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Russia, all of which have recently begun a joint attempt to inscribe them - as a 'unique,

homogeneous architectural ensemble' - on the World Heritage List (PAP-Nauka w Polsce 2011).

A prominent example of a Teutonic castle, and so far the only castle in Poland featured on the World Heritage List (UNESCO 2010), is Malbork (Marienburg) Castle (Figures 7 and 9). Built in the early 14th century as the administrative centre of the country and the official residence of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, it is regarded today as 'the most complete and elaborate example of a medieval brick castle in Europe' (ICOMOS 1997: 102). It is also known as the largest brick castle in the world (Kulig 2009: 279).



Figure 9. Malbork Castle. Once a capital of the military state of the Knights of the Hospital of St Mary of Jerusalem, known as the Teutonic Order, today a major Polish state owned museum. Source: www.zamek.malbork.pl

By the mid 15th century, rapid changes in warfare forced widespread alterations to castles in Europe in order to adapt them to the increased use of gunpowder cannon in both attack and defence (Mała Encyklopedia Wojskowa 1967: 592, Dybaś 2001: 70). The new, *reinforced castles* (Duffy 1979: 2-4) represented improved passive resistance to artillery firepower thanks to heightened and thickened walls, strengthened gates, and multiplied towers with more fireproof rooftops (Contamine 1999: 122). The pressure to introduce any form of effective, active resistance led, in the early 15th century, to the invention of squat artillery towers, called *roundels* (Duffy 1979: 4, Figure 10). *Roundels* were replaced by *bastions* in the 16th century (Piskadło 1977: 392-393, Kajzer *et al.* 2001: 59-65, Figure 11).

In the 16th century Poland entered its *Golden Age* and became one of the greatest economic and military powers in Europe (Gieysztor 2000a: 47, Małowist 2006: 39). A shift in the understanding of the duties of a knight and his role in society meant that warfare was becoming the occupation of paid soldiers, while the nobility in Poland tended to concentrate more on politics and the rural economy (Dymkowski 2010: 25).



Figure 10. A *roundel*; fragment of Tarnów town walls.
Source: http://flickrriver.com/photos/iks_berto/3956263193/

The long period of peace and prosperity in the 16th century influenced the development of new types of residences in Poland, meaning that medieval castles, militarily obsolete, were often either abandoned or modernized and rebuilt, giving their residential purpose every priority over military effectiveness (Piskadło 1977: 392-393, for an analogy in the history and evolution of castles in England see Liddiard 2005: 59). For those castles which still aimed to present military value by the mid 17th century, the most typical model became the Italian *palazzo in fortezza* style of residential fortification, which was a combination of a palace surrounded by fortress-style, enclosed system of curtain walls and artillery bastions (Koch 1996: 310, Figure 11). Constructions of this kind in Poland were still traditionally called castles rather than palaces or fortresses (Koch 1996: 298), and therefore remain of interest for this thesis, until

they gradually evolved into small, Polish variants of the bastioned fortresses of the Old Dutch School (Dybaś 2001: 78-79).

The second half of the 17th century marked an end to the history of the construction of castles in Poland in a sequence of devastating military conflicts. Between 1648 and 1672, Poland was involved in wars against Ukrainian Cossacks, Crimea Tatars, Muscovy, Sweden, Brandenburg, Hungary and the Ottoman Empire – a period commonly referred to in the Polish tradition as the ‘deluge’ (Davies 1990: 611). During the ‘deluge’, nearly every castle in Poland was captured, surrendered or abandoned, and looted or otherwise damaged, often irreversibly (Augustyniak 2001: 124, Picture 5). Kajzer *et al.* (2001: 32) claim that following that period no castles were built in Poland anymore, either for military or for financial reasons. The mid 17th century, therefore, marks the moment when castle building in Poland effectively came to an end.



Figure 11. Krzyztopor Castle - *palazzo in fortezza*, and a classic example of castle surrounded by *bastions*. Built in 1644, damaged by the Swedish army during the ‘deluge’ in 1655, ruined by Russian troops which intervened during a civil war in Poland in 1770, nationalised and conserved as a ruin in 1971, currently undergoing partial restoration by the local government thanks to funding from the European Union. Source: <http://legendarny.b.blogspot.com/2011/03/366-okien-i-duchy-zamek-krzyztopor-w.html>

As already mentioned in Section 1.5.5, kings, princes, bishops and individual knights built castles to defend and administer their lands, as well as to improve their own social and political standing. In fact, Szymczak (2002: 16)

argues that castles in Poland were built only by a small fraction of the 18% of Polish nobility associated with any residential constructions in Middle Ages. Kazjer (2002: 129) observes that castles were built by the wealthiest noble families only, and more specifically only by those families which had 'particular ambitions' to mark their social position in this specific manner. Castles served, therefore, as symbols of the sovereignty, power, influence, and often the territorial claims of their owners, and also the most visible manifestation of the idea of feudalism and its associated vertical social order (Chorowska 2002: 206, Czechowicz 2002: 534). As such, castles also served the role of centres of 'high' culture (Czuba 2009: 40). At a deeper, symbolic level, 'the medieval castle ... [was] a meaningful architecture, involved in a sophisticated series of ideological relationships within its cultural context' (Wheatley 2004: 146).

At any time, castles formed their own, close-knit socio-economic settlement systems, which were the physical manifestation of feudalism (Antoniewicz 2002a: 276-281, 307). The castle and its surrounding area were largely inter-dependent - food production, manufacturing, trade, together with the political, judiciary, religious and military powers formed a network of mutually beneficial exchanges of goods and services (Zaniewski 2008: 212-221).

A castle thrived, therefore, in a curiously dual role of a private and a public place at the same time (Coulson 2004: 182, Wheatley 2004: 51). Also, contrary to the popularly held view of its dominating military function, it is presumed that one of the castle's most important functions was economic activity (Rozyrkowski 2002: 348). Pietrzak (2002: 154-165) argues that a castle in Medieval Poland served a range of functions of various importance, which could be summarised, in a descending order of prominence, as: residential, administrative and political, judicial and archival, socio-economic, and - on very rare occasions in the history of most castles - the defensive. A ruined castle would, therefore, be seen as a testimony to the prior collapse of its network of economic exchange and a marker of corrosion of the surrounding cultural landscape (Karwacka and Croatto 2008: 71, Lewicki 2009: 175). Following the end of the 17th century this became the fate of most castles in Poland.

Following the partitions of Poland between Prussia, Russia and Austria, completed in 1795, many castles suffered neglect or misuse, serving as stables, hospitals or military barracks, and often also as a source of construction

material for new buildings. Accidents and natural processes of decay also played their part (Ashworth and Howard 1999: 54). The necessity to protect the relics of medieval castles in Poland was for the first time expressed in 1810 by Wawrzyniec Surowiecki (Kajzer *et al.* 2001: 13), and in 1827, Maurycy Hauke attempted to create the first registry of castles and fortresses in Poland (Janczykowski 2004: 52).



Figure 12. Rzeszów Castle - *palazzo in fortezza*, completed by 1690s for the Lubomirski family, nationalised and turned into a prison in 1820, remodelled and rebuilt in 1903-05, currently a courthouse.
Source: <http://www.rzeszow.pl/miasto-rzeszow/historia/zabytki-rzeszowa/zamek>

However, according to Kajzer *et al.* (2001: 13), interest in architecture, in the context of landscape, emerged in Poland as early as in the late 17th century. Polish elites also shared the 18th century's European passion for antiquities which culminated in the 19th century's romantic revival of interest in castles as reminiscence of an often mythicised past (Gieysztor 2000: 160-161, Janczykowski 2004: 51-53, Stępień 2008: 142).

Before the First World War, the gradually emerging conservation doctrine in Poland tended towards the 'conserve as found' rule (Lichfield 1988: 69, Szmygin 2009a: 13). Still, a number of projects - mostly private - were initiated throughout the country to restore, or exceptionally even to reconstruct selected castles or their parts (Dettloff 2008: 91, Figure 12).

Twenty years of independence between 1918 and 1939 were marked by the government's efforts to consolidate Poland as an independent and sovereign state following 123 years of it being partitioned between three separate, and at time mutually hostile, states of Russia, Prussia and Austria (Davies 1991: 849). Both academic and political interest in castles in Poland increased gradually throughout the 1920s, resulting in an intensified conservation effort, castle repairs and reconstructions. New trusts and associations were set up for the protection of monuments, and two legal acts were passed in 1918 and 1921 that addressed the conservation and protection of historic buildings in Poland (Janczykowski 2004: 54, Brykowska 2008: 22, Stępień 2008: 142, Czuba 2009: 40).

The Second World War left Polish cultural assets drastically damaged. Jasiński (2008) estimates that 43% of historic architecture in Poland was damaged or destroyed - however, there is no indication as to the types of buildings affected, whether the area concerned was the pre- or the post-war territory of Poland (see Chapter 1, Figure 1), and what was the actual degree of damages. Nevertheless, it has been observed that even at the beginning of the 21st century, buildings that remain in a state of ruin still evoke negative emotions and connotations in Poland (Maławska 2008: 68, Czuba 2009: 45).

The year 1945 marked an end to the 'natural, historical process of evolution' of castles in Poland (Bukal 2009: 54). Between 1945 and 1989 all but one castle remaining in private ownership in Poland were nationalised (Koskowski 2001: 102, Figure 13), which resulted, ironically, in an 'almost ideal model' of free public access to heritage (Sroczyńska 2008: 210).

At that time, decisions regarding castles were taken arbitrarily by the central government, driven by a strong political agenda and a one-sided view of the past, resulting in practically nonexistent community participation in heritage protection, conservation or management (Molski 2008: 59). Typically, decisions made concerning castles were to: (a) conserve as a ruin; (b) create a museum, (c) adapt to an altogether different use (Szmygin 2009: 14, Brykowska 2008: 22). As a matter of fact, the preference for a museum function has prevailed in Poland until today (Jagusiewicz 2002: 115, Mącik 2008: 290).

Since 1989, in the course of the process of economic and political transformation in Poland, most existing concepts concerning the protection, conservation and management of castles in Poland have been challenged -

such as the role of castles in society, their current use and functions - but no alternatives have been agreed (Szmygin 2007b: 130, Molski 2008: 59, Malawska 2008: 62-65). At the beginning of the 21st century, castles in Poland are increasingly recognised as requiring a broad, interdisciplinary approach that would include not only architects, museum professionals, archaeologists and historians, but also sociologists and possibly economists (Kajzer *et al.* 2001: 16). At the same time, a new, aggregate term *castellology* has been used by a number of authors to contain the emerging interdisciplinary study, which has castles as its central subject (Antoniewicz 2002b: 9-11, Coulson 2004: 5, Janczykowski 2004: 56).



Figure 13. Janowiec Castle. Built in 1526, was the only remaining private castle in communist Poland, eventually sold to the treasury in 1975.
Source: <http://www.museo.pl/content/view/192/184>

2.4 The number of castles in Poland

Problems associated with defining a castle, investigated in Section 1.5.5, along with the numerous border changes in Central Europe - introduced in Chapter 1 and also mentioned above - lead to another problematic matter, namely the actual number of castles in Poland. This became an issue during the first attempt to compile a comprehensive directory of all castles in Poland by Guerquin (Malawska 2007a: 82), and still remains unresolved at the time of writing this thesis (Figure 14).

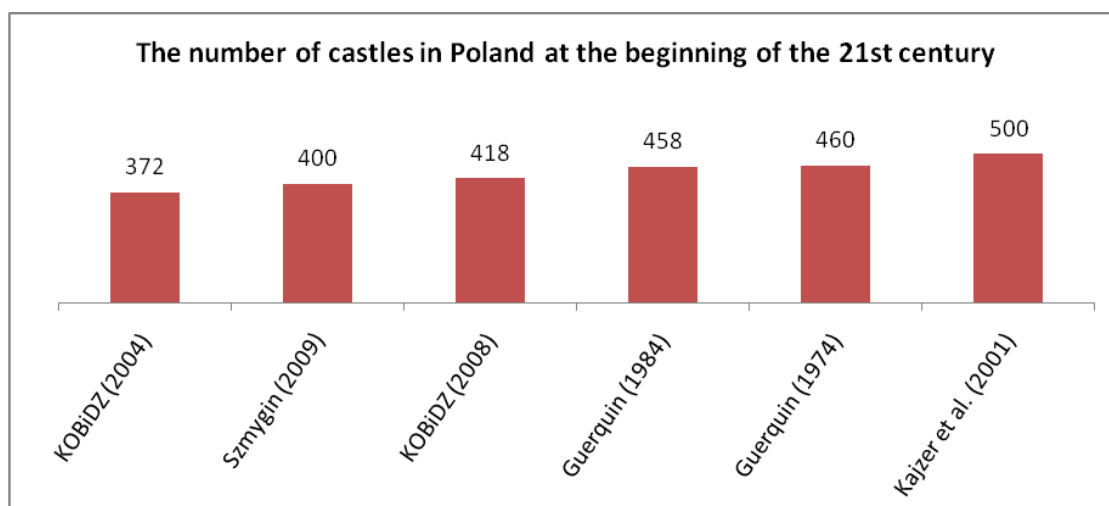


Figure 14. The number of castles in Poland.

Guerquin's directory, which for over a quarter of a century had served as the main castle reference source in Poland, included 460 castles, but did not claim to be a comprehensive listing (Guerquin 1984). More recently, Kajzer *et al.* (2001: 8), whose explicit intention was to replace Guerquin's work with a new, up-to-date castle lexicon, stated: 'we [still] cannot answer an apparently simple question - how many castles there were in Poland?' However, Kajzer *et al.* (2001: 69) also noted that castles accounted for approximately 10% of all defensive structures in medieval Poland. The rest of the defensive structures throughout the country comprised small earth and timber fortlets - otherwise known as *mottes* - fortified manors, and a variety of free-standing, habitable, defensive towers. All those structures, owing to their defensive functions, would have had been referred to as castles in archival sources, but cannot be classed as castles according to modern definitions - and as such are also not subject of this thesis (Augustyniak 2001: 104, Kajzer *et al.* 2001: 66-72, see also Kajzer 2001: 195). Nevertheless, Kajzer *et al.* (2001: 65-66) underlined that castles - which are typically structures of considerable size and therefore very expensive - were only built by the crown or by the wealthiest members of nobility, and so it seems unlikely that anyone will ever identify significantly more than the 500 castles listed in the current castle lexicon.

Meanwhile, the recent official summary *Report on the state of the monuments* included only 372 castles (KOBiDZ 2004). In 2008 the National Heritage Board of Poland published the contents of the National Register of Monuments which featured 418 castles (KOBiDZ 2008). The greatest number of

castles ever mentioned by single source so far - over 750 castles and castle sites - has been claimed by ZeroJeden (2001; see also Figure 7 in Chapter 1). However, the source lists not only castles and ruins of castles, but also potential and alleged castle sites in Poland.

In the view of these discrepancies, a thorough assessment of the castle 'resource' in Poland has been recently undertaken by Malawska (2007a, 2009), who analysed all the available castle catalogues, lists and registries in Poland. She concluded that due to the many varying definitions of a castle, no clear determination between a *castle ruin* and a *ruined castle*, and because of the varying standards and quality of various castle entries in the Register of Monuments, it is still not possible to indicate the actual, true number of castles in Poland today (Malawska 2007a: 82). Nevertheless, drawing on Malawska's study, Szmygin (2009a: 16) was able to estimate the number of castles in Poland at 'approximately 200 castles and 200 ruins'.

2.5 Legislation

2.5.1 Background

Most countries have their historically developed systems of laws, regulations, guidelines etc. for the identification, evaluation, inventory and treatment of different kinds of cultural resources (McManamon and Hatton 2000). As noted above, the concepts of registration, protection, conservation as well as restoration of monuments in Poland were shaped in the 19th century. Since the country regained sovereignty and independence in 1918, Poland has been actively involved in the creation of the international and national body of law concerning the built cultural heritage. In 1931 Poland participated in the Congress of Architects and Technicians which resulted in the signing of the Athens Charter. In 1954, Poland was one of the first 37 countries to sign the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (UNESCO 2009a [1954]), and the Polish delegate to the Convention proposed the design of the blue and white cultural property emblem - the Blue Shield - which the Convention adopted for international use (Zachwatowicz 1965: 139-144). Poland's representative was also a member of the Committee for drafting the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments -

known as the Venice Charter - ratified in 1964 (ICOMOS 1964). The Venice Charter led to the establishing of the International Council on Monuments and Sites - ICOMOS - which held its inaugural meeting in Warsaw, Poland in 1965 (ICOMOS 2005). In 1976, Poland ratified the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage - originally signed in Paris in 1972 (UNESCO 1972) - and has since inscribed 12 cultural properties and one natural property on the World Heritage List (UNESCO 2009b).

Meanwhile, attempts were made in Poland to record and legally protect the historic architecture and other forms of heritage. By 2003, three specific Acts of Parliament were passed in respect of protection and conservation of historic architecture in Poland: two before the Second World War - in 1918 and in 1928 - and one post-war in 1962 (Zalasińska and Zeidler 2009). The communist 1962 Act on the Safeguarding of Cultural Property lasted for four decades but the mounting number of changes required of it influenced the creation of a new body of relevant law.

2.5.2 The 2003 Act on Safeguarding and Protection of Monuments

On the 23rd July 2003 the Polish Parliament passed an Act on Safeguarding and Protection of Monuments (Dziennik Ustaw 2003). The new Act has been announced as 'the first legal act to interpret the protection of historical monuments in Poland in a complex manner and to comprise a foundation for pertinent legal regulations' (Sławomirska 2004: 200). The full text of the 2003 Act is available online, albeit in Polish only, at <http://www.eui.eu/Projects/InternationalArtHeritageLaw/Documents/NationalLegislation/Poland/2003lawontheProtectionofMonuments.pdf>.

The 2003 Act determined, for the first time in Poland, the legal definition of a *historical monument*: 'a real estate or a portable item, as well as a part or a complex thereof, which are the work of a human [sic] or are connected with human activity, and which bear witness to a past epoch or event, and whose preservation lies in the social interest due to their historical, artistic or scientific value' (Dziennik Ustaw 2003, Article 3, point 1 - author's own translation from Polish). The Act also established the formal division of historical monuments into: (a) immobile, (b) portable, and (c) archaeological (Dziennik Ustaw 2003, Article 3, points 2-4). Interestingly, the 2003 Act also specified the meaning of

the terms *conservation* and *restoration* by referring to the degree of intervention with the original fabric of the historical monument (Dziennik Ustaw 2003, Article 3, points 6-7 - author's own translation from Polish):

- *conservation*: activity aimed at securing and preserving of the substance of a historical monument, inhibiting processes of its destruction, as well as documentation thereof;
- *restoration*: activity aimed at enhancing the exposition of the artistic and aesthetic values of a historical monument, including, if required, additions or partial reconstruction, as well as documentation thereof.

A further innovative concept contained in the 2003 Act, and of particular importance for the practice of castle management in Poland, is the distinction between *safeguarding of monuments* and *protection of monuments* (Dziennik Ustaw 2003, Articles 4 & 5):

- *safeguarding of monuments* has been described as the legal, planning and control duties of the government;
- *protection of monuments* has been described as encompassing the responsibilities and activities of owners and/or custodians of specific sites or artefacts, and include maintenance, research, interpretation, and conservation.

Critics of the 2003 Act point out that in practice the two areas - safeguarding and protection of monuments - overlap and influence each other, which has not been fully acknowledged in the 2003 Act (Konopka 2009). Nevertheless, responsibilities and obligations of, respectively, the heritage *guardian*, i.e. the state, and heritage *protectors*, i.e. the owners, tenants, and other users, form a large part of the 2003 Act. Another prominent place in the 2003 Act has been given to sanctions for failure to observe it, which have been considerably toughened, compared with previous legislation, especially in relation to acts of deliberate destruction of monuments.

The 2003 Act has been criticised for numerous flaws, not least for failing to propose a new strategy for the safeguarding of monuments in Poland (Senat RP 2003, Zalaszińska and Zeidler 2009), and for its lack of legal precision (Marciniak and Pawleta 2010: 96). The overall impression that the 2003 Act makes is that it is an attempt by the state to adapt to the pressure of the market

economy and the growing private ownership of historical buildings and artefacts.

According to a critical legal analysis by Chlebowicz (2004), one of the prime features of the new legislation is that it creates an asymmetry in the legal relationship between the state and private owners of historical monuments. This is reflected in the secured ability of the state so-called Monument Conservation Service (MCS, see also Section 2.5.1 of this chapter) to intervene in the legal private ownership of sites, items or buildings identified as historical monuments, to the point of a forced repossession, according to Article 50 of the 2003 Act (Dziennik Ustaw 2003). Chlebowicz (2004) argues that although the source of the said asymmetry lies in the constitutional responsibility of the Polish state to take upon itself the duty to 'safeguard the national heritage' (Dziennik Ustaw 1997), the consequence is that the 2003 Act gave the Polish MCS legal powers almost those of 'a monument police' (Chlebowicz 2004: 127). It seems, however, that such criticism had been foreseen by the authors of the 2003 Act. The Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Culture, Maciej Klimczak, explained: 'This Act is not about what tax exemptions might be available to the owners of the monuments; this Act is about the obligations of those who for any reasons own a historic monument. (...) All the owners of historic monuments should know the consequences [sic!] of possessing such a property' (Senat RP 2003).

Generally, the 2003 Act has not brought about any significant change to the state of built heritage in Poland. The continuing deterioration of historic architecture in Poland - according to the *Heritage at Risk* reports by ICOMOS - both before and after the 2003 Act could be associated with three factors: (a) defective legislation, (b) management problems, and (c) lack of education (ICOMOS 2000, ICOMOS 2004).

According to the two reports by ICOMOS (2000, 2004), the biggest concern has been the unresolved problem of *reprivatisation* of historic properties in Poland, especially those found in the developing at a slower pace, rural areas. *Reprivatisation* in this context means the process of returning the earlier forcefully nationalised properties to their last legal owners, or their legal inheritors. Only a handful of such disputed properties have been recently either returned to the descendants of the last lawful owners, or otherwise officially confirmed property of the state through mutual legal settlements. At the time of

writing there are no such known, concluded cases concerning castles in Poland - one ongoing case, which concerns Sucha Beskidzka Castle, has been identified during the interviews carried out in the course of this thesis. However, the recent case of the palace in Kozłówka, in which the Zamoyski family gave up their rights to the property in return for compensation and a special access arrangement, can be seen as exemplary of the mechanism in question (Gazeta Prawna 2008).

Summing up, despite this recently introduced new legislative framework, a number of conservation professionals believe that the system of monument protection in Poland is still failing (Szmygin 2007b, Gawlicki 2009, Malawska 2009, Szmygin 2009a, Zalasińska and Zeidler 2009). Particularly, the strengthened state control and the extended array of sanctions at the disposal of the MCS appear to have been inspired by the past communist government practice to protect monuments in Poland 'from people and without people', as Pawłowska and Swaryczewska expressed it (2002, cited in Kobyliński and Paczuska 2007: 81). The 2003 Act has also been criticised for shaping a heavily confrontational relationship between the state and the private sector (Malawska 2007: 81). Both of the above mentioned themes will be addressed directly by the Castle Management Model proposed in Chapter 6.

Despite the expressed intentions of the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage to 're-interpret the conservation theory' (Kancelaria Sejmu 2009), and its recently announced attempt to challenge the popular perception that culture is 'unprofitable, anachronic and focused mainly on the preservation of cultural heritage' (COMPENDIUM 2011), it is feared that no substantial amendments to the 2003 Act or its related legislation can be expected in the foreseeable future (ICOMOS 2010). Interviews with castle administrators, cited in Section 7.4, clearly repeat and confirm the above concerns.

2.6 Institutions involved in the protection, conservation and care of castles in Poland

2.6.1 Public administration institutions

The network of control, influence and co-operation between the institutions involved in the protection and conservation of built heritage in

Poland is presented below in a diagram purposefully designed for this thesis (Figure 15). The person responsible for the implementation of the government's policy in the areas of culture and protection of national heritage in Poland is the Minister of Culture and National Heritage (Ministerstwo Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego 2011a). The protection of the built heritage in Poland is supervised by the relevant Deputy Minister at the Ministry, who represents the Minister in this respect and performs the function of the General Inspector of Monuments.

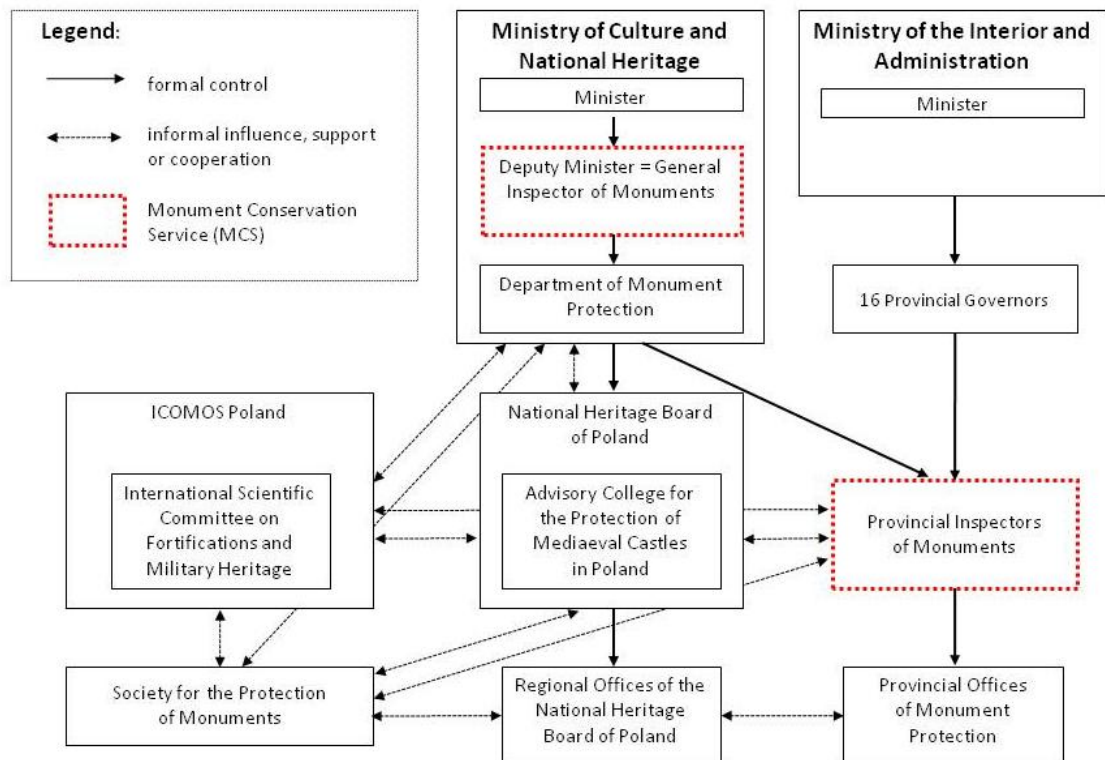


Figure 15. Institutions involved in the protection and conservation of built heritage in Poland.

The fact that the principal conservation officer is also a high ranking member of the state administration has been criticised for unnecessary politicisation of the conservation profession (Konopka 2009). The same model, however, is reflected at the regional level in Poland. The 2003 Act placed the responsibility of monument protection in the hands of governors (*wojewoda*) of the 16 provinces (*województwo*) of Poland, represented in this respect by Provincial Inspectors of Monuments, who preside over a network of Provincial Offices of Monument Protection. The Provincial Inspectors of Monuments, together with the General Inspector of Monuments form the already mentioned

MCS. The fact that the Provincial Inspectors are formally subordinates of the Minister of the Interior and Administration, and not of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage, has been mentioned as a significant impediment in the functioning of the MCS, but at the time of writing this thesis, this situation seems unlikely to change (Zalasińska and Zajdler 2009).

To support the General Inspector and the 16 Provincial Inspectors, and to create a cohesive 'system of cultural heritage protection and documentation' (Gawlicki 2007a) a new National Heritage Board of Poland was formed in 2007 (Figure 15), and was tasked with the implementation of the state policy of protection and management of cultural heritage in Poland. One of the main duties of the National Heritage Board is the administration of the National Register of Historical Monuments (Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa 2011).

The National Register of Historical Monuments is a collection of sites, constructions, buildings, groups of buildings, and urban settlements of 'historical, artistic or scientific value' the protection of which 'lies in the public interest' and is sanctioned by the 2003 Act discussed above (Dziennik Ustaw 2003: Chapter 1, Article 3). It is the responsibility of the Provincial Inspectors of Monuments to make new entries in the Register, and to maintain conservatory control over the sites and structures already registered there.

The National Heritage Board is also responsible for keeping a record of archaeological research and for the organisation of rescue archaeology projects. Additionally, the Board has been appointed to cooperate with UNESCO with regard to World Heritage proposals and enlisting processes, and to liaise with other relevant international and foreign institutions, e.g. with the European Commission in organising European Heritage Days, or with English Heritage in exchanging experience and expertise (Gawlicki 2007b).

In 2007, in light of 'unprecedented economic activity' (Malawska 2007b: 6) in relation to castles in Poland - especially medieval ruins - the Director of the National Heritage Board of Poland established an Advisory College for Protection of Medieval Castles in Poland. The College is an inter-agency advisory group, involving the Commission on Conservation Theory and Military Architecture at ICOMOS-Poland, the National Heritage Board, a representative of the Provincial Inspectors of Monuments, as well as representatives of major academic institutions in Poland. The College has been tasked with devising a

strategy for the protection of the limited resource of medieval castles in Poland from effects of the 'systemic transformations in Poland' (Malawska 2007b: 7).

Interestingly, during the time of writing of this thesis the National Heritage Board has undergone significant transformation. The concept of a *monument* has been replaced with the concept of *heritage* in all aspects of the Board's activity, including its name, with the aim of creating a 'modern institution of culture which will re-establish the role that heritage can play in society, according to the principles of sustainable growth' (Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa 2010).

2.6.2 Other institutions

Apart from governmental structures, two other institutions are involved in safeguarding and protection of monuments on a national level in Poland, and are therefore also concerned with castles in Poland, and as such are of interest for this thesis: (a) the Polish National Committee of the International Council on the Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS); and (b) the Society for the Protection of Monuments.

The main role of (a) ICOMOS Poland is to advise the government, facilitate international cooperation, and represent professionals in the fields of monument protection and conservation (Szmygin 2009b). As far as castles are concerned, in 2005, following a formal proposal by ICOMOS Poland, the Executive Committee of ICOMOS in Paris created an International Scientific Committee on Fortifications and Military Heritage - IcoFort ([n.d.]). The new Committee focuses on all kinds of historic fortifications and works of military engineering of all periods worldwide: individual structures, sites and objects, as well as fortified towns, areas, landscapes, installations and systems of defences, battlefields and war memorials. The Committee's Secretariat is located at the premises of the National Heritage Board of Poland in Warsaw, perhaps reflecting the intention for close cooperation between these two institutions.

The (b) Society for the Protection of Monuments is a successor of the Society for Protection of the Monuments of the Past that since 1906 supported the first national conservational service in Poland. After a period of inactivity after the Second World War, the Society was re-established in 1974 under the

current name. The Society is now again a charity that organises and coordinates communal, voluntary care for both natural and architectural monuments in close cooperation with the conservation authorities, carries out educational activities concerning heritage care and protection, and publishes its own magazine that discusses national heritage issues in a style accessible for non-professional audience.

2.6.3 Linguistic considerations

Interestingly, there are some significant variations in the official English translations of the names of the institutions, offices and officials involved in protection and conservation of the built heritage in Poland. Some sources use the terms *General Conservator* and *Provincial Conservators* of Historical Monuments (ICOMOS 2000, Gawlicki 2007a, Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa 2010), and other sources opt for the terms *General Inspector* and *Provincial Inspectors* of Monuments (ICOMOS 1997, Gawlicki 2007b, Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa 2010). A similar variation of terms appears in English language translations of the Provincial Offices, either: of Monument *Preservation*, as the Ministry calls this area of activity in the English version of its website (Ministerstwo Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego 2011b); or of Monument *Protection*, which is the term used in the same context by the National Heritage Board of Poland (Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa 2010). Lastly, the term *województwo* - i.e. the second tier administrative unit in Poland - often features as *voivodship* in English language versions of Polish websites, but in foreign English-language sources it is typically translated into a more familiar term *province* (Belczyk 2002).

In this thesis, the terms *inspector*, *protection* and *province* will be used, for the following reasons:

- they are more commonly used in the reviewed literature than any other terms;
- they most closely describe responsibilities of the institutions in question;
- the terms *province* and *inspector* can be assumed to be more familiar to English-speaking readers, and specifically the term *inspector* can create an analogy with the role of the Inspector of Ancient Monuments in the structures of the English Heritage (Creative Choices 2011); and

- as regards the term *protection*, it has been already said that the 2003 Act declares the duty to safeguard and *protect* monuments, but not necessarily to *preserve* them.

It has to be noted that there is no international uniformity of the terms in question, even in English speaking countries (Alef 2005). Also, a multilingual thesaurus of architecture- and conservation-related terms, intended to set a terminological standard and hosted by the European Heritage Network, is still in its early years (HEREIN 2011). The variety of Polish-English translations of the discussed terms and names of institutions may therefore be accidental, or simply a feature of the ongoing institutional transformation of the country. However, it cannot fail to reinforce the impression that the said transformation of the institutions involved in monument protection and conservation in Poland is lacking co-ordination.

2.7 Concluding remarks

This chapter has established the historic, legal and institutional background of the thesis. It first demonstrated that castles played various roles in history, and that their decline and deterioration in Poland can be, to a great extent, linked to their gradual obsolescence. Obsolescence is meant here not only in military terms - i.e. due to developments in methods and tools of warfare - but also, if not primarily, in terms of the decline of the peace-time, administrative, political, judicial, or economic functions that castles once played in their immediate and wider communities (see Section 2.3). The functions, roles and usefulness of castles are the main themes of the Castle Management Model, proposed in Chapter 7.

Another issue, introduced in this chapter, which contributed to the deterioration of many castles in Poland in modern times, is the so-called 'discontinuity of inheritance' (Koskowski 2008b). As this chapter has demonstrated, the process of nationalisation of castles in Poland by the communist regime in the aftermath of the Second World War was never fully reversed after the collapse of communism in 1989. Changes of ownership of castles in Poland during and after the 1989 transformation were mostly individual, private transactions, owing to the rapid development of the free market for historic real estate. Any attempts by various political parties to invite

the government to initiate an institutionalised process of ownership transfer of historic properties, known as *reprivatisation*, have so far proved futile - most certainly due to the unresolved issue of the mounting, associated compensation claims. It is difficult to establish how many of the present private owners of castles in Poland are descendants of the last rightful private owners before the Second World War. It can be said with considerable certainty, however, that contested and/or unresolved ownership are one of the decisive factors that shape the management of castles in Poland, and need to be addressed by the Castle Management Model.

State ownership can be interpreted as 'everybody's ownership', which, after decades of communism, is still commonly seen in Poland as synonymous with 'nobody's ownership', and therefore permissive of destruction. Any prolonged legal disputes aimed at establishing rightful ownership often mean that castles become victims of vandalism and of atmospheric elements (more on this issue in Section 7.4). Therefore, as will be discussed further in this thesis, one of the main assumptions of the proposed Castle Management Model is that the ownership of a given castle is not contested.

This chapter has also demonstrated that, in the course of the 20th century, castles have been increasingly recognised in Poland as important historic assets. As will be demonstrated further, legal protection has been extended to nearly all known castles in Poland by way of an entry in the National Register of Historical Monuments (see Sections 7.2 and 7.3). However, this method of protection seems to have, at least in part, failed. As already mentioned (see Section 1.5.4), the process of listing of castles in the Register of Historical Monuments is rooted in conservation theory. Conservation theory in Poland, in turn, has been focused on preservation of the original fabric of the protected monuments, without due consideration for the social and economic roles that those monuments either do fulfil or could fulfil today.

As has been noted in this chapter, Malawska (2009) demonstrated that castle entries in the Register of Historical Monuments in Poland vary significantly in content and in quality. Also, the overall impression of the Register and of the new 2003 Act on Safeguarding and Protection of Monuments seems to have been rather negative both amongst conservation professionals, and also amid castle owners and administrators in Poland, which will be demonstrated in Chapter 8. Moreover, no known attempt has been made

to evaluate the purposefulness and balance the costs and benefits of this form of protection, represented by entering a heritage building in the Register of Historical Monuments, even though it is widely accepted that it represents an excessive financial burden for the state treasury. It is hoped that this thesis will help contribute in addressing the above shortcoming, and that the Model will create conditions to counterbalance the conservation theory in the process of castle management.

The following chapter will explore the theoretical background and establish the actual theoretical framework of this thesis, as well as identify the methods and techniques of further investigation, and of the necessary fieldwork. Due to the interdisciplinary character of this thesis the methodological explorations have to define the common ground for all disciplines concerned on which the rest of the research project can be built.

Chapter 3

Methodology: Theory and Methods

3.1 Introduction

Methodology can be defined narrowly as the specific means, or techniques, of connecting theory and data (Adams and Schvanenveldt 1991: 12-13, Wade Hands 2001: 3, Boland 2003: 1-2), but also more broadly as the philosophy of a given science and study of the relationships between methods and theory (Humphrey 2005). Methodology can be concerned, therefore, with the selection of actual tools and techniques for the given research project, as well as with the appropriate rules of interpretation and explanation available to a particular discipline of science or practiced by a given school of thought (Wade Hands 2001: 6, Aligica and Evans 2009: 232).

From the broad methodological point of view, it is generally accepted that economics as a discipline 'uses theory - economic principles - to analyze problems and it also uses empirical evidence - the use of statistical data - to try to answer them' (Towse 2010: 5). The distinction between theory and empirical evidence is significant, but each economic school has its own particular focus and employs its own, specific methods of research (Blaug 1992: 107-110). Some schools are considered suited to the study of culture better than others and one of them is the already mentioned Austrian School of Economics (ASE) (Cantor 2009: 1, Jackson 2009: 48).

This chapter first explores the two traditions of the modern economic thought and identifies the theoretical and methodological framework within which this thesis is embedded. Further, the chapter introduces and discusses the fundamental theoretical and methodical principles of the ASE, which are relevant for this thesis. Third, it reviews the methods of data collection and analysis used in this thesis, and finally, it discusses the limitations of the chosen methods and techniques.

3.2 Two traditions of economic thought

Two different theoretical approaches to understanding economy can be distinguished within the contemporary discipline of economics (Kohn 2007:

201). The first approach, which can be identified with mainstream economics, called the *value paradigm* (see discussion below), has been found at a 'crucial junction' (Kohn 2004: 303) and an alternative, called the *exchange paradigm*, has been proposed recently (Kohn 2004, Kohn 2007, Wagner 2007, Holcombe 2008).

The approach dominant in mainstream economics has been called the *value paradigm* (Kohn 2004: 305), due to its focus on valuations and prices, i.e. on the static outcomes of market processes. It is also known as the 'equilibrium framework' of economic analysis (Holcombe 2008: 225), because it

assumes that the outcome of individual interaction is "trading equilibrium" - a situation in which all opportunities for mutually advantageous exchange are being realized ..., the pattern of trading is stationary and it is possible to talk about the relative prices ... and the allocation of resources that results from it (Kohn 2004: 308).

The *value paradigm* began to fall out of favour in the early 1970s (Rothbard 1997a: 111), but the alternative approach referred to in this thesis took another twenty years to emerge, and even at the time of writing it still has not fully replaced its predecessor in economic handbooks. This *exchange paradigm* (Kohn 2004: 307), has as its particular focus the processes of market exchange, their dynamics, and the resulting economic progress. Within this approach, according to Rothbard ([1962] 2009: 19), 'all action is an attempt to exchange a less satisfactory state of affairs for a more satisfactory one'. In contrast to the *value paradigm*, the *exchange paradigm* is also known as the 'non-equilibrium' framework (Holcombe 2008: 226). As Kohn (2004: 311) explained, the *exchange paradigm*

makes no assumption about the outcome of the process of exchange. Its theory is built instead from the "bottom-up"—up from individual behaviour rather than down from trading equilibrium. Consistency with the principle of methodological individualism is therefore guaranteed by construction.

The consistency with methodological individualism is also the strongest link between the *exchange paradigm* and the theory and methodology of the ASE (see Section 3.3).

Recent economic literature - notably Kohn (2004, 2007), Wagner (2007), and Holcombe (2008) - discusses the so-called Walras/Menger divide at length. The brief account given below highlights only those particular aspects of the two approaches, which are of importance for the methodological perspective of this thesis.

The origins of the *value / exchange paradigm* divide in economic thought can be traced back as far as the second half of the nineteenth century, to a dispute between two economists, Léon Walras and Carl Menger (Holcombe 2008: 226). Walras and Menger proposed two competing 'theoretical windows' to study economic phenomena (Wagner 2007: 98), which can be related to two distinct traditions of European economic thought (Figure 16; for an in depth analysis see Rothbard 1995).

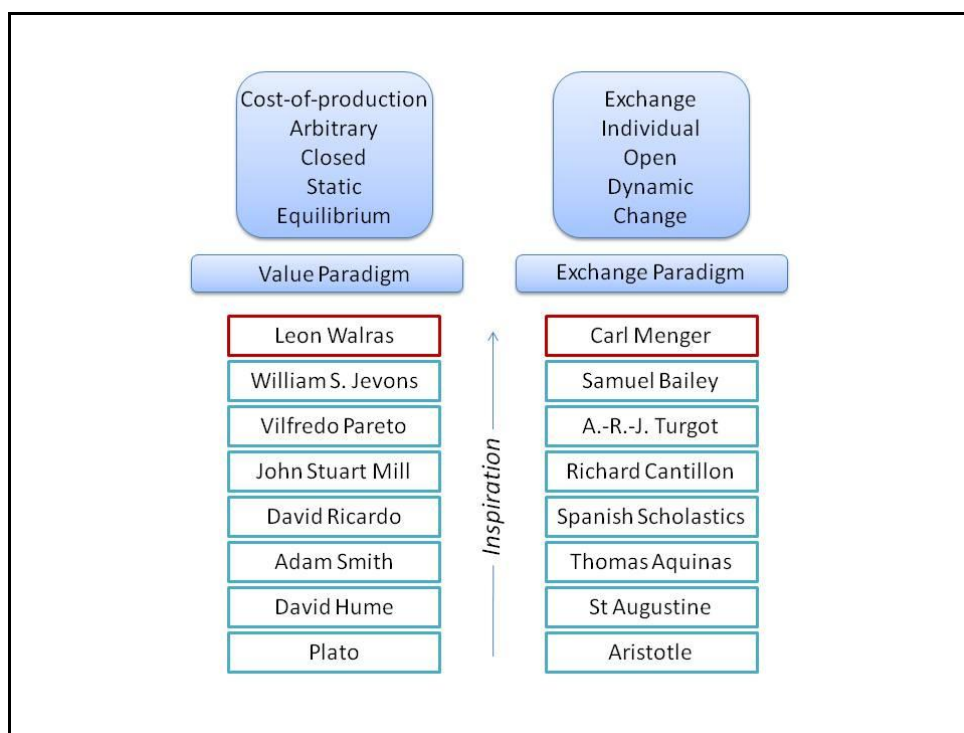


Figure 16. Two traditions of European economic thought.

The theoretical approach proposed by Walras - the *value paradigm* - pictures a closed, static model of the economy in an ideal state of equilibrium. The Walrasian trading equilibrium is a theoretical outcome of actions performed by idealised, rational individuals, assumed to constantly maximise their gains, at the given level of prices, 'in the pursuit of their own interest' (Boland 2003: 2). Critics of this approach observe that it leaves no space for such aspects of human behaviour as changing preferences, risk-taking or innovation, and that

real-life conditions of markets, and associated social processes, rarely adhere to the theoretical assumptions of the equilibrium situation (Wagner 1997: 100, Kohn 2004: 325).

In contrast, Menger proposed a dynamic and open model - the *exchange paradigm* - which pictures economy as an ever evolving system in which 'individuals act and interact to further their individual and common interests' (Kohn 2004: 316), and make informed and subjective decisions about their wellbeing. Market participants in the Mengerian approach are assumed to act to improve their conditions, but their actions are dictated by their individual judgements, preferences and values, and not simply by the automatic tendency to maximise financial gains, assumed in the Walrasian approach (Gordon 1996). For example, the Mengerian approach is able to explain individual decision to improve one's subjective feeling of wellbeing by, for instance, exchanging his time for satisfaction flowing from charitable giving or volunteering, even if it would negatively affect his or her financial situation; such action does not fit the *value paradigm* and cannot be accommodated in the Walrasian model of economy.

Innovation and entrepreneurship are two main factors of change in the Mengerian approach, which pictures economy as a spontaneously emerging *system* (Kohn 2007: 202, Cantor 2009: 34), with no clear direction and with no definite destination. The Mengerian approach concentrates on progress, change and innovation - which are economic phenomena beyond the perspective of the Walrasian static equilibrium model (Kohn 2004: 316, Holcombe 2008: 239).

The Walrasian model - and, in general, the *value paradigm* (Kohn 2004: 314) - lends itself better to quantification than the Mengerian model, and it quickly inspired such influential twentieth century economists as Marshall (1920), Keynes (1936), Hicks (1939) and Samuelson (1947), who developed it further, notably in the fields of macroeconomics and econometrics (Holcombe 2008: 225-226). As a result, modern mainstream economics evolved under the dominance of the concept of equilibrium, and became heavily dependent on mathematical equations, behavioural models and statistical estimations. Much effort has also been invested in the accuracy of economic predictions. Critics of this approach scorned economics for becoming focused on itself and thus increasingly removed from other social sciences, and especially from real-life

situations (Piore 1983, Wheelan 2002, Wutscher 2005). This critique of mainstream economics turning into 'sterile armchair theorising' (Kohn 2004: 305) also addresses economic modelling, as will be demonstrated in Section 6.3.

Throughout the twentieth century, the Mengerian model, being less mathematical, and therefore 'less precisely articulated and more difficult to summarise' (Kohn 2007: 201), became associated with non-mainstream economic research programmes, such as the Institutional Economics or the ASE.

3.3 The Austrian School of Economics (ASE)

It is the researcher's task to choose a theoretical framework and methods of inquiry which are most likely to 'produce understanding' of the researched phenomena (Sutter 2007: 54). The following paragraphs explain the choice of the ASE to explore the phenomenon of heritage management.

As already mentioned, Carl Menger, author of the *exchange paradigm's* 'theoretical window' to discuss economy, was also a founder of the ASE in Vienna - nominally in 1871 (Mises 1984 [1969]: 1) - and his theories form the core of the ASE theory (Salerno n. d.).

The origins and foundations of the ASE are a well studied subject (see for example Dolan 1976, White 1977 [2003], Mises 1984 [1969], Smith 1993, Facchini 2007). Cantor (2009: 8-9) explains, that the School owes its name to

the fact that the movement had its origins back in the nineteenth century in the then Austro-Hungarian Empire in the work of Carl Menger (1840-1921) and Eugen von Böhm-Bawerk (1851-1914), and its most famous representatives in the twentieth century, Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973) and Friedrich Hayek (1899-1992), were both Austrians by birth. But there is nothing peculiarly "Austrian" about Austrian economics; in fact the movement is barely known in present-day Austria and it flourishes in the United States.

Mengerian at its core, the ASE has always been decisively process-oriented - e.g. engaged in the study of economic progress (Knudsen 1993: 282-287, Boettke and Leeson 2006a: xiii, Holcombe 2008: 239). Another trademark attribute of the School has been its, radical at times, subjective individualism,

which enabled ASE to ‘provide more insight into the role of the entrepreneur and the individual in the economy’, than other economic schools (Colander 1998: 439, see also Hazlitt 2009, and read further in this chapter). The ASE also rejected, for methodological reasons, mathematical techniques of economic research in favour of qualitative study of the ‘*nature* of economic phenomena’ (White 2003 [1977]: 8, emphasis original). The above characteristics of the ASE have earned it a place next to other so-called ‘heterodox’ economic schools (Boland 2003: 1, Evans 2010: 245) - such as Institutional Economics, the German Historical School, or Marxian economics - which are thought to be particularly capable of bridging the ‘economics/culture divide’ (Jackson 2009: 48-55).

Kohn (2004), and Cantor (2009) mention a number of characteristics of the ASE which can support the view fostered in this thesis that the ASE, and its application of the *exchange paradigm*, can be considered particularly well suited to this study of management of heritage, defined, as it is in this thesis, as a dynamic and subjective phenomenon (Liwieratos 2004, Council of Europe 2005a, Smith 2006; for further discussion see Section 4.4). The most important arguments are as follows:

- the research focus of the *exchange paradigm* is on the dynamics of the relationship between participants in market exchange - heritage seen from this perspective can be analysed as an economising system, akin to the market system, where the interaction between the producers and consumers of heritage rests on (Throsby 2001a: 10, Kohn 2004: 316; see also Section 6.4.1):
 - exchange of time and/or money in return for the experience of heritage;
 - innovation in both the interpretation and presentation of the past and the evolution of ‘the different ways in which people use the past and its material manifestations’ (Merriman 1991: 3);
 - and institutional change in the form of evolution of the law and/or of the conservation doctrine;
- both the *exchange paradigm* and the ASE attach much importance to entrepreneurship, which, this thesis argues, is a key element of successful castle management (see Section 1.5.2);

- the ASE stresses the subjectivity of all values and valuations in market exchanges, which can relate to the subjectivity of valuation of heritage, as defined in this thesis (see Section 1.5.4, and also Section 4.3).

3.3.1 The theory of human action as a link between economics and the study of culture

The point of departure for the application of ASE's economic methodology in this thesis is the concept of *human action*. Human action - understood as 'purposeful behaviour', 'will put into operation' and 'aiming at ends and goals' (Mises 1996 [1949]: 11) - is often mentioned as the necessary factor in the emergence of both culture and economics. On the one hand, Handler (2003) observes that 'culture resides in – or better, is ceaselessly emergent from – meaningful human activity ... and the true locus of culture is in the interactions of specific individuals' (Handler 2003: 354). On the other hand, economics can be defined as 'the science of human action' (Hoppe 1995: 4), and Frey (1997: 232) denoted a 'movement designed to generalize economics as a social science not just restricted to 'the economy' but to all areas where human beings act'. Human action is, therefore, one of the few elements that culture and economics, defined this way, have unreservedly in common.

Interestingly, Cantor (2009: 1) claims that the study of culture progressed mainly within so called postmodern cultural discourse, largely influenced by Marxism (see for example During 1999, Handler 2003, Hobsbawm and Ranger 2003, Smith 2006). In contrast, the concept of human action in economics is an essential product of liberal thought, which has often been openly critical of socialism (Gray 1984, Vanberg 1986, Hayek 1988, Mises 1996 [1949], Caldwell 1998).

As said earlier, human action is the centrepiece of the ASE. The theory of human action - *praxeology* - informs the ASE's distinctive methodology (Mises 1996 [1949]: 5, Rothbard 1997b: 58). *Praxeology*, a 'general theory of choice and preference' (Mises 1996 [1949]: 3), is based on 'an aprioristic axiom that humans act by using means to obtain ends' (Fedako 2005). Those ends that individuals pursue are self-centred, but the network of 'working arrangements' that acting individuals create with each other in the end gives rise to social and economic institutions 'that benefit all involved' (Fedako 2005).

Praxeology, therefore, concerns not only action related to market exchange of goods and services resulting in monetary gains, but it also involves all other acts of conscious choice: 'both material and ideal issues' (Mises 1996 [1949]: 5).

In this thesis, therefore, the ASE's *praxeology* and the *exchange paradigm* create the opportunity to study all aspects of castle management - not only those traditionally associated with economics, but also those typically studied by other disciplines such as sociology, or heritage conservation. The *exchange paradigm* provides the opportunity to approach heritage from the perspective of the relationship between the processes of supply of heritage and the demand for it - in this instance using the example of castles in Poland - rather than to attempt to discuss the value or values of heritage itself. The choice of *praxeology* as the methodological underpinning of this thesis also justifies the claim that as long as the ultimate subject of this study can be characterised as *purposeful human action*, the theories presented herein remain legitimate.

3.3.2 Particular aspects of the ASE's methodology applied in this thesis

According to Boettke (1998), the typical characteristics of the methodology of the ASE are:

- a strict distinction between the theoretical and the empirical components of any research in order 'to put the task of fact gathering in a separate category from the task of constructing theory' (Gunning 1989: 172); and
- particular importance attached to 'economic theorising' (Boettke 1998: 538), also referred to as 'thought experiments' (Aligica and Evans 2009: 234).

Both of the above characteristics have been incorporated into this thesis. First, the distinction between theory and practice has been reflected in the structure of this thesis. Second, the theoretical Castle Management Model proposed and discussed in this thesis is indeed an example of a thought experiment: it is informed by empirical data, and it addresses real-life situations, but instead of practical testing it will be tested theoretically and indirectly through a postal survey and a series of interviews.

A full account of the theory and the methodology of the ASE is beyond the scope of this thesis (see amongst others: Selgin 1988, Gunning 1989, Gordon 1996, Boettke 1998, White 2003 [1977], Wutscher 2005, Aligica and Evans 2009, Zwirn 2009). However, in order to address the Aims and Objectives of this research, and in particular to ‘...explore the relationship and the mutual impact between economy and heritage, with particular focus on the valuation and use of built heritage...’ (Appendix A, Aim Two) and to ‘...develop a theoretical model for the management of castles in Poland’ (Appendix A, Aim Three), the following aspects of the ASE methodology are centrally important and will be discussed below: (1) methodological individualism; (2) value-freedom; (3) subjectivism; and (4) comparative and counterfactual analysis.

(1) Methodological individualism emphasises the focus of the ASE on rationally acting individuals, characterised by free will and independent ability to actively and consciously pursue goals and ends of their own choosing (Rothbard 1997b: 58). The concept of methodological individualism was introduced in economics by Joseph Schumpeter in 1908, and the ASE tradition embraced it through the early works of Friedrich Hayek and Ludwig von Mises (Hodgson 2007: 211-212).

In short, methodological individualism of the ASE requires that ‘all explanations must run in terms of the actions and reactions of individuals’ (Arrow 1994: 1). In consequence, all economic relations and market phenomena, as well as all social and collective phenomena are seen as resulting from combinations of ‘complex systems of desires, reasons, and motivations ... of individuals’ (Smith 1993: 130). In methodological individualism all collectives, such as nations, states, societies, churches or communities, operate ‘through the intermediary of one or several individuals whose actions are related to the collective as the secondary source’ (Mises 1996 [1949]: 42-43). Thus, the study of any collective phenomena, such as culture, needs to start from analysis of individual actions (Hodgson 2007: 213).

The actions and the decision process of an individual depend predominantly on his or her knowledge and on its improvement in time, i.e. the process of learning (Boland 2003: 267). Because the processes of decision-making and learning are qualitative (Boland 2003: 267), their study requires interpretative rather than mathematical research methods (Jackson 2009: 54).

In consequence, research guided by methodological individualism avoids mathematical tools of enquiry and analysis, and its methods, observations and conclusions are usually qualitative in nature (Wutscher 2005: 3).

The consequence of the fact that methodological individualism focuses on actions of individuals, and also on the individual knowledge available to them at a given moment in time, is that it 'does not deal ... with human action in general, but with concrete action which a definite man [sic] has performed at a definite date and at a definite place' (Mises 1996 [1949]: 44). Such perspective not only clarifies individual responsibility but also gives meaning to any singular action. For this study of heritage management it provides justification of its site specific and time specific approach; it also qualifies that any answer to the research question asked in this thesis will only hold true in the given circumstances and can never claim to be universal. Other consequences of adopting methodological individualism in this thesis include:

- the opportunity to perform thoroughly economic research using qualitative methods of enquiry, such as interviews and personal observation, sympathetic to the humanistic character of heritage and true to the roots of Heritage Studies in social sciences;
- justification of an individualistic approach to interests vested in castles by various stakeholders, meaning that the conservation doctrine, social expectations, community interest, and market demands addressed to castles can be broken down and presented in terms of individual motivations;
- reassurance that the unique character of each castle and the personality of castle administrators receive adequate, individual attention;
- for the model proposed in this thesis the methodological individualism approach provides focus on single actions and their immediate consequences.

(2) Value-freedom reflects the ASE's position that economics is supposed to be a positive, not a normative science - in other words, devoted to understanding human action rather than trying to influence it (Yeager 1987: 5). Value-free economic analysis should concentrate on sequences of cause and effect, independently of ethical norms and evaluations (Kirzner 1994: 317). In the ASE approach, statements of fact need to be clearly distinguished from any

statements of value - considering that the latter cannot be completely avoided (Katouzian 1980: 139).

The methodological element of value-freedom of this thesis means that it will attempt no direct evaluation of individual actions that might be identified throughout the research project with relation to castles in Poland. It is understood in this thesis that individuals, informed by their current knowledge, act towards heritage in a variety of ways, which must benefit them better than no action at all. Any of these actions are of concern for this thesis only as facts, which have their consequences. What does not concern this thesis is whether these actions are right or wrong.

This thesis, therefore, takes no moral stance regarding such concepts as the duty of care of monuments - which, however, does not preclude any analysis of consequences of such concepts for the management of castles in Poland. It is believed that such value-free approach has the potential of becoming a useful conciliatory measure, especially considering that heritage is often described as a source of conflict and dissonance (Layton 1989a, Stone and MacKenzie 1994, Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996, Layton *et al.* 2001, Forbes *et al.* 2009).

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Section 1.1, the value-free principle adopted in this thesis may be seen as in many ways similar to the value-neutral approach of the Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) process developed by English Heritage (Fairclough 2006: 62). In short, HLC is meant to 'ensure a voice for the historic environment' (Clark, Darlington and Fairclough 2004: 55) and to establish an 'overarching view of the whole historic landscape' (Fairclough 2005: 23) in planning, conservation and developmental processes in the UK. HLC's objective is to help manage change in the historic environment by providing decision makers with a description and typology of a landscape in the form of a neutral dataset, containing both special and commonplace landscape features, and free from their valuation (Clark, Darlington and Fairclough 2004: 6). Although at a proportionally much smaller scale, this thesis is also meant to undertake a neutral review of the variety of values attached to built heritage by its stakeholders, and to impartially analyse current castle management practices in Poland, in order to inform and support castle administrators in Poland in their future decisions.

(3) *Subjectivism*, as a philosophical position, results from the combination of value-freedom and individualism. It permeates the 'entire [ASE] approach to the study of human action' and distinguishes it from other schools (Horwitz 1994: 17). Subjectivism posits that 'value, wealth, profit, loss, and cost are products of human thought, having no objective ... foundation' and are products of individual, subjective 'acts of valuation and choice' (Selgin 1988: 23).

According to the subjectivist perspective, no value exists on its own - it can only be determined by an individual and it is always unique, depending on the individual circumstances and perspective, and every individual will have values different to others, and also is likely to have different values at different times (Horwitz 1994: 18, Menger 2007 [1871]: 146).

For this particular thesis, this means that individual heritage stakeholders value heritage subjectively and individually, and in the same manner interpret it for their own use. As already mentioned in Chapter 1, Section 1.5.3, even the process in which some cultural resources become heritage, and other resources do not, involves the subjective element of valuation. As a result, no heritage can exist independently of subjective valuation. And because valuation can only happen as part of action, it means that no heritage can exist without action - in this context, no castle can become heritage without management and/or without any function, even informal and unintended. In this sense, Smith (2006: 2) is also deeply subjectivist in stating that 'the real source of heritage is not so much in the possession ... but in the act of passing on and receiving memories and knowledge'.

The element of subjectivism makes this thesis stand out in the typically 'objective' discipline of economics. Along with the focus on human action (see Section 3.3.1 earlier in this Chapter), subjectivism places this thesis right within the 'subjective' realm of social sciences such as Heritage Studies or Archaeology. One of the shared methodological characteristics of these sciences is, according to Layton (1989b: 5)

a limit on the extent to which an observer, inspecting the material elements of a cultural tradition, can 'objectively' determine their significance. This is because the meaning of artefacts, their place in the system of signification, is largely determined by cultural convention. ... The meaning of artefacts is culturally constituted, and to discover what it is the analyst must go to the negotiated, intersubjective and sometimes changing elements of cultural interaction.

The only distinctive feature of the methodological position of this thesis, in the light of the above quotation, is that it would break down the above mentioned concepts of 'cultural convention' and 'cultural interaction' further into individual systems of value and individual encounters.

(4) *Comparative and counterfactual analysis* is otherwise known as 'thought experiment' (Aligica and Evans 2007: 229) or 'theoretical modelling' (Mäki 2005: 308). It subjects real observations of causal relationships in real-life situations to logical analysis in order to apply results of such analysis to alternative, sometimes contrasting, hypothetical instances (Aligica and Evans 2007: 229-237). In other words, it is a 'what if' type of theorising and an economic equivalent to an experiment in natural sciences (Mäki 2005: 309). It enables the theoretical testing of hypotheses by comparing theoretical cases with empirical cases.

In fact, such 'thought experiments' are the only methodologically legitimate way in which a subjectivist study can carry out an experiment. Any actual attempt at a real-life experiment would be methodologically meaningless - one of the consequences of subjectivism, as already mentioned, is that every individual action is independent of any other action, and that every decision and every act of valuation happen only once, at the time of the one action. It means that no real-life action, such as an experiment, can be repeated; also, any experiment can only provide a one-off set of observations. However, a theoretical model which would capture, simplify and concisely represent the mechanism of such individual action, along with the set of observations about its consequences, can theoretically, through *comparative and counterfactual analysis*, be used to discuss and analyse an unlimited number and variety of hypothetical, alternative scenarios in the future. The Model proposed in this thesis is therefore intended as a tool for future 'thought experiments'.

The order of chapters in this thesis can be, therefore, interpreted as follows: first, the historic and contemporary context presented in Chapter 2 provides the foundations for the Model; then, Chapters 4 and 5 introduce the theory which informs the structure of the Model, and Chapters 7 and 8 present and analyse the data which will allow, in Chapter 9, the testing of the theoretical assumptions of the Model against real-life data.

3.4 Data collection and analysis

A typical ASE research project needs to be of interpretative and non-mathematical character. However, the data assembled in the course of this thesis must necessarily be both of a qualitative and quantitative character in order to maximally attune and approximate the proposed theoretical model to a real-life, 'time and place bound' setting (Wutscher 2005: 3).

The numerical data regarding castles in Poland was collected for this thesis through a survey, and more specifically through a self-administered mail questionnaire (Appendix B). The qualitative information, in turn, was elicited through personal semi-structured interviews (Appendix C). Figure 17 below presents the overall methodological structure of the thesis. The theory, in which this thesis is grounded, has been discussed above; the methods and techniques of collection and analysis of empirical data will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

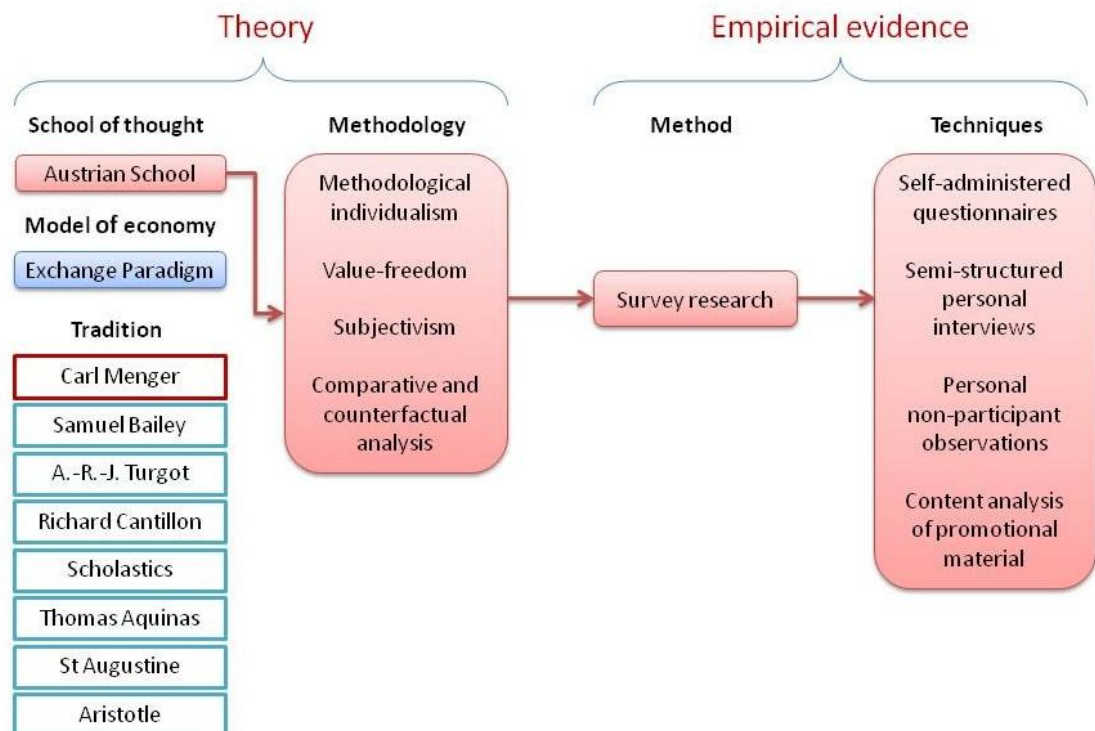


Figure 17. Methodology: theory, methods and techniques applied in this thesis.

3.4.1 Survey approach

In his classification of research studies, Black (2002: 42) highlights that the choice of the type of analysis and the tools of investigation should reflect the intended 'ultimate level of generalisation' of a given research project and the research questions that need to be addressed. By the 'ultimate level' of generalisation, Black (2002: 42) refers to the overall general population which is the focus of a given research project. Therefore, a precise definition and delimitation of the researched population becomes of key importance to any research.

Czaja and Blair (1996) suggest that a well defined population can be researched usually by using survey techniques. According to Black (2002), a survey can determine possible correlations or associational relationships between measured variables, with the effect of possibly enabling some predictions with regard to the future of the researched phenomena. De Vaus (2002) goes further and remarks, although cautiously, that by carefully comparing specifically linked cases, causal relationships between variables can also be identified.

This particular research investigates the existing practice of the management of castles in Poland in order to propose a theoretical Castle Management Model. This rests on the assumption that castles in Poland can be relatively unambiguously defined as a 'population' for survey purposes - even if the actual number of castles in Poland has not been yet established (see Section 2.3). Therefore, the survey approach was identified as a practicable and appropriate method of enquiry for this project.

According to DeVaus (2002: 4), survey, as a research method, typically produces a structured set of data, called 'a variable by case data grid'. To this end, information is required about a number of distinguishable variables, or characteristics, representing two or more comparable cases of the researched phenomena. The techniques by which the required survey data can be collected include questionnaires, interviews, personal observation, and content analysis (DeVaus 2002: 6).

The following survey techniques have been selected for this thesis:

- (a) self-administered postal questionnaires, addressing specifically identified castle characteristics in an attempt to:
 - collect and construct a 'data grid' of information about the current situation of castles in Poland and about the practice of castle management in Poland to provide context for the proposed Castle Management Model;
 - identify individual castle administrators willing to participate in interviews;
- (b) semi-structured interviews, whose purpose was to:
 - follow up on those aspects of castle management in Poland which could not be elicited in the self-administered questionnaires due to excessive complexity or potential controversy;
 - test the viability of concepts and assumptions contained in the Castle Management Model;
 - fine-tune the Model to fit the reality of castle management in Poland;
- (c) personal non-participant observations before and after the interviews.

The combination of the techniques (a) and (b) produced the key findings, which will be presented and analysed in Chapters 6 and 7. The main purpose of the technique (c) was to supplement survey and interview statements and observations in order to paint a more complete picture of the current practice of castle management in Poland.

3.4.2 The postal questionnaires

The predominantly numerical data which is usually collected through questionnaires can be used for both descriptive and analytic purposes, and for building models and describing populations (Czaja and Blair 1996: 4). Before the use of electronic mail became widely popular and relatively simple, and prior to the advent of on-line survey administration techniques in the mid-1990s (DeVaus 2002: 123), postal self-administered questionnaires had a number of advantages over other techniques of conducting surveys (Czaja and Blair 1996: 34).

Key advantages of postal self-administered questionnaires included:

- the least cost of all available survey techniques;
- respondents are given enough time to consult records, which could increase the response accuracy; and
- better success record than other techniques in eliciting information about sensitive topics.

At the time of writing, none of the above points were valid any longer, since internet based questionnaire administration techniques usually carry little or no cost to either the researcher or respondents, they usually do not require immediate response, and can guarantee any degree of privacy that respondents might require.

However, as DeVaus points out (2002: 126), computer-administered surveys require respondents to 'have access to a suitable computer and feel sufficiently comfortable with computers'. It was this particular concern, based on the author's personal observations in the field, that either one or both of the two conditions cited by DeVaus might not be met in the case of castle administrators in Poland. For example, in the course of the author's Master's thesis fieldwork (Koskowski 2001) it was observed that an email sent to the administrator of the Janowiec Castle would be received at a central head office at the nearby Kazimierz Dolny Castle, which is the main location of the institution to which the former castle organisationally belongs - even though all operational decisions are taken at both castles separately. Moreover, the very minimal and often outdated, content of many official websites - or an occasional lack thereof - of castles identified for the survey in the course of this thesis indicated that digital resources might be of secondary importance for their castle administrators. Last, there was no certainty whether the official handling procedures for printed correspondence in the Polish administration also existed for the then relatively new channels of electronic correspondence. The final decision was to carry out a traditional postal survey, regardless of the availability of an array of computer-based techniques.

Typical disadvantages of mail questionnaires include, according to Czaja and Blair (1996: 35-37):

- higher risk of non-response than in the more obliging, 'live' survey techniques such as telephone surveys or face-to-face interviews;

- likelihood of respondents skipping questions they do not understand or do not want to answer;
- strict requirement for the questionnaire to be self-explanatory;
- little control over who completes the questionnaire;
- and relatively less thorough answers to open-ended questions than in questionnaires administered by interviewers.

All of the above problems have been addressed in this thesis. Questionnaires were addressed directly to castle administrating institutions, and where possible the individuals directly responsible for managing castles were identified by name to minimise non-response due to possible lack of relevance of the survey to addressees. Questionnaires were also accompanied by two letters. The first letter explained the nature of the research and the purpose of the questionnaire, which also contained a confidentiality clause of the collected data (Czaja and Blair 1996: 33), and kindly invited the respondents to observe the given time-limits of the survey exercise (Appendix D). The second letter was a letter of support from the principal supervisor of the thesis, Professor Peter Stone, explaining the significance of the exercise (Appendix E). The confidentiality clause included a reference to the Good Practice Guidelines of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of Newcastle University, and also to the Statement of Ethical Practice for the British Sociological Association of March 2002 - as required by the University's Code of Good Practice in Research (Newcastle University 2006). Health and safety and the ethical aspects of the questionnaire exercise were discussed with the research supervisory team - Professor Peter Stone and Dr Aron Mazel - and received formal approval from the School's Research Ethics Committee.

Careful, concise and simple question wording was applied in the questionnaires to minimise possible misunderstanding or non-response (Foddy 1993: 50). Clear prompts - textual and visual in the form of arrows - guided respondents between questions and sub-questions. It had to be considered, of course, that excessive simplicity of questions invites the risk of bias by limiting the available alternative responses (Oppenheim 1966). Fortunately, the majority of questionnaire respondents were expected to be professionals of tourism, heritage or management, thus likely to possess sufficient knowledge and understanding to answer complex questions. Nevertheless, the first four

questions, despite the confidentiality clause, asked for the name and professional details of the person completing the questionnaire, in order to ascertain the relevance and insight of the given answers.

The number of open-ended questions was reduced only to those, which referred to the respondent's own opinion, in order to ensure that completion of the questionnaire should take relatively little time (Foddy 1993: 127). The questionnaires were designed to ideally take no more than fifteen minutes of the respondent's time, which was also highlighted at the top of the first page of each questionnaire.

The questionnaire consisted of 24 questions and was five pages long, which is less than the recommended maximum of six to eight pages for mail questionnaires (Dillman 1978, Czaja and Blair 1996: 90). English is the language of the supervisors of the thesis and of the hosting institution, i.e. Newcastle University, therefore the questionnaire was originally designed in English, and was informally pre-tested by a fellow English speaking PhD candidate. Once accepted by the thesis supervisors, the questionnaire was then translated into Polish and pre-tested once more by two Polish PhD-level scientists, and a Polish lawyer. The informal pre-tests returned very few issues with respondent misunderstanding of questions, therefore it was decided that no further formal testing or piloting of the questionnaire was needed (Belson 1981: 5).

It was decided, that some controversial or politically sensitive questions should not be asked in the self-administered questionnaire, to minimise non-response. Issues like the quality and usefulness of the 2003 Act on Safeguarding and Protection of Monuments, or the intricacies of the legal ownership of the castle, were also expected to create controversy if asked more in depth in the written form. Therefore, the interview questions (see Section 3.7 further in this chapter) were in large part collated in order to address these difficult issues, which had to be missed in the questionnaires.

The questionnaire was posted by first class international mail to 227 castles in Poland. The 227 castles were not probabilistically sampled, i.e. not selected randomly, but instead identified in a *purposive* and subjective manner (Kalton 1983: 7) within the *target population* of all castles in Poland (see the discussion about the number of castles in Poland in Section 2.3). It has been noted that such *purposive sampling* can result in the responses being poorly

representative of the target population (Black 2002: 61). Nevertheless, it is also argued that *purposive sampling* can provide sound and useful information about the *target population* (DeVaus 2002: 90) in instances when: (a) no probability computations in the form of statistics from the sample are attempted, (b) the *target population* is very small, and (c) its parameters are close to the parameters of the sample (Black 2002: 61) - which can be argued to be the case in the instance of castles in Poland.

The *purposive sampling* criteria used in this thesis included:

- castles must be found within the territory of the Republic of Poland in its current borders, i.e. be castles *in Poland*, but not necessarily historically or in any other terms be *Polish* castles;
- castles included in the exercise must be managed or administered, i.e. it must be possible to identify a single person, business or institution responsible for their management (Leask 2008: 8);
- castles included must be *legible* as castles (Emerick 2001: 277, Krus 2008: 74), i.e. be recognisable as castles by an uninitiated observer; and
- castles included must exist as cultural tourism attractions in their own right, i.e. be independently distinguishable from other tourist attractions in order to enable measurement of the tourism, and possibly also tourism receipts, they generate (Richards 1996: 22).

Due to financial constraints, only one mailing took place, with no subsequent mailings or reminders, recommended for example by Dillman (1978). It was crucial to choose the correct moment for the mailing, i.e. after the start of the tourist season - to include those castles which remain closed for the winter period - and preferably before the peak of the season, to ensure maximum availability of respondents. Czaja and Blair (1996: 34) observe that mail surveys typically require 8-10 weeks to complete. In this instance, questionnaires were posted on 5th June 2008 and it was decided that the last day the completed questionnaires would be accepted would be 28th August 2008, i.e. within 12 weeks, including one-week allowance for international delivery each way. Every questionnaire was posted along with a stamped and addressed return envelope. Eighty-four responses were received within the specified time, resulting in a 37% response rate.

Anecdotically, only one response was received after the cut-off date - namely, in May 2011. It concerned a very significant castle, which cannot be identified for confidentiality reasons, and it was very unfortunate that, for methodological reasons, the late questionnaire could not be included in the data-set.

3.4.3 Statistical considerations

Upon completion of this first stage of fieldwork, all the questionnaire responses were number-coded (DeVaus 2002: 147), and analysed using tabular and graphical techniques of univariate and bivariate descriptive statistics (DeVaus 2002: 212-253). As mentioned above, of the 227 questionnaires posted, 84 responses were received by the cut-off date, which resulted in a response rate of 37%. According to several published papers based on research projects of a similar nature and scope:

- a 20% response rate can be declared low but acceptable (Choi *et al.* 2010: 216);
- a response rate of 28% with a sample of 300 participants - comparably sized to the current castle survey - was accepted as sufficient for viable analysis (Garrod and Fyall 2000: 685);
- a response rate of 42% was found acceptable for a self administered survey (Apostolakis and Jaffry 2007: 20).

The 84 responses received represented a reasonable variety in terms of castle ownership, state of preservation, style, function, and geographical distribution. Therefore, considering the characteristics of the participating castles and the satisfactory response rate, the collected data-set was accepted for further analysis in order to address the Aims and Objectives of this thesis.

It has to be noted, however, that any statistical generalisation from any data-set is accurate only to a certain degree, measured by sampling error, and can be pronounced only with a given level of confidence (De Vaus 2002: 81). Assuming the typical statistical analysis confidence level of 95% (De Vaus 2002: 232), any observation based on the 84 valid responses could be extended to all of the 227 castles sampled for the survey with 8.5 percentage points of sampling error (Sample Size Calculator 2010). Furthermore,

considering that the total number of castles in Poland can be estimated between 372 and 500 (see Section 2.3), observations from the presented data-set could be applied to the entire castle population in Poland with between 9.56 and 9.75 percentage points of sampling error (Sample Size Calculator 2010). For analytical convenience, this can be rounded up to 10 percentage points. For example: the percentage of state owned castles in the data-set is 76% - therefore, it can be said with 95% confidence that the percentage of state owned castles in the whole of Poland is between 66% and 86%, i.e. 76% +/- 10 percentage points. Of course, as already mentioned above, any non-response increases the sampling error of the affected question, and reduces the overall accuracy of all statistical observations from the sample (De Vaus 2002: 232).

3.4.4 The interviews

Postal questionnaires helped to identify respondents interested in participating in a follow-up interview. Of the 84 returned completed questionnaires, 43 respondents indicated their willingness to participate in a more in-depth interview in the future. Interviews were planned to take place in Spring 2009. A set of criteria helped to shortlist castles for the interviews:

- the time and financial constraints, and the distances in Poland, limited the number of visits to approx. 15 castles during a 3-week-long field trip;
- the selection of castles to be visited had to reflect the proportion of castles in each of the four categories of ownership revealed via the questionnaires, i.e. state owned, privately owned, owned by a non-profit organisation, and owned for business purposes;
- a relatively even distribution across the country had to be ensured, and
- a proportional representation had to be retained of the styles/historical periods, and states of preservation revealed by the questionnaires, in order to minimise the negative effects of *purposive sampling* (see Section 3.6), to ensure that the eventual Castle Management Model applies for all castles in Poland, as intended.

Possible itineraries were plotted using Google Maps online. The chosen mode of transport was the author's own car, due to remote location of some of the visited castles, the tight schedule, and the risk of delays and cancellations if

public transport was involved. Travelling by car also made it possible to see more castles on the way, than just those selected for interviews.

Interview planning and the selection process took approximately three months. In early Spring 2009, 15 castle administrators were shortlisted and contacts were made by email to confirm the willingness of the respondents to participate in an interview. Of the 15 potential interviewees contacted, ten were affirmative, one negative (the person who had completed the questionnaire died shortly afterwards and no new appointment was yet made), and four did not respond. The ten confirmed castles were (in alphabetical order): Brzeg, Dębno, Morań, Nowy Sącz, Ryn, Siedlęcín, Sucha Beskidzka, Świdwin, Tuczno and Żywiec.

The ten castle administrators were contacted again, by email and/or by phone, one month in advance of the planned journey, to specify suitable interview dates and times. The interviews were carried out in three, weekly series, which required three different, detailed itineraries to be devised, beginning in Warsaw, the home town of the author and his research base for the duration of the fieldwork stage of the thesis (see Figures 18, 19 and 20). One interview took place at the castle administrator's own home in Warsaw, all other interviews were carried out on location.

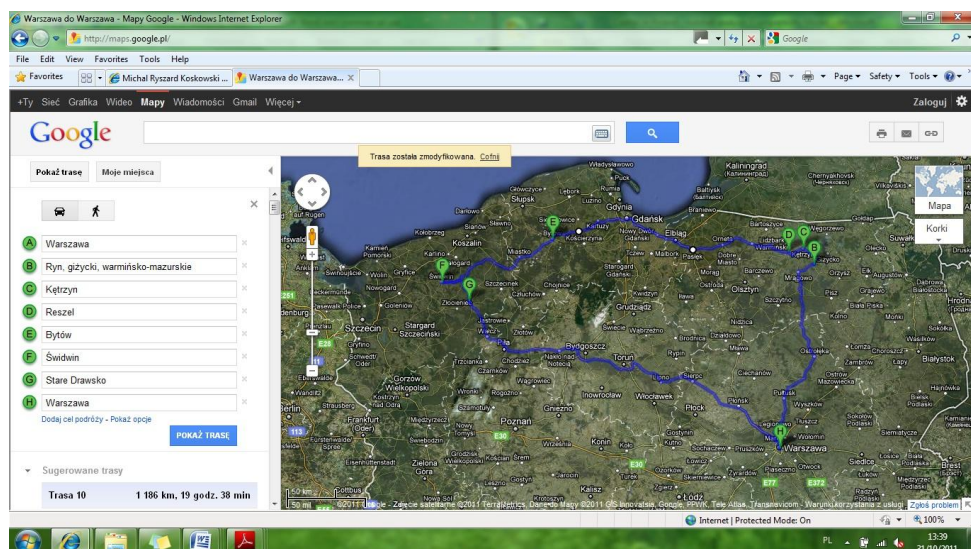


Figure 18. Week 1: northern and north-eastern Poland, 1186 km.

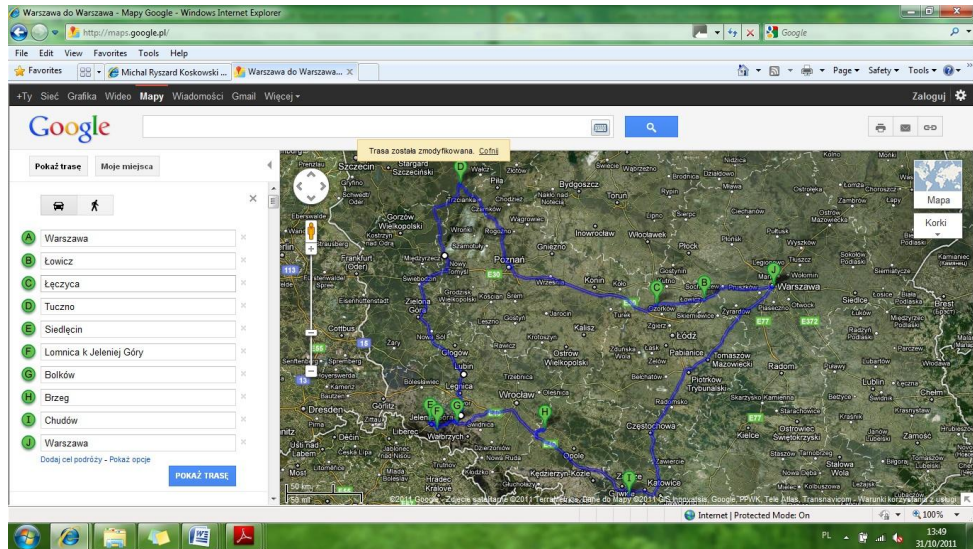


Figure 19. Week 2: western and south-western Poland, 1444 km.

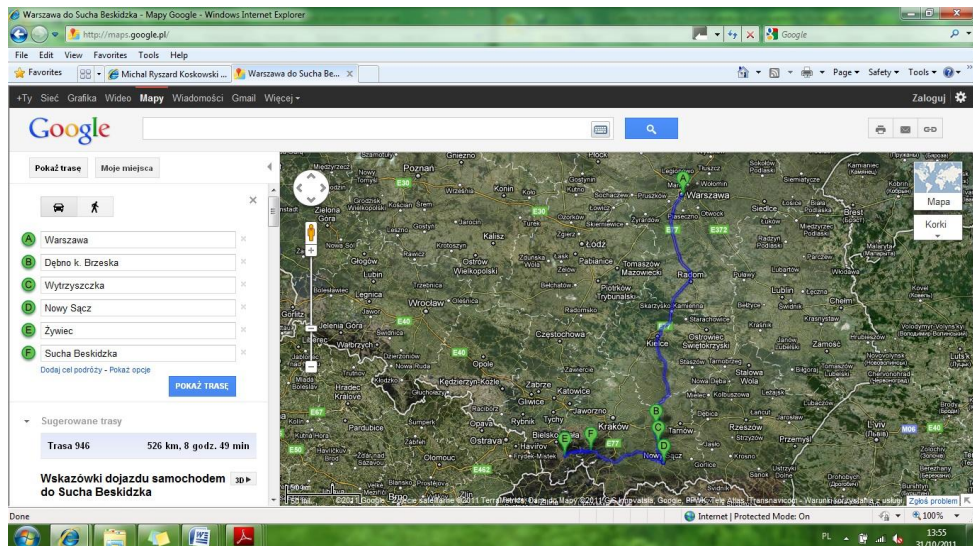


Figure 20. Week 3: southern Poland, 526 km.

In total, approximately 3156 kilometres (1972 miles) were travelled in Poland, and over nine hours of interviews were recorded; 178 photos were taken for reference, and in order to expand the range of personal observations, 11 additional, unscheduled castle visits were made to castles: Bolków, Bytów, Chudów, Drahim, Kętrzyn, Łęczyca, Lidzbark Warmiński, Łomnica, Łowicz, Reszel and Wytrzyścza. All scheduled visits took place exactly according to the plan, the weather was unexpectedly favourable, and the overall feedback from the interviewees was very positive, including invitations for further visits and requests for copies of the thesis upon its completion. For more details, see Section 7.4.

Interview questions were designed as open-ended, in order to identify natural patterns which could possibly be associated with the processes of management of castles in Poland, and to reveal the participants' own, subjective opinions about those processes and any other related concepts (Piore 1983: 80, Foddy 1993: 14-15). Altogether, 16 specific questions were asked at most interviews (Appendix C), as far as possible in the same order (Foddy 1993: 7), unless the flow of conversation dictated otherwise. Participants were asked to confirm their *informed consent* (Bailey 1996: 11) to take part in the interview and to audio-record it by signing a specifically designed consent form (Appendix F). Recordings were made digitally on the hard disk of a portable computer, using a microphone and simple software. Interviews lasted on average one hour, and in all cases but the one, which took place at a private home in Warsaw, were preceded or followed by an individual tour of the castle, allowing for additional, detailed personal observations of the physical surroundings and the specific management arrangements (Bailey 1996: 65).

The recorded conversations covered subjects such as key definitions used in the research and some potentially controversial aspects of castle management, such as the question of applicability of current legislation, and relations with other institutions. Other topics covered in interviews included protection and conservation, local community involvement, the characteristics of castle visitors, and relationships with various castle stakeholders. This thesis will refer to these interviews again in Section 7.4.

Upon completion, the interviews were subjected to textual analysis using NVivo software, allowing keyword coding in search for patterns, frequencies etc., and avoiding the necessity of a word-by-word transcription.

3.5 Weaknesses of the methodology

Qualitative field studies are typically impossible to replicate (Foddy 1993: 16), which for this particular thesis means that although the structured, postal survey could be repeated relatively successfully, it is very unlikely that the interviews, if carried out again, would yield exactly the same responses.

Open-ended interviews and participant observation can help reveal patterns that can give clues about how participants think about the world (Piore 1983: 80). However, the decisions which questions to ask and which variables

to include, are themselves biased by the researcher's earlier knowledge, which he or she might unconsciously attempt to implicitly attribute to the respondents.

The non-response rate does not reveal reasons why particular questionnaires were not returned. According to Czaja and Blair (1996: 192), it is impossible in the case of postal questionnaires to separate conscious decisions not to participate in the survey from other reasons.

Boland (2003: 201) observes that it is difficult to decide if a model, such as the one proposed in this thesis, is successful or not. At any time, if any description or prediction provided by the model is shown as false, it can only indicate that one of the model's assumptions is false, but nothing can tell which one. Boland (2003: 201) calls this 'the ambiguity of logical refutations', and remarks that to 'refute a theory by showing that it is false by means of empirical testing means that one must expect to show that all possible models of the theory are false', which is of course an impossible act.

On the other hand, it cannot be established if a model is thoroughly accurate either, i.e. if there is an 'exact correspondence' between the reality and the model which it describes (Boland 2003: 203). It is always possible that the model is 'false or logically invalid' - however, it is also possible that the modelled reality was characterised by 'random, unexplained variations' which the model could not explain (Boland 2003: 203).

In light of the above, it is acknowledged that the proposed Model, from a methodological point of view, cannot and does not attempt to explain the studied phenomena completely (Boland 2003: 204). Moreover, the postal survey and the following interviews are seen here not as a way to test the theoretical model but rather to fine-tune its fit to the reality which it is designed to represent. A proper test for the Model would be its real-life application in a case study type of exercise. Such an exercise was indeed originally considered as part of the research project, but it was decided that because no other study of the kind this thesis has been attempted at this scale in Poland so far, a broad picture of the situation of castles in Poland needs to take priority before any more detailed study. Also, the proposed Model has been primarily designed as a 'tool for thought' and as a testing ground for the novel application of the ASE theory and methodology in Heritage Studies - and case studies do not usually belong in the ASE methodological toolbox.

3.6 Concluding remarks

This chapter has explored methodology both as a philosophy of science and as a set of methods and techniques of investigation. Due to the interdisciplinary character of the thesis it was necessary to establish the deep background of the economic approach chosen and to reach to the roots of the two traditions of economic thought - the value and the exchange paradigms.

The Austrian School of Economics was chosen as the theoretical framework for the thesis due to its ability to comprehend the dynamic and ever-changing relationships between participants in heritage seen as an economising system. The ASE has also been selected due to the importance it attaches to entrepreneurship, which is probably the single most recurring concept throughout the thesis, both in terms of economic entrepreneurship, and in terms of the novel concept of heritage entrepreneurship (see Chapter 4, Section 4.4.1).

Specific aspects of the methodology of the ASE have been selected and explored, namely: methodological individualism, value-freedom, subjectivism, and comparative and counterfactual analysis. The first three ensure the focus of the thesis on actions and responsibilities of individual actors in the system of heritage. More specifically, methodological individualism breaks down collective phenomena to the individual level, value freedom enables analysis of heritage as something that individuals experience and value in their own way, and subjectivism liberates the enquiry from national or other collective generalisations, and also highlights that the process of heritage appropriation and valuation cannot be considered as separate from the interested individual. It is an important point from the perspective of the subsequent exploration of the heritage value debate in the next chapter.

The element of comparative and counterfactual analysis has established the proposed Model as tool for future 'thought experiments', and justified the resignation of a case-study approach in this thesis.

This chapter has also identified the chosen methods of enquiry and described the process of data collection in Poland through the postal survey and the interviews, the results of which will be presented further in Chapter 7.

Chapter 4

Heritage, Economy and Economics

4.1 Introduction

Following the overview of the background of this thesis in Chapter 2 and the methodological discussion in Chapter 3, this chapter continues the discussion about the value and valuation of heritage, initiated in Chapter 1. The chapter argues that the 'top-down' versus 'bottom-up' dichotomy in approaches to heritage, identified in Section 1.5.4, can also be observed in approaches to the relationship between economy and heritage, and this also has an effect on heritage tourism. The dominant 'top-down' approach affects, through public policy, the heritage sector and the current practice of heritage management. This chapter suggests that heritage management could potentially benefit from a wider recognition of the 'bottom-up' approach, embedded in the notion of entrepreneurship. The chapter also highlights benefits that flow from the treatment of heritage resources as capital – a suggestion encapsulated in the Castle Management Model for the castles in Poland, proposed in Chapter 6.

In detail, the overview of the *heritage values debate* (Baxter 2009: 93), which forms part of this chapter, confirms earlier observations by Holtorf (2001: 287) that the approach to heritage, which has been described in Section 1.5.4 as 'objective' or 'top-down', has dominated heritage policies in the modern Western world. The notion of *public goods*, cultivated in mainstream economics (Nypan 2007: 43, Clark 2008: 89) - also discussed in this chapter - has effectively supported this approach. However, a critique of the tenets of the *public goods theory* from the standpoint of the Austrian School of Economics (ASE) presented further in this chapter, opens up a new perspective on the relationship between economics and heritage, and also impinges on the perceived role of tourism in this relationship.

The potential of the ASE to contribute to the *heritage values debate* lies in the School's methodological subjectivism and individualism, which were already discussed in Section 3.3. The ASE's theories of capital and entrepreneurship, examined further in this chapter with reference to heritage

management, are seen in this thesis as potential drivers for positive change in the current practice of castle management in Poland.

4.2 Economics and heritage - an overview

4.2.1 Background

Graham *et al.* (2000: 155) argue that the current relationship between culture and economics was shaped in the 1980s and 1990s. Before that, economics was perceived as an activity far removed from the 'pursuits of a "high" order', which is how the phenomenon of culture was then typically described (Peacock 1998: 2). Recently, however, economics has been increasingly regarded as 'a necessary condition for culture', according to a lecture by Cantor (2006), who argues that 'without certain economic level, certain stage of economic development ... without the possibility of division of labour ... you will not have culture at all'.

Over a decade ago, Frey (1997: 231) and Hall and McArthur (1998: 41) noted that decisions concerning heritage have been typically the responsibility of governments and public administrations through cultural policy. This policy has been largely based on the authoritative opinion of experts - the said 'top-down' approach - and the heritage sector has been 'dominated by non-market provision' (Peacock 1998: 14). The situation has changed very little over the years, and cultural policy is still often underpinned by stereotypic assumptions about the nature of culture, such as (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt 2005: 7)

- the romantic notion of the isolated artist-genius who works for the love of art, typically suffering poverty in a garret room;
- culture is a pure public good, one that should be equally available to all;
- the true value of art is transcendent and can be determined by experts, commonly accompanied by the idea that the monetary value of art is false and the "market" cannot decide;
- and the idealist-humanist notion that culture is "good for the soul", and that exposure to "culture" has a "civilising effect".

Typically, the focus of heritage-related government-led activity has been only a small part of the overall stock of heritage, mostly tangible rather than

intangible, and also specifically 'selected ... for conservation into the future' (Lichfield 1988: 61). Moreover, until recently, 'only limited attention ... [has been given] to the human dimension' of heritage (Hall and McArthur 1998: 6).

Nevertheless, at the beginning of the 21st century Emerick (2001: 280) noted that as early as in the 1980s it already 'became apparent that not everything from the past could or should be saved'. For instance, in 1984 Lipe (1984: 2) had written: 'because time and money for cultural resource preservation are scarce, we must make choices among cultural materials'. At about the same time Lichfield (1988: 67) advocated the need for specific criteria of selection in urban conservation in the face of the 'swell in quantum of buildings, objects etc. which are thought worthy of consideration'. However, the pressure to make selective and justified conservation decisions had risen only gradually throughout the 1990s, fuelled by diminishing public funding in the heritage sector (Ashworth and Howard 1999: 45-46, Emerick 2001: 280, Lipp 2007: 188). A similar situation has also been observed in Poland, alas, for reasons explained in Section 1.1, only at the break of the 21st century (Szmygin 2010: 17-25).

On the one hand, therefore, a new, economic insight into the traditionally non-economic area of public provision of cultural services (Mazzanti 2002: 531) has been necessitated by the growing realisation that the public money spent on culture could be used elsewhere, perhaps for greater benefit (Peacock and Rizzo 1994: vii). Another factor behind the introduction of economic analysis to heritage policy has been the growing political tendency to approach the consumption of culture as a means of economic growth and regeneration (Richards 1996a: 262, Bowitz and Ibenholt 2007: 1).

On the other hand, in the late 1980s, the traditional quantitative focus and methodology of mainstream economics (see Chapter 2) expanded sufficiently to address social and cultural issues. Eventually, economics became competent to take an interest in the concept of value in culture, heritage and the arts - especially in the context of public policy and the so called 'welfare economics' (Frey 1997, Australian Government 2007, Hesmondhalgh 2007, Hutter and Throsby 2007, Doyle 2010). At the time of writing of this thesis, in the words of Beugelsdijk and Maseland (2010: xviii), 'the current attention devoted to culture in economics is a sign of strength and maturity of the economic discipline.'

4.2.2 Emergence of the 'new public management' model

The relationship between culture and economics, as mentioned in the above overview, shifted throughout the 1980s and 1990s from antagonistic to passive and then to interactive in what Baxter (2009: 85) described as a movement from the 'traditional administrative paradigm ... towards a *new public management* strategic paradigm' (emphasis added). As far as heritage was concerned, the *new public management* concept attempted to address, amongst other issues, the much discussed notions of *significance* (Emerick 2001: 279-285) and the *intrinsic* value of heritage (Clark 2006b: 59). Both of these concepts had gained recognition since the 1979 ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance, known as The Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS 1999).

The Burra Charter has been of particular importance for heritage management. It gave prominence and depth to the concept of *significance*, first used in the Venice Charter (ICOMOS 1964), by defining it as 'not something known by experts but something that needed to be discovered' (Clark 2008: 91). The Burra Charter also acknowledged that, by its very nature, *significance* is a subjective phenomenon, grounded in 'competing and conflicting [individual] values' (Clark 2008: 91). From the methodological point of view, the latter observation about individual subjectivity of the concept of *significance* is of particular consequence for this thesis, and it will be explored further in this chapter.

However, in the perspective of the Burra Charter, economic values are only considered as of secondary importance for the concept of cultural *significance* (Mason 2007: 13). As consequence, the main reason for the adoption of the economic approach in cultural policy has been the growing necessity to prioritise and justify spending of tax revenue.

In the *new public management* model, decisions regarding whether or not to allocate public resources to heritage have been increasingly based on the expected balance of benefits and costs to the treasury (Australian Government 2007). However, in this process, factors such as the future use or non-use of the heritage resource in question became particularly important (Tuan and Navrud 2008: 327, Baxter 2009: 93). In some ways, the focus on the economy of heritage policy, and the active search for the best possible allocation of public

resources, embedded in the *new public management* approach, remind of the general characteristics of entrepreneurial heritage management, as defined in this thesis (see Section 1.5.2). Indeed, champions of the *new public management* idea did talk about 'entrepreneurial governments' (McGuigan 2005: 237). Economics has been, of course, of great assistance in such decisions, offering an array of techniques to measure and forecast future returns on investments in heritage.

At the same time, however, the economic techniques, adopted and developed under the influence of the *new public management* in the heritage sector, have been criticised for numerous flaws. Also, attempts to attribute entrepreneurial qualities to actions of governments seems self-contradictory from the perspective of this thesis. It has to be noted, that the concept of entrepreneurship has been observed and explored by the ASE as a specifically private-sector phenomenon. As such, it has been accompanied by the fundamental notion that 'excessive government interference through taxation, regulation, and redistribution, can kill the incentives for entrepreneurship' (Holcombe 2003: 40). In the same spirit, this thesis explores entrepreneurship with reference to actions of castle administrators only.

4.2.3 Criticism of the 'new public management' model

The essence of the *new public management* model was to implement in the public sector 'the administrative practices of the private sector, with its emphasis on cost control, market mechanisms and the need for performance indicators' (Lee *et al.* 2011: 290). Given the priority of conforming to financial constraints, the *new public management* model in heritage embraced many 'business-like' concepts such as accountability, performance, strategies or targets (Baxter 2009: 85-93). McGuigan (2005: 236) observed that this tendency was from the outset labelled as 'managerialization' of the public sector, threatening to make 'management the driving force of a successful society' (Clarke and Newman 1993: 428).

In the process of development of the *new public management* framework, heritage has been re-affirmed not only as a political but also as an economic instrument which could be used, for instance, to stimulate economic growth or social cohesion. *Significance* of heritage has become 'to

conservationists and heritage managers ... a quality that can be tabulated' (Emerick 2001: 280). Such 'quantification' of heritage in itself could potentially be seen as advantage as it could assist in, for example, successful evaluation of heritage policy. Nevertheless, the overall *new public management* approach has been criticised for (see also Table 2):

- 'reductive *economistic* language' (Hewison and Holden 2006: 14);
- 'complicated and contested' methodologies (Holden 2004: 17);
- instrumental character (Clark 2006a: 2);
- reduction of 'cultural achievements' to become simple auxiliary factors of other public policies (Holden 2004: 14);
- preoccupation with 'technical [cost] efficiency' and 'consumer satisfaction' which failed to capture non-monetary values of heritage (Blaug *et al.* 2006: 23);
- failure to recognise individual perspectives (Holden 2004: 44);
- failure to address the needs of the actual end users of heritage - i.e. society (Jowell 2006: 13).

Table 2. Advantages and disadvantages of the *new public management* framework for heritage management.

<i>New public management & heritage management</i>	
Advantages	Disadvantages
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Heritage as an instrument to stimulate economic growth and social cohesion; – Inclusion of the notion of heritage significance in public policy; – Quantification of heritage significance to assist evaluation of public policy; – Declared 'entrepreneurial' approach to the formulation of the public policy. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Reductive <i>economistic</i> language; – Complicated and contested methodology, <i>managerialisation</i>; – Reduction of cultural achievements to tools of the public policy; – Failure to capture non-monetary values of heritage; – Failure to recognise individual perspectives on heritage; – Failure to address the needs of the end users of heritage.

4.2.4 The concept of 'public value'

At the time of writing, the *new public management* model is still dominant. However, an alternative model has been proposed based on an analytical framework of *public value* (Moore 1995, for a thorough discussion see Clark 2006b).

In simple words, in the context of heritage policy, the *public value* concept means that public institutions should attempt to counterbalance their approach to heritage based on *expert value*, i.e. value of heritage determined by professional opinion (Hewison and Holden 2006: 17). The recommended way to do so is by greater focus on the public, its preferences and its values (Cole and Parston 2006: xvi, Lee *et al.* 2011: 291).

The *public value* concept was a response, or a 'counterblast' to the concept of *new public management* (Lee *et al.* 2011: 290). According to Clark (2008: 93), the notion of *public value* was developed 'under pressure from the government for [yet] better accountability of heritage institutions', but as a result it has been a term mired in public policy jargon. Lee *et al.* (2011: 290) also note the strong political associations of both concepts: the *new public management* is described as 'gripping centre-right governments', and the *public value* philosophy, in turn, is presented as 'a pillar of public services reform' of leftist governments.

The importance of the *public value* model for this thesis lies in the fact that while it does not dismiss the traditional role of professional judgment in heritage valuation, it largely broadens the spectrum of heritage stakeholders 'beyond traditional audiences' (Cameron 2006: 78), which for the first time explicitly includes the 'general public' (Blaug *et al.* 2006: 23). From the methodological point of view of this thesis, one of the most significant features of the *public value* concept is its capacity to reaffirm heritage as a subjective phenomenon (Holden 2004: 44).

The weakness of the *public value* approach to heritage is twofold. First, by leaving decisions regarding heritage in the hands of policy makers it does not resolve the mounting problems of constraints in public finances. Similarly, it does not solve the issue of short-sightedness of the public administration and its unawareness of local contexts. The *public value* model also creates conditions for the decisions about heritage to be politically rather than economically

informed. Importantly, the *public value* approach does not address heritage management issues that concern private heritage owners and administrators - such as private art patronage (De Kergorlay 2007: 247). As a result, the discussed approach omits around 30% of the built cultural heritage in Europe which remain property of private owners (European Historic Houses 2011: 3), whose total spending on heritage conservation often surpasses that of state treasuries (Hjorth-Andersen 2004: 5, Rypkema 2009: 3).

Summing up, the *public value* model can be credited with letting the public have its voice in the creation and implementation of heritage policy. However, the *public value* model has not been inductive to genuine private-sector entrepreneurial activity in the field of heritage, which, as already mentioned, is thought in this thesis to be of singular importance for successful castle management (see the summary in Table 3).

Table 3. Advantages and disadvantages of the *public value* framework for heritage management.

<i>Public value & heritage management</i>	
Advantages	Disadvantages
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Capacity to recognise heritage as a subjective phenomenon; – Better accountability of heritage institutions; – Counterbalance to expert value by the inclusion of public value in heritage policy; – Broadened spectrum of heritage stakeholders; – Inclusion of the public voice in the heritage policy. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Failure to resolve the problem of financial constraints of the heritage policy; – Short-sightedness of public administration of heritage; – Politicisation of heritage management; – Failure to address issues concerning private heritage owners; – Failure to induce entrepreneurship in the private heritage sector.

4.3 Economics and the *heritage value debate*

Both in the *new public management* framework and in the later *public value* model of public policy, the main input of economics in heritage management can be found in the already mentioned *heritage values debate*

(Baxter 2009: 93). As already stated, the *heritage values debate* has been initiated within the realm of public policy in the course of its struggle towards cost-efficiency. In consequence, according to Doyle (2010: 258), the 'demand for research into economic aspects of creative and cultural industries from end-users such as state and local authorities has never been higher than it is today'. However, in both approaches the economic arguments have been predominantly used to underpin the case for government intervention in heritage, and therefore were used mostly in support for political rather than economic choices (Australian Government 2007, Gray 2007: 207). One of the purposes of the proposed Castle Management Model is to counter the above described tendency by stressing the need to counterbalance the professional and political aspects of heritage management with the social and indeed with the economic.

The *heritage values debate*, due to its origins in the public policy, favours some economic concepts more than others. Both the *heritage value debate* and the discipline of cultural economics in general - which, as has been said, had emerged from *welfare economics* - has been dominated by concepts of *public goods* and *market failure* (Pratt 2005: 36-37, Lee *et al.* 2011: 293, see also Section 4.3.2). On the other hand, theories of value and price, of capital, or of entrepreneurship - which are areas of economic thought of particular relevance to heritage management in the context of this thesis - have been largely neglected in the *heritage values debate*.

Two areas can be identified, where economic contribution to the *heritage values debate* has been particularly noteworthy (Bowitz and Ibenholt 2009: 1). These are:

- a) measuring heritage values provided by public institutions (Klamer 1996, Frey 1997, Mason 1999b, Throsby 2001a, Accenture 2006, Blaug *et al.* 2006, Rizzo and Throsby 2006, Doyle 2010);
- b) estimating the role and impact of heritage as a factor in socio-economic development (Frey 1997, Peacock 1998, Throsby 2001a, Klamer 2002, Throsby 2006, Clark 2008, Baxter 2009).

Often, the two areas overlap - for instance, the most popular method to measure the value of heritage is to look at its economic impact (Frey 2003: 182). Both areas of study will be discussed below.

4.3.1 Heritage values provided by public institutions

Mason (2002: 8), the already quoted geographer and urban planner, associated with the Getty Conservation Institute, observed that the term *value* ‘suggests usefulness and benefits’, but he stresses that at any given moment heritage is characterised by a variety of values, since it can play a number of different functions and create a variety of benefits to a variety of interested parties. The problem of variety of heritage values and their categorisation has been much discussed (for examples see Mason 2002, Carman 2005, Australian Government 2007). Figure 21 presents a typology of heritage values proposed by Mason (2002: 10), which succinctly captures the debate in this field. The two categories of heritage values shown by Figure 21 - *sociocultural* and *economic* - will be discussed in more detail below.

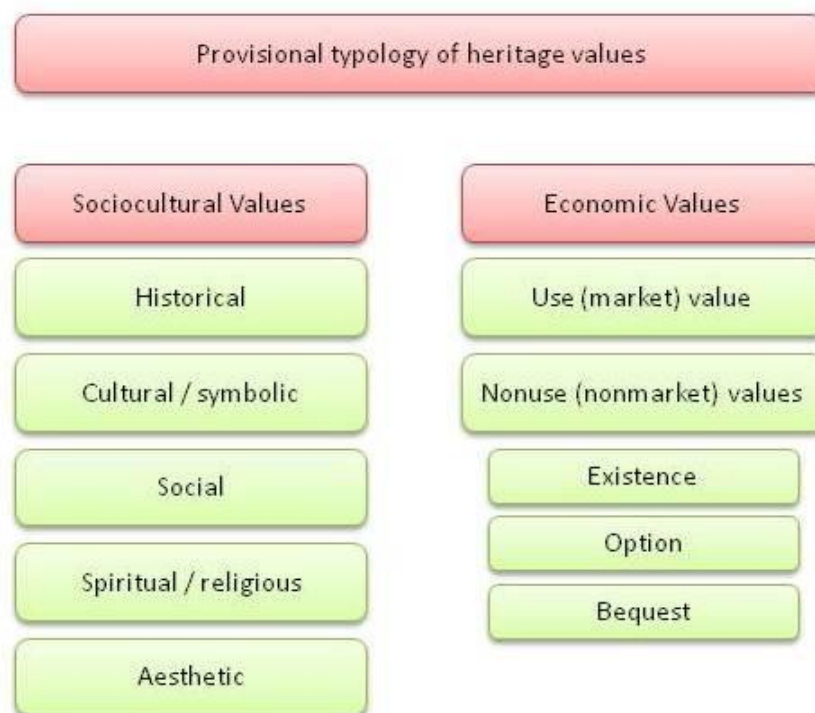


Figure 21. Typology of heritage values. Source: Mason (2002: 10)

Values described as *sociocultural* in Figure 21, form ‘the traditional core of [heritage] conservation’ (Mason 2002: 11). Notably, with the addition of ‘scientific value’, omitted by Mason and therefore not included in Figure 21, the *sociocultural* values proposed by Mason closely correspond with the professional valuation criteria of historic monuments and sites contained in the

Venice Charter (ICOMOS 1964) and in the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 1972). These criteria are typical for the 'top-down' approach to heritage, as defined in this thesis.

Values described by Mason (2002: 11) as *economic* are composed of the *use* and *non-use* values of heritage, where only the *use* value can have a direct monetary expression.

At about the same time as Mason's (2002) categorisation of heritage values, an alternative classification was proposed by Throsby (2001a), an acclaimed Australian cultural economist. Throsby (2001a: 28-29) also divided heritage values into two categories, one of which he also called *economic*, but for the other category instead of Mason's (2002) *sociocultural value* he applied an aggregate term *cultural value*.

The main thrust of Throsby's argument was that *cultural value* only exists within a 'collective' framework, and also that - unlike the *economic value* of heritage - it is not practically measureable (Throsby 2001a: 83). By introducing the 'collective' element in his *cultural value* theory, Throsby (2001a: 83) wished to emphasise that any given cultural heritage item, site or monument would always accrue more *cultural value* to a group of people - as part of their group experience - than could be expected from a multiplication of its *cultural values* to individuals.

However, according to Ritenour (2003: 104), Throsby offered no sufficiently convincing argument to support these claims. Ritenour (2003: 104) argued that the collective *cultural value* championed by Throsby could be easily disaggregated and explained from a multitude of individual, subjective perspectives, thus becoming 'a sub-set of the economic value'. In addition, Dimaggio (2003: 73) found Throsby's opposition of *cultural* and *economic* values generally unsustainable, and his arguments 'unpersuasive' - especially those relating to the alleged irreducibility of *cultural values* to monetary expression. Moreover, Klamer (2003: 200) pointed out that Throsby assumed values as given and did not consider that they might rather 'come about by experience' and be dependent on the process of learning, or honing of individual preferences, and thus may also change in time.

Together with his theory of *cultural value*, Throsby introduced the concept of *cultural capital* (Throsby 2001a: 44), defined as

a means of representing culture, which enables both tangible and intangible manifestations of culture to be articulated as long-lasting stores of value and providers of benefits for individuals and groups.

It has to be noted that Throsby's understanding of cultural capital is different to the classical concept of cultural capital, attributed to Bourdieu (1986, see also Section 5.3). Throsby compares cultural capital to economic capital - seen as a stock of economic value - and he defines cultural capital as a stock of *cultural value* (Throsby 2001a: 46). As such, Throsby's cultural capital, in parallel with economic capital, 'serves as the means of *cultural* production' (Shockley 2005: 4, emphasis added). The weakness of Throsby's conception lies, however, in his failure to explain the purpose of his attempt to distinguish cultural capital from other forms of economic capital, or to provide sufficient argument to separate cultural capital from economic - i.e. ordinary - capital in general (Shockley 2005: 7-8).

In addition to the above critique, Mazzanti (2003: 551) also observes that economic methodologies 'do not pretend to assess cultural values, but the economic values associated to such cultural values'. This would suggest not to separate economic values from cultural values, as argued by Throsby, and instead to analyse economic values of heritage as the *function* of cultural values. In other words, economic values can be seen as an expression of the economically unspecified, underlying cultural values of heritage.

Mazzanti (2003: 551) also posits, as an alternative to Throsby's concept of the paramount, collective value of heritage, that 'the economic benefits provided by cultural heritage should be disentangled' into micro and macro scale. According to Mazzanti (2003: 551), the micro scale benefits would be those accruing to individuals as users of heritage, and the macro scale benefits would arise at a systemic level and involve the entire community, or even society as a whole, usually as a result of policy or institutional changes. The same differentiation has been adopted by the Castle Management Model proposed in this thesis, which essentially focuses on the micro scale and on the site-specific aspects of castle management.

4.3.2 The concepts of 'market failure' and 'public goods'

As mentioned above, in the process of the valuation of heritage, two types of *economic* value are usually distinguished: the *use* and *non-use* value of heritage, sometimes referred to as *market* and *non-market* values (Mason 2002: 12, Carman 2005: 53-54, Nypan 2007: 6, see Figure 20). This separation is driven by a notion that the monetary value, which heritage commands on the market, and which is commonly identified as synonymous with the economic value of heritage, does not adequately capture such intangible values of heritage as status, identity, social cohesion etc. (Lichfield 1988: 154, Frey 2003: 182, Klamer 2003: 203). Therefore, it is argued, if the market does not recognise such non-monetary values, then it cannot provide them - and it should be corrected. This phenomenon, called *market failure*, has been the most commonly expressed economic argument behind government intervention and control of heritage worldwide (Rizzo 1998: 55).

Market failure, as the name suggests, implies a form of deformation or inefficiency of the market mechanism (Cheng 2006: 265). According to Godgson *et al.* (2009: 7, emphasis original) '[m]arket failure means that price signals are distorted and resources misallocated relatively to the *optimum*'.

Heritage has often been presented as a textbook 'case of market failure' (Mason 2007: 13). Arguments for public provision of heritage in place of the allegedly failed market provision of heritage have often been repeated, despite the difficulty of measuring what exactly the market cannot capture (Snowball 2008: 22). It has also been questioned if governments have the ability to 'produce a situation which is better than the market would otherwise have produced' (Lichfield 1988: 155). Nevertheless, the need to address the problem of *market failure* in culture, arts and heritage through the allegedly necessary involvement of government and its cultural policy has been the leading factor behind the emergence of the sub-discipline of *cultural economics*, and its location within the discipline of *welfare economics* (Cunningham 2007: 5).

In conjunction with the concept of *market failure*, *cultural economics* has developed the concept of *public goods*. Clark argues that 'in economic terms, heritage is a *public good* - something that many people value but which may not be provided through the operation of the market, as it cannot be priced' (Clark 2008: 89, emphasis added). Theoretically, typical *public goods*, as opposed to

private goods, are characterised by being: (1) *non-exclusive* and (2) *non-rivaling* (Holcombe 1997: 1, Nypan 2007: 43, Cowen 2008). Respectively, these terms mean that: (1) it is impossible to limit the provision of a public good to paying customers only, and no-one can be excluded or stopped from its free consumption once it is produced; (2) a public good can be accessed or enjoyed simultaneously by any number of consumers at any time without affecting anyone's enjoyment, and additional consumers create no additional cost. Classic examples of public goods cited in literature are: clean air, air-to-radio broadcasting, and national defence.

Typically, goods with characteristics of *public goods* described above are thought to be underproduced, or not produced at all in the private sector. It is assumed that production of *public goods* might not yield enough profit for private enterprise to make it viable, and even if such goods were produced in the private sector, the quality and quantity of such production would not be socially fair (Lichfield 1988: 155). *Public goods* are then believed to require government intervention in the name of economic efficiency and social equity (Holcombe 1997: 1).

In the context of heritage, an example of a *public good* could be historic landscape - no-one can be excluded from its enjoyment, and any number of people, within reason, can usually enjoy it at the same time. And because of these two characteristics, no incentive exists for those who freely enjoy such landscape to voluntarily pay any money to those, on whom the maintenance of such landscapes depends. The missing incentive to pay creates a case for government subsidy, or other form of intervention.

One could argue to the contrary, however. In practice, landscapes can usually be accessed better at dedicated points, such as car parks or viewpoints. The capacity of such points is limited, which usually requires provisions for visitor management. Limitations to access and scarcity of space will inevitably command a price - be it a parking fee, e.g. at the Queen's View, Perthshire, Scotland, or a certain discomfort of an early start in order to arrive at a popular viewpoint ahead of the anticipated crowds. e.g. at Glencoe, Argyll, Scotland.

As has already been discussed in Chapter 3, one of the central concepts of mainstream economics is the notion of economy in the state of equilibrium. From the point of view of the static model of economy, typical for the mainstream, Walrasian approach to economics (see Section 3.2), the

aforementioned *market failure* indeed is seen as a fault requiring intervention. In the Mengerian exchange paradigm, however, '[market] failures are an intrinsic consequence of the process of [entrepreneurial] innovation itself and could only be eliminated if innovation ceased' (Dodgson *et al.* 2009: 7).

This is not to say that the concept of *public goods* should be altogether rejected. The ASE, which forms the methodological backbone of this thesis, accepts that *public goods* do exist - in the sense that there are goods which fit the definition - and that the supply of such goods by the market might be difficult, resulting in a *market failure*. Nevertheless, the ASE also argues that just as for the market, it would be equally difficult for the government to supply such goods, which could lead to a *government failure* instead (Friedman 2009).

4.3.3 Cost-benefit analysis and the willingness-to-pay studies

One of the weaknesses of the *public goods* concept is that it places an unending financial and administrative burden on the public sector. Ever since the public sector accepted its responsibility for the production, protection and conservation of heritage as a *public good*, it has had to justify the expenditure of public money on those activities.

Professional opinion itself, although capable of assessing, for example, the scientific value or the cost side of practical heritage conservation, has not been sufficient to justify all spending of public money on heritage (Ruijgrok 2006: 207). In consequence, a variety of qualitative and quantitative approaches and methods have been developed to capture the elusive value of investing in heritage as a *public good* in a process called *cost-benefit analysis* (Frey and Oberholzer-Gee 1988: 28, Lichfield 1988: 176, for a more recent overview of the discussed methods see Schmidt-Thomé 2007: 37).

The overall purpose of *cost-benefit analysis* is to express the net value of investing in heritage. The cost side of most investments in heritage is usually relatively easy to express in monetary terms. Calculation of the benefit side of such investment is much more difficult, and is usually done through an aggregate indicator of the consumers' *willingness to pay* (WTP) for an improved heritage provision, or conservation. WTP studies can be categorised into two groups (Lichfield 1988: 177, Mason 2002: 22, Australian Government 2007: 3-4).

The two groups of WTP studies are:

- (a) *revealed preference methods*, which analyse existing markets and actual costs borne by real consumers; and
- (b) *stated preference methods*, which analyse hypothetical markets and imagined behaviour stated by potential consumers.

It is generally assumed that thanks to their relative success in the field of environmental protection, some of the WTP methods have great potential for application in the heritage field (Rizzo and Throsby 2006: 997). It is worth noting, however, that all of the WTP methods have met with criticism, especially regarding their methodological limitations. These criticisms are:

- primarily, the WTP methods have been found to be time-consuming, expensive and requiring considerable expertise (Throsby 2010: 111);
- they have been criticised for being highly selective in terms of the of data they use (Australian Government 2007: 4), and likely to produce partial and politicised results (Mason 2002: 22);
- it has also been argued that the WTP methods are highly site-specific - that is, they tend to produce results that are valid for one site only and cannot be applied, or transferred, to another site (Hjorth-Andersen 2004: 7, Riganti and Nijkamp 2005: 5);
- Greffe (2004) points out that the consumers' WTP is just 'one element among many in the decision to consume' and therefore should not be overestimated (Greffe 2004: 306);
- Riganti and Nijkamp (2005) are sceptical whether any cost-benefit analysis of any value of cultural heritage is possible because of the small number of studies which carried out this type of analysis and the high degree of doubt concerning their reliability (Riganti and Nijkamp 2005: 2);
- as far as the number of the WTP studies carried out is concerned, in 2005 only 33 non-market heritage valuation studies were found to have ever been carried out (eftec 2005), although it has to be noted that they became increasingly popular amongst heritage administrators since then (Timothy 2011: 283);
- Tuan and Navrud (2008: 327) claim that especially the revealed preference methods have been used very sparsely in the valuation of

cultural resources, meaning that most WTP studies would have been based on stated preference methods, testing hypothetical scenarios and made-up cases; and

- Frey and Oberholzer-Gee (1988: 41) observed that WTP studies are inherently uncertain because of the futuristic element in their account of costs and benefits.

Frey (2003: 193) adds, however, that of all procedures of evaluation, there is one which carries minimum disadvantage - a referendum. Popular referenda, he argues, have the advantage of combining cultural valuations with actual political decisions. Although no such referendum is known to have ever been called, Frey's argument is an example of the recent tendency to include the voices of all interested parties in the process of heritage management.

Summing up, most attempts to create a sharp categorization of heritage values, or to construct a comprehensive theory of cultural value, seem to have been effectively countered so far. Furthermore, on the one hand Mason stipulated that 'non-use values are [just] an alternative way of looking at the sociocultural values' (Mason 2002: 13), and, on the other hand, Carman (2005: 54) observed that the *use* and *non-use* values of heritage are in fact just variations of the *use* value itself: 'the only doubt is to when (...) [the] use will take place and what type it will be'.

Both Carman's and Mason's arguments suggest that the entire debate about *values* of heritage could be reduced to subjective analysis of the *use value* of heritage to an individual, informed in his or her judgments by professional opinion in their process of life-long learning. The ASE's critique of the *heritage values debate* later in this chapter explores this observation in more detail, and it will be utilized in Chapter 6 as a fundamental element of the proposed Castle Management Model.

4.3.4 The role and impact of heritage in socio-economic development

The enhanced role of an individual in the *heritage values debate*, exposed in the previous section of this chapter, again evokes connotations with the Faro Convention (Council of Europe 2005a, De Vos 2011). Indeed, the Faro Convention, according to Fairclough (2008: 32), advocates that

cultural heritage is a part of identity, that is an essential component of “place”, and that it should increase everyone’s quality of life ... cultural heritage can also support economic prosperity.

Analysis of the economic impact of heritage is a relatively new field of study (North 2005: 57, Wiesand and Söndermann 2005: 16). Studies which highlight the positive economic impact of heritage on economy as a universal, if not essential, driving force for economic development and social change (Albernaz *et al.* 2011), have always been undermined by concerns about potential trade-offs and side effects (see also Chapter 5 for the context of tourism and sustainability). Bandarin *et al.* (2011: 23) admit, that

[t]here is an apparent contradiction ... [but] in fact, safeguarding and transforming, heritage and development, are two sides of the same coin. To safeguard and to preserve cultural and natural heritage for the enjoyment of future generations is also to tap into the creativity that is hallmark to the transformative power that brings about quality development. Together, culture, cultural heritage and development have been making an incalculable contribution toward improving human livelihoods and well-being in lasting and sustainable ways.

Also, Roders and Oers (2011: 6) argue that

[t]he role of the historic built environment in promoting economic growth is now fully acknowledged ... heritage can boost the local and national economy and create jobs by attracting tourists and investment, and providing leisure, recreation, and educational facilities.

Most importantly for this thesis, however, Fairclough (2008: 34-35) argues, that the prerequisite to fully appreciate the economic role of heritage is to look at it in a wholly new way (akin to what has been described as a ‘bottom-up’ approach in Section 1.4 of this thesis):

On the one hand, heritage policy might be based on a relatively small, highly managed and publicly subsidised heritage based on traditional approaches such as national criteria, expert assessment, a concern with authenticity and fabric and selective designation (heritage as constraint, heritage as commodity). On the other hand is the new type of heritage that the Faro Convention promotes – a broad, living heritage aligned with sense of place, landscape,

sustainability and comprehensiveness, and context, but which might not allow us to “keep” everything physically. The first might be said to erect strong walls around a few places, the other to engage with social debates with the risks of loss as well as the potential for much bigger gains in relevance. The first is centred on things, the second on people. The first puts heritage into a protected place, the second places heritage in the economic mainstream.

There seems to be not much doubt anymore that culture and heritage do influence economy (Klamer 1996: 14, Cunningham 2007: 4, Bandarin *et al.* 2011: 18). The size and direction of this influence, however, can vary significantly between cases, its character is often debatable (Snowball 2010: 33-44), and its measurement can be problematic (Rypkema, Cheong and Mason 2011). In general, the economic impact of heritage is also essentially dependent on good heritage management (Stone 2011).

Table 4. Market and non-market economic impact of heritage.

Economic Impact of Heritage	
<u>Market effects</u>	<u>Non-market effects</u>
Positive	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – job creation – differentiation of the labour market – additional net income to the local economy – increased tax revenue – growth in property prices – increased product diversity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – urban development – social cohesion – sense of place – better quality of cultural environment – ‘lessons from the past’ for energy saving and recycling – promotion of local cultural identity – impulse for creativity – international co-operation
Negative	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – real estate speculation – additional infrastructure costs – localised seasonal inflation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – crowding out non-heritage related activities – stringent building regulations that hinder innovation and urbanisation

Table 4 presents examples of the positive and negative impact of culture and heritage on economy, registered at various levels: short and long-term, direct and indirect (Grefe 2004, Throsby 2006b, Gray 2007, Bowitz and Ibenholt 2007, Tweed and Sutherland 2007, European Commission 2010, Hawke 2010, Mouton 2010).

It has been debated that the growing economic significance of the cultural sector is a political issue - it has been linked with the growing activity of institutions which depend on government subsidies and often need to lobby for support by claiming 'sizeable economic contributions' (Klamer 1996: 14, Snowball 2010 34).

Klamer (1996: 14) also noted that the economic impact of the cultural sector is usually very difficult to demonstrate due to its very small size. Similarly, heritage conservation is rarely perceived as a noteworthy source of revenue to most economies (Mason 2007: 13). However, the size of the heritage sector is constantly growing. A recent study prepared for the European Commission demonstrates that the so called 'cultural and creative' sector of the European economy - despite the difficulties in defining it - experienced a 12.3% higher rate of growth than the rest of the EU economy between 1999 and 2003 (KEA European Affairs 2006: 61).

Grefe (2004: 304) suggests that the overall impact of heritage depends primarily on its quality - in the case of built heritage, its physical condition - which in turn depends on the level of conservation effort and investment (Figure 22).

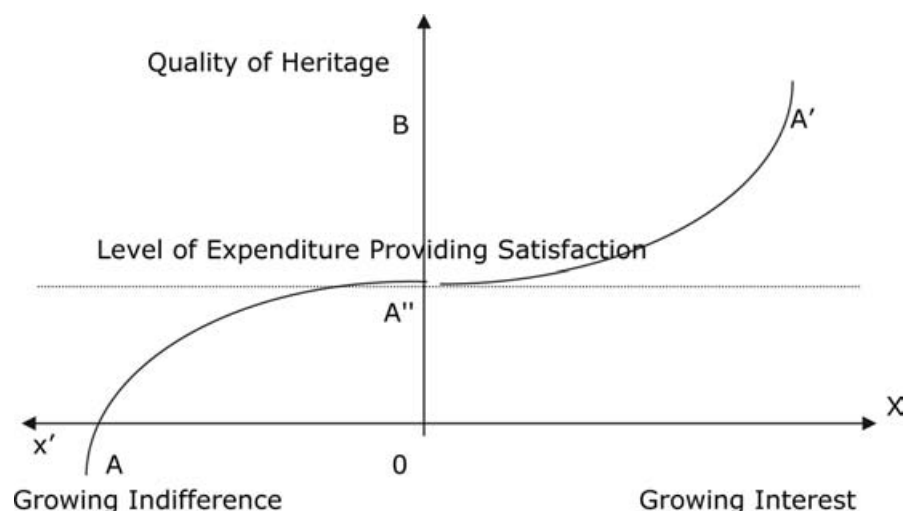


Figure 22. Impact of heritage as a function of its quality (Grefe 2004: 304).

Heritage sites which attract little investment and which are in a poor state of repair are at risk of further neglect. A 'heritage site which is in good condition will elicit a positive response and arouse more interest and attention resulting in the [further] increase of resources allocated for its conservation' (Grefe 2004: 304, see also Peacock and Rizzo 2008: 118).

Both Grefe (2004: 307) and Snowball (2010: 47) observe that the anticipated impact of any investment in heritage may be two-sided, i.e. increased expenditure on heritage in one geographical area or sector of economy may cause a reduction of expenditure in other areas or sectors. What is more, investment in heritage in geographical areas of low 'elasticity' of supply of consumer goods and labour force, such as small towns or rural areas, can cause a localised rise of prices and cost of labour, seasonally exacerbated by heritage tourism (Grefe 2004: 308).

Bowitz and Ibenholt (2007: 2) also argue that public support in the form of subsidies to heritage usually result in unproductive redistribution of local resources, earlier collected from the same or related economic entities in the form of taxation. Only private investment, and preferably from industries which sell most of their product or products outside the local economy, can have a net positive economic impact in that local economy - as far as heritage is concerned, one such industry of large net positive economic impact is the tourism industry (Bowitz and Ibenholt 2007: 2, see also further in this chapter).

Throsby (2010: 103) states that the globalisation of markets for cultural products and the progress in communication technologies can lift culture to a central role in the 'new economy, driven by creativity, innovation and access to knowledge'. On the other hand, however, he expresses concern that excessive focus on economic development through culture can undervalue the non-economic values of culture (Throsby 2010: 103).

A thorough analysis of the usefulness of economic impact studies has been recently carried out by Snowball (2010: 35-43). She concludes that figures obtained through economic impact studies are only indicative of the total value of a given cultural phenomenon - e.g. a site or an event - and so their application is limited to an auxiliary argument to gain community support, or to lobby for funds.

Additionally, heritage impact studies - just like the heritage valuation studies discussed earlier in this chapter - are highly sensitive to the researched

geographical area, site, or time period. This means that heritage valuation studies are usually not transferable: results produced for one site hardly ever directly apply to any other area or site (Snowball 2010: 38). Snowball (2010: 42) also warns that economic impact studies tend to focus on the instrumental, i.e. economic, rather than intrinsic, i.e. artistic etc., values of culture, resulting in a bias towards the provision of financial rather than social benefits through culture.

Furthermore, Crompton (2006: 67) argues that heritage economic impact studies are often conducted to support political views and as such, their objectivity cannot be trusted. Bowitz and Ibenholt (2007: 7) support that opinion and highlight that economic estimates of the effect of heritage on economy are usually exaggerated, and that the negative impact of heritage is often ignored in such studies, thus hindering proper public debate.

4.4 Critique of the heritage value debate from the perspective of the ASE

As yet, the ASE has devoted little direct attention to the issues discussed above. The School's main contributions have been typically in various areas of political economy, such as monetary theory and policy, business cycles, interest rates and inflation, competition and monopoly (Cordato 2007: 1). Nevertheless, much of the ASE's theory of the market process and the theories of price, value and capital can be effectively applied in the field of heritage management.

4.4.1 The market process theory and heritage entrepreneurship

The *market process* is one of the central concepts of the ASE (Lachmann 1976a) and one of importance for the subject of this thesis in as far as it attempts to explain the relationship between heritage and economy in terms other than the theory of market failure.

In contrast to mainstream economics, which theorises about markets in a state of static equilibrium (see Section 3.2), the ASE fosters the concept of market as an inherently dynamic process (Hazlitt 2009). According to the ASE, any market for any kind of goods is characterised by the so-called *spontaneous order* (Cantor 2009: 34), or, in other words, 'non-planned planning' (Lichfield 1988: 154). This means that markets contain elements of temporality,

uncertainty, and imperfection. ASE argues that markets involve a high degree of complexity and unpredictability, making them impossible to control authoritatively, or to co-ordinate, plan or predict accurately. Notably, Cantor (2006) makes the same remarks about arts and cultural activity in general: 'culture is a messy process, involves trial and error ... like the market ... lots of failures for every success'.

In consequence, ASE argues that markets - and also, in fact, arts and culture in general - can only operate properly if they are co-ordinated by market prices of goods and services exchanged. As already mentioned in Section 1.4.2, market prices of goods and services inform and co-ordinate the actions of *entrepreneurs*. The ultimate role of entrepreneurs is, according to Cantor (2009: 35), to 'work towards bringing supply in line with demand'. In the context of culture, Cantor argues (2006), the role of enterprising producers of culture is to satisfy expectations of their customers - be they individual patrons, or any wider audiences (Cantor 2006). This thesis extends this argument to castle administrators too, as heritage entrepreneurs, and posits that it is their role to strive to meet demand with supply, i.e. to deliver the right heritage product to the interested parties.

In the view of the ASE, it is only individual entrepreneurs - operating in competition and/or co-operation with each other - who can, through trial and error, cope with the spontaneous nature of the free market. Even if, sporadically, actions of entrepreneurs may result in local *market failures* (see Section 4.3.2 above), in any long term those failures tend to cancel each other out - unlike the system-wide market failures generated by central governments (Cantor 2009: 35).

This entrepreneurial approach stands in contrast to most mainstream economic theory which tends to assign little economic value to the wider, positive effects of the individual, enterprising 'human will and imagination' (Hisrich 2009: 3), and instead assigns the leading role in the pursuit of the economic and social interest of society to politicians and governments. In theory, there should be an agreement between the needs of society and the policies of the elected government which represents it. However, Ashworth and Howard (1999: 18) noted that, typically, 'people-oriented interests of communities get lost as the formalities of governments take over'. They also observed that, as far as heritage is regarded, the increased involvement of

politicians and governments throughout the 20th century has often led to a situation where heritage is 'used mainly for the self-legitimation of the state' (Ashworth and Howard 1999: 41).

Paradoxically, mainstream economists see the spontaneous character of markets as the fundamental cause of the *market failure*. Mainstream economics generally fails to address market change and dynamics because it can only capture 'a static slice in time' (Cunningham 2007: 4). For mainstream economics, the constant changes in demand and supply, which are the main source of market dynamics, are thought to require arbitrary, exogenous, government intervention in order to achieve the desired state of static equilibrium (Kohn 2004, Fedako 2005). In contrast, off-stream economists, such as those associated with the ASE, often maintain that markets generate an array of signals and information which can be relevant only to individual *entrepreneurial discovery* and 'never ... to a central authority' (Chamlee-Wright 2010: 328), making any government-initiated market correction largely ineffective. For the ASE, market dynamics are an inherent, internal part of the market system, as they create opportunities for entrepreneurs to seek profit.

Further in this thesis, the theories of *market process* and *spontaneous order* will be applied to explore the impact of heritage on socio-economic development. Beugelsdijk and Maseland (2010: 169) observe that 'entrepreneurship, innovation and economic growth are logically linked through the recognition and exploitation of opportunities in economic and social arenas'. The socio-economic dimension of heritage management, discussed as part of the proposed Castle Management Model, provides therefore an immediate context to explore the emergence, evolution and importance of entrepreneurship in the practice of castle administrators.

The Castle Management Model, proposed in this thesis, is amongst others based on the concept that heritage can be put to a variety of uses (see more in Chapter 6). The task of a heritage administrator, as seen by the Model, is thus to recognise and pursue the continuously unfolding opportunities created by the different uses of heritage. In other words, the Model posits that heritage administrators become *heritage entrepreneurs*. Furthermore, entrepreneurship in heritage would fall within the category of the so called non-market entrepreneurship, distinguished from ordinary entrepreneurship by the fact that it is not solely focused on monetary profit (McCaffrey 2010: 80). In this thesis,

the role of heritage entrepreneurs belongs to castle administrators. To fulfill this role, this thesis proposes that, instead of maximizing the profit, they ought to set out to maximize the potential of the castles they administer (see Chapter 6).

Of course, the ASE does not claim that every market produces only desired outcomes, but it defends 'the [market] system as a whole for its self-correcting properties' (Cantor 2009: 36). In the same vein, given the presence of favourable social and political institutions (Holcombe 2007: 55), entrepreneurial heritage management could also help create a self-correcting, balanced and sustainable *heritage system*. Theoretically, such a system could realise the potential of heritage more effectively than it is happening at the moment.

4.4.2 The theory of value and the concept of 'utility'

The ASE's theory of value is inherently subjective - in contrast to the mainstream so called *cost theory of value*, also known as the labour theory of value, which presumes that the value of a good depends on the cost of its production and specifically on the value of the required labour (Murphy 2006: 21). ASE scholars uniformly support what Mises (1996 [1949]: 219) expressed by insisting that 'value must be defined by every individual', and therefore be detached from any costs borne in the process of production (see also Hayek 1988, Yeager 1987, Murphy 2006, Rothbard 1997b, Rothbard [1962] 2009). From this perspective, any process of valuation is subjective and depends on each individual's current order of preferences to the point that 'what is valuable to one person may not be as valuable to another, or to the same person at another time' (Cantor 2009: 30).

Moreover, Mises (1996 [1949]: 122) stipulates that 'there is no such thing as a calculation of values'. It is a fundamentally 'Austrian' concept that value cannot be measured but only judged, and 'the judgment of value refers only to the supply with which the concrete act of choice is concerned' (Mises 1996 [1949]: 122). This means that each value judgment is distinct and separate from any other value judgment, and is a matter of choice between alternative options available to an individual at a given moment.

Consequently, in choosing between alternatives, no arithmetical process takes place. Rather, alternatives are compared and a decision is taken on the

basis of the notion of relative *utility*, which Mises (1996 [1949]: 120) defines as '[the] importance attached to a thing on account of the belief that it can remove uneasiness'.

In other words, *utility* is a characteristic which depends on one's individual and momentary belief in the potential of a given product or service to bring about a positive change of their wellbeing. Various goods and services can, therefore, have greater or lesser *utility* to an individual in given circumstances - they can be ranked as relatively more or less useful - but, as said already, their *utility* cannot be measured. Rothbard ([1962] 2009: 19) argued: 'there is no ... objective unit in the field of human valuation. ... A man [sic] may know that he is or will be happier or less happy, but not by "how much", not by a measurable quantity'.

The implication of the above paragraph is that it is not possible for an economist to measure the total value of heritage directly (Lichfield 1988: 181). Indeed, Mises (1996 [1949]: 122) was very critical about such attempts: 'the concepts of total utility or total value are meaningless if not applied to a situation in which people must choose between total supplies'. In normal situations, Mises (1996 [1949]: 123) argues, 'if a man [sic] is faced with the alternative of giving up either one unit of his supply of *a* or one unit of his supply of *b*, he does not compare the total value of his total stock of *a* with the total value of his stock of *b*. He compares the marginal values both of *a* and of *b*'. This means that an economic valuation should not attempt to measure the total value of a given heritage object or site, and that it can only be accurate and methodologically correct to measure its value to an interested individual at a given moment of consumption, or experience, and in his or her given circumstances. It is one of the main arguments, presented in this thesis, against the feasibility of the earlier analysed WTP studies, which assume individual valuations as constant and analyse them as detached from the actual moment of experience.

More recently, Mazzanti (2003: 551) added that economics does not 'intend to value the [total] stock, but only the flows generated and provided to [individual] people by the stock'. In other words, economic valuation concerns only those marginal quantities of heritage goods or associated services which are subject to a given market transaction. In a similar vein - in the context of the procedure of Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC, see also Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2), therefore outwith the general field of economics - it is argued

that historic landscapes should be valued not for the state in which they are at the moment of examination, but for the processes which they represent: 'the effect of change should be measured, not the value of the starting point' (Fairclough 2006: 62). This focus on the process of change seems to be a yet another area where Heritage Studies come close to ASE.

As far as the concept of *utility* is concerned, Mises (1996 [1949]: 120) admitted that he used the term *utility* instead an earlier term *subjective use-value*. Indeed, in this thesis the term *subjective use-value* would fit better the typology of heritage values by Mason (2002), discussed earlier in this chapter (Figure 20), as it would highlight not only the subjectivity of utility, but it would also stress the concept that an individual must either use or contemplate their use of a heritage good or service in order to attach any value to it.

In the framework of this thesis, the concept of *subjective use-value* of heritage is an idea close to the previously mentioned concept of *significance* of heritage. Both concepts refer to an individual and subjective judgment made by someone who has an expressed interest in a given heritage good, i.e. a site, an artefact, a custom, etc. Also, both concepts of *subjective use-value* and of *significance* fit the general principle of the law of 'decreasing marginal value' (Mises 1996 [1949]: 124), which stipulates that every additional unit of a given good in one's possession is valued less than the previous one. In the case of the *subjective use-value* and the *significance* of heritage, they would therefore decrease as the heritage is recognised as more common or found more numerous. By the same law, any additional experience of given heritage would be characterised by lesser utility, and would be recognised as being of lesser significance than the earlier experience. For example, the significance and utility of visiting a yet another castle by the same tourist would diminish with each visit. This can explain why this thesis stipulates that every castle administrator should, by the same token, actively seek their competitive advantage over other castle administrators by satisfying the needs of their castle's stakeholders better and more quickly.

4.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter has demonstrated how the concept of subjectivity of heritage values has developed as contemporary heritage policies evolved. It

has also been discussed how the concept of subjectivity of heritage values can help to formulate an argument that the traditional, 'top-down', professional approach be counterbalanced with a 'bottom-up', socio-economic perspective in heritage management.

Furthermore, the chapter has highlighted the practical weakness of the concept of *public goods*, and also of any attempts of aggregate valuation of heritage. The chapter has demonstrated how the *heritage values debate*, which has dominated the contemporary field of heritage economics, can be reduced to the question of what *utility* - or *subjective use-value* - heritage can provide to individuals, who benefit from its consumption. Moreover, the chapter has also demonstrated how *utility* and *significance* of heritage can be subject to the economic law of 'decreasing marginal value', which, in turn, has considerable consequences for the process of management.

The chapter posits that the main responsibility of castle administrators, therefore, is to maximise the realised potential of their castles, i.e. the *utility* of their castles to individual stakeholders. In doing so, castle administrators may adopt entrepreneurial methods of management and are also encouraged to compete with each other in order to effectively exploit the spontaneous character of heritage as an economising system.

The next chapter will explore the complex relationship between heritage, tourism, and economy, and will overview the concept of sustainability.

Chapter 5

Tourism, Economy and Heritage

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the role that tourism plays in relation to heritage, particularly in economic terms. Three types of impact: (1) of tourism on heritage, (2) of heritage tourism on the economy, and (3) of culture in general on tourism development (Lewis 2007: 455), are of considerable importance for castle administrators in the day-to-day process of castle management. However, the delicate 'relationship between tourism and the use of [cultural] resources' (Fowler 1996: 76) has also often been a source of controversy and concern. In the end, it is understood, that sustainability of the relationship between tourism, heritage and economy depends on the fine balance 'between conservation, access and interpretation' (Stone 2006: 11-12), or, in other words, between business and maintenance (European Historic Houses 2011: 9).

The chapter begins with a definition of tourism and discusses issues surrounding estimating the size and scope of tourism as an industry. Next, it explores the relationship between tourism and culture, cultural tourism and heritage tourism, including an overview of the concept of sustainability in tourism. The chapter concludes with an examination of the positive and negative impacts of heritage on tourism and of tourism on heritage.

5.2 Tourism as an industry

Difficulties surrounding the definition of tourism have been much discussed (Burns and Holden 1995, Richards 1996b, Christou 2005). In general terms, Richards (1996b: 20) observes that tourism is defined primarily as an industry, and that the concept of tourism as a cultural phenomenon tends to be of secondary importance.

The consequence of approaching tourism as an industry is that most definitions of tourism see it as a quantitative phenomenon and aim to assist in its measurement in terms of numbers of tourists, and the resulting direct and indirect monetary revenue. Culture plays no significant role in this approach, and is typically simply acknowledged as one of the many motivations to travel.

For example, the definition of tourism proposed by the European Community in 1986, and later adopted by the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), described tourism as ‘all journeys of more than 24h for recreation, business, study or health purposes’ (Beaver 2005: 314). Ritchie and Goeldner (1994: 72, cited in Christou 2005: 4) proposed an even more technical definition of tourism being ‘the sum of those industrial and commercial activities producing goods and services wholly or mainly consumed by foreign visitors or by domestic tourists’.

The definition of tourism currently in use by the UNWTO seems to at least partly bridge the gap between the industrial and the cultural aspects of tourism. It defines tourism as ‘a social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or business/professional purposes’ (UNWTO 2008: 1).

For statistical purposes UNWTO breaks down tourism trips into nine categories, according to the main purpose of a visit. As expected, according to Figure 23, the most represented category of tourism in 2010 was one that is most commonly associated with tourism, i.e. ‘leisure, recreation and holidays’, which accounted for 51% of all international tourist arrivals. Other major categories of tourism included visiting friends and relatives (VFR), health, religion, business and professional (UNWTO 2011: 3, Figure 23).

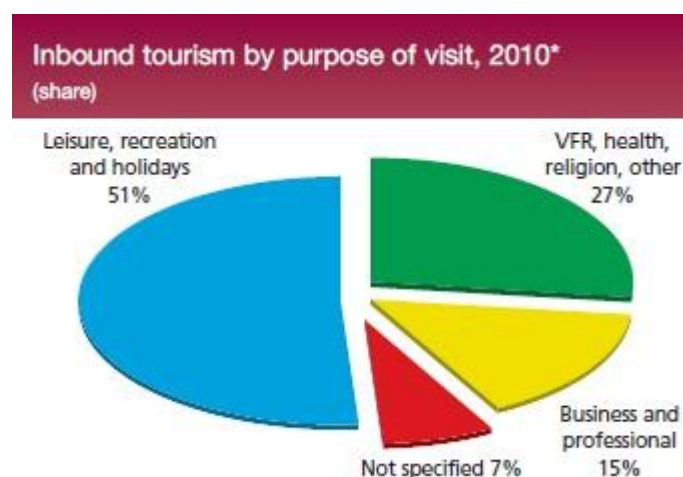


Figure 23. International inbound tourism by purpose of visit (UNWTO (2011: 3).

Given these disparate stimuli, it is argued that tourism, as an industry, is not homogeneous and cannot be measured by its output, like those industries which produce specific goods or services, because tourism does not produce anything directly (Christou 2005: 4). Instead, international tourism statistics measure the value of demand by international tourists - in other words, money spent - for those goods and services which international tourists purchased from a variety of producers and suppliers for or during tourism trips (Christou 2005: 4, UNWTO 2008: 1, UNESCO 2009c: 30-31).

Reports by UNWTO (2010, 2011) demonstrate that international tourism has so far experienced almost consistent growth, in terms of both tourist arrivals and tourism receipts, since measurements began in 1970s. Figures for 2010 (the most recent data at the time of writing) ranked the international tourism industry as the fourth industry in the world in terms of the total value of demand expressed in US Dollars - after fuels, chemicals and automotive industries (UNWTO 2010: 2). International tourism, as an industry, accounted for 30% of the world's exports of commercial services and 6% of overall exports of combined goods and services, and the total international tourism receipts in 2010 reached USD 919 billion worldwide (UNWTO 2011: 2, Figure 24). Tourism has also quickly recovered from the plunge it suffered recently due to the global financial crisis of 2008-09 (UNWTO 2011: 2, Figure 24). In the same 2010, international tourist arrivals reached 940 million worldwide, with 'vast majority of destinations ... [reporting] positive and often double-digit increases' in numbers of inbound international tourists, compared with the previous year (Figure 24).

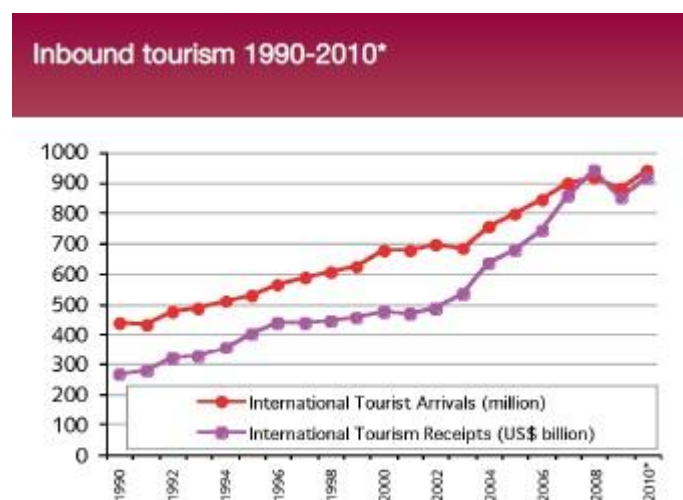


Figure 24. International tourist arrivals and receipts (UNWTO 2011: 2).

As far as Poland is concerned, in 2010 the international tourist arrivals reached 12.5 million (Instytut Turystyki 2011a) and international tourism receipts reached USD 9.44 million (UNWTO 2011: 6). As a destination country, the UNWTO 2010 European regional data comparison (UNWTO 2011: 6) - a survey of 36 countries, including Turkey and the Russian Federation - ranked Poland at the 11th position in terms of international tourist arrivals in Europe (2.6% of the total of 476.5 million) and at the 14th position in terms of international tourism receipts in Europe (2.3% of the total of USD 406.2 million).

Table 5 shows, however, that more often than for leisure, Poland is an international destination for business. Due to its geographical position Poland is also often a transit country, and a destination for small trade and shopping - very often same-day shopping in the border area with Russia, Belarus and Ukraine.

Table 5. International Tourist Arrivals to Poland in 2010, percentage share (Instytut Turystyki 2011b).

Purpose of visit	Country of origin							
	Total %	Germany	Old EU Members (without Germany)	New EU Members	Russia, Belarus, Ukraine	Other European countries	Main overseas countries	Rest of the world
Business	25	19	28	27	29	26	29	31
Leisure	23	34	27	11	7	15	21	14
VFR	18	18	22	12	15	16	33	3
Transit	10	8	4	29	7	31	4	28
Shopping	10	7	2	7	30	2	1	1
Other	14	14	17	14	12	10	12	23

International tourism exists, of course, alongside domestic tourism. However, as Throsby (2010: 149) observes, the true net economic benefit of tourism lies in spending by tourists coming from outside the destination economy, whereas spending by locals is only a displacement of expenditure from other areas of the same economy. Nevertheless, the size of domestic tourism markets tends to be considerable. No relevant study has been identified for Poland at the time of writing, but, for comparison, in 2007 international tourists in the UK spent £18.8 billion whilst in the same year spending by domestic tourists in the UK reached £68.5 billion, i.e. 3.6 times more (Deloitte 2010: 37-43). With some degree of uncertainty it might be presumed, therefore, that spending by domestic tourists in Poland also surpasses that by

international tourists and the difference might also be approximately threefold. Indeed, results of the castle survey shed some additional light on this issue, if only with regard to the average proportion of domestic to international visitors to castles in Poland in years 2003-2007.

5.3 Tourism, culture and sustainability

McKercher and Du Cros (2002: 1) reflect that traditionally - even since Roman times - tourism and travel possessed cultural characteristics, such as visiting historic or religious sites, events or museums. The evolution of tourism and travel in Europe also closely reflected the evolution of European culture in many aspects, such as changing work patterns, industrialisation, urbanisation, gradual democratization of public life, or the ebbs and flows of economic prosperity (Richards 1996b: 6-8).

In the 20th century, tourism rapidly departed from the classical, individual pursuit of an affluent 'cultured traveller' (Bauer 1996: 148). Tourism went through the long stage of mass, standardized and rigidly packaged trips in search of 'sand, sea, sun and sex' (Burns and Holden 1995: 15), to recently enter the era of widespread customization of tourism, hailed as a new 'culture of travel' (Liu 2005: 1).

The increasing fragmentation and specialization of the world tourism market since the 1970s resulted in the emergence of a number of categories of tourism, including 'cultural tourism' (McKercher and Du Cros 2002: 1, Timothy and Boyd 2003: 2). Thus, cultural tourism can be described as 'probably (...) the oldest of the 'new' tourism phenomena' (McKercher and Du Cros 2002: 1).

Today, cultural tourism is increasingly often recognized as 'a major source of economic development for many destinations', and also as an important aspect of a vast majority of tourist products (OECD 2009: 19). According to an often quoted estimation, more than 40% of international travel 'has an element of heritage and culture associated with it' (Boyd 2008: 284). Similarly, Europa Nostra (2005) claims that 'more than 50% of tourism activity in Europe is driven by cultural heritage'. The relationship between tourism and culture has been recognized as mutually beneficial - economically, culture has been seen as an important resource for tourism (UNESCO 1995: 184), and

tourism as an essential provider of the financial and political support for the cultural sector (Richards 1996b: 13, Endresen 1999: 1).

On the other hand, it has also been suggested that tourism and culture are two inherently disparate phenomena, with different focuses and often dissonant objectives - tourism being a symbol of dynamics and change, and culture, especially in the form of heritage, being a symbol of tradition, stability and continuity (Nuryanti 1996: 249, see also McKercher and Du Cros 2002, Ho and McKercher 2004).

In this vein, it is claimed that tourism is typically just 'a leisure-related activity separate from everyday life and the culture of the local population' (OECD 2009: 19). Such opinion in particular relates to tourism when seen as an industry, which, in the words of Higgins-Desbiolles (2006), 'has succumbed to the effects of *marketisation*'. The perceived threat of heritage commodification for the benefit of tourism has caused many a heritage manager to resist or even to resent tourism as secondary or even essentially alien to their perceived cultural mission (Garrod and Fyall 2000: 684-685). Recently, Stone (2006: 9) observed that visitors to heritage sites are still often seen 'not as an opportunity to engage with the general public, but rather as a threat to a fragile and irreplaceable resource'.

The relationship between heritage places and tourism was specifically addressed in the 1999 ICOMOS International Cultural Tourism Charter. It acknowledged the challenges and disparities described above, and stressed that the 'dynamic and ever changing' heritage-tourism relationship should be managed 'in a *sustainable* way for present and future generations' (ICOMOS 1999, emphasis added).

Sustainability is not a new concept in the context of tourism. As Clarke (1997: 225) noted, *sustainable tourism* was initially - i.e. at the time of the 1987 Brundtland Report - seen in an idealised way as an alternative to *mass tourism*, and the *traveller* was opposed to the *tourist*, the latter of the two regarded responsible for all the negative impacts of tourism (see also WTO 1989). Gradually, a more complex understanding of sustainable tourism evolved as a 'goal for attainment' (Clarke 1997: 227). The today's criteria for sustainable tourism, still embedded in the original concept of sustainable development, point towards minimising impacts and maximising benefits of any kind of tourism for the host community, the visitors, the cultural heritage of the

destination, and the local natural environment (Global Sustainable Tourism Council 2012).

Summing up, it has to be acknowledged that the objectives of tourism and culture can both complement, as well as contradict each other, so that the relationship between tourism and culture is rarely in balance (McKercher and DuCros 2002: 13, Stone 2006: 9). Importantly for heritage management, the relationship between tourism and cultural heritage can also occasionally turn into a long lasting conflict (Baxter and Chippindale 2005: 141-149). Development towards sustainable tourism has been championed as a possible solution for the above issues, however it has also been noted that it might bring about new challenges upon the implementation of its principles (Lindberg 1999: 39, Landorf 2009: 67).

5.3.1 Cultural tourism and heritage tourism - definitions

Christou (2005: 6-7) notes a number of approaches to cultural tourism, many of which use the term *cultural tourism* interchangeably with *heritage tourism*. Boyd (2003: 283), however, notes that heritage tourism may be classed as a subcategory of cultural tourism, but at the same time makes an allowance to see it the other way round too. He also posits that heritage tourism should be viewed as naturally overlapping with other types of tourism, such as ecotourism, urban tourism, roots - otherwise known as personal - tourism, or pilgrimage (Boyd 2008: 283-288). A report by the European Travel Commission (2005: 3) places heritage at the core of cultural tourism, and a definition of cultural tourism by Europa Nostra (2006a) highlights such its aspects as 'historic monuments and sites' and the 'cultural history of the host communities'. Additionally, cultural tourism is sometimes seen as part of mass tourism, but at other times as a niche tourism in its own right (Throsby 2010: 146).

Moreover, Masberg and Silverman (1996: 20, cited in Christou 2005: 5) argued that most definitions of cultural and heritage tourism 'lack ... understanding of how visitors define a heritage site and what the activity of visiting a heritage site means to them'. Masberg and Silverman (1996) did not depart from what Richards (1996b: 24) critically branded a 'sites and monuments approach' to the definition of heritage tourism, but, importantly from

the perspective of this thesis, they also included the aspect of subjectivity of an individual tourism experience.

Both Timothy and Boyd (2003: 5) and Munsters and de Klumbis (2005: 28) observe that the element of experience is a distinctive feature of both cultural and heritage tourism, which makes them stand out from mainstream, mass, leisure tourism. Timothy and Boyd (2003: 5) refer to an earlier observation by Hall and Zeppel (1990: 87) who referred to heritage tourism as an 'experiential tourism in the sense of ... feeling part of the history of the place'. Munsters and de Klumbis (2005: 28) in turn mention the need to 'experience the destination instead of simply obtaining facts about "how the destination is"', captured in an expression 'experiencing the there'.

A similar approach to heritage tourism has been suggested by Poria *et al.* (2001, 2003). Having researched the relationship between tourists and the heritage presented at their travel destinations, Poria *et al.* (2003: 239) argue that visitors are drawn to various destinations by the need of an *emotional experience*. Poria *et al.* (2001, 2003) position themselves opposite the mainstream view of heritage tourism supply and management, represented amongst others by Yale (1991), Garrod and Fyall (2000) or Sigala and Leslie (2005).

Yale (1991: 21) implicitly compounded heritage tourism and historic tourism as tourism 'centred on what we have inherited' - which is an approach that corresponds closely with the conventional, 'top-down' approach to heritage which concentrates on its arbitrarily identified attributes (see Chapter 1, Section 1.5.4). This supply-centred, attribute-related approach has been elevated to an official dictionary definition of heritage tourism by Beaver (2005: 323) who describes it as 'tourism inspired by, organised in connection with or visiting the cultural and or natural heritage of an area ... [such as] areas of natural beauty, buildings, geographical features, monuments, natural areas, sites of archaeological interest and other natural or man-made places of importance for aesthetic, anthropological, ethnological, historical, scientific or other reasons'.

In contrast, Poria *et al.* (2001, 2003) concentrated on the demand side of heritage tourism, i.e. on the visitors' subjective, individual perceptions of *their own* heritage. In this view, Poria *et al.* (2003: 249) draw distinction between *heritage tourists* and *tourists at heritage places*. Their definition pictures *heritage tourism* as 'a phenomenon which, at its core, has not the heritage

attributes of a specific site, but rather the motivation to visit it, both in relation to that site's attributes and the tourists' perception of their own heritage' (Poria *et al.* 2001: 1047).

The possible scope and nature of heritage tourism is pictured in Figure 25. It includes a variety of forms of tourism which all in some configuration utilise historic cultural assets recognised as heritage.

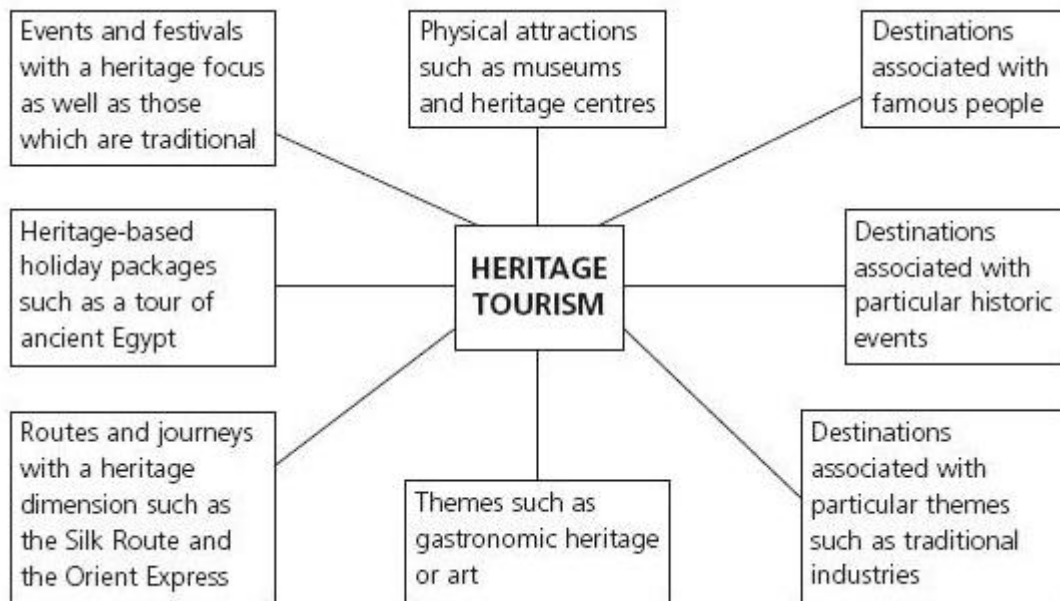


Figure 25. Scope and nature of heritage tourism (Swarbrooke 2002).

This thesis leans towards definitions contained in the OECD (2009: 25) report, which describes cultural tourism as an evolution of the concept in which culture is linked with tourism through national heritage, enhanced by the inclusion of arts, crafts, events, creative activities, architecture, design and tangible heritage. To sum up, in this thesis:

$$\text{cultural tourism} = \text{heritage tourism} + \text{arts tourism}$$

Every perspective on heritage tourism which highlights its subjective and experiential aspects, and which acknowledges the 'contemporary value of heritage' (Stone 2006: 9), corresponds well with the subjective definition of heritage itself, introduced in Section 1.5.4. Eventually, the subjective - otherwise called the 'bottom-up' - approach to heritage will become an inherent element of the Castle Management Model proposed in Chapter 6.

5.3.2 Size of the heritage tourism market

Estimation of the size of the heritage tourism worldwide market is very difficult. There is general agreement that 'heritage tourism is a growth industry in every part of the world' (Jameson 2008: 59). However, systems used in various countries to register cultural tourism data have been described as mutually incompatible and poorly suited to distinguish cultural and heritage tourism information from general tourism statistics (OECD 2009: 18, UNESCO 2009c: 43).

Although it is claimed that 'heritage is the most important, single resource for international tourism' (Graham *et al.* 2000: 20), as far as the UK is concerned, 'no single recent survey has detailed [tourist] motivations for the heritage sector across various classes of international and domestic tourists' (Oxford Economics 2010: 13). In fact, the *industrial*, wholesale approach to tourism makes it impossible to capture heritage tourism as an individual, experiential phenomenon (Poria *et al.* 2001, Timothy and Boyd 2003, Munsters and de Klumbis 2005).

Nevertheless, it has been estimated that in 2008 in the UK, 33% of international holidays, 9% of domestic day trips, and 4% of domestic overnight holidays might have been motivated by heritage-related reasons (Oxford Economics 2010: 16-18). As a result, the total direct heritage-related tourism expenditure in the UK was estimated at £7.2 billion in 2008 (Oxford Economics 2010: 20), accounting for 8.2% of the total spending by the so called Visitor Economy that year (Deloitte 2010: 43).

In Poland no corresponding figures are available. The annual statistics of the Institute of Tourism delineate six categories of tourism: tourism and leisure, visiting friends and relatives, business, health, religion, and other (Instytut Turystyki 2010). None of these categories explicitly mention heritage tourism, and all that can be presumed is that heritage tourism forms a part of the broad category of 'tourism and leisure' and that to some degree it overlaps with the category of 'religion', as far as religious sites can be identified as heritage sites as well.

5.3.3 Advantages and disadvantages of heritage tourism

Worldwide, tourism is often believed to have the unique capacity to 'capture the economic characteristics of heritage' (ICOMOS 1999, see also McKercher and Du Cross 2002: 11). In other words, tourism is believed to have the capacity to deliver financial gains from heritage. A general opinion prevails, that heritage tourism is indeed the most profitable field of interaction between culture and economy (Hall and MacArthur 1998; European Commission 2004), and one that can suitably meet 'the needs, aims and principles of the two ostensibly separate worlds' of culture and economy (Koskowski 2006). In particular, it is argued heritage tourism can:

- provide the much needed financial resources for culture (Richards 1996b: 13);
- improve the wellbeing of host communities (Rebanks 2010: 82, Suchet and Raspaud 2010: 460);
- drive economic and social regeneration through additional revenue for the local host economy (Stone 2006: 12, Apostolakis and Jaffry 2007: 18, Tuttiert 2011);
- provide a rationale for the conservation, protection and interpretation of cultural heritage, and influence relevant policy (Burns and Holden 1995: 166, ICOMOS 1999, Peacock and Rizzo 2008: 160, Stone 2011);
- promote particular cultural destinations, broaden their customer base and enhance their image as more than 'just' tourism attractions (Rebanks 2010: 82, Capitano 2011).

Culture, in turn, through heritage tourism can:

- create jobs (Crompton 2006: 68, Snowball 2010: 48);
- increase intellectual capital (Della Torre 2010: 23);
- encourage entrepreneurship, especially in rural areas (Deloitte 2010: 5);
- educate and inspire, and therefore assist in the self-definition, self-expression and wellbeing of participants in culture, and enhance their economic performance in countries of origin (Council of Europe 2005a);
- increase sustainability of local business in rural areas, such as, for example, the Hadrian's Wall Country (House of Commons 2010: 3);
- increase turnover, product differentiation, and flow of ideas even for businesses not directly related to culture (Grefe 2004: 306).

In particular, it is argued, cultural tourism can benefit from 'tourists with a strong accumulation of *cultural capital*' (Apostolakis and Jaffry 2007: 18, emphasis original). This is a different kind of cultural capital to that proposed by Throsby and discussed in Section 4.3. Here, Apostolakis and Jaffry (2007: 18) trace the origins of the concept of cultural capital to French sociologist Bourdieu (1986), for whom cultural capital was a form of 'aesthetic disposition' (Shockley 2007: 11). In contrast to Throsby's concept, Bourdieu's cultural capital is a personal phenomenon (Ashworth and Howard 1999: 62), which is created, or rather accumulated, through various practices and experiences of each and every individual person. One of the key experiences from the perspective of heritage management is participation in what has been defined in this thesis as cultural tourism. Participation in cultural (or heritage) tourism, according to Rebanks, enables individuals to develop specific heritage 'literacy' (2010: 80). It is also argued that the concept of cultural capital is of importance for cultural and heritage economics, because it can assist in modelling of tourism demand for cultural attractions and in the end to predict the tourist attendance at specific sites and destinations (Apostolakis and Jaffry 2007: 16).

However, as already mentioned above, tourism can become a threat to heritage, especially in its manifestation as a sub-category of mass tourism. As such, it can be associated with the usual disadvantages of mass tourism at tourism destinations, such as: overcrowding, economic exploitation, perpetuation of social inequality, or even destruction of cultural heritage sites (Russo 2002: 166, Greffe 2004: 306, Higgins-Desbiolles 2006). Additionally, the so called heritage industry, of which mass heritage tourism is a part, has been criticized for trivialization (Hewison 1987), or even manipulation of the past 'for commercial ends' (Merriman 1991: 8), to the point of depriving heritage sites of their own context and authenticity (Richards 1996b: 21, Graham *et al.* 2000: 10).

Another often quoted reason for the incompatibility of tourism and heritage is that most cultural tourism attractions were not originally designed for tourism (Ho and McKercher 2004: 255). Also, the assignation of cultural attraction status has been criticized as a highly selective process, focusing on 'the bright side of history' (González-Ruibal 2009: 66).

There is also the risk that heritage tourism might be treated only instrumentally, as a factor of economic development (Richards 1996b: 26,

Snowball 2010: 37). Ashworth and Howard (1999: 29) observed that tourists form only one, albeit large, growing and varied group of users - or stakeholders - of heritage. A disproportional focus on tourists, however, carries the risk that another group of stakeholders - the local community - might grow unreceptive or even plainly hostile to any additional, heritage tourism related initiative. This can especially be the case when the heritage product offered to potential tourists ostentatiously contrasts with what is identified as heritage by the host community itself (Suchet and Raspaud 2010: 460).

It has been asserted that the community is 'an element of the tourism package itself... as vital to the sustainability of tourism development as the destination's natural and sociocultural resources' (Leslie 2005: 123). It is important, therefore, to gain community understanding, or ideally, its support and confidence in tourism developments (Hall and McArthur 1998: 55; Leslie 2005: 123). Tensions between visitors and local communities, and postulates to ensure community inclusion and collaboration in the process of heritage management in order to minimise these tensions, are recurring themes in tourism literature, particularly in the context of sustainability (Faulkner and Tideswell 1997, ICOMOS 1999, Endresen 1999, Teo 2002, Landorf 2009).

However, it seems that achievement of sustainability in cultural tourism can be almost as difficult as in tourism in general, and it has been advised that one should consider 'moving towards sustainability' rather than achieving it (Endresen 1999: 9). It has been suggested that tourism research had been slow to incorporate in its agenda the phenomenon of globalisation, which is widely regarded as the key concept to discuss sustainability; an ongoing disagreement within the tourism industry over the meaning of the term 'sustainable' has also been noted (Teo 2002: 460). Other obstacles for effective implementation of the objectives of sustainability in cultural tourism have been identified in the highly competitive character of the cultural tourism industry itself, and in the limited capability of managers of cultural destinations to take a more holistic view of the role of cultural tourism for socio-economic development (Landorf 2009: 57-58).

The heritage sector, in response to the challenges associated with the development of cultural tourism, in order to minimize the negative impact of tourism in general on the environment, heritage and societies, has produced its own rationale for the need for adequate controls to protect heritage sites in the form of the Malta Declaration on Cultural Tourism (Europa Nostra 2006a). The

Declaration has been rooted predominantly in two documents: the UNWTO Global Code of Ethics for Tourism (1999), and the already mentioned ICOMOS International Cultural Tourism Charter (1999). The intention of the Malta Declaration is to champion sustainability in cultural tourism, to support conservation of cultural heritage, and generally to 'form the point of departure for adapting the principles [of sustainability] for the balanced development of tourism' throughout the EU Institutions, the member countries, and the heritage and tourism organisations (Europa Nostra 2006b: 6).

5.4 Concluding remarks

This chapter has introduced tourism as both a mass and an individual phenomenon. It has also demonstrated that the still predominant approach to tourism as an industry cannot capture the subtle and intricate relationship between heritage, society and tourism. The relationship can fluctuate and become uneasy but it may also be potentially mutually beneficial for most interested parties and in most aspects.

The chapter has explored the difficulties in defining heritage tourism - tourism statistics related to Poland are scarce in this respect - and has shown how challenging it may be to gauge the value of heritage tourism. The few comprehensive studies quoted show that definition and measurement of heritage tourism often requires sophisticated mechanisms, which nevertheless fail to capture the subjective character of the phenomenon of heritage itself.

The chapter also suggests that management of heritage tourism attractions should be as much concerned with the attractions themselves as with their role and place in the relationship between culture, society, tourism and economy. Particular focus of heritage management should be placed on local communities.

The concerns and observations presented highlight the fact that careful consideration and monitoring of an array of potentially conflicting social and economic factors is necessary at all stages of heritage management process. On the one hand, for example, to give priority to tourism over the interests of the host community can produce such negative side-effects as distrust of or even hostility towards the tourism organisers/entrepreneurs. On the other hand,

however, it would be imprudent not to attempt to employ tourism to some economic advantage for the heritage destination.

Chapter 6 seeks its own solution to the above dilemma by proposing the Castle Management Model, in which the pursuit of economic benefits from tourism is counterbalanced by the need to also satisfy the professional and social/community aspects of castle management (see next chapter, Section 6.5). Timothy and Boyd (2003: 281) note: 'the significance and value that lie within heritage are not in how it is defined, but in how it is used to create meaningful experiences for tourists while promoting conservation values'.

Chapter 6

The Model for the Management of Castles in Poland

6.1 Introduction

Boland (2003: 200) observed that models are often built in order to 'determine if a theory will work in a given situation'. This is precisely the rationale behind the creation of the Castle Management Model proposed in this chapter. The Model is meant as a synthetic illustration, but also as a means of testing the theory explored in this thesis, specifically in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. In particular, the theoretical part of this thesis stresses the importance of the concept of human action as a cornerstone of the study of economics of culture (see in particular Chapter 3, Section 3.3). This is reflected in the structure of the proposed Model. Indeed, purposeful action of castle administrators, and of any of the interested parties, is the *raison d'être* of the Model itself: inaction in any of its dimensions will cause the entire Model to fail.

Kohn (2007: 202) also observed that the fundamental purpose of economic modelling is either simulation or prediction. The proposed Model is designed as a tool to simulate the process of castle management in Poland. As noted in Chapter 1, the hypothesis behind the creation of this model assumes that castles in Poland represent certain socio-economic potential which, once recognised, could possibly be unlocked through the process of management. The Model is designed to demonstrate the degree to which the actual castle potential has been realised.

The proposed Model is presented in the particular context of castles in Poland. Nevertheless, it is thought that with only a few changes it might have broader application in the field of heritage management. Its relevance in any area of heritage management only requires that the social, the economic, and the professional aspects of heritage in that area co-exist and intertwine, as they do in the case of historical architecture in Central Europe.

The Model is centred upon heritage itself - in this instance, represented by castles in Poland. Castles in the Model are seen from the perspective of their administrators. The Model is, therefore, not concerned with the perspectives of the users, visitors, or other stakeholders of castles in Poland - which perhaps remains the single, most important aspect of castle management in Poland

which still remains unexplored. The Model focuses on the very existence and substance of a castle, as an element of the present time, landscape, and of the contemporary culture. This way, as mentioned, the proposed Model fosters action - as opposed to inaction and neglect - as the determinant of success and failure in castle management.

The Model is composed of two parts: a diagrammatical representation of the underlying theory, and a verbal description. From the point of view of the methodology of this thesis, the Model serves the purpose of a 'thought experiment' (as defined in Section 3.3.2). Instead of direct, real-life testing of the Model, its tenets and mechanisms will be subject to theoretical analysis and discussion in Chapter 9 of this thesis. The said analysis, however, will be based on empirical data relating to castle management in Poland, uncovered and identified in the course of the castle survey and interviews with castle administrators.

The data collected through the castle survey will be presented in detail and analysed in Chapter 7, and the information emerging from the interviews will be presented and analysed in Chapter 8. The applicability and viability of the proposed Model will be discussed in Chapter 9.

Below, the chapter overviews arguments in support of developing new models of heritage management. Next, the theory of economic modelling is introduced, showing how it affects and shapes the proposed Model. Third, two concepts, which are key to the theoretical foundations of the proposed Model, are examined - namely, the ideas of heritage as an economising system, and of a castle as a capital good. Fourth, the design, principles and assumptions of the Model are introduced and presented graphically. Finally, the advantages and disadvantages of the proposed Model are analysed.

6.2 Need for new models of heritage management

The need for new management models in heritage has been identified in literature relatively recently. As one of the causes, Taurino (2011) highlights the unsustainability of current processes of protection, conservation and management of heritage in the face of diminishing public financial support. Taurino also points to the opportunities that a new, endogenous and location

specific heritage management model could bring for the social and economic wellbeing of participating local communities (Taurino 2011).

However, as mentioned in Section 1.2, as early as in 1999 the Getty Conservation Institute, which initiated the so-called *heritage value debate* (see Chapter 4), called for 'conservationists' and economists to co-operate, and to try and understand each other's perspective in order to better account for the variety of values of heritage and to improve the practice of heritage management. For instance, economists could contribute their analytical skills and a range of tried and tested techniques of measurement and valuation, and in return they could benefit from assimilating a broader, 'conservationist' view of heritage values and benefits (Bluestone *et al.* 1999: 21).

Mason (2007: 24-25) also highlighted the need to change the approach towards heritage. He expressed the need for new 'methodologies ... to gauge both economic and cultural values of preservation', and proposed to study heritage at a local, community level rather than on a large scale. Mason also recommended that heritage values should be analysed qualitatively rather than quantitatively, and interpreted in relative terms rather than in absolute measures. In his argument, Mason (2007: 25) referred to Kahneman (2002: 450), who observed that 'changes and differences are more accessible than absolute values' (Kahneman 2002: 450). As already mentioned in Chapter 4, this means that the valuation of heritage should focus on the marginal - i.e. momentary and individual - utility and benefits derived from singular heritage experiences, rather than try to estimate the overall value of a given stock of heritage (see also Mazzanti 2003: 551).

Similarly, Hewison and Holden (2006: 14) reported 'dissatisfaction ... felt throughout the cultural sector because culture was being accounted for using inappropriate and inadequate systems of measurement'. Hewison and Holden's (2006: 15-16) research resulted in a new conceptual framework, comprising of three newly defined types of value for cultural heritage - intrinsic, institutional and instrumental - as well as three newly defined groups of heritage stakeholders - public, professionals, and politicians and policymakers. The graphical representation of the Model presented in this chapter incidentally bears some visual similarity to the model by Hewison and Holden (2006: 15-16). However, the two models are rooted in two opposite fields of economic enquiry

(see Section 3.2): entrepreneurial economics in the case of this thesis, and welfare economics in the case of Hewison and Holden (2006).

6.3 Models in economics - an overview

The expected capabilities of models are, as one will see, stretched in two opposing directions – on the one hand models need to sufficiently simplify reality to facilitate reasoning and feasible explanation of the analysed problem, and on the other hand models need to remain sufficiently connected to reality for the explanation to have any practical bearing.

Economic models are often critically seen as ‘formalised thin fiction’ (Mäki 2002: 3) and are associated with mathematical formulas based on superficial assumptions which have little in common with the complex real life phenomena they attempt to analyse. Indeed, it has been argued that, since mathematical economics and econometrics have gained dominance in the mainstream of the discipline of economics in the second half of the 20th century, some assumptions made by economists have tended to ‘violate economic reality’ (Blaug 2002: 36, Mäki 2002: 4-5, see also Chapter 2). It has also been observed that it became ‘conventional ... to think of models [only] in their relation to theory’ (Morgan 2002: 178), as opposed to their relation to the real world.

However, Holcombe (1989) and Backhouse (2002) argue that economic models are justified in lacking realism because it is their inherent characteristic to assume away selected elements of the observed reality for the sake of testability of a given theory. Hendry (1987: 30) argued that it is

self-evident that economic behaviour is sufficiently complex and evolutionary that it is not helpful to talk about economic theories or empirical models being ‘true’ or of inferences yielding the ‘correct’ results. Rather, we seek theories and models that yield understanding and perhaps some ability to control our environment.

Also according to McAleer (1994: 324) ‘models are abstractions from reality’. In addition, Langlois and Csontos (1993: 114) point out that it should not be considered a weakness, because ‘complete “realisticness” [of models] ... is

an illusory and perhaps undesirable goal'. According to Langlois and Csontos (1993: 114-115), 'some level of abstraction is essential' for economic models to effectively explain individual theoretical problems, and one should avoid overcrowding models with theory or facts.

On the other hand, however, models are expected to reflect the 'real world', and not only the 'world inside the model' (Sugden 2002: 107). Morgan (2002: 193) explains that 'models relate to the world in two ways' - namely through metaphors and stories. On the one hand, therefore, in the process of model building, theories and hypotheses serve as metaphors for the 'real' world. They are reflected in the structure of the model and they dictate the 'specifying or simplifying assumptions' of the model (Boland 2003: 200). On the other hand, models, at the time of their application, become tools to narrate stories about the world. This way, according to Morgan (2002: 195), economic models combine 'the logic of storytelling ... with the logic of the theory'.

The same story and metaphor rhetoric is also applied by Wagner (2007: 99), who argues that 'economic models are vehicles for conveying stories', and points out that the 'real life' economy as a whole is too complex to be understood directly through observation. For Wagner, models are necessary to serve as specific 'conceptual windows' of narrative and analysis (Wagner 2007: 97).

In the same spirit, Phillips (2007: 282) points out that 'all models in science involve the construction of metaphor ... [and] are not literally true'. The purpose of models in economics 'is to simplify things so that real-world processes that are difficult to understand become more easily understandable within the model' and with that end in mind, models are constructed as 'an analogy to the real world' (Holcombe 2007: 7). Similarly, the ASE accepts the use of models 'as mental constructs to aid understanding' (Wutcher 2005: 3, see also Chapter 2). The Model proposed in this thesis is just such a combination of graphically represented theory with verbal description - in other words, a visual metaphor combined with a story.

According to Morgan (2002), models work in two stages. First, the reality is simplified and generalised in the process of building the model in accordance to a given theory and a specific set of assumptions. Second, upon its application, the model serves to build a narrative which makes the model complex enough to reconnect 'to the facts of the world' (Morgan 2002: 197).

The proposed Model follows the two stages described by Morgan separately - in this chapter the Model is built, but its re-connection with the 'real world' and the associated narrative will be discussed in Chapter 9.

6.4 Theoretical foundations of the proposed Model

6.4.1 Castle as an element of the economising system of heritage

Waddington (1977: 52) argued that in order to think of real life in terms of models, such as the one proposed in this chapter, it is necessary to see the 'real' world, or given aspects of it, in specific terms - namely, reality has to be recognised as a specific kind of organisation, which Waddington called a *system*. *Systems* have a given, unchanging structure, and their components are related to each other in some non-hierarchical way (Waddington 1977: 52). Systems can theoretically be open or closed, but Waddington (1977: 64) argued that the only truly complete and closed system is the universe as a whole. All open systems, in turn, are characterised by a constant flow of components, which 'pass into the system from the outside, are processed, and something else is extruded outwards again' (Waddington 1977: 64). For Waddington (1977: 130), models were essentially 'tools for thought', necessary to analyse such complex, open systems.

Systems also featured in the work of Throsby (2001a). One of the definitions of culture offered by Throsby (2001a: 10, emphasis added) presents culture as 'a *system* of beliefs, values, customs etc. shared by a group, ... [in which] interactions among members of the group or between them and members of other groups can be modelled as transactions or exchanges of symbolic or material goods within an economising network'. Heritage is defined in this thesis as a subset of culture (see Section 1.5.4) - if culture is seen as a system, and heritage as its subset, then logically heritage can also be seen as a system. As a result, the Model proposed in this thesis is seen as a Waddingtonian *tool for thought* for the analysis of the system of heritage, using the example of the process of management of castles in Poland.

Graham *et al.* (2000: 138-146) discuss several economic models of heritage. One of them - the *heritage commodification model* (Graham *et al.*

2000: 143) presented below (Figure 26) - has had an important influence on the Model proposed in this research.

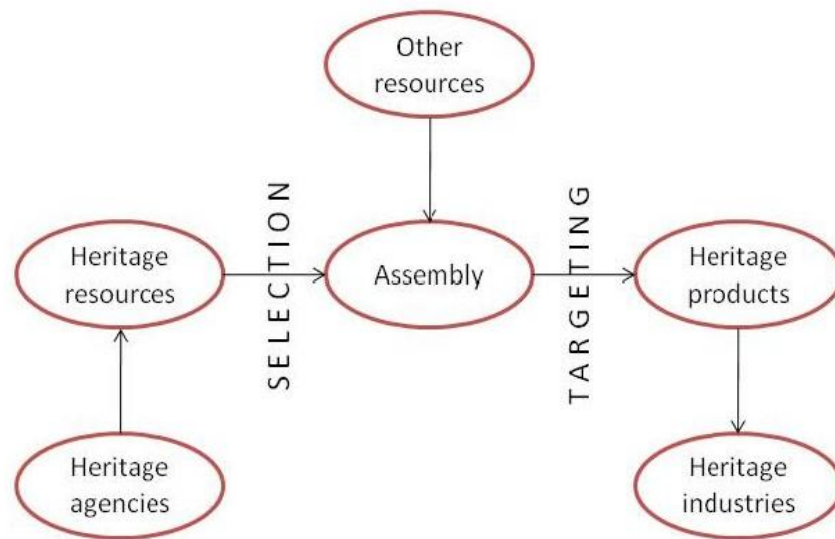


Figure 26. The *heritage commodification model* (Graham *et al.* 2000: 143).

This *commodification model* identifies heritage also as a system - the heritage industry - created in the process of *commodification*. Graham *et al.* (2000: 143) define *commodification* as the 'creation of tradable commodities from resources which previously were not traded'. The *commodification model* is centred on an 'assembly process' (Graham *et al.* 2000: 144), which turns heritage, treated as resource, into a variety of heritage products. Heritage resources are selected with their end users in mind, and tailored, i.e. interpreted and packaged, for specific markets (Graham *et al.* 2000: 144).

In the *commodification model*, the same heritage resource can be used many times to address many different markets. At the assembly stage (Figure 26) heritage resources are combined with other resources into a composition that later becomes a heritage product. Graham *et al.* (2000: 147) refer to this process of assembly as 'recycling of the past', which results in heritage becoming a virtually unlimited resource for the creation of as many and as varied heritage products as necessary to satisfy demand (for thorough discussion see Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996: 8).

The *heritage commodification model* by Graham *et al.* (2000) incorporates an observation made earlier by Richards (1996a: 280), that the value of heritage can be effectively 'unlocked' only in the process of its

consumption. More recently, Tweed and Sutherland (2007: 63) observed that cultural goods become heritage - in their own words: cultural goods are 'appropriated' as heritage (Tweed and Sutherland 2007: 68) in the process in which they are used, or consumed (see Section 1.5.4).

According to Ashworth and Howard (1999: 88), *commodification* is a broad concept, which most obviously manifests itself in heritage tourism, called by them 'an archetype of direct commodification'.

Adoption of the *commodification model* in this thesis reinforces the position that heritage is not a static phenomenon, and in particular that: (a) heritage exists in a variety of ever changing combinations with other resources; and (b) the value of heritage can be realised only through its use. The first point (a) emphasises the importance of creativity - or entrepreneurship skills - on the part of heritage administrators, whose responsibility is to compose the right combination of heritage and other resources for their stakeholders, in order to enhance the sense of the very existence of that heritage. The second point (b) highlights the role of the heritage market and of the economic forces in play in the process of production and consumption of heritage in the form of heritage end-products.

As far as the proposed Castle Management Model is concerned, the *heritage commodification model* supports the argument that in order to optimally realise the potential of a given castle at any given moment of time it is necessary to find the most efficient composition, or assembly, of the castle with any other appropriate, available resources.

In the next section of this chapter, the above described mechanism of the *heritage commodification model* will be analysed with reference to the *theory of capital*, which sheds additional light on the process in which the value of heritage is established.

6.4.2 Castle as an asset, a resource, and a capital good

Exploration of theories relating to the value of heritage from an economic point of view can result in three perspectives on heritage, which can be seen as (a) an asset, (b) a resource, or (c) capital.

It is assumed that heritage, in order to be seen as (a) an asset, 'must be owned' and be accounted for as something that has an embedded, resident

value 'equal to an amount of wealth' (Fairclough 2009: 4). To approach heritage as an asset was proposed by Throsby (2001a: 10) in order to 'bridge the gap between economics and sciences such as history, archaeology, museology or urban planning'. It is, however, a thoroughly passive approach, which sees heritage mostly as a reporting category in accounting (Accounting Standards Board 2006: 9), and as such serves little purpose in the construction of the proposed Castle Management Model.

Ashworth and Howard (1999: 98, emphasis added) argue that heritage seen as (b) a resource, 'can provide tradable products for the economic system'. The process of *commodification* adds value to the heritage resource, yet, similarly as in point (a) above, from the perspective of 'heritage as a resource' it is prerequisite that heritage has its own, inherent value at the outset. Nevertheless, it has been noted that heritage as a resource 'exists to be used, and ... there are users who will benefit [from it] - people, individually or in "heritage communities"' (Fairclough 2009: 4). This approach seems to more closely match the requirements of the proposed Model, but only the following, third approach, linked to (c) above, proves to be the most fitting from the perspective of this thesis.

Heritage seen as (c) capital has no resident, built in, or inherent value - instead, according to Wieser (2007: 7), 'the value of capital is based on the value of the produce into which capital is transposed'. As already mentioned, cultural goods become heritage by *appropriation*. In the same process of *appropriation*, the value of heritage as capital also depends on the valuation of final heritage products by individuals.

The concept of 'castle as capital' opens new avenues for effective castle management. According to Levin and Phelan (1999: 10), 'all resources may be seen as a type of capital', and Klamer (2002: 465) adds that in order to be seen as capital, heritage needs to be recognised for its 'capacity to generate economic income or economic values'. In other words, castles as capital can actively contribute to the creation of a variety of products. There is no suggestion that those products need to be necessarily of monetary value, i.e. value expressible by the means of money.

In addition, 'capital is an essentially subjective phenomenon ... the same objective good may be capital for one person but not for another' (Horwitz 1994: 19). The decision to treat castles as capital is, therefore, a case-specific matter,

and is the responsibility of the castle administrator or owner, whose perspective might be different to other stakeholders, but who needs to take all possible perspectives into account to decide a course of action which will be the most beneficial for the castle itself.

Lastly, it is also worth noting that, as a capital good, heritage cannot be treated as a public good at the same time. The reason being that heritage as capital always assumes an embedded, 'given physical productivity' (Endres 1991: 72), whereas the theory of public goods is based on the assumption that public goods may have no practical productivity at all - the key argument for participation of the state in the production of such goods (see Chapter 4).

6.5 Key assumptions of the proposed Model

The assumptions of the proposed Castle Management Model for the castles in Poland are presented first in this section, and the Model itself is presented later, in order to ensure clarity of argument and to direct the readers' attention to issues which the proposed Model specifically addresses (Boland 2003: 200). The proposed Model does not attempt to capture the reality of castle management in Poland in its entirety. This thesis recognises that models, by their very nature, 'are inherently simplifications' (Hendry 1987: 31). The proposed Model, therefore, presents a simplified, i.e. selective, picture of the 'real world' in accordance with the following theoretical assumptions:

- no direct reference is made in the Model to the political situation in Poland, apart from the assumption that the current system guarantees individuals freedom to act and to choose, as is normally expected of a democratic country and a free-market economy;
- the level of economic growth and prosperity in Poland, reflected for example by the size and distribution of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), is of no concern to the Model;
- a considerable leisure market exists in Poland, reflected by tourism consumption at levels demonstrated by available statistics;
- heritage protection and conservation doctrine, arising from the institutionalised duty of care of monuments and embedded in international charters, is completely reflected in current laws and regulations, which are, in turn, created with substantial input from

conservation professionals and in accordance with relevant international conventions - the doctrine and policy are embedded in the 'professional' axis of the Model;

- castle management is not affected by any personal, non-procedural relationships or connections between castle administrators and public administration; this thesis acknowledges that such connections exist, but their study would require an altogether different analytical approach than the one adopted here;
- there are no exogenous, infrastructural limits to the decisions of castle administrators - the external infrastructure, such as access roads, electricity supply, etc. is assumed as given and available – the infrastructure-related costs of castle management are embedded in the 'economic' axis of the Model.

It is a dynamic model, and as such, it belongs not to the mainstream equilibrium paradigm in economics, which sees reality as static, balanced and predictable, but to the alternative economic paradigm, which is open to include change and uncertainty (see Chapter 2). In this model, all aspects across the spectrum of heritage management activity inform, influence, enhance or limit each other continuously, and evolve through time.

6.6 The Model

The proposed Model addresses the following areas (herein called dimensions) of heritage management:

- (a) heritage conservation (professional dimension);
- (b) the social impact of heritage and the values attached to heritage by society (social dimension);
- (c) the economic impact of heritage and the values attached to it by the market for heritage products (economic dimension).

The proposed Model simulates the process of castle management in a three-dimensional space, indicated by three reference lines - axes - with a common point of origin, the un-managed cultural resource (Figure 27). Each axis represents one major function of heritage, which corresponds with one of

the three above mentioned dimensions of castle management: professional, social, and economic (see Figure 29).

The starting point of the Model is a castle as an un-managed cultural resource, i.e. cultural material from the past of potential, but unrealised value (see Section 1.4.3, Figure 27).



Figure 27. Castle as an un-managed cultural resource.

The cultural resource, once identified and recognised as heritage - in the traditional, authoritative, 'top-down' manner, described in Section 1.4.4 as 'objective' - turns into a heritage asset. A castle as a heritage asset is seen primarily as a 'material vessel of value' (Araoz 2011: 59) and as such becomes protected in the in the professional dimension of the management process (Figure 28). This is how the heritage has been traditionally managed. It is, however, only a partial reflection of reality.



Figure 28. Castle recognised as a heritage asset.

Following the recognition and protection as a heritage asset, the castle becomes subject to commodification (see Section 6.4.2) to provide a variety of values and/or products to a variety of users/stakeholders, and eventually to become a heritage resource (Figure 29).

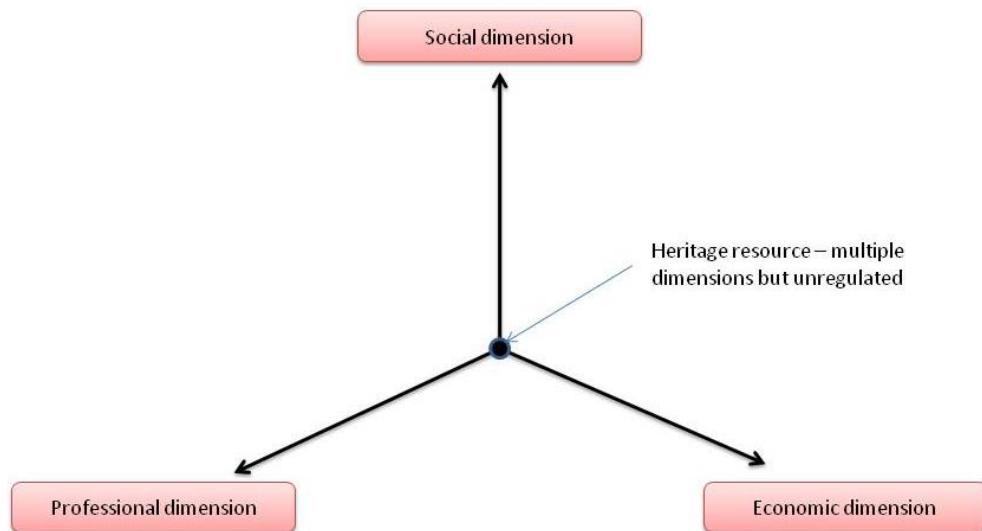


Figure 29. Castle as a multi-dimensional heritage resource.

Once the potential of the castle is recognised as a source of subjective value for its users/stakeholders in all the three dimensions simultaneously - i.e. it is managed in a balanced and sustainable way as a capital good (see Section 6.4.2) - the tenets and assumptions of the Castle Management Model are fulfilled (Figure 30).

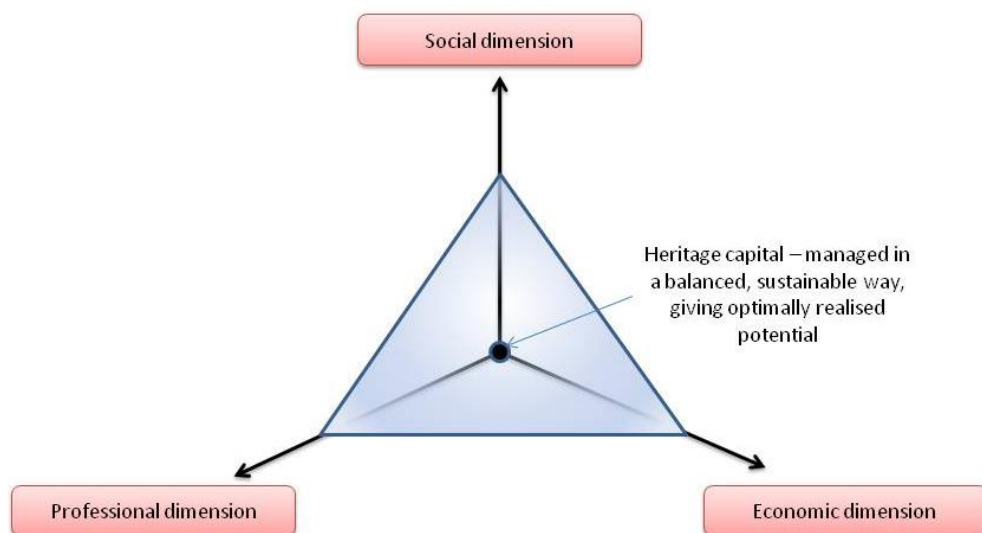


Figure 30. The proposed Castle Management Model.

Each of the three dimensions of management represents a different form of use of a castle, and a different category of benefits created by a castle. The *professional dimension* includes, primarily, the ever-evolving requirements and standards of heritage conservation, as expressed in specialist opinions,

recommendations, and conventions, and embedded in acts of law which regulate castle management decisions. On the benefit side, the professional dimension creates opportunities for conservators, archaeologists, historians and others to find out about the past, interpret it, conserve it, and present it, using a variety of ever-evolving tools and techniques.

The *social dimension* includes all of the expectations evoked by castles, and all of the demands on castle management, which arise from the values, feelings and images attached to castles by individuals in society. The social dimension also represents the needs and demands of local communities, who may use the castle for reasons other than 'heritage reasons' (Mason 2007: 12). Benefits created in this dimension add to the cultural capital of the community of stakeholders of the castle (Hall and McArthur 1998: 41, see also Article 2 of the Faro Convention (Council of Europe 2005a)).

The *economic dimension* represents all castle management decisions which require the use of economic resources and those which have an explicitly financial character. On the benefit side, the economic dimension of the model reflects the embedded economic value of the castle, which reflects the labour and resources which had to be invested in its initial construction, and the subsequent alterations. This dimension also includes the economic impact of castle management, for example: changes in real-estate prices in the vicinity of a castle, or the multiplied effects of tourist spending in the host economy (Ghosh *et al.* 2003: 21-24). This dimension also includes costs of maintenance and conservation of the castle which become the income for relevant appointed builders, handymen, and for the producers of goods used in maintenance and conservation (Rypkema 2009).

Each dimension of castle management is an aggregate of the various aspects of castle management that fall into these three, broad categories, but the boundaries between the three dimensions are not sharp. In fact, they overlap to some degree, and so the value of a castle as capital can also be recognised by various individual stakeholders as any combination of all three dimensions. In addition, all management decisions in the three dimensions inform, enhance or limit each other in a dynamic relationship.

At any given moment, every castle can be described as being managed, if all of its three dimensions are recognised, and the castle potential or function in each direction is realised to a given extent, represented by a point on each

axis. By the basic laws of Cartesian geometry, each of those points becomes an apex of a tetrahedron - a solid figure in the shape of a pyramid with a triangular base - which can be formed by linking together all three points on the axes and the point of origin (Figure 30). The volume of the tetrahedron obtained in this way represents the *potential* of a given castle *realised* at a given moment in time.

Each dimension of the Model has its own internal and external limits, which change in time. The internal limits include castle capacity, available funds, human resources, and also the knowledge, information and imagination of castle administrators. The external limits pertain to legal regulations, the conservation doctrine, available sources of funding, tourist activity, space and time.

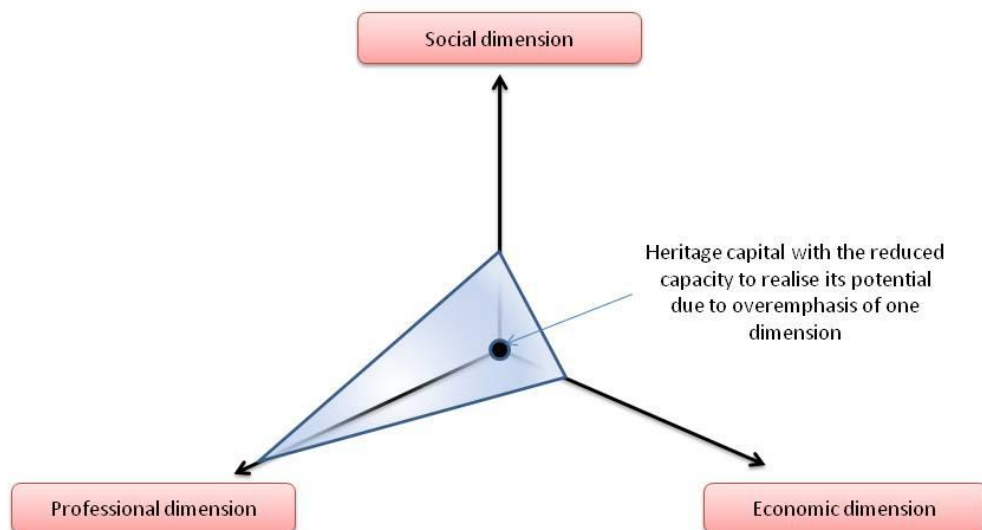


Figure 31. Example of the Model skewed due to an overemphasis of only one dimension in the process of management.

The geometry of the Model itself serves as an incentive for castle administrators to invest their usually limited resources evenly across all three dimensions, i.e. to move along each of the three axes at the same or at least at a comparable rate. Only in this way can be achieved the fastest increase of the volume of the tetrahedron, meaning that the *realised potential* of the castle will be expanded efficiently. Any deviation from such balanced development - e.g. extensive investment in one area only - would result in the Model becoming skewed in that direction, which would mean a much smaller increase in the volume of the figure than otherwise possible at the same level of the total

management effort/investment. The result would be a less than ideal, unbalanced growth of the castle's *realised potential* (Figure 31).

The already mentioned geometric characteristics of the Model mean that it lends itself easily to mathematical computation, once a uniform measurement scale is applied to all three axes. Figure 32 below features the Model with a theoretical scale applied in order to explain the difference between the balanced and the unbalanced process of management, on the example of the difference in volume between a regular tetrahedron, such as in Figure 30, and a skewed tetrahedron, such as in Figure 31.

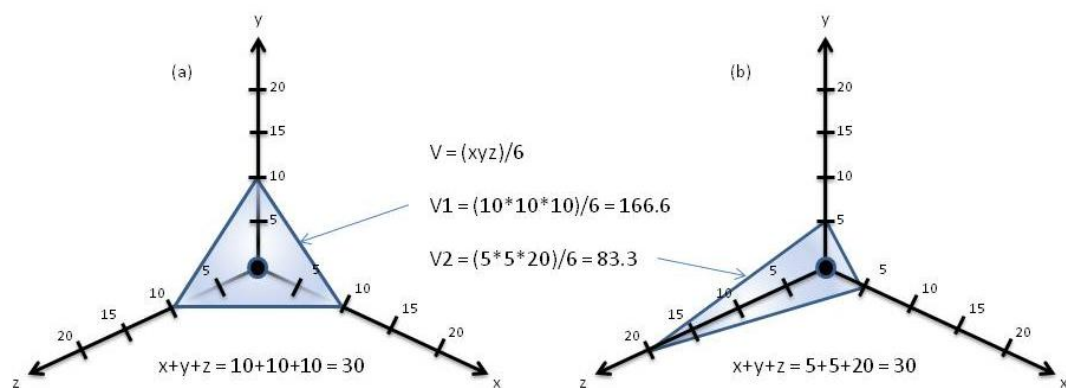


Figure 32. Example of the difference between the balanced and unbalanced process of heritage management, measured by the difference in volume of the tetrahedrons.

The example (a) on the left (Figure 32) presents the optimal situation where all three dimensions of heritage management are equally explored, resulting in the maximum possible volume ($V1=166.6$) of the tetrahedron at the given total management effort/investment ($X=x+y+z$) of thirty units in total, ten units in each dimension. Example (b) on the right (Figure 32) shows an unbalanced situation where, despite the total management effort/investment ($X=x+y+z$) being equal to that in example (a), the volume ($V2=83.3$) of the tetrahedron on the right equals only half of the volume ($V1$) of the tetrahedron on the left in example (a). This is due to the management effort in example (b) being concentrated around the axis z.

Figure 33 below shows how the increase of volume ($V1$) and ($V2$) differs in the two examples (a) and (b). It assumes that at point ($X=5+5+5=15$) the example (a) continues in a balanced way, while the example (b) emphasises one dimension of management only. Volume ($V1$) grows faster than volume

(V2). The expanding gap between (V1) and (V2) epitomises the unrealised heritage potential due to the un-balanced process of management.

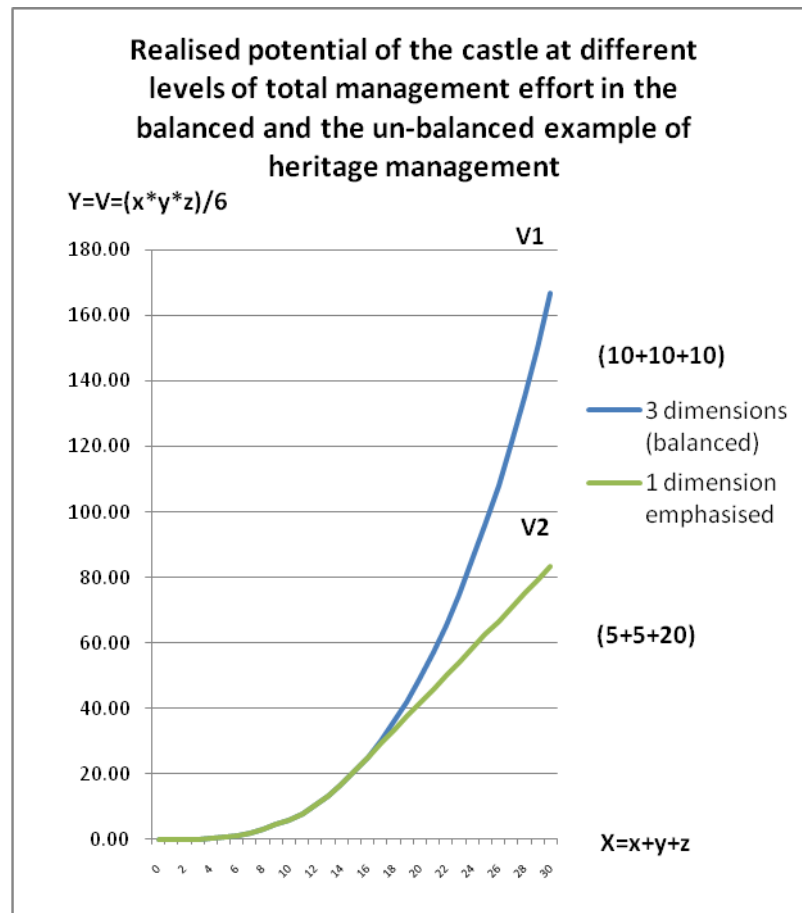


Figure 33. Difference in the realised potential growth between the balanced and the un-balanced process of castle management.

In practice, it means that the Model encourages the situation, where the claims of all stakeholders of a given castle are granted equal or similar importance in the process of management of the castle. Thus, if only one group of stakeholders is favoured and the castle's function or potential in that one dimension overemphasised, while the other two dimensions remain underexplored, then part of the castle potential is wasted.

It has to be noted, however, that it may be necessary, in the short term, that one or another dimension of management is nevertheless emphasised - e.g. the professional dimension if the castle is about to fall down. This also will result in sub-optimal realised potential of the castle, but in specific circumstances it might perhaps be necessary.

As part of setting the benchmark for good heritage management by providing an argument for balanced management, the proposed Model reflects

the heritage administrators' knowledge and understanding of what is required of them and what is necessary to realise their managerial objectives - set by themselves, by castle stakeholders, by the market, and by the law. Administrators can realise the potential of their heritage capital - i.e. move along each of the axes of the Model - only as far as they can fulfil and satisfy those needs and expectations of the heritage stakeholders which they have first identified and recognised. They can also use only those methods and techniques of management which are available to them at the given moment and place.

The Model also recognises the fact that the administrators' knowledge changes through time (see Chapter 3). As a result, at any given moment they are faced with the usual dilemma of whether to settle for 'immediate returns, which may be limited by their current understanding [or necessity] (see the previous page) ... [or for] long term benefits that might follow from a new or improved understanding [in the future]' (Boland 2003: 287). This is where the Model becomes a tool for strategic thinking. This is also where it calls for entrepreneurial spirit. The heritage administrator who is also a *heritage entrepreneur* must not only be an expert in the field of traditional heritage management, but also needs to be at liberty to focus on 'entrepreneurial opportunities [which] tend to appear within the context of a specific time and place' (Holcombe 2007: 59).

6.7 Advantages of and opportunities created by the Model

In place of the standard economics/culture dichotomy (Mason 1999b: 5, Klamer and Zuidhof 1999: 23), the proposed Model offers a three-way perspective, composed of mutually complementary elements. The result is a balanced and dynamic picture of heritage management as a complex process, in which castle managers are not forced to solve zero-sum alternatives (in which one side wins and the other side loses).

Dilemmas about conflicting allocation of scarce resources to either development, or protection might also be addressed in the application of the proposed Model. The Model creates an opportunity for castle managers to attain a level of sustainable development of castles in socio-economic terms, and at the same time maintain the required level of protection of castles as

historic monuments. Each of the three dimensions of castle management represented in the proposed Model overlaps with every other, which means that investment in one dimension positively affects both others, and increases the overall realised potential of the castle.

Traditionally, mainstream economic theory is preoccupied with 'efficient resource allocation in a static sense, not growth in a dynamic sense' (Holcombe 2007: 3). In contrast, the proposed Model, in a wholly original way, addresses the problem of resource allocation dynamically, which allows for elements of innovation and learning. Seen through the lens of the proposed Model, castles no longer should be perceived as a 'problem' (see Section 1.2), but rather as a source of innovation, especially at times of budgetary constraints.

The proposed Model is a combined descriptive-prescriptive model (Waddington 1977: 207), which means that it represents (describes) a snapshot of reality but at the same it suggests (prescribes) a beneficial alternative to that reality.

The Model also contains a stochastic element, i.e. makes allowance for the passage of time, which gives it some forecasting capacity. For example, it might be possible to predict the direction and degree of change in the overall realised potential of the castle by looking at the sequence of investment to date in one dimension and the possible chain reaction in other dimensions, due to the overlapping effect of all three dimensions of castle management, as presented in the Model.

In order to fully account for the *non-transferability* of heritage values, mentioned in Chapter 4, the proposed Model takes a castle-centred perspective, and it deals in no absolute measures. Any applications of the Model to different castles might produce different results, which will be comparable only in terms of relative returns on the original investments. Individual management methods are also expected to be heritage site-dependent and may vary significantly between castles, or even between different applications at the same castle at different times. This all means that no ordinal ranking of castles by their *realised potential* will be possible within this model, but castles could be compared with each other with regard to the relative economic efficiency of their management, measured in terms of the investment effort and its resulting change in the realised potential within the given time.

The Model helps to distinguish between three major dimensions of castle management - professional, social and economic - where progress or regress can occur. Thanks to the Model, monitoring of effectiveness of investment, and of castle 'output', should be possible by relative comparison with the situation before the investment in every dimension of castle management (see Holcombe 2007: 13). For example, if a growth of the number of visitors has been recorded it would be possible to identify whether it was a result of better marketing, new conservation measures applied, improved relations with the local community, or any other phenomenon.

As mentioned above, the Model deals in no absolute measures, and so the three axes have no scale of measurement. The ASE has been always critical about the 'over-reliance on quantification and statistical analysis', which is, in contrast, a typical feature of mainstream economics (Langlois and Csontos 1993: 114-115). Langlois and Csontos (1993) suggest that economic study should focus on cases instead of variables, and on combined effects of causal conditions rather than on isolated net effects.

With the above reasoning in mind, each axis of the Model represents a continuum of combined effects of a variety of factors, of which each of the three dimensions of heritage management is composed. Nonetheless, by virtue of the laws of geometry, the Model lends itself relatively easily to mathematical calculation, which might produce additional results. In order to perform such calculations using the Model, a uniform measuring unit would need to be devised and applied to all three axes - such as the theoretical scale in Figure 32. However, the extensive study required to develop such a measuring unit and to apply it to all features and values of the three dimensions of castle management, falls beyond the scope of this thesis. Instead, this thesis introduces the Model as a 'tool for thought', and focuses on the analysis of the coherence of the Model's underlying theories, as well as on its practical applicability on the example of the management of castles in Poland.

It is a mixed theoretical/applied Model in that it draws from the theory but is analysed in the context of empirical data, in order to produce theoretical recommendations for practical application.

The Model refers to management as both a strategic process - i.e. long-term - as well as an operational process - i.e. current and short-term (Liwieratos 2004: 230). In the long term, the ready-made conceptual framework of the

Model allows castle administrators to identify areas in need of strategic planning and investment, and also has the potential to inform the state heritage policy. In the short term, the Model helps to organise the day-to-day activities of castle administrators by providing them with a ready-made, practical, core management structure.

The proposed Model directs castle management attention to the potential of the castle. One of the implications of such operational focus is that it provides a tentative measure of success of castle management. Rather than measure success in monetary terms, which might not be amongst the objectives of some castle administrators, who are non-profit oriented, the proposed Model looks at the sole presence of the management process. If the castle's realised potential rises, then its management has been a success. Accordingly, the failure of castle management, in terms of the proposed Model, is synonymous with neglect - or return to the state of non-management - and the resulting creation of 'unhappy castles' (Koskowski 2008b).

The situation where the realised potential of a castle remains unchanged, however, requires further examination. It might indicate that the castle administrator's efforts have stopped, or are ineffective, but it might also mean that the castle's potential has been realised to its current maximum. Of course, it cannot remain a permanent state, due to the 'spontaneous' character of all the markets which the castle serves.

The proposed Model also helps to clarify the process of creation of the end product, of which the castle is the fundamental element. As already mentioned in this chapter, in the process of castle management various forms of capital are combined, both tangible and intangible in order to create a variety of offerings for various markets. In other words, castle management leads to the creation of a variety of *products* (Koskowski 2001: 21). The quality of any product lies in the 'stream of benefits' it can offer to its user, and in the product's ability to satisfy the user's expectations (Koskowski 2001: 22).

In marketing, the product that the end user consumes is known as the *total product*, and is often represented as a composition of concentric layers (Kotler 1988: 446, Altkorn 1995: 100, Kotler *et al.* 2009: 506). Typically, the *total product model* is composed of three *layers* - *the core*, *the actual* and *the augmented product* (Koskowski 2006, Figure 34).

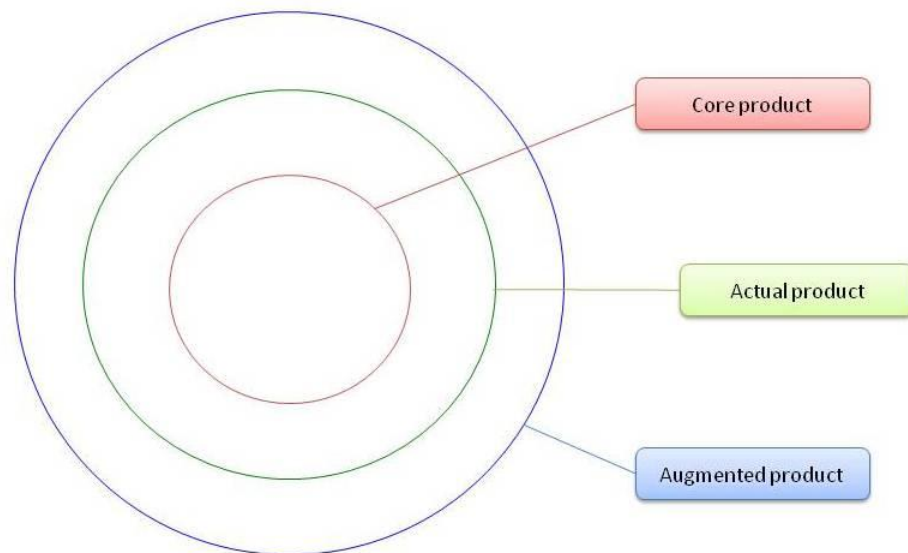


Figure 34. Three layers of the total product (Koskowski 2006).

The *core* layer, also known as the *core product*, is ‘the benefit that the customer is really buying’ (Kotler *et al.* 2009: 506). It could be a service and/or an experience: Kotler *et al.* (2009: 506) offer an example of a ‘bed and sleep’ as the core product of a hotel, for most of its clients. The core product of a castle will be less obvious, but it might involve, for example, touching the history, feeling of ‘time travel’, experiencing mystery, satisfaction from seeing monumental architecture, enhancing own identity, seeing a panorama, encountering a ghost - or a combination of any others, depending on the needs and expectations of the customer.

The second layer - the *actual product* - is a combination of the *core product* with the right services, attributes and conditions that make the consumption of the *core product*, or the realisation of the core benefit, possible. Examples include a ‘clean bed ... and a degree of quiet’ in the example by Kotler *et al.* (2009: 506), and in case of a castle, examples might include a tour of the chambers, a leaflet, or an audioguide, a safe car park etc.

The last layer of the *total product* - the *augmented product* - represents everything that might exceed the customer’s expectations. Those are additional goods and services which are not necessary to make the consumption of the *core product* possible, but they add to the overall experience, and, most importantly, they differentiate various *total products* offered by various producers (Koskowski 2001: 29). In the example by Kotler *et al.* (2009: 506) the *augmented* layer consists of a Wi-Fi connection in a hotel room. Castle administrators have a greater degree of freedom in composing this level of

offering; for instance, they might include a horse-drawn carriage as a means of getting around the castle, period music played in the chambers, or a re-enactment. Here, the imagination of the castle administrator plays a crucial role, and the competitive advantage of some castles over the other becomes most clearly visible.

Apart from creativity and imagination, the composition of any level of the *total product* depends on the castle administrator's knowledge of the visitor profile. School groups will have different expectations to mature, individual clients - and more experienced visitors will have greater expectations towards the *total product* they are offered, than the novice ones (see the theory of 'World Heritage Site literacy' by Rebanks Consulting and Trends Business Research (2009: 28)).

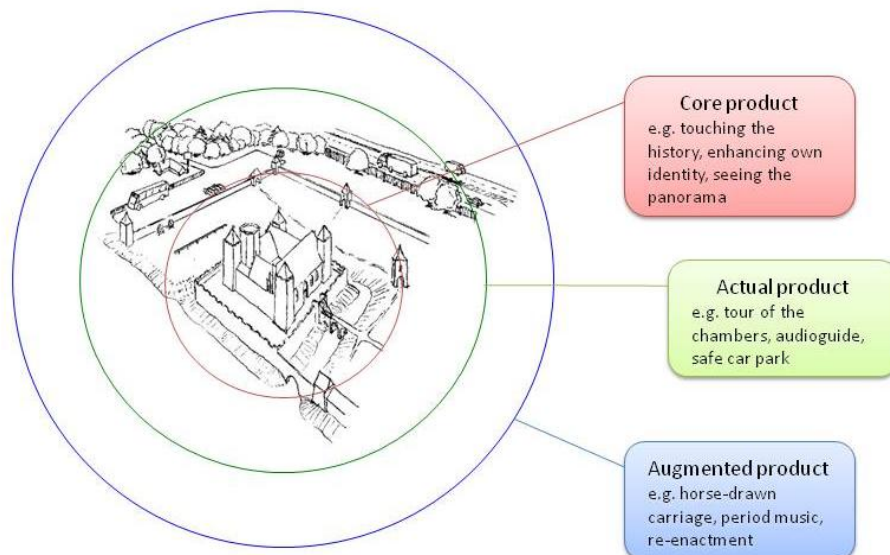


Figure 35. Three layers of the total product superimposed on the spatial relationship between a castle and its surroundings (Koskowski 2006).

The *total product* approach can be also used to illustrate the relationship between the castle and its surroundings. As the interviews, presented in Section 7.4, confirm, the surroundings of the castle are 'not only a matter of aesthetics, but also of economy' (Koskowski 2006: 5). The surroundings of the castle provide both a backdrop for those, who look at the castle from outside, and a first plane for those, who look from within. Any disorder to the castle surroundings therefore affects the experience of the visitor. From the marketing point of view, any dissonance or damage to the castle surroundings damages one or more of the *layers* of the *total product* (Figure 35).

6.8 Disadvantages and weaknesses of the Model

The main weakness of the proposed Model can be the fact that, like all models, it cannot be expected to address unusual or atypical aspects of the 'real world'. Certainly, the Model cannot possibly address any of the aspects that it assumes away for methodological reasons (Holcombe 2007: 7, Section 6.5), but also its assumptions might prove untenable in specific empirical circumstances.

It is, therefore, unlikely - at the time of this research - that all relevant professional conservation and protection requirements which affect castles are embedded in the body of law in Poland. The assumption about completeness of the system of heritage protection law in Poland has been made with the proviso that the current efforts of conservation professionals in Poland to streamline the legal regulations pertaining to heritage will come to fruition in a relatively short time (Zalasińska and Zajdler 2009).

The postulation that castle managers should adopt an entrepreneurial approach might be a major challenge to state funded castle administrations. As Chapter 7 will show, state owned castles constitute the vast majority of castles in Poland, and it is likely that their administrations will be less accustomed to concepts of innovation or opportunity seeking than those which have long been business oriented.

The Model does not address the issue of institutional barriers to the emergence of entrepreneurship in castle management. Holcombe (2007: 55) stresses that entrepreneurial activity is indeed strongly dependent on a specific 'institutional environment'. Moreover, Holcombe observes that 'the institutional structure that leads to effective management is different from the institutions that lead to entrepreneurial activity' (Holcombe 2007: 30). Beugelsijk and Maseland (2010: 167, emphasis added) support that observation and argue that 'in contrast to managers, entrepreneurs want to be free to achieve and to actualise *their* potential'. Interview evidence suggests that freedom to act relatively independently is reasonably widespread amongst castle administrators in Poland, nevertheless significant institutional barriers to entrepreneurial behaviour are also reported (see Chapter 7).

Lastly, it cannot be excluded, despite the very best effort, that aspects of castle management in Poland exist, which will be found outside of the proposed Model - either at the design stage, or upon any future application of the Model.

6.9 Concluding remarks

This chapter has discussed the theory and practical aspects of economic modelling. It has also identified the rationale behind the proposed Castle Management Model, and more specifically the proposition that heritage can be seen as an open, economising system, characterised by a flow of its components, which - importantly for heritage administrators - become and cease to be heritage depending on individual valuations of individual stakeholders.

The chapter has also established that the Model proposed in this thesis should be predominantly perceived as a 'tool for thought' for the analysis of the system of heritage. As such, it can become an important tool for the investigation and possible reform of the system of heritage protection and management in Poland.

This chapter has also offered a classification of heritage as a resource, an asset, and eventually as a form of capital, which, in turn, is the key concept to discuss the potential of heritage, which is one of the key concepts in this thesis. Process of heritage commodification has also been introduced.

Eventually, the chapter has laid out the assumptions of the proposed Model, and has introduced the Model itself by explaining the evolution of a castle as heritage - from an unmanaged resource, through recognition as an asset, to appropriation as capital. The last stage - castle as capital - opens up the possibility that castles' potential should be seen in their ability to contribute to the creation of a variety of heritage products, for a variety of interested individuals.

The next two chapters present and analyse data obtained through the castle survey, and through the series of interviews with castle administrators in Poland. Chapter 9 will bring together and discuss the theoretical findings of this thesis with the results of analysis of empirical data.

Chapter 7

Data Presentation and Analysis - Castle Survey

7.1 Introduction

As mentioned in Section 3.5.2, two particular techniques of data collection yielded the key findings and data for this thesis - a postal survey, and face-to-face interviews. This chapter begins with a presentation and preliminary interpretation of data collected through the castle survey. It is followed by an analysis of the collected data in Section 7.3 of this chapter. All insufficiently informative responses to certain aspects of the castle survey prompted their in-depth investigation in the interviews. The next Chapter 8 presents and analyses data and insights collected during the ten interviews with castle administrators. Findings from both stages of fieldwork will be further explored and discussed in Chapter 9, in the light of the theory presented earlier in this thesis and in the face of the proposed Model.

The overall analytical potential of the data collected through the castle survey far exceeded the requirements of this research project. On the other hand, however, not every returned questionnaire was fully completed; there were also a few instances when email communication was received instead of a questionnaire, conveying basic information only. Therefore, to assist in the interpretation of the presented data, the total numbers of responses received to individual questions as well as relevant percentages have been indicated throughout this section.

7.2 Castle survey data presentation

Question 1 of the *castle survey* asked for the name and surname of the respondent. This question was meant primarily to validate further responses. For reasons of confidentiality, explained in Section 3.6, names of respondents have been excluded from this data-set.

In the open-ended Question 2, respondents were asked to specify their job title (Figure 35). No preconceived hierarchy of job titles or positions was held at the outset of the survey, although, indeed, the letter accompanying the survey asked the addressees of the questionnaire to 'ideally (...) be the owner,

the manager, or the director of the castle' (Appendix B). This was intended to capture the greatest detail of the overall, every-day practice of castle management. Received responses were reviewed and grouped into three, purpose designed ranks:

- Rank 1 - e.g. director, owner;
- Rank 2 - e.g. deputy director, curator, administrator, co-ordinator, inspector; and
- Other - e.g. secretary, regular employee, warden.

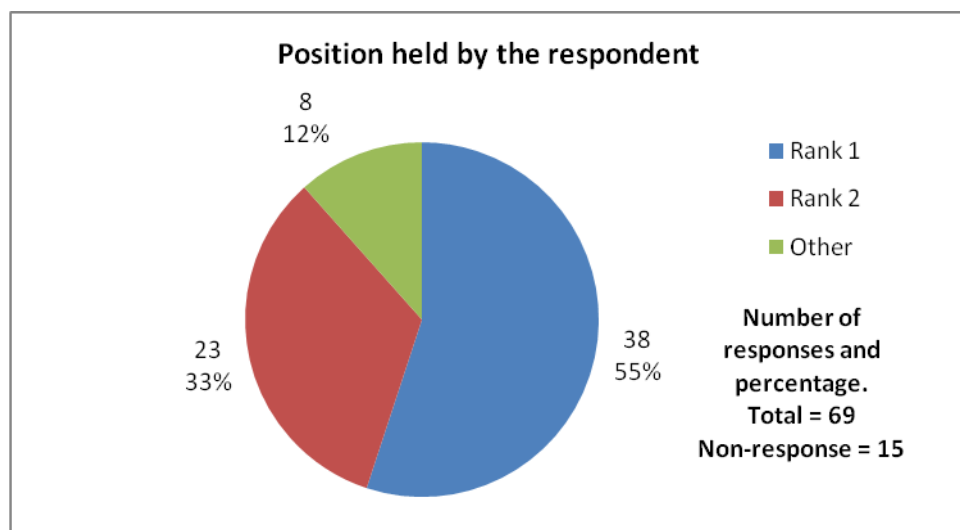


Figure 35. Question 2: Position held by the respondent.

Figure 35 shows that the majority of questionnaires - 88% - were, as expected, completed by the highest (Rank 1) or second-highest (Rank 2) ranking person within the institution administering the castle. This observation in itself does not make it possible to further comment on the structure of castle management in Poland. Nevertheless, the subsequent interviews gave enough insight to assume that most of the questionnaires were completed by the only person suitable for this task at a given address. For more discussion of the issue of irreplaceability of castle administrators in Poland see also Section 7.3 of this chapter.

In Question 3, respondents were asked to estimate the average time they were spending managing the castle. A horizontal rating scale of four steps (25%, 50%, 75%, 100%) was designed for the *castle survey*, but some respondents provided more specific percentages on their own initiative. All entries have been aggregated into the four categories shown in Figure 36.

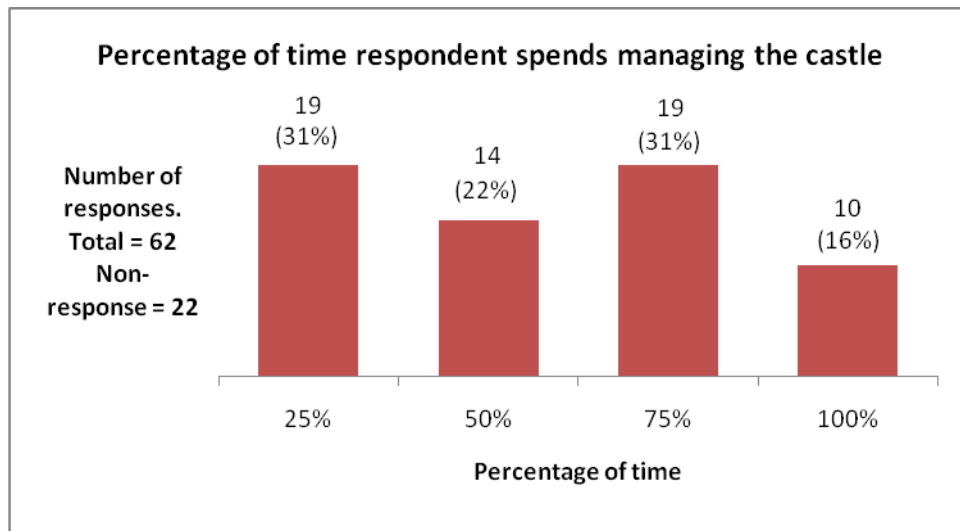


Figure 36. Question 3: Time spent managing the castle.

Question 3 was characterised by a relatively high non-response - 22 out of 84 participants, or otherwise 26%, did not respond to it - possibly indicating that the question was either too difficult to answer, or too imprecise. In any case, however, the responses received show that very few castle administrators - only 10 of 62, which makes up 16% of all received responses - spent all of their time managing the castle. Moreover, 33 castle administrators - i.e. 53 % of all those who responded to Question 3 - had other duties which took up at least half of their working time. This suggests that the term 'castle administrator' might need to be either more precisely defined or possibly replaced by another term, which would more adequately describe duties of majority of the persons completing the *castle survey*. It was decided to investigate this issue in more depth at the interview stage of data collection, which, as expected, yielded additional evidence (see Chapter 8).

In Question 4, respondents were asked, in an open-ended fashion, to provide a brief description of three of their most important duties with regard to the castle. Following a brief analysis, all responses were aggregated into six categories (Figure 37). Alas, a number of received responses lacked precision: some respondents listed less than three, and some more than three duties, others gave multiple responses which, upon further analysis, fell into the same category. For more analysis see Section 7.3.

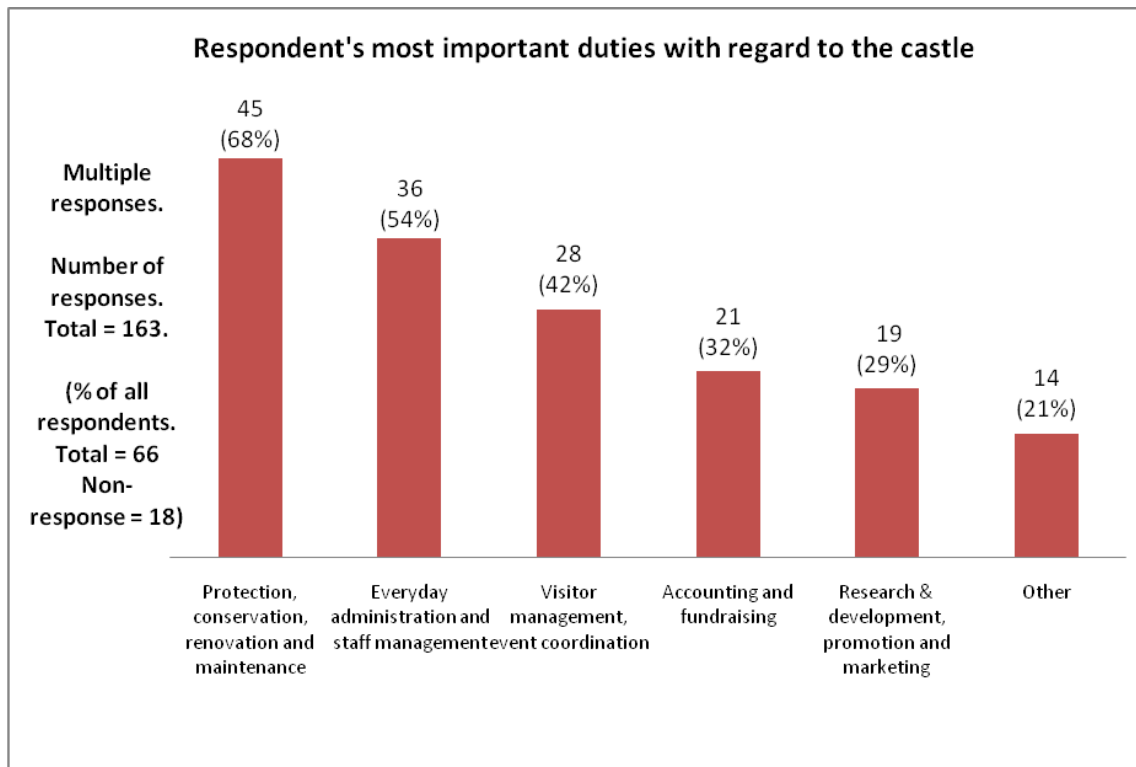


Figure 37. Question 4: Duties with regard to the castle.

The 'Other' category in Figure 37 - which was selected by 14 respondents, i.e. 21% of all respondents who answered this Question - represents those duties which were mentioned only very rarely, such as (numbers of responses in brackets):

- maintenance of a parkland and/or other castle surroundings (4);
- management of an artefact collection and/or exhibition (2);
- healthcare-related duties (some castles included in the sample are home to healthcare institutions) (2);
- organisation and/or supervision of archaeological undertakings (1);
- liaison with the state monument conservation service (1);
- liaison with other museums and cultural institutions (1);
- castle-related educational activities at the local community level (1);
- exploration and dissemination of the history of the castle (1);
- preparation of castle-related, academic publications (1).

According to Figure 37, only 29% of duties of all castle administrators, who responded to Question 4, did in any context mention promotion and development. All other tasks mentioned in the castle survey bear little resemblance to entrepreneurial activities as defined in this thesis and fostered

in the proposed Castle Management Model. Section 7.3 will discuss this issue in more detail.

Question 5 asked who was the current owner of the castle (Figure 38). A choice of four categories was given: State, Private owner, Non-profit organisation (e.g. a trust, or a foundation), or Business (commercial) owner.

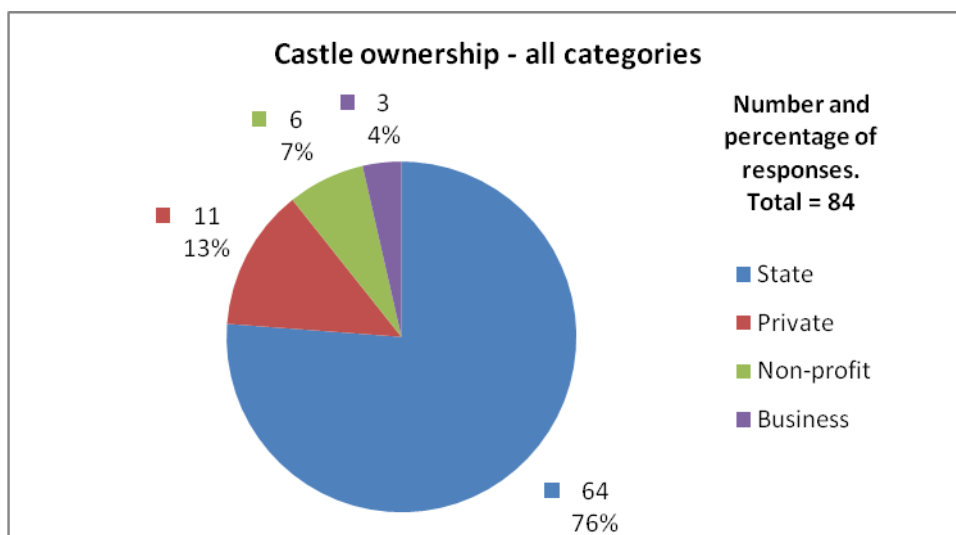


Figure 38. Question 5: Castle ownership - all categories.

Due to the relatively high number of responses in the 'State' category (64, 76%) and a small number of responses in the three other categories of ownership combined (20, 24%), Figure 39, therefore, presents answers to this Question as aggregated into two broad categories: State, and Non-state.

Figure 39 shows that 76% of castles in the data-set were the property of the state. To fully appreciate this figure, the historical context needs to be considered - namely, that all of the non-state owned castles in the data-set must have changed their ownership only within the years 1989-2008 (see Section 2.2.8).

Moreover, it is worth noting that privatisation of castles in Poland is not a finished process, and although there is no such discernable, specific expectation, it is possible that more castles will go into private or - even more likely - into community hands in the future. Again, interviews shed further light on this issue (Chapter 8, see also Section 7.3).

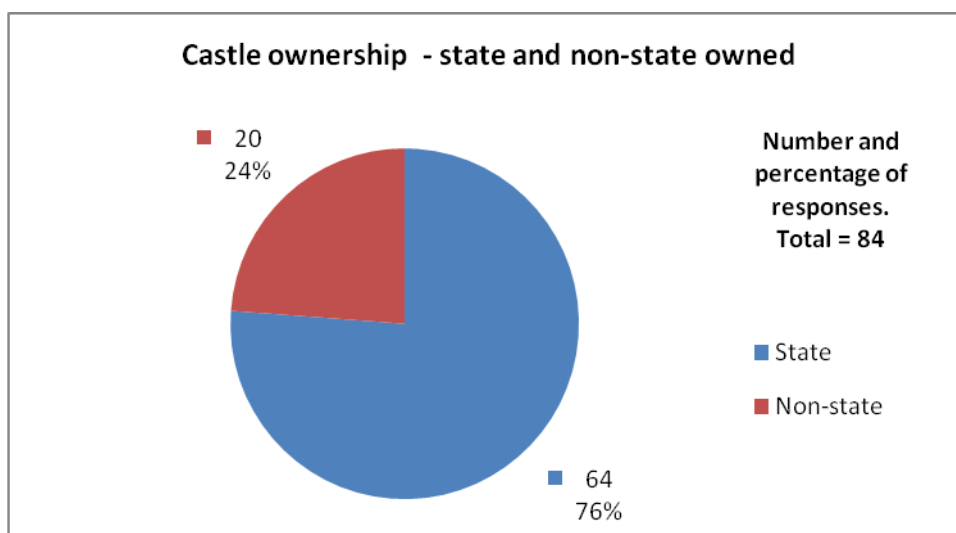


Figure 39. Question 5: Castle ownership - state and non-state.

Question 6 asked about the number of regular - i.e. all-year-round - and seasonal staff involved in running the castle. In each group (regular and seasonal), respondents could select one of the six pre-defined categories, depending on the number of staff which were employed at the castle. Seventy-one castle administrators responded to Question 6. Table 6 shows how many castles employed each type of staff (regular and seasonal) in each category.

Table 6. Question 6: Number of staff involved in the running of the castle.

Number of staff	Type of staff Number of responses in each category (and percentage of all responses)	
	Regular	Seasonal
0	9 (13%)	43 (61%)
1-5	31 (44%)	20 (28.5%)
6-10	4 (6%)	5 (7.5%)
11-20	11 (15%)	1 (1%)
21-30	3 (4%)	1 (1%)
30+	13 (18%)	1 (1%)
Total	71	71

The number of staff involved in the running of a castle is seen in this thesis as one of the very few mutually comparable indicators of the 'size' of a castle. It is assumed that, for practical reasons such as limited capacity, smaller castles tend to employ fewer staff, and larger castles tend to employ more staff. Castles with '0' regular staff can be assumed not only to be very small but also to be closed for the winter season. The same however cannot be said about castles which employ '0' seasonal staff - this particular category would rather

suggest that if 61% of the surveyed castles do not employ any seasonal staff, then due to reasons, which are beyond the remit of this thesis to investigate, there are little seasonal variations in employment to be expected at the surveyed castles. Nevertheless, Table 6 also shows that, on the one hand, 63% of the surveyed castles employ less than 10 members of regular staff, but on the other hand, as much as 18% of castles employ over 30 members of staff. In other words, majority of the surveyed castles are relatively small, and yet there exists a notable number of castles which are large and very large. For further discussion about the size of castles and patterns of employment in relation to castle ownership see Section 7.3.

Question 7 asked respondents to indicate the state of preservation of the castle. Respondents were asked to choose one of three categories: complete castle, partly ruined castle, and completely ruined castle (Figure 40).

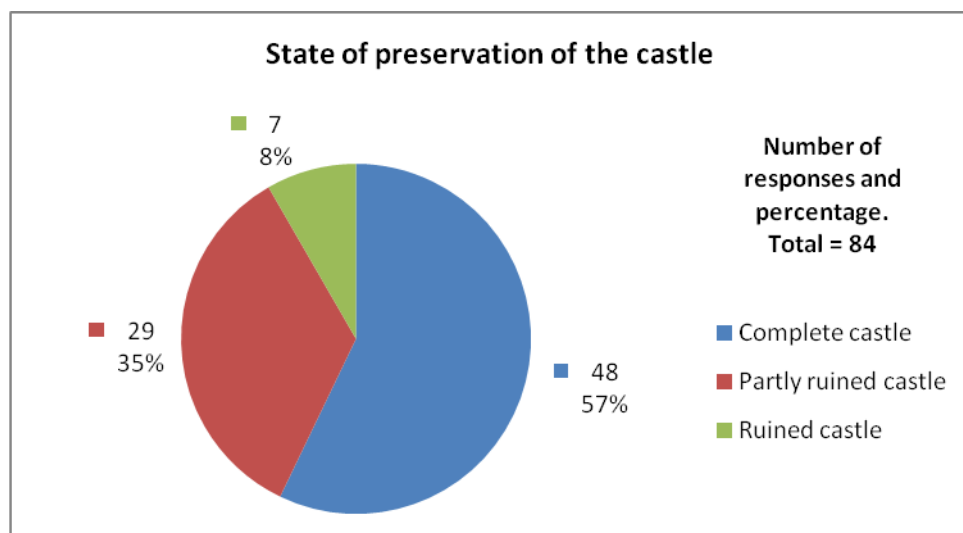


Figure 40. Question 7: State of preservation of the castle.

No definitions of the three categories were provided in the questionnaire, however, as discussed in Section 3.6, the sampling criteria of the castle survey required that the castles selected for the survey have an administrator, and are 'legible' as castles for an uninitiated observer. It has been assumed, therefore, that the relative 'illegibility' of given ruins as a castle for an uninitiated observer would be the definite characteristic of the third category, i.e. a ruined castle. It has to be appreciated, however, that the cultural perception of what constitutes a ruin can vary widely, so the three categories need to be treated with reserve.

In consequence, the figure of 8% of ruined castles in the data-set, shown in Figure 40, cannot be treated as representative for the total percentage of ruined castles in Poland. It can be reasonably expected that castles which are in a state of advanced ruin are less likely to be identified as castles by a non-specialist than those which are in a more complete condition, and therefore a significant proportion of ruined castles in Poland would fall outside the scope of this data-set and this thesis. In fact, ruined castles have recently attracted the specific attention of academics in Poland, reflected in a dedicated conference and publication (see Lewicka 2009). Castle ruins are perceived as more vulnerable than complete castles, and more likely to be subject of radical interventions to their original fabric.

Question 7 also featured an auxiliary Question 7a, which asked when the castle became a part- or a complete ruin (Table 7). Only 23 (out of 36 possible - see Figure 40) valid responses were received to this Question, and some respondents only indicated a broad, conventional period when the destruction of the castle took place - in which case the date was approximated (and italicised in Table 7).

Table 7. Question 7a: Year since the castle has been a part- or a complete ruin.

Castle number	Year	17th c.	18th c.	19th c.	20th c.	Part-ruin	Complete ruin
59	1628	●				✓	
12	1634	●				✓	
9	<i>1660</i>	●				✓	
29	<i>1660</i>	●				✓	
61	<i>1660</i>	●				✓	
77	<i>1660</i>	●				✓	
80	1750		●			✓	
72	1757		●				✓
15	1790		●			✓	
14	1793		●			✓	
78	1811			●		✓	
5	1842			●		✓	
70	1849			●			✓
36	<i>1850</i>			●		✓	
1	1945				●	✓	
40	1945				●	✓	
60	1945				●	✓	
10	1960				●	✓	
68	1970				●	✓	
16	1980				●	✓	
55	1990				●	✓	
32	1991				●	✓	
47	1997				●	✓	

Within the 23 responses, two specific phases could be identified. The first phase was the time of the 'deluge' in the years 1648-72, when Poland was embroiled in military conflicts with a number of enemy powers (see Section 2.2). For the purpose of Table 7, the 'deluge' is represented by a single date - i.e. 1660 - in the middle of the period in question, which obviously simplifies the fact that castles, which were affected by the 'deluge', suffered damages or destruction at various moments during the multiple conflicts of that period.

The other phase, as can be seen in Table 7, was the Second World War. Characteristically, however, all the three respondents, who indicated that their castle became a part- or a complete ruin within this period, also specified that the destruction of their castles took place not at the outset of or during the main military hostilities, but only in the last year of the war, 1945, i.e. during the westward advance of the Soviet Army across Polish territory.

Interestingly, the earliest reported destruction of a castle in the data-set was recorded no earlier than 1628. Then, records continue across four centuries, and the most damaging for castles in the data-set was the 20th century. Moreover, the destruction of castles in the data-set did not end with the coming of the free-market economy and democracy in 1989. Data analysis, which links these patterns with the ownership of castles, is presented in Section 7.3.

Question 8 asked what percentage of the fabric of the castle was original (Table 8). 'Original' was defined for the purpose of this thesis as 'never (...) replaced nor altered during any known construction works since 1945' (Appendix B). The threshold year of 1945 has been chosen arbitrarily (Bukal 2009: 54) to establish to what degree the current castle resource in Poland has been affected by two particular, post-Second World War factors: (1) the ideologically-tainted reconstructions and restorations of built heritage in the communist era, i.e. 1945-1989 (Pospieszny 2009: 267), and (2) the alleged wave of reconstructions and alterations, characteristic for the post-communist transformation period after 1989 (Malawska 2008: 67).

The percentage of the original fabric of the castle, asked about in Question 8, was, in the course of analysis, aggregated into 10 categories from 0% to 100%, and was identified as an ordinal variable, whose central tendency can be measured by a median (DeVaus 2002: 223). The median percentage category for castles presented in Table 8 reached 80%, which indicates that

typically 80% of the pre-1945 fabric of the 65 castles in the data-set which answered this question, remained, at the time of the castle survey, unaffected by any significant, post-war alterations.

Table 8. Question 8: Percentage of the original fabric of the castle.

Castle number	Percentage	Castle number	Percentage	Castle number	Percentage	Castle number	Percentage
1	90%	22	55%	43	100%	64	-
2	40%	23	100%	44	20%	65	70%
3	90%	24	-	45	90%	66	70%
4	-	25	100%	46	10%	67	20%
5	30%	26	-	47	100%	68	70%
6	40%	27	-	48	80%	69	100%
7	-	28	80%	49	0%	70	95%
8	95%	29	90%	50	100%	71	10%
9	80%	30	100%	51	-	72	-
10	-	31	90%	52	20%	73	80%
11	90%	32	85%	53	60%	74	-
12	60%	33	90%	54	50%	75	-
13	90%	34	-	55	30%	76	80%
14	10%	35	80%	56	100%	77	40%
15	80%	36	100%	57	95%	78	-
16	10%	37	-	58	50%	79	15%
17	90%	38	70%	59	40%	80	10%
18	-	39	80%	60	30%	81	-
19	-	40	20%	61	50%	82	20%
20	-	41	80%	62	40%	83	100%
21	80%	42	-	63	100%	84	60%
Median							80%

Question 9 asked respondents to select one of the six architectural styles/historical periods from which most of the castle fabric was dated (Figure 41). No specific date brackets were pre-defined for those periods - it was assumed that respondents would conform to the following convention of dating of architectural styles in Central Europe, particularly widespread in Poland and Germany (Koch 1996: 1):

- Romanesque and Gothic 1020-1520,
- Renaissance 1520-1660,
- Baroque 1660-1780,
- Neo-classicism 1755-1830,
- Neo-gothic 1820-1910.

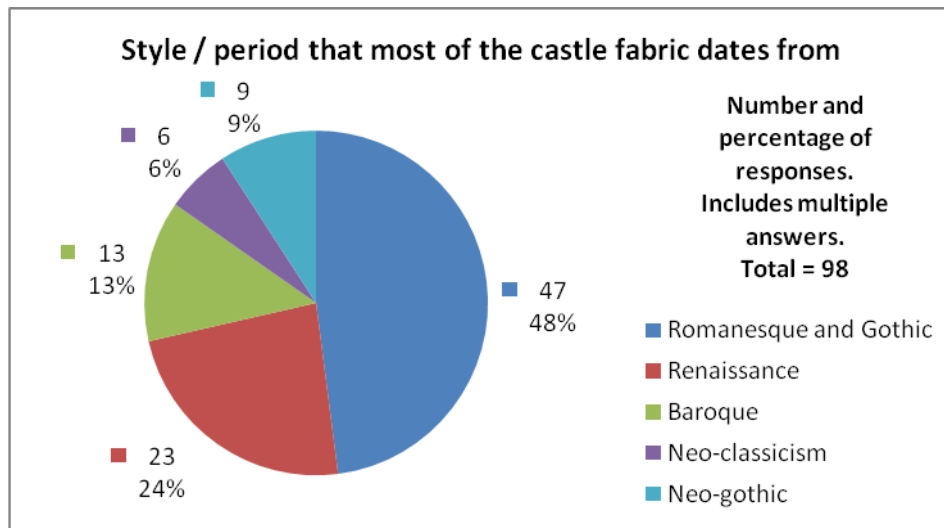


Figure 41. Question 9: The dominant style/period of the castle.

Twenty respondents to Question 9 selected more than one dominant style/historical period, and four of them selected more than three periods. For the sake of clarity, Figure 42 filters out those multiple responses and shows only the original styles/periods of all castles in the data-set which featured in Question 9.

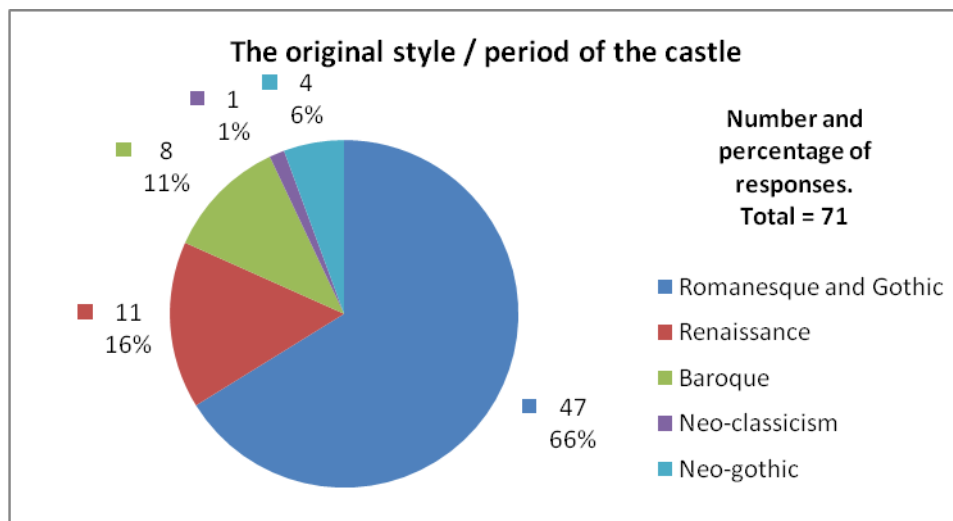


Figure 42. Question 9: The original style/period of the castle.

Combined, Figures 41 and 42 show that 47 castles - i.e. 66% of all valid responses to Question 9 - had their origins in the Romanesque and Gothic period. Subsequently, 12 of those castles - i.e. 25% of all responses to Question 9 - were subject to major modernisation in the Renaissance period. Moreover, Figures 41 and 42 combined show that five Baroque castles had their origins in earlier periods, and the same can be said about five Neo-

classical, and five Neo-gothic castles. The dominant styles of castles in the data-set are analysed further in Section 7.3 in combination with their state of preservation and type of ownership.

Question 10 asked if the castle was listed in the National Register of Historical Monuments (see Chapter 2, Section 2.5.1) and Question 10a asked when the listing took place. All castles in the data-set have appeared to be listed historical monuments. The years of listing given by respondents have been presented chronologically in Table 9. Five castles were listed before the Second World War and one castle after the collapse of communism in 1989. All remaining castles were listed as historical monuments between 1945 and 1976, which might indicate that, despite the heavy politicisation of the communist government's heritage policy in Poland (see Section 2.2.7), the recording of the castle resource in Poland was nevertheless effectively carried out.

Table 9. Question 10a: The year the castle was listed in the National Register of Historical Monuments. (Total = 51)

Castle Number	Year	Castle Number	Year	Castle Number	Year	Castle Number	Year	Castle Number	Year
5	1920	69	1949	25	1956	12	1960	1	1967
40	1930	62	1950	44	1956	21	1960	24	1967
83	1930	67	1952	47	1956	26	1960	48	1967
77	1934	29	1953	6	1958	43	1960	70	1967
80	1936	38	1953	22	1958	35	1961	15	1968
33	1945	76	1953	31	1958	46	1964	17	1968
36	1945	23	1954	71	1958	72	1965	66	1968
57	1946	79	1954	8	1959	82	1965	50	1972
39	1947	14	1955	2	1960	56	1966	49	1974
41	1947	55	1955	10	1960	63	1966	3	1976
								45	1992

Responses to Question 10a combined with responses to Questions 7 and 7a, and Question 8, i.e. the date of listing the castle in the National Register, the state of preservation and the date since the castle has been a part- or a complete ruin, as well as the percentage of original fabric of the castle, shed further light on the issue of whether or not listing a castle can guarantee its effective protection - see analysis in Section 7.3.

Question 11 asked respondents whether the current 2003 Act on Safeguarding and Protection of Monuments and related legislation practically assisted them in their castle management (Figure 43). The close to normal

distribution of responses shows a close to neutral reaction to the question, but a slightly negative tendency against the Act is nevertheless apparent. As Figure 43 shows, 20 negative opinions about the assistance of the Act (strongly disagree and disagree; 31% of all responses to Question 11) slightly outweigh the 16 positive opinions (agree and strongly agree; 24.5% of all responses to Question 11).

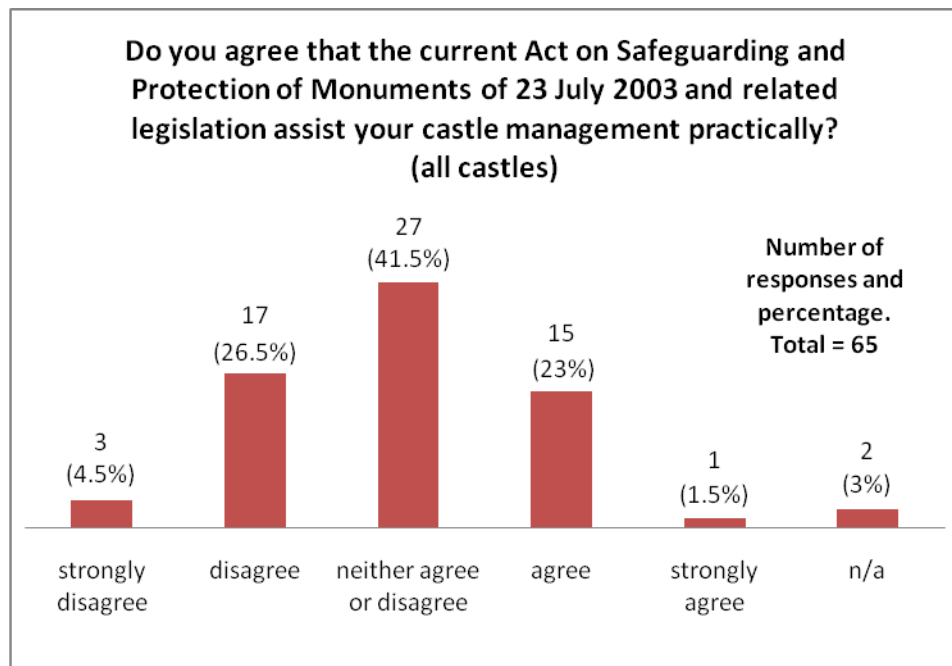


Figure 43. Question 11: Evaluation of the current legislation - all castles.

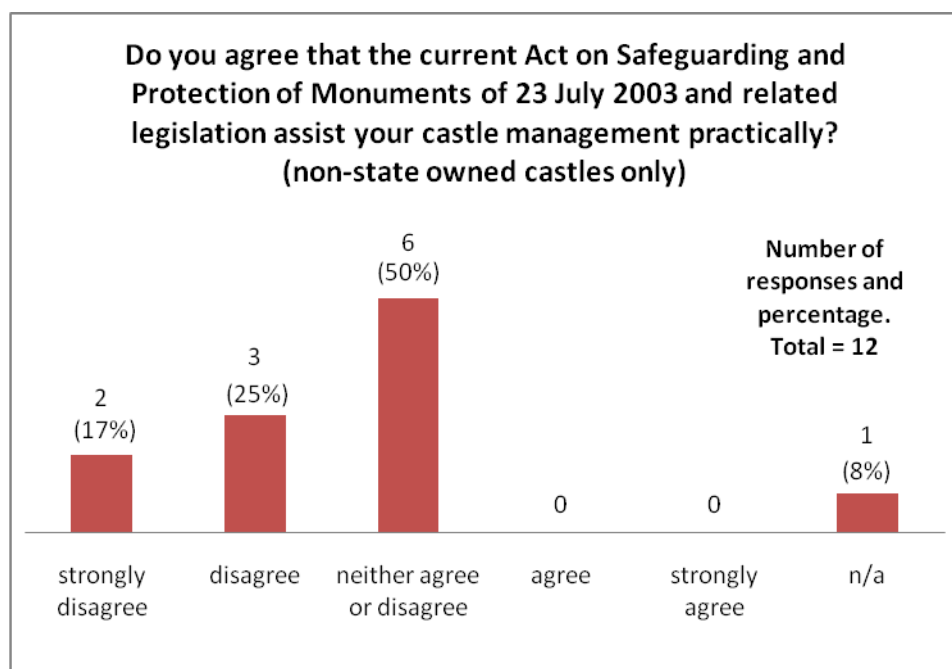


Figure 44. Question 11: Evaluation of the current legislation - responses from non-state owned castles only.

The distribution of responses in Figure 43 is only slightly skewed towards the negative side. This tendency becomes more radical and visible when responses from non-state owned castles are considered separately. Figure 44 reveals that none of the non-state owned castles received the 2003 Act positively (see also interview analysis in Section 8.2).

Question 12 asked respondents if the castle which they were managing, had in the past a function different to its current one - disregarding the original residential and defensive functions (Figure 45). The main purpose of this question was to establish the evolution of functions of castles in Poland.

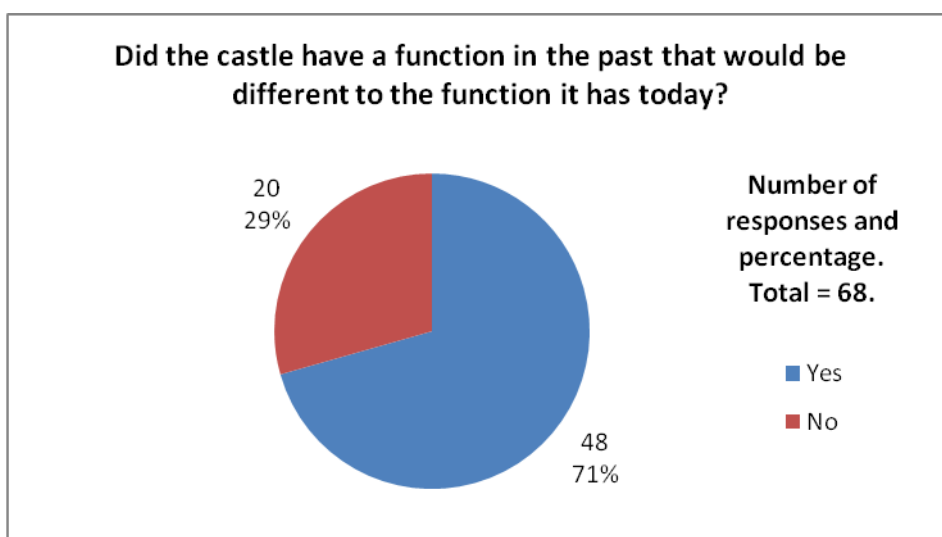


Figure 45. Question 12: Did the castle have a previous function?

If the castle had a different function, auxiliary Question 12a asked about the date of the last change of function (Table 10).

Interestingly, 33 of the 35, i.e. 93%, changes of function of participating castles took place in the 20th century. As per Table 10, as many as 27 of the indicated changes of function, i.e. 77% of all 35 castles which responded to this question, took place since the end of the Second World War in 1945 (the first double line in Table 10), and only six changes took place since the post-communist transformation in Poland began in 1989 (the second double line in Table 10).

Once responses to Question 10a (Table 9) are also considered, i.e. the date when a castle was listed, it appears that of all 24 castles which provided both the date of change of function and the date of listing, at as many as 12

castles - 50% - the change of function took place after the listing (see also Section 7.3). In either case, the listing took place on average 29 years after the change of function, and the change of function took place 29 years after the listing. It could be therefore tentatively stated that listing of a castle and its change of function are not correlated.

Table 10. Question 12a: The year when the last change of function of the castle took place (Total = 35).

Castle Number	Year	Castle Number	Year
39	1853	54	1965
26	1865	62	1965
52	1918	71	1966
48	1919	67	1968
6	1924	36	1970
38	1930	65	1972
73	1939	25	1975
53	1944	14	1976
21	1945	40	1976
22	1945	58	1981
28	1945	50	1983
76	1945	16	1985
45	1947	3	1989
17	1950	49	1990
31	1955	47	1994
46	1959	11	1999
13	1963	32	2001
		57	2001

In Question 12a, respondents were also encouraged to provide details relating to the previous function of the castle. The variety of responses received were aggregated into 14 distinct categories, summarised in Figure 46 and presented in detail in Table 14 (Appendix G). The most commonly featured category - 'Public - Educational' - included: a college of fine arts, two agricultural colleges, a primary school, and a secondary school. Perhaps surprisingly - since castles are traditionally associated with their defensive-military role - the military function featured in response to Question 12a only once. For more discussion see Section 7.3 of this chapter as well.

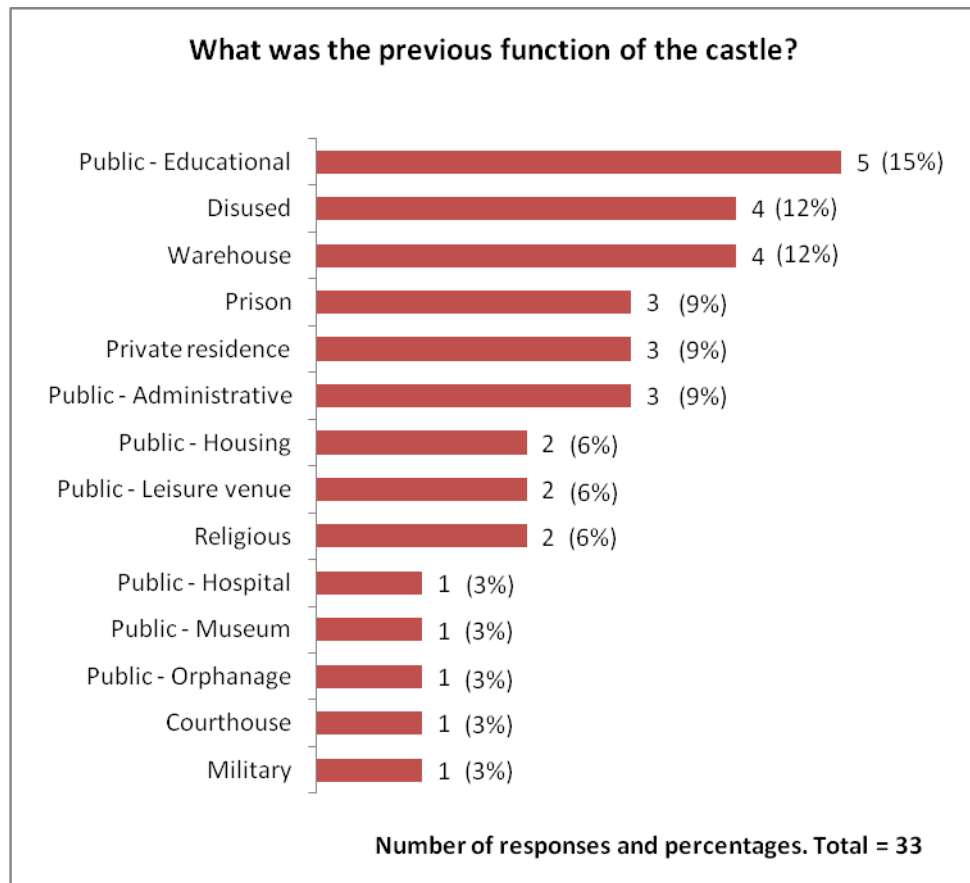


Figure 46. Question 12a: Previous function of the castle.

Question 13 asked about the current primary and secondary functions of the castle. Respondents were asked to mark as many functions as applicable from the pre-defined list (see summary in Figure 47, and for detailed presentation see Table 15 (Appendix G)). Primary and secondary functions were not directly defined in the questionnaire - it was believed that response options available in this question made it relatively self-explanatory for respondents.

In support it can be noted, that the concept of primary and secondary functions of castle closely resembles the concept of primary and secondary motives for heritage tourism discussed by Ashworth and Howard (1999: 91). Figure 47 presents the responses in descending order of primary functions. Many respondents marked more than one function, but also a considerable number of respondents marked none, especially in the category of secondary functions. It is difficult to determine in which instances the non-response was due to the actual lack of secondary functions of a castle, or to other factors, such as the respondent being unsure of the primary/secondary function categorisation. As a result, the most typical (median) number of primary

functions of a castle in the data-set was just one (50 responses), and the most typical (median) number of secondary functions was zero (45 responses).

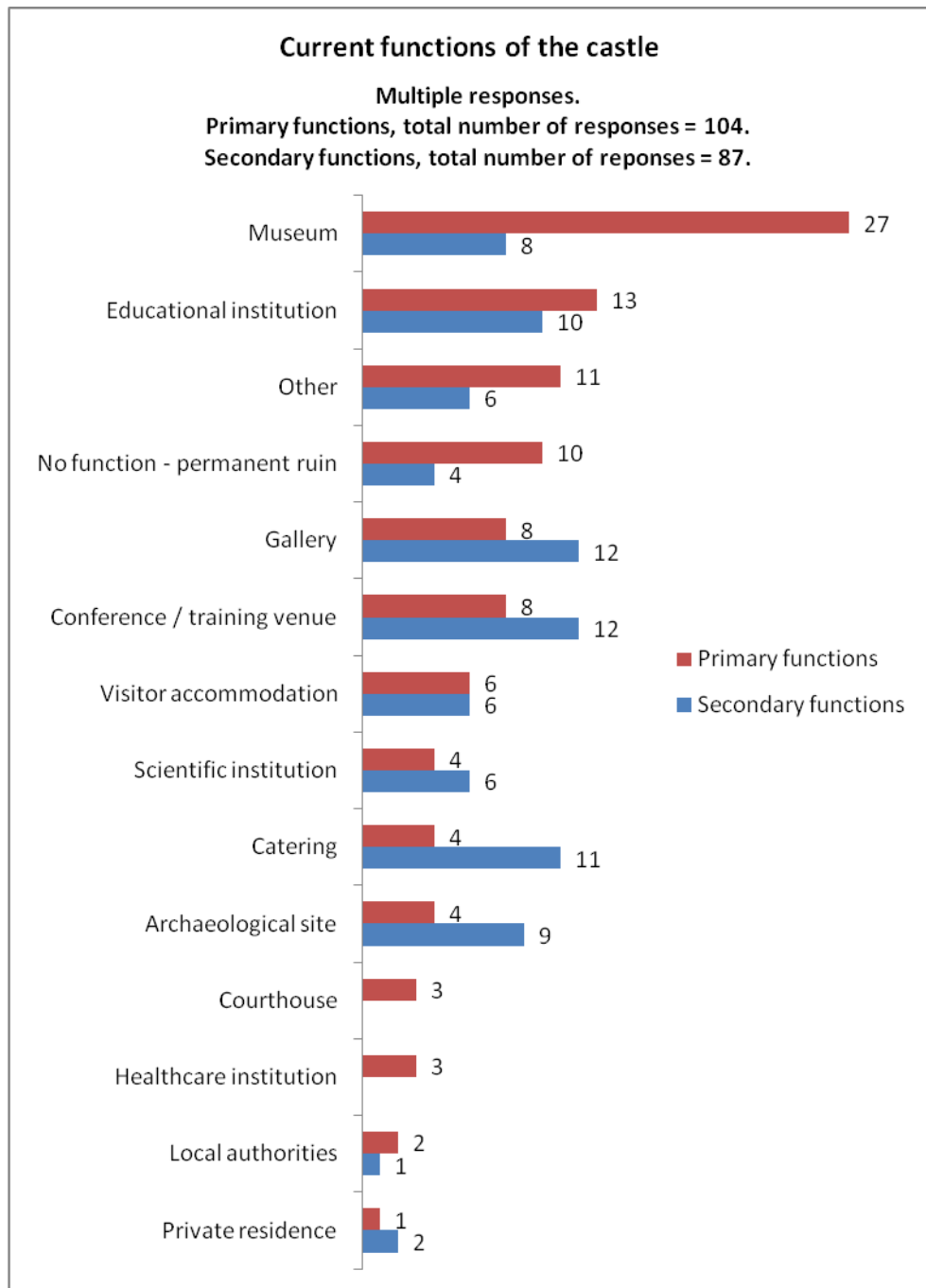


Figure 47. Question 13: Current primary and secondary functions of the castle.

Interestingly, as far as the data available allow such analysis, it can be said that patterns of functions have somewhat evolved throughout the 20th and the 21st centuries. Once figures 46 and 47 are considered together, it can be observed that, for example, amongst those castles which reported a change of

function a museum features only once prior to the change, whereas as many as 25% of all castles which responded to question 13 reported that their current function was primarily a museum at the time of the castle survey. On the other hand, however, educational function was reported in 15% of cases as the function before the change, while currently only 13% of castles report to be primarily educational institutions.

Only one castle within the data-set reported to be primarily a private residence currently, while such function is mentioned with regard to three castles which changed function at any point. It could therefore be tentatively suggested that changes of functions mostly affected castles which were privately owned before the Second World War and therefore their functions could not continue beyond the year 1945 for political reasons. Public institutions, such as schools, would not have to change the use of their premises at a castle, unless the castle was damaged during the war. Of course, functions such as conference/training venue or catering would not have existed in Poland before the year 1989. The two tables allow only partial comparison of responses and a further analysis of this theme would possibly require that a separate study is carried out at selected castles in Poland.

Question 14 asked respondents to indicate their sources of funding, and to estimate the percentage share of each identified source (Table 11, see also Table 16, Appendix G). Fifty-nine castle administrators answered this question. Analysis of answers to this question concerns the median - i.e. typical, middle - values in each category of funding. Considering all 59 responses together (see the first row in Table 11), the two sources (categories) of funding which returned the highest median values were: 'local government subsidies' (typically providing 90% of funding for respondents who identified them), and 'state subsidies' (typically providing 70% of funding for respondents who identified them).

However, when responses from the state and the non-state owned castle administrators were considered separately in the data analysis, the pattern of funding appeared as significantly different (see the second and the third row in Table 11, respectively). For the state-owned castles, the two topmost sources of income would remain the same as when all castles were considered together. For the non-state owned castles the situation seems radically different. The two sources identified as providing typically the most funding for the non-state

owned castles were the 'other/own resources' (typically providing 99% of funding for respondents who identified them) and the 'primary functions' of the surveyed castles, as defined in Question 13 (typically providing 75% of funding for those who identified them as one of their sources). Also, Table 11 indicates that income from admissions played a greater role for the non-state owned castles than for the state-owned ones, but also that subsidies typically played a role nearly negligible for that category of ownership.

Table 11. Question 14: Sources of funding by type of castle ownership, shown as the median (typical) percentage values for each category of funding

	Admissions	Primary functions	Secondary functions	State subsidies	Local government subsidies	Other (own resources)
All castles (n = 59)	10%	58%	10%	70%	90%	25%
State owned castles only (n = 48)	10%	46%	12%	70%	90%	18%
Non-state owned castles only (n = 11)	20%	75%	6%	25%	none	99%

In Question 15, respondents were asked to select as many features which their castle could offer to its visitors as applicable from a 10-point list (Figure 48, see also Table 17, Appendix G).

As many as 58 respondents (of the total of 84) selected more than one visitor feature in Question 15, but at the same time, 20 other respondents selected no feature, which has been classed as 'non-response'. However, it was impossible to discern with confidence clear 'non-response' from a zero-value response, where the latter would be an appropriate option in case of those castles which really had no tourist features to offer. Question 15 was designed to find out about the content of the tourist offer of castles in Poland, therefore it was decided that by ignoring the 'non-response' altogether a clearer

and more adequate picture could be painted of what was indeed offered by the participating castles.

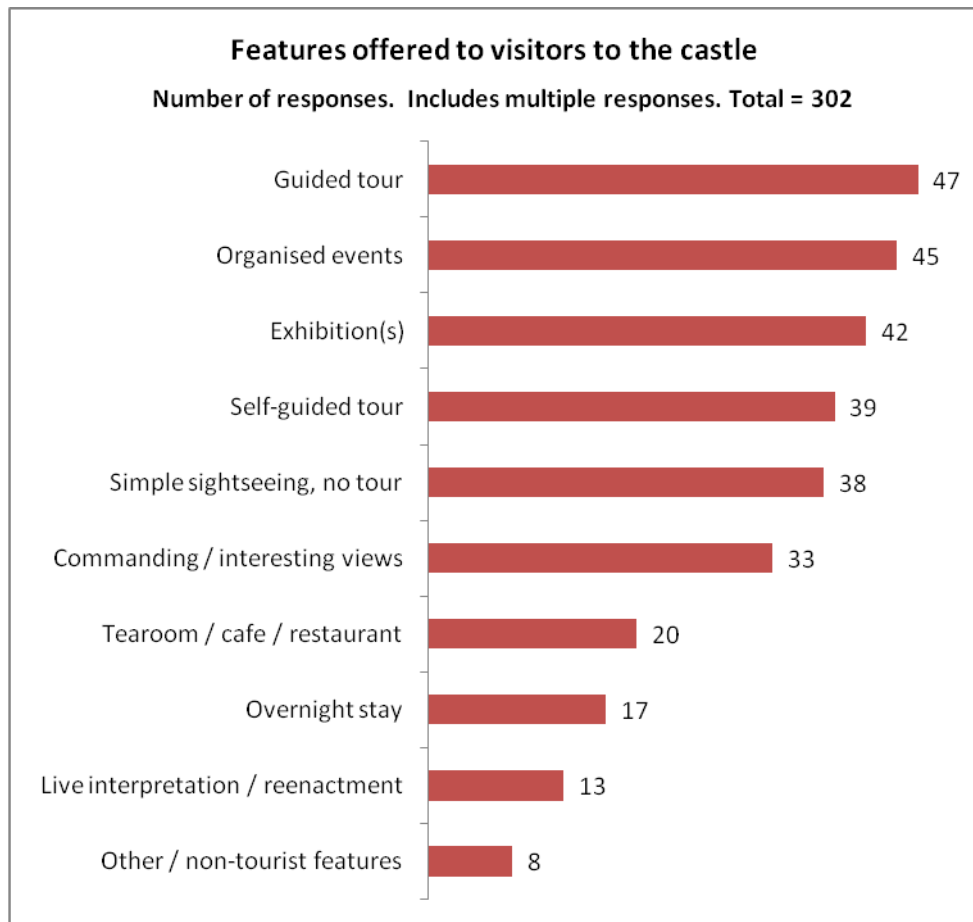


Figure 48. Question 15: Visitor offer of the castle.

Responses to Question 15 indicate that the tourist offer of castles in Poland was relatively uniform at the time of the survey. Figure 48 demonstrates little variation in the frequency with which the top 5 tourist features of castles are mentioned (standard deviation $\sigma = 2$). Moreover, the guided and non-guided tour, as well as simple sightseeing, often appear together, perhaps simply seen as direct alternatives. The proposed Castle Management Model stresses the importance of a diversified castle product.

Question 16 asked for the reasons - in the respondent's opinion - why most people visited their castle. As in Question 15, respondents were asked to mark as many responses as applicable from a 10-point list (Figure 49).

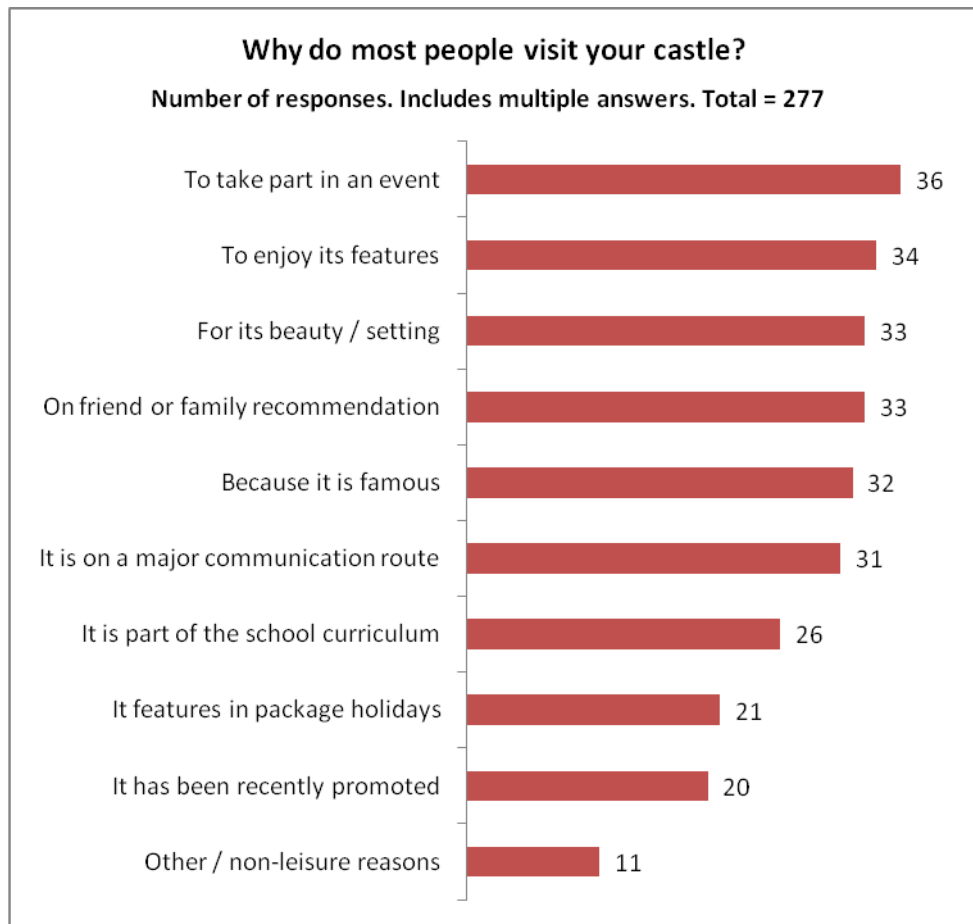


Figure 49. Question 16: Reasons for castle visits.

As many as 57 respondents selected more than one reason for visits, but 19 respondents selected none. Just as with Questions 15 and 14, it was impossible to discern non-response from zero-value response, i.e. identify those castles which were typically not visited by tourists or whose administrators had nothing to comment on in relation to visits to their castles. Question 16 was designed with the purpose of finding out about the most popular reasons for visiting castles in Poland, as perceived by castle administrators. With this purpose in mind it was decided to ignore the ‘zero-value’ answers.

The topmost perceived reason to visit a castle indicates that the castle administrators who participated in the *castle survey* assumed that visitors attach slightly more importance to events organised at the castle than to the characteristics of the castle itself. Moreover, the participating castle administrators were of the opinion that of all the factors which they think attract visitors to their castles, the least effective one highlighted individually was marketing and promotion (see Figure 49).

Question 16a was designed as auxiliary to Question 16 and was aimed at those respondents who expressed any opinion about the motivations of visitors to their castles. Question 16a asked about the respondents' source of information about visitors to their castle (Figure 50).

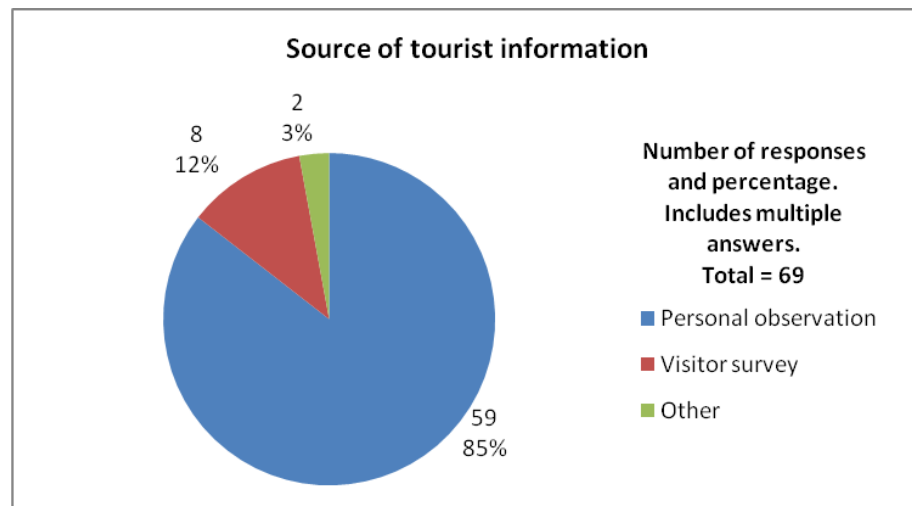


Figure 50. Question 16a: Source of visitor information.

In 59 of the total 69 responses to this Question the simple 'personal observation' was the selected response. Only eight respondents indicated that a purpose-designed 'visitor survey' was their source of information - two of those claimed that the survey was administered by an external institution, while the remaining six noted they had administered the survey themselves. The remaining two 'other' sources of information were, according to respondents' annotations: 'financial reports', and 'internal instruments of monitoring admissions'.

Question 17 asked respondents to declare whether they would like to attract more visitors to their castle (Figure 51). An open-ended auxiliary Question 17a asked about respondents' reasons and proposed means to attract those additional visitors. Figure 52 presents a summary of responses to Question 17a, and Table 18 (Appendix G) presents an English translation of all responses received.

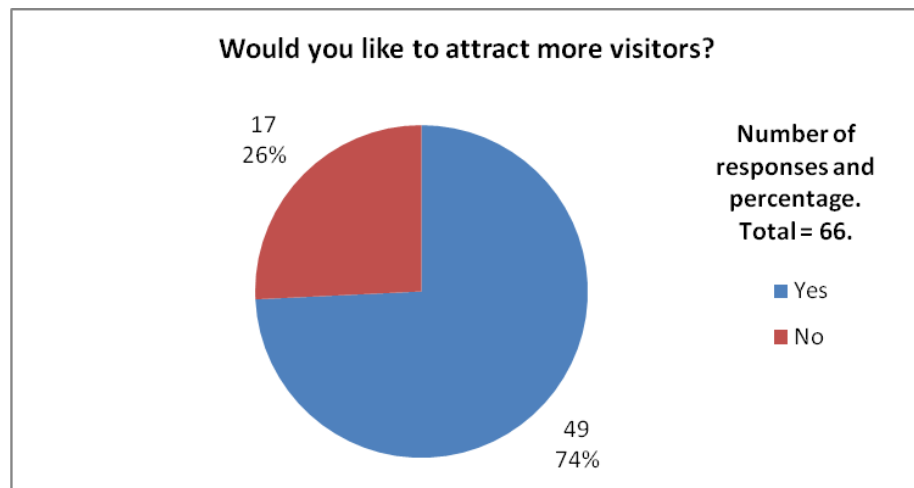


Figure 51. Question 17: Willingness to attract more visitors.

All answers to Question 17a have been arranged in Figure 52 according to the emerging thematic patterns of responses, in order to paint a clearer picture of the drivers of castle management in Poland (see also analysis in Section 7.3 and discussion in Chapter 9). As Table 18 (Appendix G) shows, apparently many respondents confused their comments about the means by which they would like to attract more visitors with yet another opportunity to present their reasons for attracting more visitors.

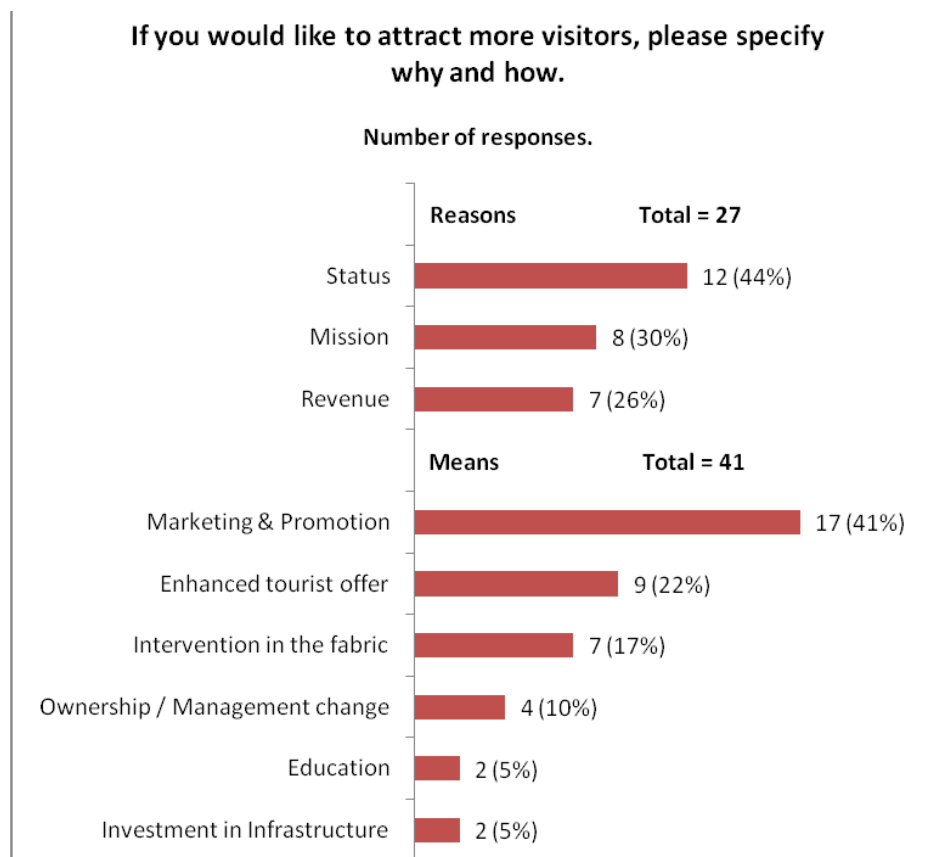


Figure 52. Question 17a: Reasons and means to attract more visitors.

Interestingly, from the point of view of the proposed Castle Management Model, the most often cited reason to attract more visitors was to enhance the status, or the perception, of the castle, which would possibly indicate a move up in the social dimension of management (see Section 6.6). However, the most often cited means of doing so was investment in marketing and promotion, which would rather indicate effort in the economic dimension of management. This brief example shows how the Model might be employed as a ‘tool for thought’ in the process of castle management even at the stage of strategic planning.

Question 18 asked if the castle had a Management Plan or a similar strategic management document, and if yes - it asked about the contents of such document (Figure 53). Of the six respondents who indicated that their castle had such a document, only four mentioned its details and/or name, which included: Development Strategy for the Years 2008 - 2015, Conservation Plan for the maintenance of the castle ruins, Investment Plan for the Years 2007 - 2012, and a Conservation Plan to implement European building standards for a healthcare institution. No respondent selected the fourth answer to Question 18, i.e. ‘Not applicable’.

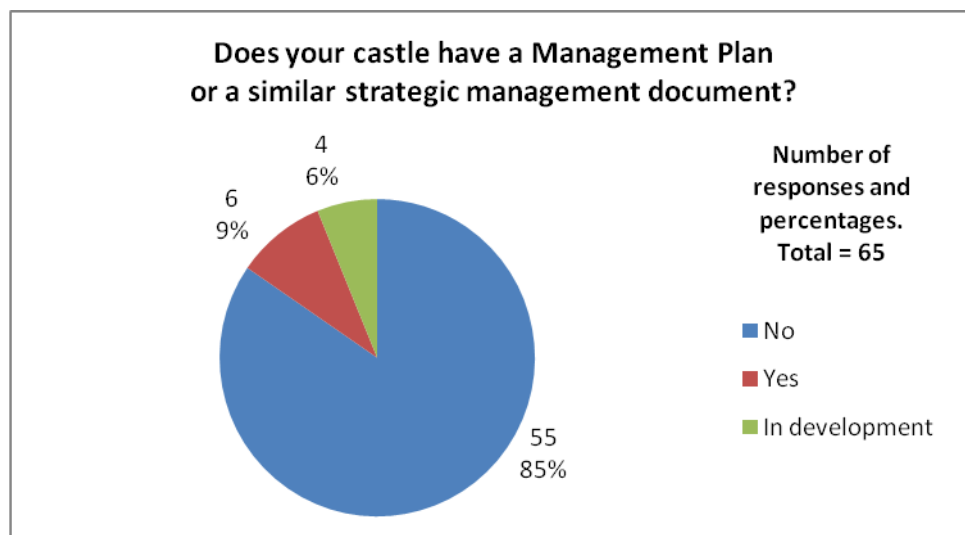


Figure 53. Question 18: Presence of a Management Plan or a similar document.

Question 19 asked respondents to provide visitor figures for the years 2003 - 2007, i.e. the last five years directly preceding the year of the questionnaire (Figure 54).

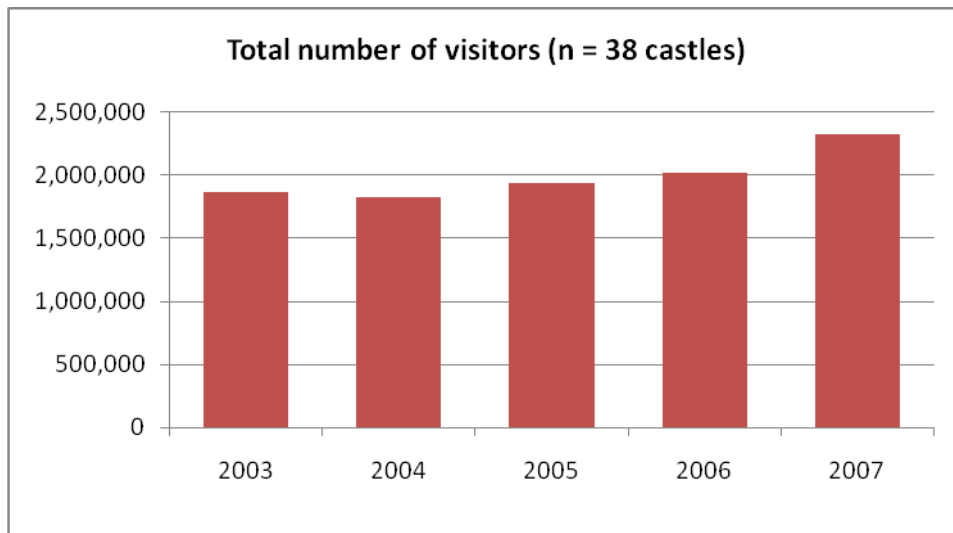


Figure 54. Question 19: Visitor numbers (totalled).

Not all respondents answered this question, and some answered it selectively. Figures collected represented only 38 castles in 2003, 39 in 2004, 41 in 2005, 43 in 2006, and 46 in 2007 - it might have been because the number of castles which kept admission records simply increased throughout the years. Nevertheless, for the purpose of immediate comparison, only figures for the 38 castles of the least represented year of 2003 have been presented.

In Question 20, respondents were asked to indicate whether the tourist activity at their castle was continuous (all-year-round) or seasonal (Figure 55), and if seasonal, respondents were asked to provide their own explanation of when the 'high season' was (Figure 56).

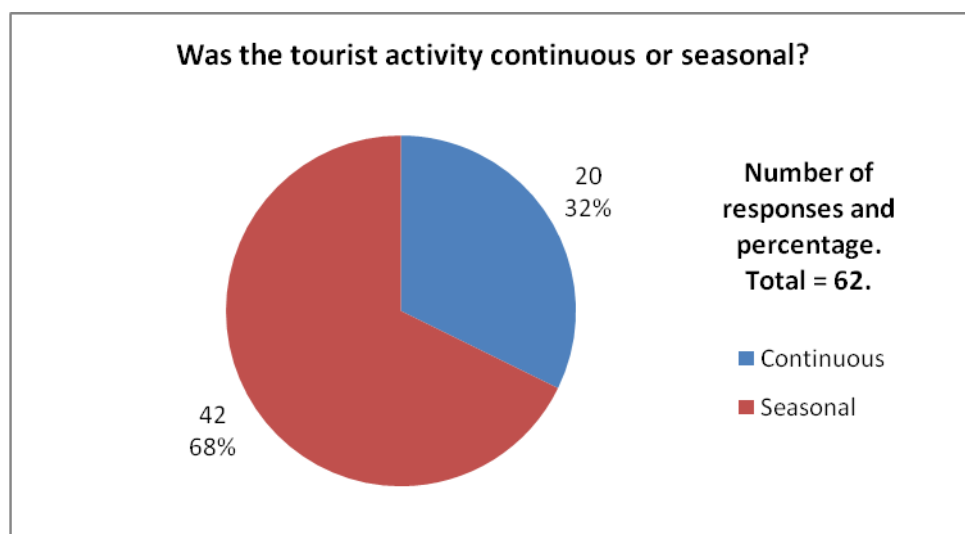


Figure 55. Question 20: Continuous and seasonal visitor activity.

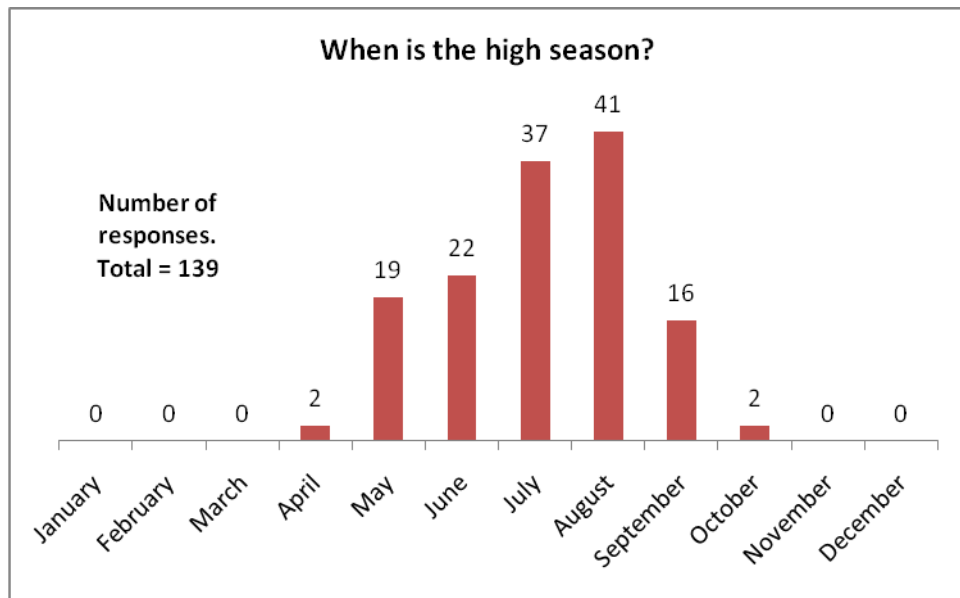


Figure 56. Question 20: Seasonality of castle visits.

Figure 56 features multiple responses because only one castle indicated only one month of high-season tourist activity (see also Section 7.3, Figure 65). July and August - the two most often mentioned months of visitor activity at castles in the data-set - are traditional summer school holiday months in Poland. As many as 37 castles indicated July and August as their high-season months, and for 13 of them - i.e. 35% - the high-season did not extend any further. Much of June and most of September form an additional holiday period for the majority of universities in Poland. The month of May is when a series of bank holidays, coupled with typically good weather, help to start the tourist season. Interestingly, May and June were more likely to be included in the high-season than September, which can perhaps either be linked to the lower Autumn temperatures, or to the number of school trips, typically higher in June than in September. Nevertheless, the seasonality of 'castle tourism' seems to be much in line with more general trends in leisure tourism in Poland (Instytut Turystyki 2011c).

Question 21 inquired about the average proportion of domestic visitors to foreign visitors, Question 22 asked about the average proportion of organised groups within all visitors, and Question 23 asked about the average proportion of school groups within the organised groups; all in years 2003 - 2007 (Table 12). The typical response (median) to Question 21 was that on average 85% of visitors to the castle were domestic rather than foreign. In Question 22 the typical average proportion (median) of organised groups to individual visitors

was 60%, and in Question 23 the typical average share (median) of school groups within the organised groups was also 60%. All three median figures are shown in Table 12 below.

Table 12. Questions 21-23: Foreign visitors, organised groups and school groups in 2003-2007 - median figures.

	Average % of domestic tourists within all visitors n=55	Average % of organised groups within all visitors n=57	Average % of school groups within the organised groups n=57
Median	85%	60%	60%

Question 24 asked respondents whether they would be willing to take part in a more in-depth interview in the future (Figure 57). As shown in Figure 52, as many as 68% of those who responded to this question were happy to participate in such an interview, which provided a large pool of potential interviewees for future shortlisting (see Section 3.7). As many as 21 administrators did not respond to this question at all, which was treated as an equivalent of negative response, but not included in Figure 57 for the sake of maintaining statistical clarity.

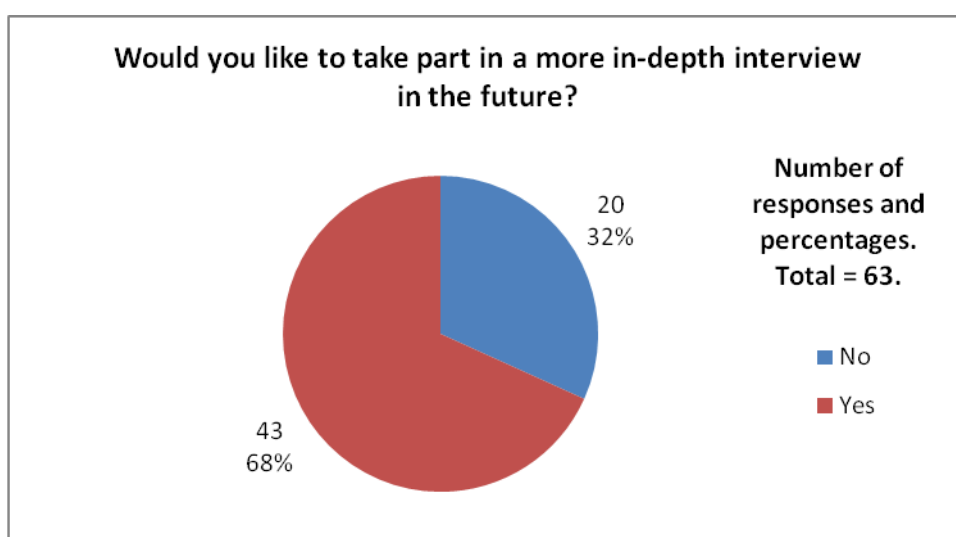


Figure 57. Question 24: Willingness to participate in an interview.

7.3 Castle survey data analysis

Section 7.2 above presented the castle survey data and offered preliminary analysis of the data, mostly in the form of univariate analysis, i.e. with reference to single questions only. This section will explore and analyse more complex patterns that emerge from the said data-set once responses to two or more questions are considered together.

7.3.1 Castle ownership

As mentioned in Section 7.2 of this Chapter, any castle in the data-set, which is classed as non-state owned, would have become so only within the two decades preceding this castle survey, i.e. after 1989. Comparison of forms of castle ownership with their states of preservation (Figures 58-61) suggests that, by a small margin, completely ruined castles are of lesser interest to non-state castle owners than complete castles. At the same time, however, partly ruined castles seem to represent a greater interest to non-state owners, than complete castles. The two observations might indicate that the opportunities that arise during reconstruction or conservation works at a partly ruined castle tend to outweigh the advantages of owning a complete castle, which might require less spending on renovation, but can be more difficult to adjust to new or alternative uses, and, additionally, whose initial market price might be much higher than that of a partly ruined castle.

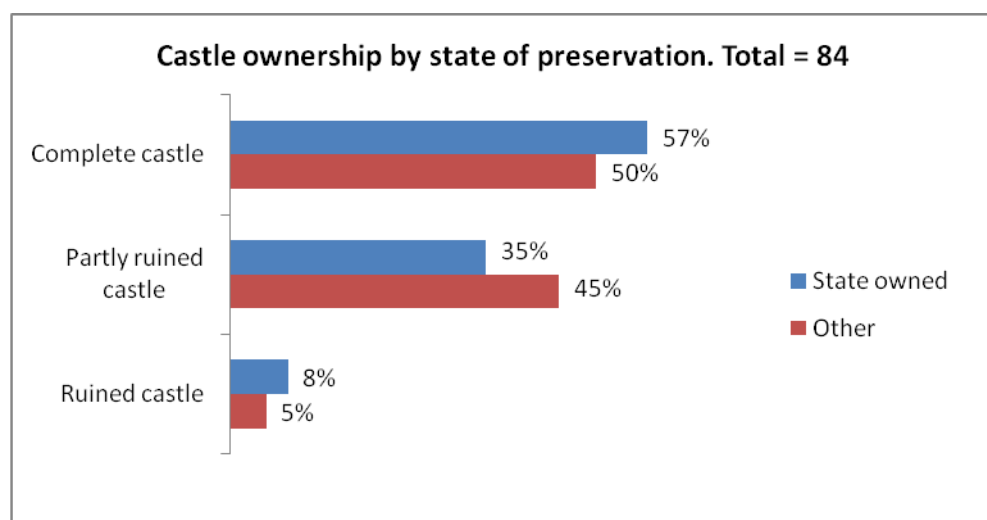


Figure 58. Castle ownership by state of preservation.

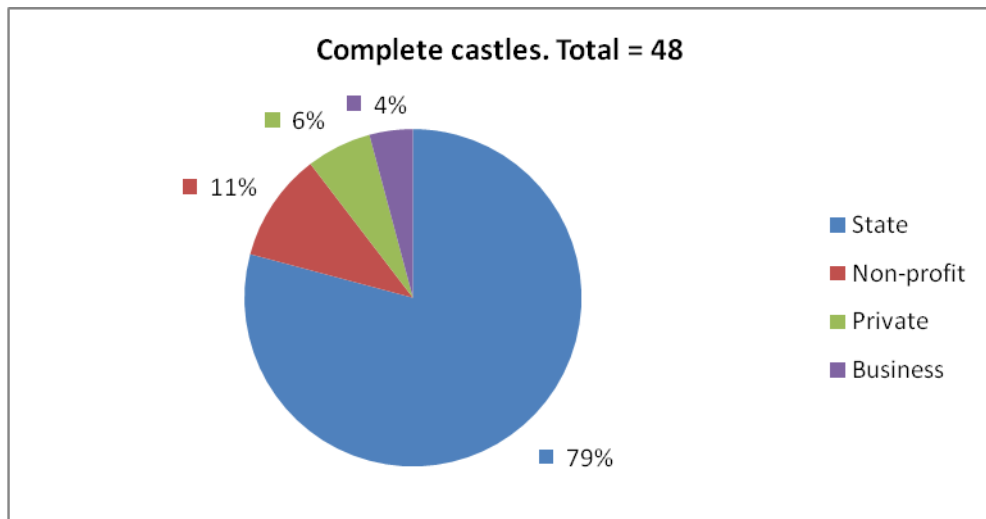


Figure 59. Ownership of complete castles.

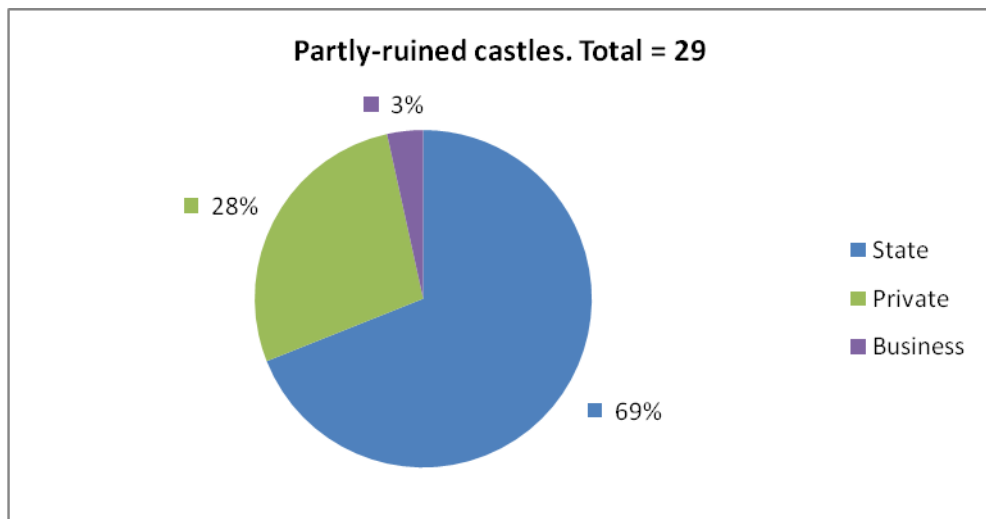


Figure 60. Ownership of partly-ruined castles.

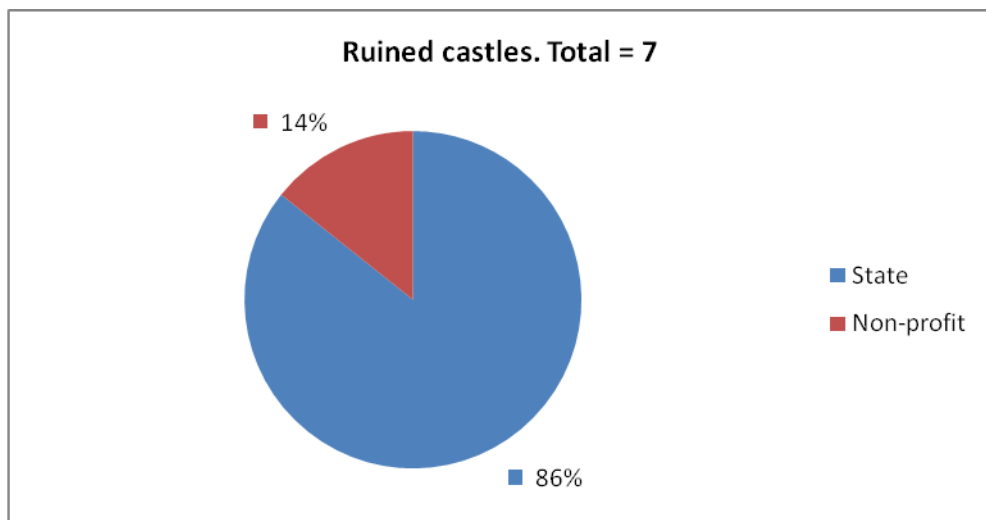


Figure 61. Ownership of completely ruined castles.

Interestingly, changes of ownership of castles after 1989 did not automatically prompt changes of function. Of the 48 respondents who indicated that their castle in the past had a function different to the function it had at the time of the castle survey (Question 12), only in six cases did the last change take place after 1989, and yet only one of them was a non-state owned castle. Since the entire data-set included 20 non-state owned castles in total, this would mean that almost all of the non-state owned castles in the data-set continued the function which they had before the change of owner.

However, all but one of the non-state administrators of castles who responded to Question 12 of the castle survey indicated that their castle had a different function at some point in the past. In other words, of all those castles that changed function at some point, before and after 1989, as many as 23% were no longer state owned; of those castles whose function has never changed, 95% remained state owned at the time of the survey.

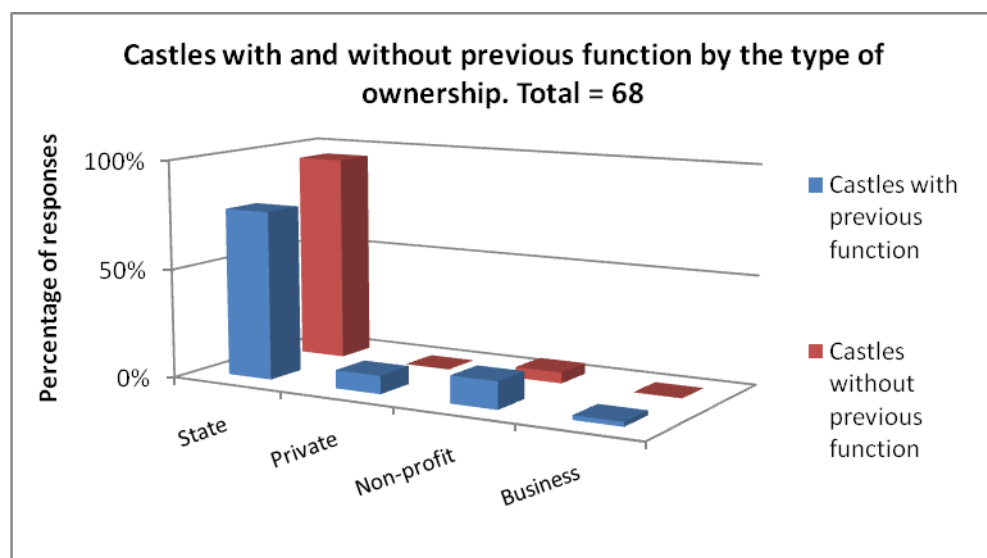


Figure 62. Function of castle by the type of ownership.

On the whole, 12 out of 20, i.e. 60% of non-state owned castles in the entire data-set, did change their function at some point in the past. This could be interpreted that changes of ownership are more likely to affect those castles where function has been interrupted and changed at some point in the recent history, than those castles whose function has been established for a long time. It can be reasoned that should the previous castle function continue, the change of ownership would be less likely to occur (Figure 62). Of course, any change of ownership should also be considered as a contributory factor of a subsequent

change of function. Either way, it supports the argument that effective and efficient management of castles requires that both their ownership, and their function, remain settled.

7.3.2 Castles as employers

Figures 63 and 64 show that state owned castles tended to employ slightly more regular staff than non-state owned, and non-state owned castles more seasonal staff than state owned, but especially the latter difference in seasonal staff only becomes visible in larger castles, i.e. those employing more than 10 seasonal staff.

Figure 64 shows that the majority of state owned castles employ no seasonal staff, and that almost half of the state owned castles tend to employ only a few staff overall. It also shows that non-state owned castles consistently employ seasonal staff in large numbers. Higher seasonal variation of employment by the non-state owned castles might signify a more volatile market for the services they offer, but it can also indicate a better economy of management and better flexibility of employment, attuned to the seasonality of tourist activity (see also Figures 65 and 66).

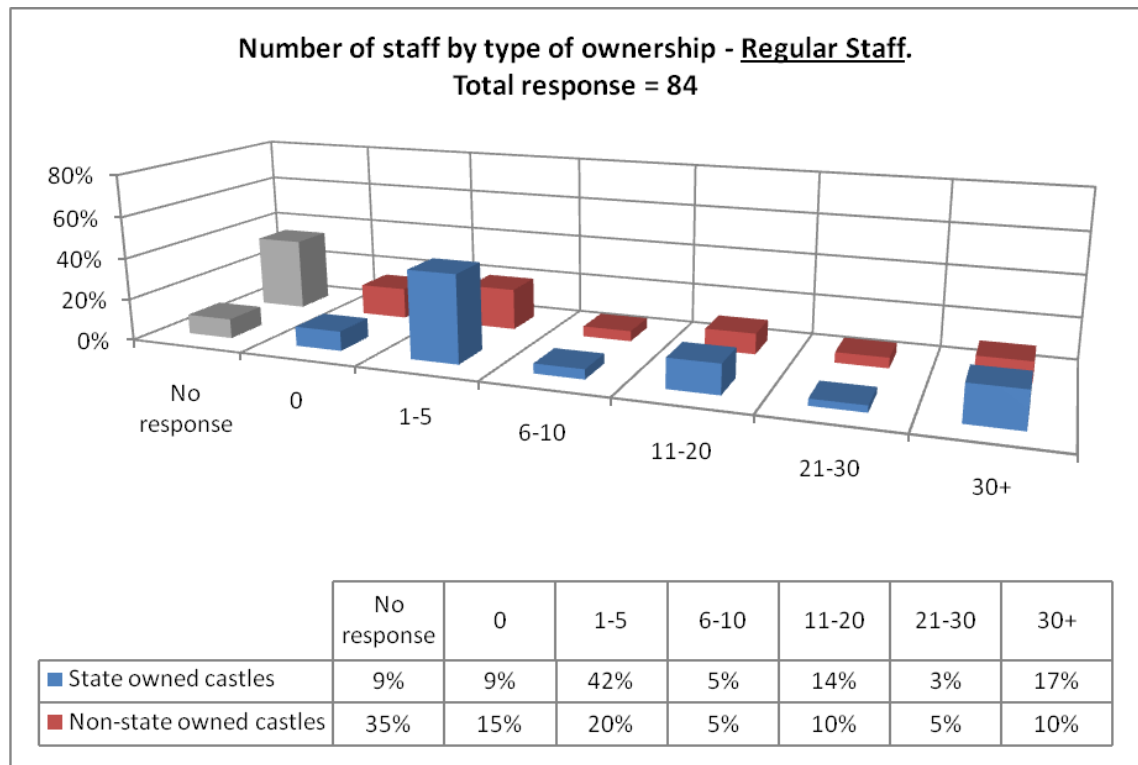


Figure 63. Number of regular staff by type of ownership.

Notably, the smaller state owned castles seemed to be more flexible employers than the larger state owned castles, which might again indicate that entrepreneurial attitude is more likely to develop where the size of the castle allows an individual administrator to have more control over the overall process of management.

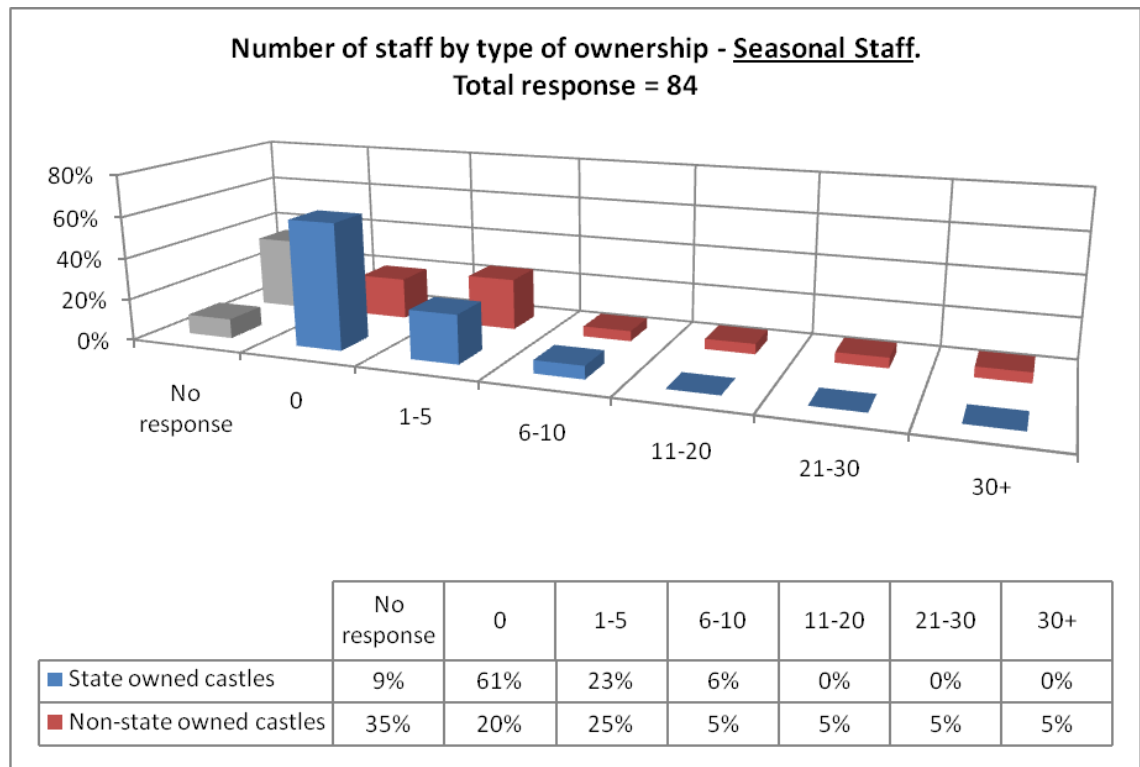


Figure 64. Number of seasonal staff by type of ownership.

7.3.3 Seasonality of castle visits

Figures 50 and 51 in Section 7.2 showed the seasonality of tourist activity at the surveyed castles. Figure 65 below presents additional analysis of data collected in response to the second part of Question 20 of the castle survey, which asked when the high season was for the surveyed castles.

As Figure 65 demonstrates, 43% (18 castles) of all castles which responded to this part of the question indicated that the high season typically lasted for two months, and in the case of one of them for one month only. And although for 48% (20 castles) the high season lasted longer - three to five months - and for further 7% (three castles) for much longer (six or even seven months), the overall picture is that almost half of all surveyed castles were

compelled to generate their revenue during what could be described as a very short summer season.

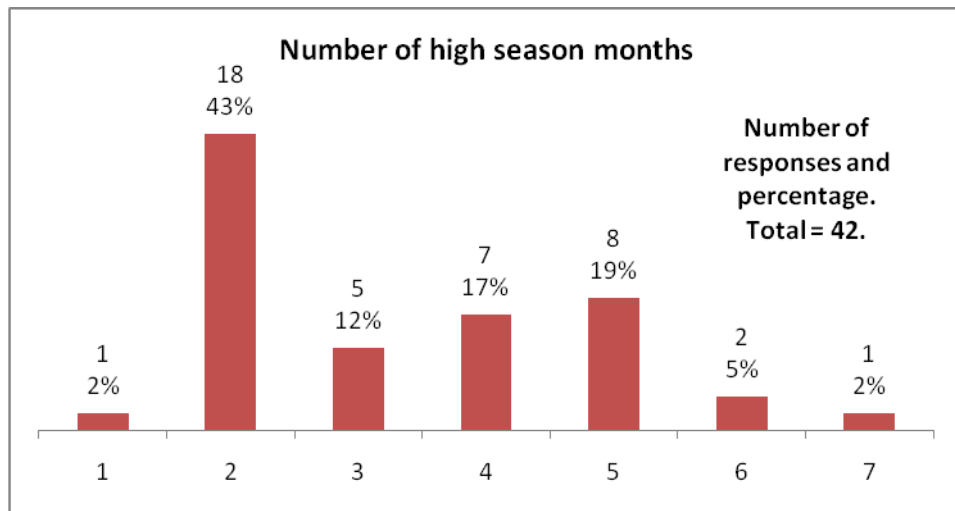


Figure 65. Number of high season months.

The challenge of the seasonality of 'castle tourism' can be compared with the difficulties caused by the seasonality of leisure tourism at the typical 'sun, sea and sand' holiday destinations. It would certainly justify the high seasonal variation of employment at castles run according to economic calculations of cost and benefit. On the other hand, the seasonality of tourist activity at castles in Poland highlights the importance of reaching out to local communities as potential group of interest and source of revenue before and after the high season. Interestingly, the seasonality of visits to the surveyed castles tended to be a feature of domestic rather than of international tourism (Figure 66).

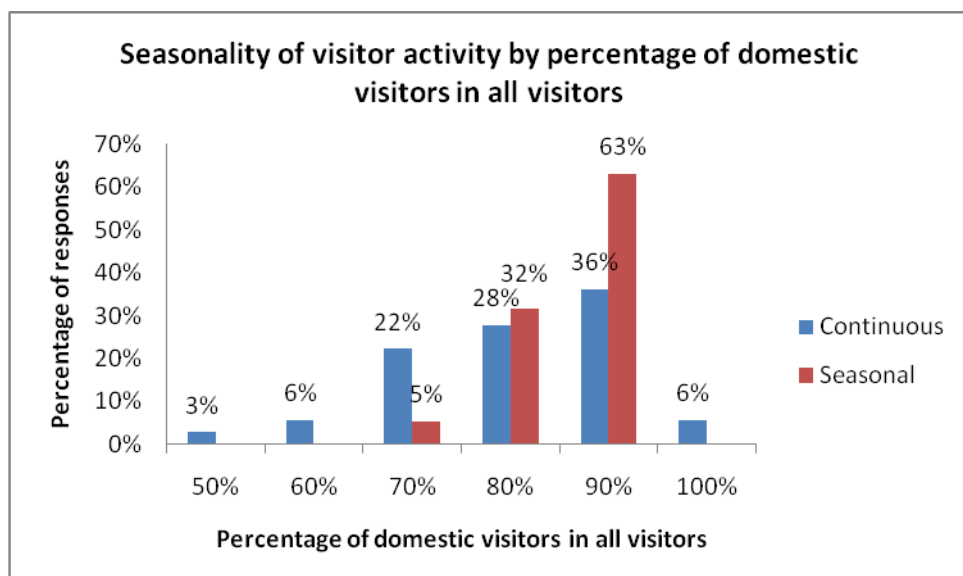


Figure 66. Seasonality of visits and origin of visitors.

Castles where domestic visitors constituted 80% and 90% of all visitors tended to record significantly more seasonal than continuous visitor activity. Castles where domestic visitors accounted for less than 80% of all visitors recorded notably more continuous visitor activity.

7.3.4 Characteristics of castle visitors

Figure 66 showed that foreign tourists were notably less bound by the seasonality of tourism, and therefore could become another potential base, beside local communities, for castle administrators to generate additional low-season revenue.

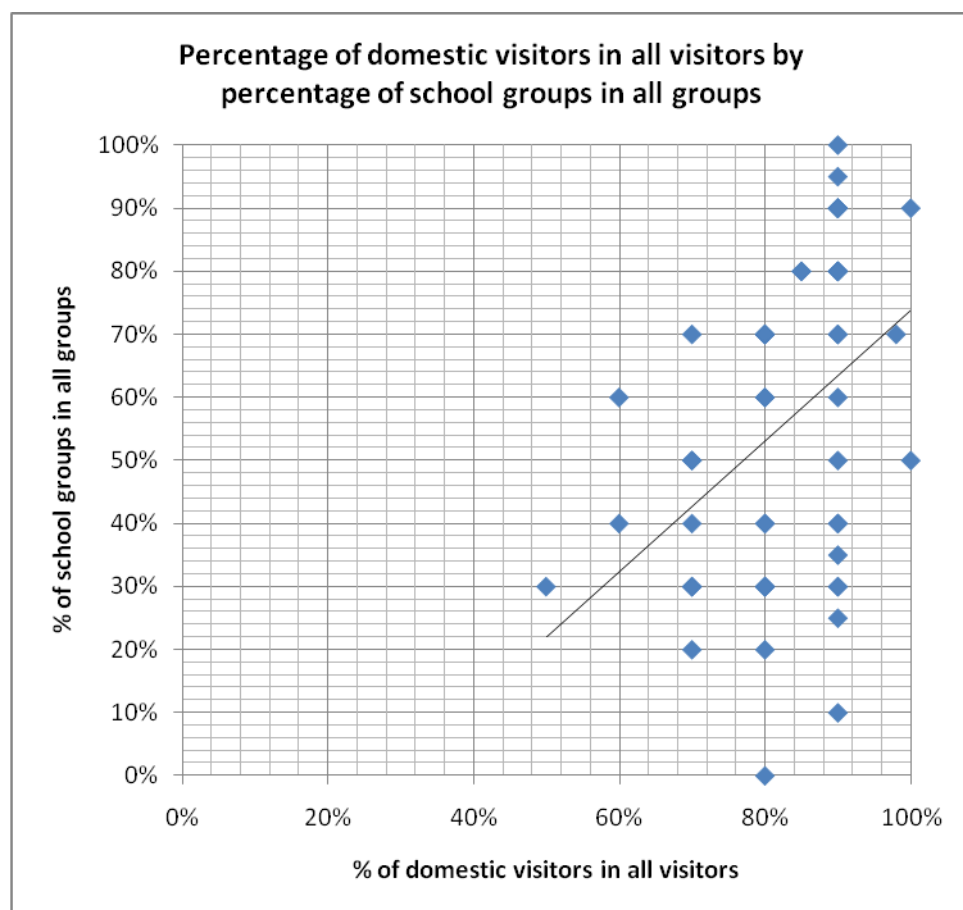


Figure 67. Domestic visitors and the share of school groups in all groups.

In support of the above observation, Figure 67 demonstrates the correlation between domestic visitors and school groups. There was a strong tendency that school groups were domestic - and therefore forced by the organisation of the academic year in Poland to visit castles during the high season, typically in June.

The following Figure 68 shows that castles, where school groups formed larger percentage of all visiting organised groups, tended to be altogether less frequently visited by individual tourists. Figures 67 and 68 could together be interpreted that those of the surveyed castles, which were visited by school groups, were more likely to suffer the negative effects of seasonality of tourism than castles visited by groups of different character and by individual tourists. One way to alleviate this problem, which can be derived from the analysed data, would be to direct a larger part of the castle offer to individual tourists and particularly to those from abroad.

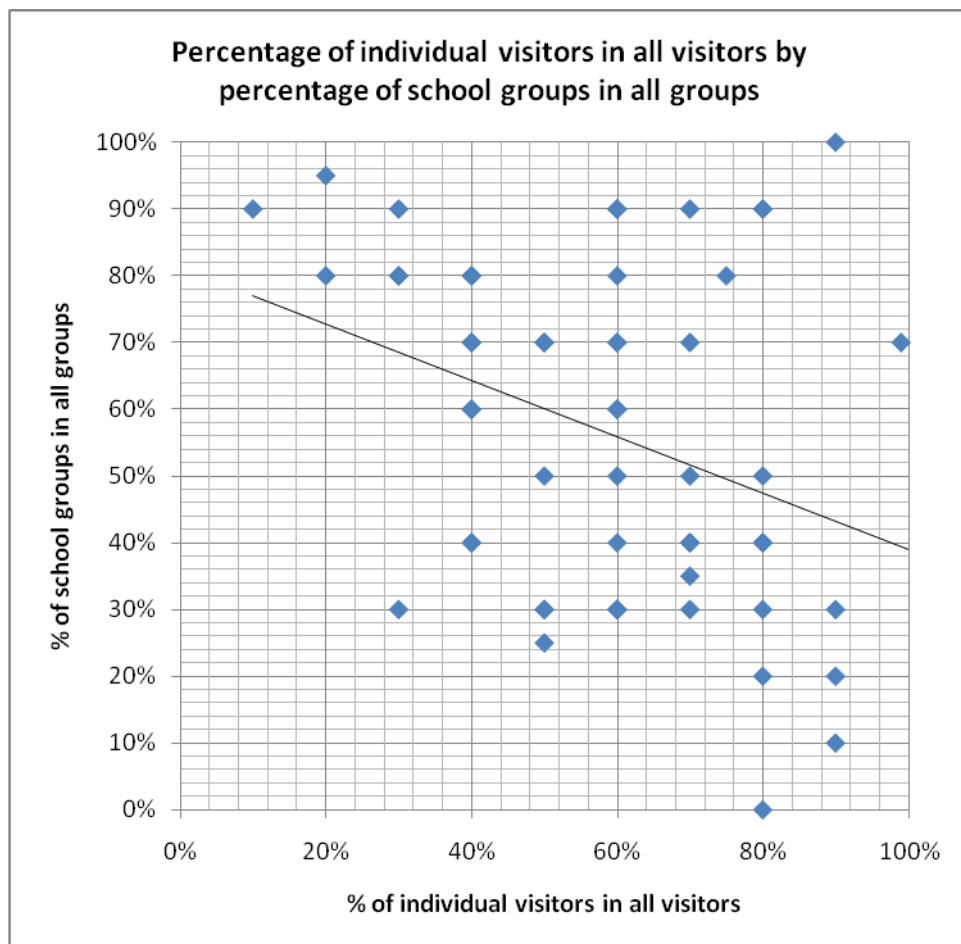


Figure 68. Individual visitors and the share of school groups in all groups.

Curiously, despite their alleged popularity as tourist attractions (see for example Pawlikowska-Piechotka 2004), castles rarely feature as the focus of tourist activity in Poland. Survey responses might help to capture this phenomenon in as far as they indicate that typically the single most important reason to visit a castle in the data-set, was to take part in an event (Section 7.2, Question 16).

A very similar observation was made by Maçik (2008), who in 2007 surveyed visitors to Janowiec Castle. One of his survey questions regarded possible incentives for respondents to re-visit the castle - only 11.8% of respondents indicated that the castle itself would be sufficient reason to repeat the visit. The majority of respondents surveyed by Maçik (2008: 285) - as many as 65% - expected to see a re-enactment of a chivalric tournament; a much smaller percentage of respondents would be happy to attend a concert, a folklore display or an exhibition (Figure 69).

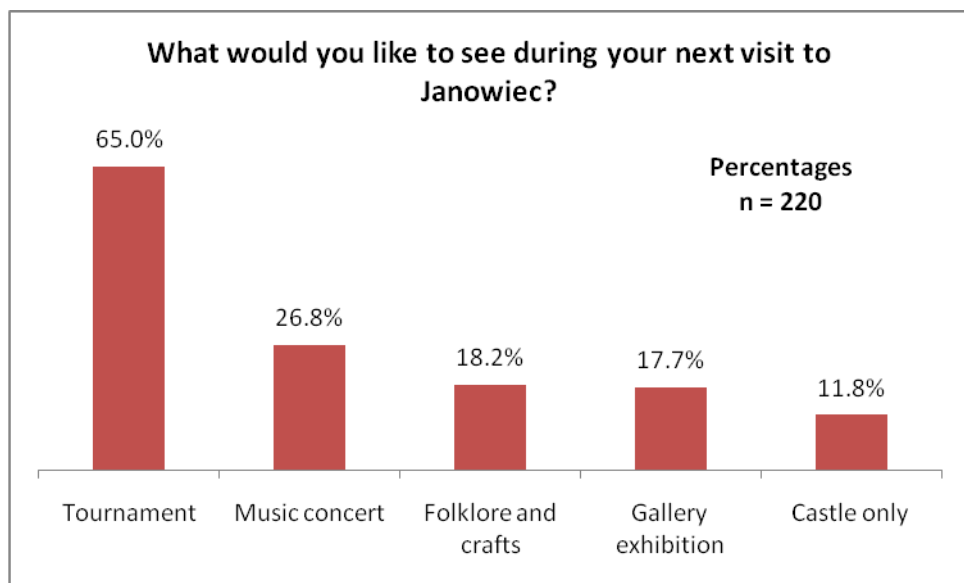


Figure 69. Incentives to re-visit Janowiec Castle. Source: Maçik (2008 : 287).

Even if the responses analysed by Maçik, with respect to the measure of standard deviation of the numbers obtained (σ), are noticeably more varied than those captured by this survey in Question 16 (see Figure 44, this chapter, Section 7.2) - $\sigma=9$ and $\sigma=2$ respectively (the higher the σ , the greater the variability, or dispersion from the average, of analysed data) - it might be explained that Maçik surveyed a single castle, while the castle survey carried out as part of this thesis deals with aggregate results from as many as 84 castles.

Moreover, the survey by Maçik addressed the visitors to a particular castle, whereas this thesis explores the point of view of castle owners and administrators. It seems natural for owners and administrators to assume that their castle is seen by visitors as an attractive destination. It is interesting,

therefore, that nevertheless respondents to this castle survey captured the fact that the primary reason to visit a castle typically was not the castle itself.

It is posited, therefore, that the difference between results obtained by Maćik and those presented in this thesis does not preclude a more general observation that tourists often expect castles in Poland to serve as a background to another event or display, rather than see them as destinations worth visiting in their own right.

7.3.5 Duties of castle administrators

As seen earlier in this chapter, castles in Poland perform a variety of functions, from museums and educational establishments, through healthcare institutions and courthouses, to conference venues. Most surveyed castles performed more than one function at a one time. Pressure on historic buildings to prove their usefulness in the new market reality has been growing (Malawska 2008: 67), and this affects castle administrators. Figure 70 shows that of all castle administrators who participated in the castle survey, apart from a small group of ten respondents who spent 100% of their time managing the castle, none of the remaining 52 castle administrators could devote more than 75% of their time to castle management, because of other duties.

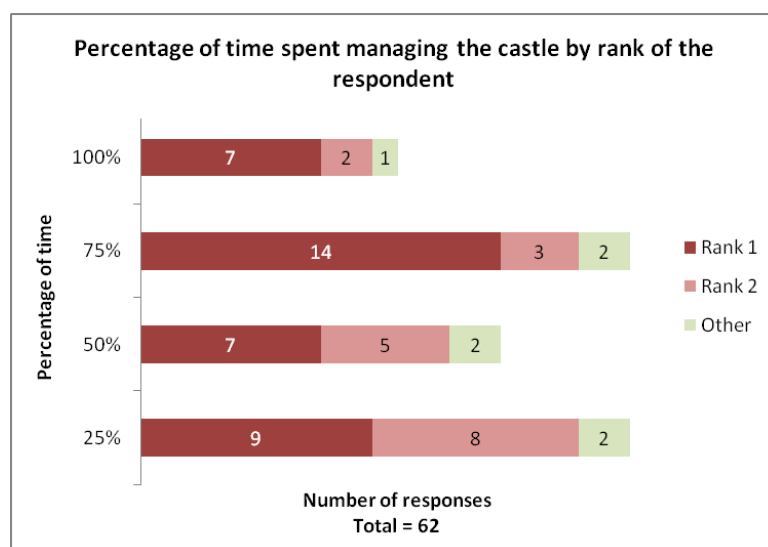


Figure 70. Percentage of time spent managing the castle by rank of the respondent.

In terms of castle ownership, according to the castle survey data, the median percentage of time spent managing the castle was 50% for state owned castles (51 respondents) and 75% for non-state owned castles (11 respondents). It can be interpreted, that the duties of administrators at non-state owned castles were perhaps better defined, but also that they had to do a wider range of work than administrators of the state owned castle to bring in money. As a consequence, it could be expected that administrators of non-state owned castles faced greater pressure at work - however, as will be seen later, the said pressure actually appears to be similar, irrespective of the type of castle ownership.

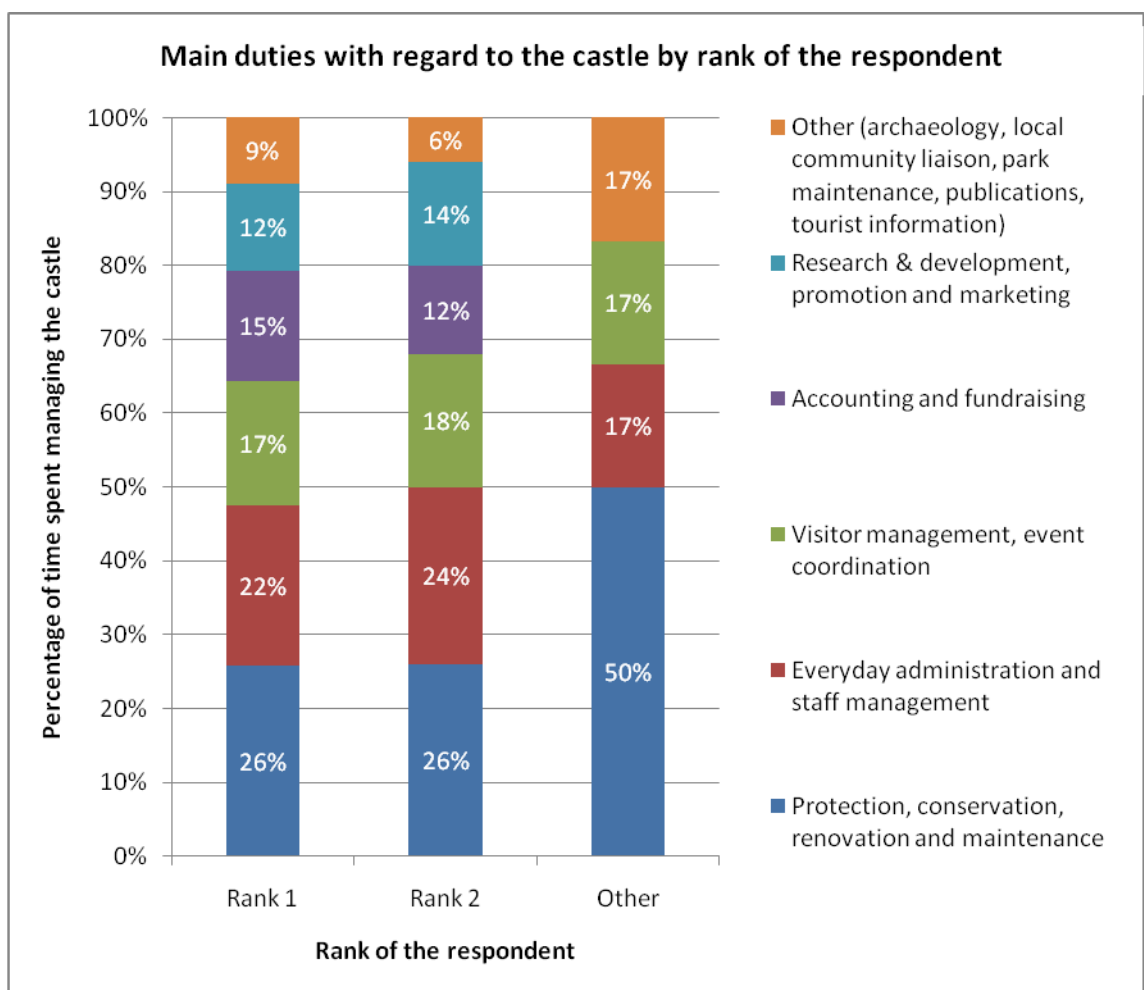


Figure 71. Main duties by rank of the respondent.

According to Figures 70 and 71, it could be expected - and interviews confirm this - that castle administrators in Poland are often overworked and burdened by an overwhelming variety of duties. It could be expected, therefore, that those castle administrators who were already subject to a great deal of

pressure at work would be less inclined to explore new avenues of management.

No precise description could be established through the castle survey as to what exactly entails the duties of a castle administrator. Interviews clarify this matter better. Figure 67 details the castle-related duties of three ranks of respondents (see also Figure 30 earlier in Section 7.2).

Respondents ranked 1 and 2 more often than others spent their time dealing with financial and fundraising matters, marketing, promotion, and long term development and research - which could be broadly defined as economic aspects of castle management. However, those activities took only a little more than a quarter of respondents' time spent managing the castle. In addition, Figure 67 reveals that a focus on economic aspects of castle management was possible only at the expense of everyday maintenance of the castle and other necessary tasks, such as castle protection and conservation, which tended to be the main duties of lower ranked respondents.

The available information about sources of funding and willingness to attract more visitors to surveyed castles (see Questions 14 and 17 of the castle survey) revealed a widespread reliance amongst castle administrators on external funding, and passive dependence on external factors of growth and development. Some respondents and interviewees demonstrated little appreciation of market forces in the heritage sector. This could be, to some degree, explained by the fact that 35 of the 84 surveyed castles (41%) and six of the ten interviewed castle administrators represented not-for-profit, public museums - which, as mentioned in Section 2.2, has been conventionally considered a typical application of a heritage building in Poland. Nevertheless, dependence on public funding and lack of immediate alternatives should be worrying at times when the general trend throughout Europe is to limit public support of culture, amongst a wider movement towards reduction of public spending altogether.

7.4 Concluding remarks

Castle survey data analysis shows a non-state castle owners' preference for part-ruined castles. This can perhaps be seen as recognition of the fact that incomplete castles provide a greater degree of freedom to act and to shape

them in accordance with one's expectations and/or their business idea. Even despite the limitations imposed on heritage owners by the conservation law in Poland, the tendency of private owners and businesses to acquire part-ruined castles more often than complete castles indicates some entrepreneurial attitudes amongst them.

Apart from the suggestion that castle administrators should have entrepreneurial qualities, the proposed Castle Management Model also requires that the ownership of castles is stable and free of unresolved claims. Figure 67 shows that the continuity of ownership of a castle tends to co-inside with the continuity of its function. Under traditional management, most decisions regarding the use of the castle would bring along a change of its function, however, under the proposed Model new functions can be added to the existing ones unlimitedly. The proposed Model allows for as many functions of a heritage, as there are stakeholders of that heritage. It is possible because the Model contains the ASE's concept of subjective use value (see Section 4.4.2) which assumes that utility and functionality of heritage can only be determined individually and subjectively by its direct and indirect users.

Castle survey also identified a higher fluctuation of employment at non-state owned castles than at the state owned ones. It might indicate a more economic approach of the private and business oriented castle administrators, conscious of the high seasonality of castle visits.

Also, the analysis of the castle survey data shows that seasonality is predominantly a feature of domestic tourism, and especially of school groups. Some pro-active and outgoing - i.e. entrepreneurial - management attitude is required, therefore, to attract international and individual visitors to castles in order to alleviate the problem of seasonality, which provides a yet another argument in support of the proposed Model.

It has been observed that castles tend to be visited and valued for their faculties as a background to other attractions and activities, rather than for their own value of for the appeal itself. The notion of castle as capital can render this observation into an opportunity, and produce a number of castle products which would fulfil such form of market demand for the *augmented product* rather than for the *core product* (see Section 6.7).

It appears from the castle survey that castle administrators are typically under considerable pressure at work, and the actual castle management takes

typically only between 50% and 65% of their time. The survey also indicates that duties related to conservation and maintenance rarely go hand-in-hand with marketing and promotion. At the same time, as already mentioned, there are reasons to presume that in most cases the persons who completed the castle survey questionnaires were the only persons available to do this. These two observations suggest that a greater differentiation of duties at the higher level of castle management might be beneficial for the process of management itself. It does not seem necessary that castle administrators are professional heritage conservators - instead it might be advantageous that they specialise in marketing or in economics.

The next chapter continues the data analysis as it goes on to present and analyse the interviews with castle administrators carried out in Poland in Spring 2009.

Chapter 8

Interviews with castle administrators - presentation and analysis

8.1 Introduction

Interviews with castle administrators, as mentioned earlier in Chapter 3, were primarily intended to elicit answers to questions deemed controversial or too complicated to ask in a self-administered survey without risking a higher non-response rate. Interviews were therefore meant to shed additional light on a number of more complicated issues and to deepen the understanding of the perspective of castle administrators, which this thesis applies in the proposed Model.

The set of open-ended questions asked of castle administrators in the ten interviews carried out as part of this thesis, included issues such as: the *Polishness* of the castle, experiences of dealing with relevant local and central government officials, or the perception of the castle by the local community. Appendix C presents the detailed list of all questions, arranged in the desired order to be asked.

Interestingly, the second spontaneously most often talked about topic by the interviewees - after various aspects and drivers of castle management - was the phenomenon of 'castle tourism'. It will be discussed further in this chapter, along with all other major issues arising from the interviews and relevant for the discussion of the proposed Castle Management Model in Chapter 9.

The first question asked of all ten interviewees concerned their own definition of a castle. For this thesis it mattered as far as it was hoped it might clarify the meaning of what a castle is perceived to be, in order to establish, or at least to approximate, the size and general characteristics of the surveyed 'population' of castles in Poland.

All subsequent questions were asked in a varying order, according to the direction in which conversation naturally developed. No two interviews followed the same pattern, and some questions were omitted for a variety of reasons, such as lack of proper context, time constraints, or the character of the conversation. Issues which were only discussed by one interviewee, regarded

pressure at work and lack of an appropriate candidate to take over the duties of castle administrator. This might, however, be explained by the fact that only one interviewee was nearing his retirement age at the time of contact, and these particular issues were becoming his priority.

8.2 Key issues arising from the interviews with castle administrators in Poland

8.2.1 Definition of a castle

As far as the definition of a castle is concerned, it has to be noted that none of the nine participants who answered this question was keen to talk much about the architectural and military aspects of the castle. Six interviewees mentioned the defensive aspect of a castle as a fortified place, but equally six respondents chose to talk at length about the castle's functions rather than its architecture, e.g. 'residence', 'public institution', 'a shelter'. Castle functions were also typically presented and described as changing and evolving throughout the centuries. For example:

'a complex of buildings which served as a residence, as public space, a governing place, and also a defensive place, but in the 17th century it became a palace and was not defensive anymore; today - it does not have the connotation with residence, but rather with a public institution, actively supporting culture as a museum or a library...' (Interview 1)

'surely a defensive building, and surely not monolithic, because it developed in time, but without regard for beauty, it was supposed to be only a temporary shelter ... by rule not a friendly place - with cold walls, and small windows...' (Interview 2)

'a place where one lived, which had to have some defensive function, and also an economic function...' (Interview 6).

One participant described the castle as a stronghold even in symbolic terms:

'two main elements: castle as a historic building, and castle as a stronghold of culture, which is by design supposed to expand and evolve...' (Interview 8)

All interviewees agreed that castles could possibly simply be defined as 'fortified enclosed dwellings', but often added that this is a much simplified and reductionist description. The depth and variety of responses to such a clear-cut question demonstrates that there are probably no simple issues with regard to castle management in Poland and that the complexity of theoretical and practical issues involved in the process of castle management might be far greater than it had been expected at the outset of this thesis.

8.2.2 'Polishness' of heritage

The 'social' dimension of the proposed Model assumes that in the process of management, heritage will serve its immediate community, before it affects stakeholders further afield. Apart from the methodological aversion of the ASE to collective entities, also the subjective approach to heritage, fostered in this thesis as the key element of the proposed Castle Management Model, focuses on individual heritages rather than on such categories as a nation.

Nation-labels have traditionally been an inextricable element of the official heritage narrative in Poland, interviewees were therefore asked whether they would perceive their castle as a Polish castle. It is notable that none of the interviewees was able to give a short and simple answer to this question. As expected, it appeared that none of the ten castles had a straightforward history. The issue of *Polishness* of the castle was discussed by nine out of the ten participants, and although four of them were prepared to give an affirmative answer, each would then find it somehow conditional. For example:

'If Polish? Of course! However... there are sufficient grounds that the town was settled by the Bohemian king Waclaw II, but we do not know anything about that first, gothic building, we have not reconstructed that part of the evolution of this castle yet' (Interview 4)

'Certainly Polish. I mean ... The original part, the very substance of the castle, was built by an Italian who was granted Polish noble status. Surely it was not a typical 'Polish' court either - it was very outgoing, open to a variety of external values...' (Interview 7)

'Yes, I would call it a Polish castle. But its architecture owes to the Teutonic Knights...' (Interview 8)

Those five interviewees who denied calling their castle a 'Polish castle' voiced a variety of reasons. Two interviewees stressed that national labels and categories are product of modern times and cannot be applied to Medieval reality:

'Is this a Polish castle? You cannot think along these categories. There was a ruler and this was his own country. The owner of the castle had to be a loyal citizen of the country in which he lived, otherwise he would be prosecuted for opposing the state Historically you cannot think about nationalisms - this is a badly posed question...' (Interview 1)

'It is found in today's Poland, the owners are Polish, but is the castle Polish? This used to be pagan land, then the Teutonic Knights arrived, who come from all over Europe, they were not Germans, because there were no Germans back then! Then there were Prussians, whose nobility claimed that they were not Germans either, because they came from Prussia! And now the castle is found in Poland, in a region where it is very difficult to say who is local, and who is not. And stylistically... it is a Dutch castle...' (Interview 3)

The remaining two responses exposed shifting borders and fluctuating ethnicities, so characteristic for Central Europe, as demonstrated in Chapters 1 and 2:

'I would not call it Polish, but Teutonic, because it was built by the Teutonic Knights. That is nice and clear ... The same is about this land, I think it has never been Polish. First there were the Prussian tribes, Galindians, then German settlers, then settlers from Mazowsze [part of the Kingdom of Poland], and since the Second World War this place has been a melting pot' (Interview 5)

'I would say it (the castle) is Silesian. We are in contemporary Poland, but this is the historic Silesia, where Polish influences were very strong, but so were German, Bohemian, and even Hungarian and Austrian. Culturally it is a very varied region It was a Duchy, where German, instead of Latin, was the language spoken at the court in the Middle Ages.... The castle is definitely a Silesian monument and I am only just beginning to think that there is something like a common European heritage and it makes little sense to divide things that were Polish from things that were German...' (Interview 6)

One participant refrained from referring to the large historical picture altogether, and focussed on the family aspect of the history of their castle instead:

'Well, I would not label it. The castle belonged to a family, a respected family ... It has been a private residence and if there was a state, then the castle was found in that state, but I would not label it Polish, German, or Brandenburg. This would be my diplomatic answer...' (Interview 9)

The variety of answers to the question whether the castle is Polish or not, and the general opposition to the concept of 'Polishness' of a castle amongst the interviewed castle administrators, reinforce the decision taken at the outset of this thesis to use the category of 'castles in Poland' rather than 'Polish castles'.

The implications of the observed variety of perspectives on the origins and national affiliations of the surveyed castles are numerous. On the one hand, they include potential challenges for presentation and interpretation of those castles to the visiting general public. Any one-sided narrative can potentially not only present a false picture of a large part of history of a given castle, and thus manipulate its identity, but also possibly aggravate the usual cultural animosities between the neighbouring cultures (see Section 1.3). On the other hand, however, the described features indicate that many castles in Poland have the potential to become vehicles for transcending ethnic, national and cultural boundaries (Koskowski 2008a).

8.2.3 Institutional arrangements for castle management in Poland

It has already been mentioned in Section 2.4, that ever since its inception the 2003 Act on Safeguarding and Protection of Monuments has attracted much criticism in Poland. As demonstrated in Section 7.2, opinions about the usefulness of the 2003 Act in everyday practice of castle management vary amongst castle administrators, but the general outlook of their aggregate opinions could be described as 'neutral bordering on negative'. A decidedly negative picture is painted, however, if responses from non-state owned castles are considered separately from those of the state owned castles.

It was decided that castle administrators' opinions on the 2003 Act and its associated regulations need to be explored in more depth in the interviews. Nine participants directly expressed their opinions, and eight of them also described their experiences and relationship with the state monument conservation service (MCS) administration.

As expected, most answers were diplomatic attempts to present thoughtfully balanced opinions, such as:

'We do not feel limited by the 2003 Act, although it is agreed that it includes paragraphs which need to be amended... The 2003 Act is not precise enough - but Acts of the Parliament have never been precise.' (Interview 7)

However, explicit criticism was also to be found, for example:

'There are regulations which have to be observed and the Inspector [of Monuments] sees to that, for instance, if you dig deeper than 30cm then an archaeologist has to be called in ... he [the Inspector] did not share with us all the information he had [about the castle] and he did it clearly in order to have archaeologists dig up the entire site - but we had to pay them...' (Interview 3)

'... I am only happy that the local Inspector of Monuments is an approachable person, we get on well with each other privately, and we are able to reach an agreement this way, but ... the 2003 Act is nonsense. It only means that I have to produce one extra photocopy of all documentation' (Interview 9)

Participants were also asked about the consequences of their castle being a monument listed in the National Register of Historical Monuments. Chapter 7 demonstrated that all surveyed castles in Poland were included in the Register, although their listing took place at different times throughout the 20th century. Nevertheless, listing of all castles has not always effectively protected them from destruction. Interviewees' responses reinforced the argument that the Register of Historical Monuments plays only a marginal, if not a detrimental, role in efficient castle management in Poland. For example:

'Castle has been listed in the 1930s but it does not mean anything today' (Interview 4)

'Register! [laughter] Whatever we do, we have to consult with the Inspector of Monuments. Contacts with him are not always easy ... - but if you imagine that the castle could be owned by someone who is not interested in history... there could be nothing to talk about soon' (Interview 5)

'The castle is a listed monument. The [adjacent] manor house as well, but it is a separate entry. And on top of that the entire area is registered as an archaeological site, which means that whenever we put a spade in the ground, an archaeologist must be present. No wonder: recently, during grass cutting, a worker brought me something which he caught on with their rake and it appeared to be Renaissance pottery...' (Interview 6)

'[listing the castle as a monument] means that cannot even paint one room without the permission of the Inspector of Monuments. We cannot use one type of paint, but only the other, which is two and a half times more expensive and less practical...' (Interview 8)

It seems that the general legal and administrative framework in which castles in Poland exist and operate is not prepared for the level of activity and independence that most castle administrators require - which could be said about any historic property in Poland. Responses to Question 11 of the castle survey, discussed earlier in Section 7.2, along with specifically critical statements recorded during the interviews suggest that the legislation and official procedures hinder actions of most castle administrators. It seems, therefore, that it is not the castle administrators' limited appreciation of market forces, as suggested in Chapter 7, that hinders the realisation of the potential of castles in Poland, but the institutional framework in which they operate.

8.2.4 Issues associated with castle ownership

As noted in Chapter 7, the process of reprivatisation of castles in Poland has hardly been initiated. And yet, the interviewed castle administrators seemed to unanimously share the view that uncontested ownership of their castles is of paramount importance for effective management. For example:

'It is a paradox - the act which degraded and nationalised all [private] estates was issued by the Polish state [in 1947] and as yet no new Act has been passed to resolve this situation... There is a huge gap between those times and our times - and yet everything is so chaotic that there are no winners,

everybody is a loser. ... If our castle is returned to the family [of the rightful owners], then hopefully we will manage to reach an agreement with them. There have always been institutions of culture here at the castle, and besides they [the family] could not afford to maintain a 100-room giant [as a private residence]. ... Unfortunately, at the moment we cannot implement any of our programmes, because we are not the legal owners. Everything has been waiting for the court to decide this matter - for as long as ten years...' (Interview 8)

All interviewees admitted they can maintain a constructive relationship with past owners of their castle, such as in these examples:

'There is a group [of Germans] who visits me regularly. They have an old map of the village not with home numbers, but with names on it...' (Interview 9, non-profit owner)

'The core of our collection is again the property of the Dukes of S., now only kept in deposit here' (Interview 2, state owned)

'People ask why we promote those Teutonic Knights. Well, why? - they built this castle, they lived here, we have to be true to the history of the place' (Interview 5, business owner)

'Yes, there is the Duchess. Once she returned to Poland, she donated many paintings to us [the castle museum], she keeps deposits here too and helps us a lot. Of course, one needs some diplomatic skills to talk to her.' (Interview 10, state owned).

8.2.5 Definition, characteristics and duties of castle administrators

Following the series of ten interviews it can be said that the interviewed castle administrators were typically free from any explicit political agenda. The following passages demonstrate also that the invention and opportunity-seeking which characterise the interviewed castle administrators are nothing short of a particular kind of heritage entrepreneurship:

'Our museum has to live, to show the lives of people who lived here in the past. I wanted to show that a castle must not be treated like any other museum - a piece of art can be a marvel, but it always has its context. A castle must live and appear as if the owner has only just left the table...' (Interview 2)

'One has to combine competences which rarely exist together ... - you need to have the knowledge and the feel... You have to earn money, but you need to come up with such solution, which will fit in with the sense of the place, which is always there, you only need to look for it... It is easy to kill the sense of a place, even if the marketing plan looks great...' (Interview 3)

'Our solution is revolutionary, but it is working. We knew that for this castle to function [as a hotel] we had to have conference facilities. Putting a [glass] roof over the courtyard gave us 900 sq. meters of space - a huge room where you can even bring in cars if need be. ... At the beginning a group of people sat together and discussed this adaptation ... we knew exactly, from the very start, what direction we wanted to go, with emphasis on history and on linking it with the contemporary ... we saved the castle and it is still alive' (Interview 5)

'If one person is the owner and another is the tenant, then there always be a conflict, because if you rent something, you do not want to invest in it, because it is not yours ... [some events] are not exactly gothic, but you have to finance the castle somehow and to do that you have combine commercial events with the care of the monument...' (Interview 6)

All interviewees presented themselves as highly committed and passionate people and - regardless of whether they would call themselves 'castle administrators' or not - without exception they seemed to have performed their duties with much enthusiasm and devotion. Clearly, the personality, energy, skills and experience of the castle administrator are some of the key determinants of positive developments at the castle itself.

At the same time, interviews do not confirm the supposition made in Chapter 7 that increased pressure at work could be detrimental for innovation of castle administrators. To the contrary, evidence collected during interviews demonstrates that creativity of castle administrators in Poland sometimes even exceeds the requirements and the capacity of their positions simply as guardians of cultural heritage:

'I try not to lose sight of the primary function of the castle as the carrier of memory and tradition. It is still a carrier of tradition, but a well managed one, open for action, dynamics and people - it cannot simply be reduced to an icon which you cannot touch...' (Interview 7)

Also, some interviews suggest that castle administrators in Poland tend to fail simple personal and professional categorisations:

'... we understand that it is important [to keep a close eye at heritage sites] because you never know who might become the owner - economically [one might say] it would be much more sensible to pull down this castle and build something new, but this is not what we wanted to do and we were curious to see what we can find here...' (Interview 3)

'It is the kind of work where you have to be open-minded, you cannot act schematically, because it never works when people are involved. ... My professional education? I am a geologist. I walk the earth' (Interview 9)

'Administration of this castle takes about 40% of my working time... I also do lots of other things...' (Interview 8)

Two of the interviewed castle administrators mentioned exact number of years they had held their office for - 30 (Interview 5), or even 39 years (Interview 8). As already mentioned in Chapter 7, interviewees often noted that they would be unable to find a suitable person to replace them once they left their position or - more likely - when they retired (Interview 1):

'There is a real problem - there are some courses, but networking has been almost non-existent. None of the small museums can afford now to sustain contacts abroad... I am trying to send the young staff away to learn, but there is nobody now who could take it over.' (Interview 1)

'Administrator? Well, we administer this castle. An owner in popular perception is somebody who can afford to own a castle and to live in it, and currently we have more headaches with this castle than pleasure. We are its owners, but we also administer it - no-one does it on our behalf' (Interview 3)

The variety and magnitude of duties of castle administrators in Poland, also mentioned in Chapter 7, and the constant shortage of funding, seem to make it difficult to enter the profession for potential candidates.

8.2.6 Potential for a new sub-category of 'castle tourism'

Eventually, asked whether the visitors to their castle have something in common, interviewees often responded by describing a niche category of tourism, and they were happy to endorse the term 'castle tourism'. As potentially a new subcategory of heritage tourism, 'castle tourism' appears as a niche activity, involving a passion for history and interests in personal development through a kind of a mystical or romantic journey into the past, with elements of nostalgia:

'I am sure the term [castle tourism] is justified. We did something like this ourselves - we made a tour of castles, to get the feel of them. There are not so many people who would do this, but numbers are growing. Castles are different to palaces, manors etc... Yes there are people who are interested in history and who know very well what to expect of our castle - I call them castle maniacs - it is a kind of a hobby, but also a kind of a secret lore...' (Interview 3)

'Castle tourism? Of course - there are lots of tourists in Poland who, when they drive through a town, always ask somebody if there is a castle, and if there is, they always strive to see it ... It is something you always remember from your childhood, and something you want to show your children - what else, if not a castle? They have remained of the past, they have always been here, showcased on postcards, photographs...' (Interview 4)

'Castles and the Middle Ages they have this kind of magic, I would say. Even earlier, when this castle was still a museum [and not a hotel], I started getting deeper in that period and I got fascinated by it. Everything was thought through back then, there was no knick-knack, everything had its use, everyone knew their place, we should learn from those people. ... Yes, I have not thought about it earlier, but I keep meeting people, more and more often, who take up a map and follow the trail of castles and say 'we've been here, now we have to go there'' (Interview 5)

'I am sure that castle tourism exists and grows - despite the economic crisis. We hear a lot about it in the TV, but have never felt it here. Admissions are on the up and up, things are constantly improving.' (Interview 10)

One interviewee, however, questioned the necessity of creating a yet another, narrow category of tourism. It would appear that the bottom line might be for a number of castle administrators that visitors simply go through the door and purchase the ticket:

[castle tourism?] Yes and no. It is not one-sided - there are groups who have those ambitions to visit all the castles. But it would make no sense to limit yourself just to this one way of sightseeing' (Interview 7)

Two other voices compared 'castle tourism' to 'collecting' castles and tourists engaged in this type of activity would in this perspective probably resemble the so-called *Munroists*, who attempt to record all their climbs of certain approved mountains of more than 3.000 feet in Scotland in order to complete the whole list. At the same time visiting castles in Poland can be seen as a certain patriotic statement:

'Yes, it [castle tourism] exists, it works, there are many people who have that passion, they often visit me here and ask to tell them more. There are societies set up to protect castles... - it is all completely chaotic, but I think that in Poland, in the Poles, there is the need for castles to exist. There is a book about castles and 80% of what it shows has been ruined by Swedes, or Russians. Because Germans never did it. And so I think that we have this Polish fantasy that these castles should exist. ... there are many people, who "collect" castles to see how things used to be...' (Interview 9)

8.3 Concluding remarks

Interviews with castle administrators returned an unexpected variety of responses, making it difficult to generalise from the small sample of ten recorded interviews. The variety of responses has, however, reinforced the picture of castle management as a site-specific activity.

Interestingly, attempts to define a castle almost invariably brought up the question of its functions, as if it were the functions of a castle that are its defining features, not the shape, form, layout or state of preservation. Further, none of the interviewees was happy to endorse the national label of a 'Polish castle'. In all cases - even with regard to the conventual castles of the Teutonic Order - the narrative describing the castle would be narrowed down to one family, or even one individual owner or administrator of the castle, their personal

history, attitude and actions. Both observations endorse two of the key tenets of the proposed Castle Management Model. First, the notion that value of castles as capital lies not in what they represent themselves, but in what they can be used for. Second, the concept that castle management begins with an individual - castle, administrator, stakeholder - and then develops outwards as a process of continuous discovery and realisation of the actual castle potential.

As far as the institutional arrangements for the protection and conservation of castles in Poland are concerned, they were often seen as a source of obstacles and additional costs to castle administrators. Therefore, they should also be considered as potential impediment to the implementation of the proposed Model. The generally negative picture of the legal and institutional framework within which castle administrators operate on daily basis could only be slightly softened by the expressed understanding and consensus amongst the interviewees, that certain form of legal protection of castles from wilful destruction was necessary. However, the form that protection should take would need to change if the interviewed administrators were to be able to exercise their ambitions unencumbered.

Clearly and without exception, all interviewees appeared as people with passion, and in most cases of considerable experience. All respondents talked at some length about their experiences with the conservation professionals - in every case they would mention that cultivating personal contacts was the ultimate method to ensure efficiency in dealing with any restrictive regulations in their day-to-day practice.

The interviewees did not seem to be attached to their job titles and were happy to be rather described by their roles and duties. All of them displayed certain entrepreneurial qualities such opportunity-seeking and innovativeness, required by the proposed in this thesis Castle Management Model.

In those cases, when castle ownership was either currently, or in the recent past, source of any dispute, respondents would stress the need to find a lasting resolution of such problem. At the same time they were far from nostalgic for the past, and conscious that any damages to the fabric of the castle or any major demographic changes - such as those which have caused the discontinuity of inheritance after the Second World War in certain part of Poland - could not be undone, and that new solutions would need to be sought.

This, again, taps into the general characteristics of entrepreneurial approach to heritage management, as defined in this thesis.

Lastly, all but one respondents displayed their support for the concept of a new sub-category of 'castle tourism'. It would appear that it was perceived as a form of recognition of the uniqueness of their castles as substantially different from palaces, manor houses, or any other built heritage.

The next chapter offers a detailed discussion of the identified theoretical and practical aspects of heritage management in the light of the proposed Castle Management Model. In particular, it explores what is the potential of castles in Poland and it can be realised through the adoption and implementation of the Model.

Chapter 9

Discussion

9.1 Introduction

The following discussion brings together the theoretical and the practical aspects of this thesis. It reflects on the theory and literature reviewed in Chapters 1 to 6, and discusses the assumptions, structure, and applicability of the proposed Castle Management Model, introduced in Chapter 6, in the context of the empirical data about the reality of castle management in Poland, presented and analysed in Chapters 7 and 8.

The overall purpose of this chapter is to explore and discuss what constitutes the potential of heritage, on the example of castles in Poland, and how this potential can be realised through the adoption of the proposed Castle Management Model.

In detail, first, this chapter links the historical setting of castles in Poland with their current situation, and argues that the adoption of the proposed Model might provide a link between the past and the present functions of castles in the society and the economy. Then, the chapter turns to summarise the emerging theoretical perspectives on heritage in Europe, and explores the place of the proposed Model in these developments, as it facilitates the shift from the 'top-down' to the 'bottom-up' approach to heritage. Third, the chapter discusses the rationale for and the requirements of heritage entrepreneurship, and analyses the arguments in favour of a new Castle Management Model in Poland. Subsequently, the chapter discusses the benefits and challenges of the proposed Model. Eventually, the chapter identifies and discusses the prerequisites for the Model to be applied in practice to the management of castles in Poland.

Structurally, the chapter is slightly different to the others. Its role is to explore and discuss, but also to round up and summarise, therefore it would be counterproductive if it featured itself the usual 'concluding remarks' section. Instead, the subsequent Chapter 10 offers an ultimate summary of the entire thesis.

9.2 From history to modernity

Ever since their beginnings in the 13th century and until their decline in the 17th century, castles in Poland had played important roles in the political, social and economic life of the country (see Section 2.2). Castles performed a variety of functions, entailing reinforcing authority, status and image of their owners, strengthening identity and cohesion of local communities, or enhancing commerce, manufacture and trade.

Historically, therefore, castles were instrumental in the direct and indirect distribution of wealth in their local economy, and through wider networks of exchange also further afield. Castles also played a key role in the shaping of the day-to-day quality of life of the community which was dependent on them. All the above functions of castles lasted in Poland for various lengths of time until, due to the reasons briefly analysed below, they gradually became obsolete. This thesis argues that if castle administrators adopted the proposed Model, the functions and role of castles in the life and economy of their locality could also continue today, in the form appropriate for the modern times.

Studies which investigate factors responsible for the decline of the role of castles in Europe typically recall the evolution of warfare technology. Indeed, as demonstrated in Section 2.2, the evolution of methods and techniques of war effectively saw castles in Poland replaced by palaces and fortresses by the mid-17th century. Palaces were undoubtedly more comfortable to inhabit, and fortresses were practical to defend.

However, as also mentioned in Section 2.2, some modern studies suggest that majority of castles in Europe experienced no large scale hostilities at all in their time, and that their primary purpose and design were indeed not military or defensive, but symbolism and prestige. Military conflicts aside, therefore, the search for factors that had sealed the fate of most castles in Europe and in Poland would need to be directed elsewhere - towards a combination of economy, politics, and culture. Amongst the many ways by which these three elements likely affected castles' roles and functions in Poland, one could identify, for example, the changing patterns of trade routes, the shifting borders of countries, or the decline of the feudal social network. The ultimate factor, however, as mentioned by the interviewees cited in Chapter 8,

was the activity and decisions of individual owners or administrators of castles at key moments in their history.

9.3 From the un-managed cultural resource to castle as capital

Only since the late 19th century have castles once more become objects of wider public attention in Poland - and indeed in Europe. The trends behind the revival of interest in antiquities, such as castles, included the political interest in using heritage to serve the needs of the newly-emergent nation-states in Central Europe, and the evolution of the philosophy of conservation of monuments in the name of a set of so called 'universal values'. Developments in these two fields, as mentioned in Section 1.5, are currently painstakingly being reversed within the EU as part of efforts towards a more individual and subjective approach to heritage. Those efforts have so far culminated in the signing of the Faro Convention, which became operative on 1st July 2011.

The Faro Convention, which is one of the key theoretical fundaments of the proposed Castle Management Model, highlights the paramount importance of an individual valuation of - and access to - cultural material from the past, which then through the process of recognition becomes somebody's heritage. The Faro Convention also stresses the importance of community engagement, which the proposed Model embraces as an important part of its 'social' dimension. But above all, the Faro Convention argues that the potential of heritage lies in its ability to serve that community, to improve the local economy, and to contribute to the general wellbeing and the quality of life of people who either live in its vicinity, or in any other way form part of its so called 'heritage community' (Council of Europe 2005, Art. 2). The term 'heritage community' closely corresponds with the term 'heritage stakeholders' used in the proposed Model, and inspired by the definition of *stakeholders* by Hall and McArthur (1998: 41, see Section 1.4).

The functions of castles, as seen through the Faro Convention, would not be therefore much different to their original, historic social and economic functions, mentioned above. In the lens of the Faro Convention, castles would still be a factor in community building processes, and would certainly contribute to the economy. Additionally, although obviously in a different manner and to a different degree than in the Middle ages, most castles would have retained their

authority-reinforcing function. In fact, the latter function has already been recognised - for example, the former royal castle in Warsaw regularly host high level political meetings, such as between the President of Poland and the President of Latvia in Warsaw in 2012 (TVP Parliament 2012).

The purpose of the Faro Convention – i.e. to facilitate the shift from collective to individual perspectives on heritage, and to identify and acknowledge the individual beneficiaries of the process of heritage management - as well as the overall economic rather than political rationale of the Convention, are in some respects similar to the ideas behind the so called *new public management* approach in public policy, discussed in Section 4.2. The same applies to the so-called *instrumentalisation* of heritage (Gray 2008: 216), which the Convention also implicitly advocates in as far as it describes the functions that heritage might and should perform for society or the economy.

The main difference between what could be termed the *Faro approach* and the *new public management approach* to heritage is that the former gives voice and priority to grassroots, ‘bottom-up’, community based initiatives, whereas the latter exists only as a tool to enhance the accountability of a ‘top-down’ government policy. The critique and gradual replacing of the *new public management* approach to heritage by the *public value* framework, explored in Section 4.2, and the growing recognition of the Faro Convention, indicate the possible direction for future developments in heritage policy and management in Europe.

It would appear, therefore, that a certain implicit consensus is emerging amongst policy makers and heritage professionals in Europe with regard to the preferred approach to heritage. The emerging perspective seems to suggest that the potential of heritage can be better realised through ‘bottom-up’, community-scale and efficiency-oriented, *subjective* approaches rather than ‘top-down’, nation-wide and ideology-oriented, *objective* heritage policy and management (see Table 1, Section 1.4, and also Table 13 below).

Community engagement and collaboration in the process of heritage management is also one of the key elements of the concept of sustainable cultural tourism (see Chapter 5, Section 5.3.3). Both the ICOMOS International Cultural Tourism Charter and the Europa Nostra Malta Declaration on Cultural Tourism explicitly call upon heritage managers to respect and protect the values and traditions of local communities at tourism destinations.

The social dimension arm of the proposed Model of Castle Management represents this area of castle administrator's activity where the values and requirements of local communities - and, indeed, of any 'heritage communities' are recognised and satisfied. It is in this dimension that the castle administrator can - and should - network with and seek feedback from the community, forge formal or informal action groups, and, last but not least, facilitate or channel local community initiatives. Without support from and recognition by the local community, no castle administrator will be able to fully realize their castle's potential in the social dimension, which will have an immediate and direct limiting effect on the overall realized castle potential and the success of the Model. This way the proposed Model warrants that the interest of a local community in the plight of their local castle is granted adequate recognition and weight in the decision-making. Currently, however, castle administrators are under no pressure to do so, as they are only bound to observe the requirements of the law, and to react to economic pressures.

Theoretically, in order to have their opinion heard by castle administrators, and indeed by policy makers at regional and national levels, local communities in Poland could possibly turn to the Society for the Protection of Monuments for support, guidance and advocacy (see Chapter 2, Section 2.6.2). As already mentioned, the Society is a non-profit, non-governmental association, which enjoys popular recognition in Poland, and is also relatively active within the EU (for instance is a member of the Europa Nostra and as such has been the official organizing body of the annual European Heritage Days in Poland). Unfortunately, the Society's ability to act has been continuously falling in recent years due to the reduced state subsidies the Society receives, and the challenges of raising funds elsewhere. The proposed Model, however, once implemented, could possibly indirectly help the Society's situation by rising their profile as an umbrella organisation for concerned members of the public, assuming that castle administrators could prefer to deal with an institutionalized partner rather than with individual stakeholders.

Nevertheless, it has to be reiterated that, as introduced in Section 6.6, the management of a castle, according to the proposed Model, begins with the recognition of a castle as an individual heritage asset. The subsequent development and balancing out of the castle management process is pictured in the proposed Model as a Waddingtonian, systemic outward expansion (see

Section 6.4.1), founded on the castle, which remains at its centre. The said development of the castle management process, according to the Mode, is fueled by the recognition and subsequent satisfaction of the needs and demands of various castle stakeholders. It is the castle itself, however, and the overarching principle not to waste away its value as capital and to maximize its potential, which is the starting point of the management process, in which the requirements of stakeholders come secondary.

Unlike the *new public management* approach, but similarly to the Faro Convention, the Model encompasses all kind of stakeholder needs and expectations, without the need to translate their satisfaction into monetary terms in order to carry out any measurement of success or failure of management. For example, the proposed Model is able to capture such effects as the rise of property prices in the vicinity of a well managed heritage site (see Section 4.3.4), or the quality of experience of ‘life as it was’ by individual castle visitors, mentioned by some of the interviewees (see Section 8.2).

Table 13. Approaches to heritage and the shift from asset to capital.

Approaches to heritage		
Objective		Subjective
Heritage seen as		
Asset	Resource	Capital
Inherent values	→	Use values
Main purpose of management		
Protection of resident values		Creation of new values

Table 13 shows the necessary components of the shift from the *objective*, 'top-down', traditional approach to heritage to the *subjective*, 'bottom-up', and currently increasingly often advocated approach. As the practice of heritage management moves from the left to the right in Table 13 - from the subjective to the objective - the perception of heritage changes from it being seen as an asset, valued primarily - if not only - for its inherent values, to heritage as capital, valued for the variety of its use values, individually attached by a variety of stakeholders. The main purpose of heritage management, therefore, shifts from the protection of the arbitrarily identified inherent values - which has been pictured in Figure 28 (Chapter 6) as the first stage of heritage management - to the balanced management of heritage as capital, and therefore as an unlimited source of new individual values (see Section 1.4.4) - which is the very subject of the proposed Castle Management Model, as pictured in Figure 30 (Chapter 6).

9.4 Heritage entrepreneurship

The implementation of the 'bottom-up', subjective approach to castle management in Poland - regardless of whether castles are state or non-state owned - would require an overhaul of the current mainstream, restrictive public policy position towards heritage in Poland (Section 2.5). Zalasńska and Zeidler (2009) have already argued the necessity of far-reaching changes to heritage-related regulations in Poland on the grounds of the economic and legal unsustainability of the current arrangements. Interviewees cited in Chapter 8 also quoted reasons, such as excessive costs and burdensome bureaucratic procedures, for loosening of the current control that Inspectors of Monuments exercise over both the state- and the non-state owned castles in Poland.

However, as mentioned in Chapter 8, elements of community awareness and a drive towards greater economic efficiency in castle management can already be recognised amongst castle administrators in Poland. As showcased in Chapter 8, castle administrators in Poland increasingly seek to meet the requirements of castle stakeholders - both those of local communities and of tourists. Although no general pattern can yet be identified, this thesis argues that *heritage entrepreneurship* might be a useful and appropriate term to describe the qualities identified as necessary to manage castles in Poland in the

spirit of the Faro Convention, as embedded in the proposed Castle Management Model.

As already mentioned, the proposed Model requires that castles are treated as capital. Only then can the enterprising administrators put their castles to economically sustainable use and determine their significance in the process of valuation of the range of end products offered to individual castle stakeholders. On the other hand, only *heritage entrepreneurs* can react flexibly enough to exploit the opportunities arising from the dynamics of the economizing system of heritage, where the needs of various stakeholders, and also their manifestations, change in time (see Sections 3.3 and 6.4.1). However, as already mentioned, *heritage entrepreneurs* also require sufficient legal freedom to respond to the changing economic, social, and political environment in which they act.

9.5 The need for a new Castle Management Model in Poland

As noted in Chapter 1, the role of castles in Poland solely as witnesses to the past does not appear economically viable anymore, since the political and economic transformations described in Section 1.1 have taken place. Also, the increasingly expressed social expectations towards castles do not appear to justify the so far dominating, conservative approach to the preservation and protection of heritage in Poland, as embedded in the currently binding heritage related legislation.

As has been discussed in Section 1.1, the current situation of castles in Poland is far from satisfactory. In short, the theory and practice of monument safeguarding, protection and conservation in Poland - the so called *conservation doctrine* and the Monuments Conservation Service (MCS) (see Chapter 3) - despite their long and rich history, have been questioned and destabilized as a result of the all-encompassing process of change and transformation, which has been taking place in Poland since 1989. The ambition of the transformation was to implement a new political and economic system in Poland. Heritage was not considered a priority during this process, and heritage conservation, which remained outside the mainstream of change, became increasingly inefficient, disempowered and disconnected from those institutions

of social, economic and political life in Poland which embraced change more readily.

As far as castles in Poland are concerned, the events of the second half of the 20th century had far-reaching consequences for the practice of castle management (see Section 1.1). First, between 1945 and 1989, as the result of historic and political factors, such as the shifting of national borders in Central Europe and the nationalisation of most private property in Poland, castles, along with the vast majority of historic residential properties in Poland, were affected by the *discontinuity of inheritance*. Then, after decades of state ownership and central governance, castles witnessed the fast-paced process of the transformation of the country: its policy and economy, but also the mentality of its people (Gawlicki 2009: 30).

As reported in Chapter 1, a Minister responsible for public policy in the field of safeguarding, protection and conservation of heritage in Poland once described castles, along with manor houses and palaces, as functionally obsolete (Jaruzelska-Kastory 2008). A new role for castles in the new Poland has not been debated outside the notion of their value as tourist attractions. This lack of debate about castles as anything more than tourist assets is surprising in the face of, for example, the identified growing individual interest in castles as architectural objects (Maćik 2008: 284), reported local interest in the preservation of castles as carriers of mixed values for the community (Barełkowska 2009: 450), or the rise of a specialised market for historic real estate (Gawlicki 2009: 28-30). It also stands in contrast with the already mentioned efforts within the European Union to change not only the public perception of heritage but also its professional valuation - from the protective, objective, grand-scale approach to the more utilitarian, subjective, local-scale and individual approach.

Until the end of the first decade of the 21st century, when the dynamic concept of *heritage* began to gradually displace the static idea of the *monument* in Poland (see Section 2.5), cultural policy and heritage management had been popularly perceived as unprofitable and anachronic fields of government activity, restrictively focused on the preservation of historic monuments, not interested in wider community participation, and inherently opposed to adapting historic buildings to new uses (see Sections 1.2 and 2.4). Castles as a subject of academic research have been studied by few, usually very traditional

academic disciplines, such as fine arts history, conservation-restoration studies, architecture and archaeology. Contributions in this field by the relatively novel (in Poland) cultural studies - not to mention economics - have been nearly non-existent (see Section 1.2). This thesis reinforces the economic perspective on heritage management, and the proposed Model elevates the economic and social/community dimensions of heritage to a level on par with the recently dominant dimension of heritage conservation.

Moreover, statements made by the interviewed castle administrators, collected in the course of this thesis, highlight that dialogue needs to be encouraged between castle administrators and the Inspectors of Monuments (see Chapter 8). As presented in Chapter 8, some of the interviewees described the Provincial Inspectors of Monuments as unhelpful, or even dishonest (see Section 8.2.3, Interview 3). At the same time, however, both the policy makers and the researchers concerned with castles in Poland have had little or no direct dialogue with the current owners and administrators of castles in Poland, whether private or state owned. Since 1989, the divide between those who theorise and supervise, and those who practice castle management has grown. For example, none of the current owners or administrators of castles has participated in the conference devoted to the present and future status and management of castle ruins in Poland, organised by ICOMOS Poland in 2008, and attended by the author of this thesis.

9.6 The benefits and challenges of the proposed Model

As already mentioned, all castles in Poland whose administrators participated in the castle survey are listed in the National Register of Historical Monuments (see Chapters 3 and 7). Since 1918, dedicated Acts of Parliament, accompanied by secondary legislation issued by the relevant Ministries (Section 2.4), have warranted that historical monuments in Poland are protected by the law. The current 2003 Act, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 7, has been criticised for numerous flaws, but seems unlikely to be subject to any changes in the foreseeable future. Literature often describes the 2003 Act and the related legislation as 'incompatible' with the effects of the post-1989 transformation in Poland, and therefore unsuccessful in the safeguarding of castles, especially from such new phenomena as intensive investment. The

surveyed administrators of castles expressed an uneasy opinion about the 2003 Act, as seen in Chapters 7 and 8. Notably, negative opinion about the 2003 Act prevailed amongst administrators of non-state owned castles.

Answers to those questions of the castle survey which relate to the state of preservation, the percentage of original fabric of the castle, and the listing of the castle as a protected monument, demonstrate that listing the castle in the National Register of Historical Monuments does not guarantee its protection (Section 7.2 and 7.3). Of the 23 castles whose administrators provided exact information about the time when their castles were partly or completely ruined, four castles were destroyed or damaged after they were listed - although one of them could probably be discounted as it had been listed before and was destroyed during the Second World War; the other three, however, suffered destruction despite their legal status as listed monuments. It appears from the castle survey that listing of a castle in the National Register is not dependent on the percentage of its original fabric or its state of preservation. The survey contains examples of castles which were complete ruins, but which were 95% original, and complete castles which were only 10% original - and both were equally protected by the law as listed monuments. If listing does not guarantee protection from destruction, then the very idea of listing monuments in the National Register can be questioned, as Malawska (2009) has recently pointed out.

The proposed Castle Management Model highlights the need to integrate all of the necessary legal requirements relating to the safeguarding, protection and conservation of castles with professional opinion and expectations so that castle administrators have a clear understanding of what is asked of them in each area of castle management (see Section 6.5.1). Second, the proposed Model stresses the equal importance of all claims of castle stakeholders which, when considered and resolved on equal footing, might minimise future 'incompatibilities' between the requirements of the law and the practical needs of castle management (Section 6.5.2).

In particular, the three dimensions proposed in the Model - professional, social and economic - could help to organise the workload and the responsibilities of castle administrators and their staff. Currently, castle administrators seem to be torn between the demands of the law - as represented by the Inspectors of Monuments - and the demands of everyday

castle management. The interviewed castle administrators exemplify people who are driven by their individual ambitions, creativity, and strong passion, but are also burdened by financial constraints, and by the expectations of a variety of castle stakeholders, including tourists and local communities. The separate, professional dimension of the proposed Castle Management Model can help to acknowledge the importance of, and specify the scope of, the legal responsibilities of castle administrators regarding the protection and conservation of castles in Poland, but also help to re-define their relationship with the MCS.

In Chapter 6 it has been observed that although no Castle Management Model currently exists in Poland, the castle survey data analysed in this thesis and the supplementary evidence gathered during interviews suggest that castle administrators in Poland experience common problems, which could be minimised, and also face common opportunities, which could be maximised upon the application of the proposed Castle Management Model. The main challenge of the proposed Model is that it needs to be sufficiently universal, and at the same time sufficiently flexible, to accommodate the diversity of roles that castles in Poland currently play, or might play, and also to acknowledge the individual nature of every castle, i.e. its setting, condition, style, capacity, and - importantly - the personality of its administrator. This thesis argues that such a model would need to be non-normative and open; the Model's structure would have to allow for exclusions and exceptions and yet lose nothing of the general direction and coherence. For these reasons, as discussed in Chapter 6, a visual, three-dimensional form was preferred.

The proposed Model would need to be individualistic in a two-fold way. It would need to approach the problem of castle management from the perspective of an individual administrator, while at the same time be able to individually recognise the subjective demands and expectations of the variety of castle stakeholders. As demonstrated throughout this thesis, the ASE offers a particularly fitting theoretical and methodological framework to address the phenomena of individualism and subjectivity in heritage economics and in the discussed castle management practice.

Castle survey data and interviews show that, paradoxically, it is not the castle itself that seems to be of central importance for castle management in Poland at the moment. Instead, on the conservation side, it is typically required

that castle management gives primacy to the notion of protection, which almost always excludes any economic valuation of the castle as capital (see Section 1.2, and the interviews in Chapter 8). Also, in practice, castles often serve only as background, or a stage for a variety of services and events (see Figure 78, Chapter 7).

The proposed Model places *heritage* itself as the core value in the heritage management process. The Model highlights that heritage - in the case of this thesis: the castle, seen as capital - is *the* necessary and sufficient element of the management process. From this perspective, factors such as conservation or tourism demands no longer compete for the central role in the process of castle management, but become the possible directions in which the potential of the castle, as capital, can be realised - or, in other words, invested. By shifting the focus of castle management towards the castle itself, this model also liberates the process of management from doctrinal pressures and political demands from which it suffers today, because these pressures no longer have any direct bearing on the value of the castle. This way, the proposed Model creates an opportunity for the castle administrator to become an independent, creative actor in his or her own right - a genuine, professional *heritage entrepreneur* (see Section 4.4).

The general lack of major difference in the characteristics of state and non-state owned castles suggests that the type of ownership - whether public or private - does not have much bearing on castle management in Poland. As long as ownership remains uncontested and stable, and the castle administrator enjoys a sufficient degree of freedom of action, then techniques of entrepreneurial management can be implemented successfully in any context, both private and public.

Responses to the castle survey demonstrate that nearly all participating castle administrators wished to increase the numbers of castle visitors in order to raise revenue and/or to attract additional subsidy. According to survey data, self-sufficiency of a castle is currently rare in practice. Only three castles within the 84 responses could be described as financially self-sufficient. These three castles have been the only ones which claimed that their income was wholly generated by their primary functions, and were not in any way dependent on subsidies of any kind. All those three castles were hotels with accompanying catering and conference facilities. It is not possible to definitively determine their

financial success, because such information has not been released into the public domain, but interview evidence suggested that at least one of them - coded 'castle no. 65' - might be a financially successful enterprise, with only a little over-emphasised economic dimension of management (Figure 72).

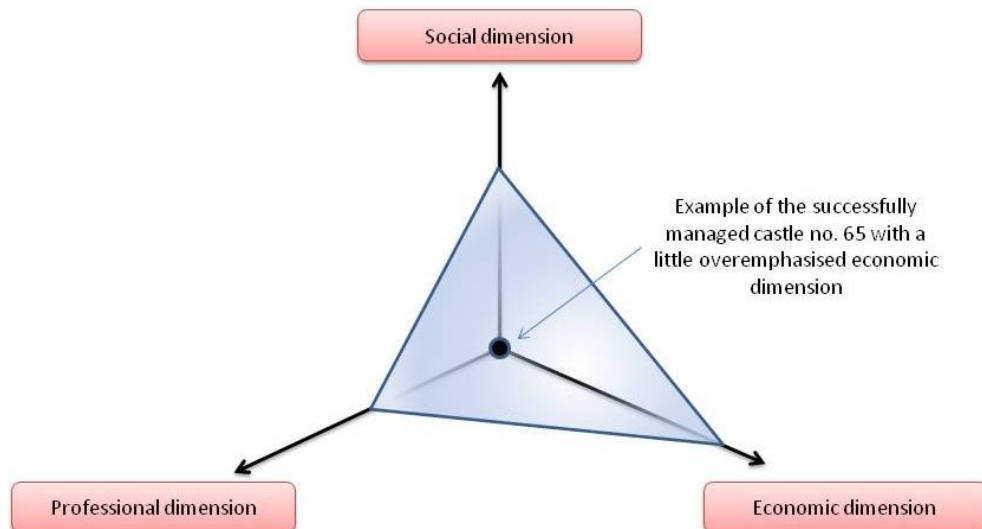


Figure 72. Castle no. 65 - example of successful castle management.

While it is not possible to scale the axes in Figure 72 as has been the case with the theoretical model in Figure 32 (Section 6.6), nevertheless it is recognisable that the shape of the tetrahedron in the example of the castle no. 65 is indicating some under-realised castle potential.

It would seem from the above example, that functions such as visitor accommodation, catering services and conference facilities might be the necessary factors of economically viable castle management in Poland at the beginning of the 21st century. According to the castle survey, the only two other variables that the three successful castles in question shared were the wish to attract more visitors and the negative opinion about the 2003 Act on Safeguarding and Protection of Monuments and its related legislation.

Another example which can possibly be discussed here without breaching the confidentiality clause - i.e. presented with minimum risk of possible identification of the actual castle concerned - and which can be plotted on a scale-less Model thanks to its clearly discernible characteristics, is 'castle no. 17' (Figure 73). This very well preserved (90% of original fabric), gothic castle houses a state-owned and recently skillfully refurbished museum, and

also organizes exhibitions and popular events, well attended by local communities. It enjoys a location relatively well served by a major transit road, features in tourist guides and even occasionally in school books, enjoys regular regional publicity, and is visited by both school children and individual tourists alike. The castle also has a secondary, commercial function as an event/conference venue. The above description would seem to suggest that ‘castle no. 17’ should be a close-to-ideal example of balanced management. And yet, 94% of its income comes from local government subsidies, 5% is raised through admissions, and only 1% is yielded by the commercial activity. From the point of view of this thesis, the application of the Castle Management Model to the case of ‘castle no. 17’ shows that without an economic mindset behind its management, even a popular castle, well endowed in original fabric, historic features and favourable location, can struggle to have its potential realised due to heavy imbalance in the economic dimension. Interview evidence, subsequent to the survey data, has also noted concerns of the administrator of ‘castle no. 17’ that would confirm the imbalance identified in Figure 73.

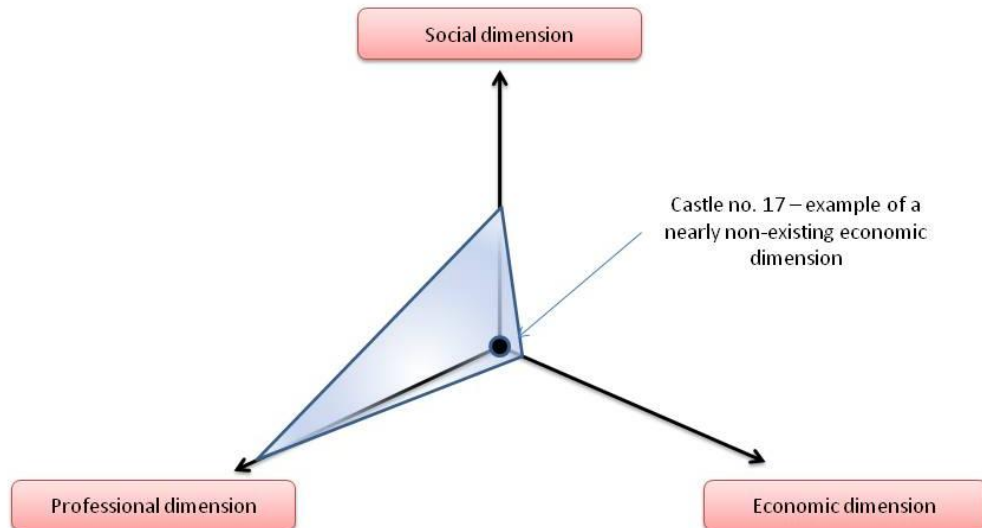


Figure 73. Castle no. 17 - example of a nearly non-existing economic dimension due to an imbalance in the management process.

The methodological individualism of this thesis and the theory of the ASE assume that products created by castle administrators with the input of castle as capital will be valued by their consumers independently and subjectively (see Chapter 3). It has been already mentioned in this thesis that the value of capital

depends on the value of the end product, for whose production the capital has been used. From there it logically follows that the total, maximum value of a castle as capital 'cannot exceed the value of the gross [end] product' (Endres 1991: 72). This statement does not conclude the *heritage value debate* (see Chapter 4), but it takes the debate to a different plane: it shows that no longer professional opinion only can arbitrarily determine the value of heritage, and it makes way for a combination of valuations by all active end users/consumers/stakeholders of that heritage.

Additionally, according to Mises (1996 [1949]: 503), 'capital goods are better utilizable for some purposes, less utilizable for others, and absolutely useless for still other purposes'. Adoption of the perspective of 'castles as capital' means that castle administrators, who in Poland have a legal duty to protect castles as listed monuments (see Section 2.4), can feel free to explore various avenues of management, to ensure that castles in their care are used more efficiently to create such a combination of products which will yield the best possible end value in all the three dimensions of management.

It is important to note that the proposed Model extends the mechanism of *commodification* from the confines of economics into all areas of castle management. Castle as capital can serve various purposes and assume a variety of functions in order to satisfy - in the process of consumption of the end-product - the various needs and demands in each dimension of the proposed Model. In the social dimension, for example, 'heritage consumption, utilizing as it does the accumulated "real cultural capital" of particular locations, effectively unlocks the value of past production stored in important buildings and key locations' (Richards 1996a: 280). Even in the professional dimension the end result of the allocation of castle as capital can create a conservation product - in the spirit of the expression '*conservatio est aeterna creatio*' (Gieysztor 2000b: 160) [meaning 'conservation is a continuous creation'].

Lewin and Phelan (1999: 10) observe that the entrepreneurial decisions of managers create combinations of capital appropriate for a given business at a given moment in time in order to achieve the desired quality and quantity of production; at other times, different decisions are required to carry out necessary capital substitutions in order to adapt to market changes. The same needs to happen to castles in Poland - in the proposed Model, market changes can signify not only changes in the popularity of tourist destinations, but also

shifts in local identity and sentiments, or developments in the conservation doctrine. Any combination of capital is characterised by certain temporary stability, depending on the compatibility of the capital elements used in the combination, and by certain flexibility, decided by the potential to substitute one capital element for another (Levin and Phelan 1999: 10). It is the task of castle administrators to ensure such optimal combinations of capital at any time.

At any given moment, only a given quantity of capital is available to castle administrators. As already mentioned, allocation of capital to only one dimension of castle management will increase the castle's *realised potential* much less than would an even distribution of the same available capital across all three dimensions (see Section 6.6). The *realised potential* of a castle can then increase only when more capital is available, for example through investment, donation, or acquisition - but also when more efficient methods of assembly or of allocation of existing capital are discovered.

9.7 Applicability of the proposed Model

As mentioned in Sections 2.6.4 and 7.3.1, stable and undisputed ownership is one of the primary requirements of successful entrepreneurial heritage management, and as such, it is also one of the most important elements of the proposed Castle Management Model. Interviews with castle administrators confirmed that any cases where ownership was disputed tended to be very complex and had a long-lasting influence on the protection, conservation and management of the affected castles. It might also be one of the biggest obstacles for the implementation of the proposed Model.

One of the conditions of successful implementation of the Model would be some uniformity in understanding the meaning and scope of key terms and definitions in use. It does not directly bear on the mechanics of the proposed Model, but a lack of standardisation of the key terms could be an impediment in the practical application of the discussed Model. As already mentioned, there is a lack of agreement about the scope of the term *castle administrator*, which impinges on the understanding of the scope of responsibilities of castle administrators in Poland (see Chapter 8). Another difficulty, which bears on the quality of heritage policy and on the effectiveness of the National Register of

Historical Monuments, is the discrepancy in defining a 'castle', especially with reference to the partly or completely ruined castles.

As far as tourist visits are concerned, it has been demonstrated in relevant literature that the likelihood of visiting an attraction by tourists, especially those more experienced and better educated - i.e. possessing more cultural capital - depends more on the quality of the visit rather than on the level of entry fees (Apostolakis and Jaffry 2007: 28). For castle administrators it means they need to recognise that they are in competition with each other - both for public support and for tourists. The means of competition between castles as tourist destinations are innovation, product differentiation and creativity, all of which require that the administrator has the characteristics of an *entrepreneur* (see Chapter 6).

Both the castle survey and the interviews with castle administrators suggest, however, that although the quality of the castle offer is often important for them in castle management, as far as the revenue generated by the castle is concerned, admissions play a very significant role. Paradoxically, this importance of revenue from the sale of admission tickets is not reflected in ticket prices, which remain unanimously low, as personal observations have revealed in the course of this thesis.

Personal observations, an overview of castle promotional materials and answers to Questions 15 and 16 of the castle survey (see Chapter 7) indicate that castles' tourist offer in Poland is largely uniform. Also, interviews suggest that the castle administrators' opinion about the expectations and motivations of their visitors is often stereotypical and rarely supported by any research. Creativity in meeting the required standards of protection and conservation of castles in Poland is hindered by the relative uniformisation of the tourist offer. It is also often shadowed by a relatively low opinion of local communities, who in many parts of Poland have only recently begun to identify with their surrounding built heritage. This mutual distrust between the administrators and the local communities currently often poses a barrier to a better realisation of the potential of many castles.

Moreover, local communities surveyed in Poland by Barełkowska (2009) have been identified as relatively unlikely to express support for castle administrators striving to improve the quality of their castles as tourist attractions. This attitude has been described as resulting from a popular

assumption that the duty of care - which in popular perception equates to financial support - for important historic buildings lies with the central, not the local government (Barełkowska 2009: 450). As interviews demonstrate, the popular assumption that castles are typically state property results in a variety of demands of free access, and of the right to interfere with the process of management. It has been observed to be an area of considerable pressure on castle administrators that might weaken the social dimension of the proposed Model in certain circumstances. Seemingly, only better cultural education of the general public can possibly help resolve this problem.

Another difficulty in implementation of this model is the share of income from primary functions in state and non-state owned castles (see Section 7.2, Table 11). The castle survey shows that non-state owned castles seem to be able to better utilise their primary functions than state owned castles, which instead tend to rely on local and central government subsidies. Non-state owned castles also demonstrate a high level of self/other financing, which apart from personal savings and loans might signify funding raised from the EU, an investment, a partnership etc. The proposed Model allows for a variety of castle management characteristics, however such noticeable variations in funding might nevertheless possibly require that two separate versions of the Model - one for state owned and one non-state owned castles - be contemplated.

The proposed Model has been designed with qualitative analysis in mind, and it can serve as a platform - or a 'tool for thought' - to discuss various contemporary roles of castles in Poland but also to discuss and analyse the system of heritage protection and management in Poland in general. Nevertheless, as already mentioned in Sections 6.6 and 6.7, the Model also remains open for mathematical investigation. In essence, the Model remains true to the spirit of the Austrian School of Economics - i.e. subjective, universal, and open - and yet it also conforms to the opinion that models offered by 'proper' science should 'yield quantitative predictions' (Callahan 2005).

Lastly, the proposed Model represents a balanced organisation of sustainable and economically viable castle management. It has, therefore, the ability to utilise the entrepreneurial potential in those castles where it exists, and to serve as a benchmark to inspire entrepreneurial behaviour in those castles where it has not yet been identified.

Chapter 10

Conclusions and recommendations

This chapter revisits the aims and objectives of this thesis, recalls the research question asked in Section 1.2, and gives a concluding response to the research question in the light of the content of this thesis. Then, the chapter briefly discusses the strengths and limitations of this thesis. Finally, the chapter makes recommendations for further study, on the basis of issues which have been identified in the course of this thesis but which for various reasons remained outside its scope and remit.

10.1 Research Question, Aims and Objectives

The thesis is structured around the following Research Question:

What is the current state of management of castles in Poland and how can a new model of management, built on suitable economic premises, improve the way that castle administrators realise their potential?

In order to answer the above question, four research Aims were identified, each accompanied by a series of related, specific research objectives.

Aim One of the thesis (see Section 1.2, and also Appendix A) has been to introduce the historical background and explore the present setting and situation of castles in Poland, and the current legal and institutional framework relevant for the management of castles in Poland.

Definitions of the key terms used in this thesis - i.e. management, administration, entrepreneurship, culture, heritage, and castle - have been established in Section 1.4. The history of castles in Poland has been overviewed in Section 2.2 of this thesis in as far as it was necessary to provide context for further investigation. The origins and evolution of castles in Poland have been presented against the backdrop of the slightly earlier evolution of castles in Western Europe. The political, social and economic roles that castles played in Poland historically have also been discussed briefly. Section 2.2

concluded with an introduction of the concepts of protection and conservation of built heritage in Poland.

Exploration of the present situation of castles in Poland required that the actual number of castles in Poland is identified or at least estimated. This has been done in Section 2.3, which identified the number of castles in Poland ranging between 372 and 500, depending on the source quoted. Throughout Chapters 1 and 2 this thesis has also established the basic characteristics of castles in Poland - such as the fact that the stone and brick castles were only built by the highest ranking aristocrats, bishops and kings, while the lower ranking knights had to resort to building wooden castles of the motte and bailey type, which in fact are supposed to have been relatively numerous on Poland, however little survives of them today.

In Sections 2.4 and 2.5 this thesis has introduced and analysed the current legislation and heritage policy relevant to the management of castles in Poland. Strengths and weaknesses of the identified legislation have been analysed, and the heritage policy making process explained. The key institutions involved in the management of castles in Poland have been identified and their roles briefly described in Section 2.6, including the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, the National Heritage Board of Poland, ICOMOS-Poland, and the Society for the Protection of Monuments. The thesis has established that although the current heritage legislation represents major progress in the understanding by the policy makers of the processes of heritage protection, conservation and reuse, nevertheless it is still embedded in the orthodox, 'top-down' approach to heritage valuation, and it has been noted to create impediments for castle administrators to fully realise the potential of their castles.

Aim Two of the thesis was to identify the suitable economic approach suitable for this thesis and to explore the relationship between economy and heritage, with particular focus on the valuation and use of built heritage and the role of heritage tourism.

In the search for the suitable economic approach the thesis focussed on the concept of human action, which has been identified as a common element for both the Heritage Studies and some heterodox economic schools. In particular, it led to the identification of the Austrian School of Economics (ASE) as the school of economic thought of choice to discuss matters related to

culture and heritage in this thesis. This particular finding makes the thesis the first known application of the principles and subsequently of the methodology of the ASE to the analysis of built heritage.

Further on, the mutual impact and interdependence of heritage and economy have been explored. In particular, the role of heritage in economic development has been analysed in more detail in Chapter 4. In the same chapter the notions of heritage values and utility have been explored and discussed in the context of the so-called *heritage values debate*, along with relevant techniques of heritage valuation, such as the revealed and the stated preference methods. Observations made in this respect suggest that much of the heritage values debate could be ultimately reduced to the use value of heritage, with the condition that a distinction is made between the current and the future use.

In Chapter 5, modern tourism has been characterised both as an industry, and as a cultural phenomenon. Positive and negative impacts of tourism on heritage have been discussed, along with the concept of sustainability, and the difficulties of achieving it. Concepts of heritage tourism, cultural tourism, and sustainable cultural tourism have been introduced and discussed. The idea of heritage as a tourism product has also been explored. Eventually, the opportunities and threats at the intersection of tourism, economy and heritage have been analysed in Section 5.3.

Aim Three of this thesis was to introduce the theory of models in economics, investigate the viability of creating a new management model in the context of this thesis and to develop a theoretical Castle Management Model for castles in Poland.

Advantages and disadvantages of modelling in economics have been analysed in Chapter 6, with particular emphasis of the limitations of models as simplified versions of reality which they attempt to emulate. In the same Chapter 6, specific arguments have been put forward for a new, theoretical model for the management of heritage on the example of castles in Poland. The concept of a model as a Waddingtonian 'tool for thought' has been introduced as the approach of choice for the design of the proposed Castle Management Model. The issue of commodification of heritage has been discussed and it has been asserted not a threat but an opportunity to see heritage as an unlimited resource which exists in a variety of combinations with other resources, and

whose value can be fully realised only through its use. This opened the way to the formulation of the concept of heritage as capital, which on the one hand enables heritage to contribute to the creation of a variety of products, and on the other hand obliges administrators to approach heritage with economic prudence and ensure it is not wasted. Necessary assumptions of the proposed Castle Management Model have been introduced and the Model was presented graphically in Section 6.6. The premises of the Model have been analysed in detail thereafter, including the key observation that the very geometry of the model requires that castle administrators, in order to maximise the realised potential of their castles, commit their limited resources evenly in all three dimensions of castle management.

Aim Four of this thesis has been to investigate the current practice of management of castles in Poland and to confront it with the proposed Castle Management Model in order to assess the viability of the theoretical assumptions and of the premises of the proposed Model. Also, an attempt has been made to theoretically assess the applicability of the proposed Model in castle management in Poland.

The structure of ownership, the duties of castle administrators, the states of preservation and the originality of the castle fabric in Poland, as well as the roles, functions, and tourist offer of castles in Poland have all been subject to detailed uni- and bivariate analysis in Chapter 7. This was made possible thanks to a comprehensive, postal *castle survey* - the first known, large scale survey of the administrators of castles in Poland, carried out as part of this thesis. The *castle survey* has been supported by findings from ten semi-structured interviews with selected castle administrators in Poland. Altogether, both sources yielded data and information sufficient to analyse the advantages and disadvantages of the current practice of castle management in Poland, and to identify areas of dissonance and of particular challenge.

Last, the possible practical and legal obstacles have been identified which might hinder the implementation of the Castle Management Model in Poland. Of particular concern have been the quality of the current heritage legislation, which attracts criticism of both the heritage scholars and heritage administrators in Poland, the rigidity of the current heritage policy, and the limited effectiveness of the National Register of Historical Monuments. The limited community involvement has also been identified as a possible obstacle

for the implementation of the Model, alongside the limited cooperation between castle administrators.

10.2 Conclusion

Having reviewed and analysed the theory, and also having identified, examined and discussed the practice of castle management in Poland, this thesis concludes that, given the circumstances addressed below, it would be both desirable and possible to create a specific management model, which would help castle administrators to better realise the potential of their castles.

In brief, no existing model for the management of castles in Poland has been identified at the time of writing. Despite examples of good practice, castle management has been found often lacking structure and guidance. Moreover, public policy and administrative structures in Poland have been identified in no position to consider or propose any additional or alternative solutions to aid castle management beyond the much-criticised body of heritage conservation law with the 2003 Act at its pinnacle.

The interviews carried out revealed that most castle administrators in Poland - both private and representing the state - act in the crucial areas of their activity on their own. The limited co-operation that exists between castle administrators in Poland remains of little practical meaning for their day-to-day managerial tasks.

Due to a combination of an anachronistic, bureaucratic approach to heritage at various levels of public administration, together with increasingly scarce public funds available to subsidise heritage conservation and management - even considering funding from the EU - castle administrators tend to turn to private markets in search of revenue in exchange for a simplified, 'accessible' version of culture. On the other hand, any conservation works or investments at those castles, whose ownership has been disputed, tend to stall. Castle administrators remain, therefore, a relatively small group of largely isolated, multi-skilled heritage professionals, who, despite their personal commitment, generally can be seen to struggle to realise the full potential of castles in their care.

On the other hand, however, both the reviewed literature and the collected data demonstrate a growing economising tendency in heritage

management, both worldwide, in the EU, and in Poland. Interviews carried out as part of this thesis have also confirmed signs of entrepreneurial attitudes amongst castle administrators. Therefore, it can be assumed that one of the fundamental notions of the proposed Model - namely, that castle administrators gradually become heritage entrepreneurs - might possibly be realised. However, for this to happen a dramatic change in approach might be necessary amongst many of the current castle administrators. The Model might play a role in this process as a benchmark of balanced heritage management.

Since 1989, the legal and institutional framework for heritage protection and management in Poland has developed on the grounds of an orthodox, authoritative, 'top-down' approach to heritage, which leaves little room for entrepreneurial, market-conscious activity in the field of heritage management. The proposed Model re-arranges the currently prevailing hierarchy of heritage values, fosters individualistic and subjective perspectives on heritage, and promotes the vision of heritage as an unlimited resource which can be turned into capital and serve as the source of value at the core of a variety of heritage products.

Therefore, it seems that the proposed Castle Management Model has the potential to make the most of the known examples of good practice in castle management in Poland. It could also balance out the responsibilities of castle administrators between the identified three dimensions of castle management - the social, the economic, and the professional. The Model might also help to regulate the uneasy relationship between the castle administrators and the Monument Conservation Service in Poland by providing a 'tool for thought' to discuss the demands and needs of both sides of the current rift. For such a discussion to take place, however, a regular annual conference might be needed for castle owners and administrators to communicate their problems to and to listen to feedback from the Inspectors of Monuments. Currently, both sides seem to lack clear understanding of each other's position.

The dialogue between castle administrators and the heritage policy makers and enforcers - i.e. the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage and the Inspectors of Monuments, respectively - might be made easier if a sufficiently large representative body existed to communicate the key issues and to lobby when necessary on behalf of the castle owners and managers. At the time of writing no such organisation exists in Poland which would represent

joint interests of castle owner and administrators, and it seems that the weakened Society for the Protection of Monuments currently represents no alternative. It has to be noted that small steps towards establishing a representative body for some castles have already been made: a small, regional Association of Gothic Castles operates in the north of Poland, however the scope of its membership (currently 16 member castles) and of its activity (promotion of tourism) are very limited (Polskie Zamki Gotyckie 2008); also, two castles in Poland are members of the Association of Castles and Museums Around the Baltic Sea (see below). Nevertheless, considering the total number of castles in Poland varies between 372 and 500, these are indeed very humble beginnings.

Established heritage organisations exist in Europe which could be called upon as examples of cooperation for castles in Poland. These include: the already mentioned Association of Castles and Museums Around the Baltic Sea, now boasting 44 members from 9 countries, whose statutory interests are research, education, restoration and marketing of its member castles, and which regularly organises touring exhibitions and publishes regional tourist guides (Association of Castles and Museums Around the Baltic Sea 2012); the German Castles Association, founded in 1899 as a private initiative for the preservation of historic buildings in Germany, which publishes a quarterly journal 'Burgen und Schlösser' and finances the European Castles Institute as its research arm (The German Castles Association n.d.); the Association of the Castles of Northern Hungary, which was set up specifically to represent and coordinate the interest of castle owners and managers in the north of Hungary (Association of the Castles of Northern Hungary 2009); the Luxembourg Association of Castles, set up to coordinate events, organise joint fundraising activities, and to promote tourism at castles in Luxembourg (Luxembourg Association of Castles n.d.); the Patrimonium Castellorum Europae, otherwise known as the Federation of Castles of Europe, whose aim is to promote friendly co-operation above borders as inspired by the common architectural heritage of castles in Europe (Patrimonium Castellorum Europae 2011); finally, the European Charter of the Cistercian Abbeys and Sites, whose aim is to establish 'a structural link between the owners and/or managers of Cistercian abbeys or sites ... [and to represent] its members before the local, regional, national and international administration', and which also incorporates the Polish Post-

Cistercian Heritage Preservation Association (European Charter of the Cistercian Abbeys and Sites 2012). Castle administrators in Poland might consider joining some of these organisations, or setting up one of their own.

Personal observations identified a detectable sense of pride but also of hesitation in the way castle administrators communicated details about their practice of castle management. Despite their typically passionate attitudes to their jobs and the often openly declared (in the interviews) sentiment for the castle itself, the castle administrators' uncertainty seems to largely result from an unfavourable law, and from unsustainable sources of insufficient funding. Both factors are of institutional, i.e. long-term and slowly-changing nature, and castle administrators in Poland currently have no means to influence them in their favour. Therefore, it remains an open question whether the institutional arrangements pertaining to castle management in Poland - the so-called *rules of the game* - can possibly sufficiently evolve to allow the proposed Castle Management Model to deliver its full potential and prove its worth in the foreseeable future.

The proposed Castle Management Model cannot and does not attempt to challenge the current institutional and legal barriers to effective castle management in Poland. It is a task beyond the scope of this research and requiring substantial resources. Zalasieńska and Zeidler (2009) were adamant that the main source of the weakness of the system of heritage protection and management in Poland is the poor heritage legislation. As discussed earlier, the current body of law pertaining to heritage in Poland has been criticised for its rigidity and insufficient precision, compounded by the fact that, apart from the 2003 Act on the Safeguarding and Protection of Monuments, there are also other Acts which affect, to a greater or lesser degree, heritage management in Poland, and which have never been co-ordinated (Zalasieńska and Zeidler 2009).

Considering the above, the proposed Model does not and cannot offer a universal solution for all weaknesses of the practice of castle management in Poland at the beginning of the 21st century. However, once applied, it has the potential to employ the identified strengths, such as the strong skill base, experience, entrepreneurial abilities, enthusiasm and devotion of many castle administrators, to foster good practice and sustainability in castle management in Poland.

In addition, the proposed Model can provide a supporting argument for the discussion about the necessity to review the legal and institutional status of heritage in Poland. As far as the institutional arrangements and the cultural strategy in Poland are concerned, the Model not only highlights their main weaknesses, which have already been discussed, but it also points to the possible solutions: better vertical cooperation between the conservation authorities and the owners/administrators of built heritage; better horizontal cooperation between castle owners and administrators; more active international cooperation, networking and benchmarking; involvement of local communities in the process of heritage management; and last but not least, improved recognition and understanding of the actual historic, scientific and aesthetic value of the existing stock of built heritage in order to decide which sites and buildings would have to be preserved as they are, and which could be subject to adaptive reuse. The concept of adaptive reuse is embedded in the so called 1985 Granada Convention, which openly fostered 'adaptation where appropriate of old buildings for new uses' (Council of Europe 1985). The idea of adaptive reuse has informed such famous cases of castle renovation as the Hellifield Peel in Yorkshire (Hellifield Peel Castle 2012), and most recently has been adopted as policy by the government of the Republic of Ireland (see Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht 2012: 50-149).

There is little doubt that castles in Poland will not escape the market pressure to put castles to new uses - the process has already begun at the time of writing of this thesis, and has been well under way in other countries. The advised course of action seems to be to anticipate such changes, rather than attempt to fight them. For instance, Historic Scotland - an executive agency of the Scottish Government for the safeguarding and promotion of the historic environment - has set up a Castle Conservation Register to identify those ruined castles and tower houses which it is believed could be 'successfully restored and reused' (Historic Scotland n.d.). It should be of primary concern for the Polish conservation authorities to be ahead of the market changes and of the rising demands on castles, so that the professional dimension of castle management could be sufficiently informed. Otherwise, even a complete implementation of the proposed Castle Management Model could not ensure that the potential of castles in Poland is fully realised. Until then, the applicability of the proposed Model will remain limited. Moreover, given that the post-1989

process of transformation in Poland has not yet ended, new obstacles to effective implementation of the proposed Model might yet be revealed.

10.3 Recommendations for further study

For practical reasons, references to non-English literary sources are under-represented in this thesis - with the obvious exception of relevant literature in Polish, pertaining both to the history and, occasionally, to the management of castles in Poland. In the course of the thesis it has been observed, however, that the situation of castles in Poland might be similar in many ways to that in other Central European countries. A comprehensive, regional survey could, perhaps, contribute new concepts or perspectives to the discussion about castle management at the beginning of the 21st century. As a result, it might further enhance the applicability of the Castle Management Model proposed in this thesis.

Differences have been identified between the Polish and the English meaning of specific terms related to heritage. It would be interesting to explore this linguistic aspect of heritage even further - for instance, to compare etymologies and contemporary uses of such words as *heritage* (in English), *dziedzictwo* (in Polish), *der Erbe* (in German), and *le patrimoine* (in French), since despite they refer to the same phenomenon of heritage, there is a palatable difference in what these nouns exactly describe in each language and what connotations they evoke. Although far from this economic contribution, nevertheless such research could shed additional light on the practice of heritage management in Europe.

Throughout the thesis, much evidence has been collected to support the recognition of the concept of 'castle tourism' as a separate category of heritage tourism. This thesis, however, provides only the perspective of the administrators of castles, i.e. of the 'supply' side of 'castle tourism'. It is thought that specifically designed field research would be necessary to reassert the viability of this concept by exploring the perspective of the participants, i.e. the 'demand' side, of what could potentially be defined as 'castle tourism'. It might possibly also link this thesis with scholarship concerned with military tourism, with which 'castle tourism' seems to share some characteristics.

The graphical representation of the Castle Management Model proposed in this thesis has been equipped with a theoretical scale only (see Figure 32 in Chapter 6, Section 6.6). A separate research project would be needed to explore how individual aspects of demand and supply in each of the three dimensions of castle management could be weighted in order to represent them correctly on the relevant arm of the Model. Only then the Model could become fully operational. It could also be established how site-specific such weights would need to be, and whether there is any scope for a more universal set of weights/measures which would facilitate not only mutual comparisons between specific castles, but also formation of a 'ranking list' of castles according to the degree to which their potential has been realised. If the Model were indeed made quantifiable, its practical value for castle owners and administrators would greatly increase.

Community involvement in the process of castle management is an area of research which could shed a new light on the social dimension of the proposed Model. So far, local communities in Poland have typically been at the 'receiving' end of cultural activities, but the situation seems to be changing, and indeed some castles amongst the castle survey participants were managed by local associations or trusts. Yet, the usual local community position about what they would expect or would like to see happen at their local castle remains unknown to the castle administrator. As the modern role of majority of castles is certainly different to their original purpose, also the relationship between a castle administrator and the local community needs to be explored anew.

A separate case-study research could also be carried out which would analyse the process of castle management from the perspective of actual castle stakeholders of one, specifically identified castle. Such practical project could potentially complement - or perhaps even validate - findings of this thesis, which otherwise remains an exploratory, theoretical work, as it should be expected of a research project rooted in the methodology of the Austrian School of Economics.

Appendix A - Research Question, Aims & Objectives

Research Question	<i>What is the current state of management of castles in Poland and how can a new model of management, built on suitable economic premises, improve the way that castle administrators realise their potential?</i>			
Aim One	Introduce the historical background and explore the present setting and situation of castles in Poland, and the current legal and institutional framework relevant for the management of castles in Poland.			
Objectives	Information Required	Sources of Information	Method of Research	Thesis Sections
1a Introduce the history of castles in Poland as far as necessary to provide context for the thesis.	origins and evolution of castles in Poland; historical and modern roles of castles in Poland; evolution of the concept of built heritage protection and conservation in Poland	literature (books, journals); conference presentations and proceedings	literature review; conference attendance	2.2
1b Identify the current number and the basic characteristics of castles in Poland today.	current number of castles in Poland; current state and status of castles in Poland today.	literature (books, journals); internet (newspaper articles); maps; conference presentations and proceedings	literature review; internet search; conference attendance	1.2 2.3
1c Identify and analyze the current legislation and heritage policy in Poland, relevant to the management of castles.	relevant legislation; strengths and weaknesses of the identified legislation;	literature (books, journals); internet (government pages); conference presentations and proceedings	literature review; internet search; conference attendance	1.2 2.4
1d Identify the key institutions involved in the process of castle management in Poland, and the prevailing approaches to the management of built heritage in Poland.	relevant institutions and their prerogatives; policy- and decision-making processes with regard to the management of castles in Poland	literature (journals); internet (institutions pages); conference presentations and proceedings; interview data	literature review; interviews; conference attendance	2.5

Aim Two	Identify the suitable economic approach, applicable to this thesis, and employ it to explore the relationship and the mutual impact between economy and heritage, with particular focus on the valuation and use of built heritage, as well as the economic aspects of heritage tourism.			
Objectives	Information Required	Sources of Information	Method of Research	Thesis Sections
2a Determine the economic approach capable of making substantial contribution in heritage management and in the heritage values debate.	traditions/strands of economic thought; points of possible connection between economics and cultural studies	literature (books, journals); internet (e-journals)	literature review; internet search	3.2 3.3
2b Explore the relationship between heritage and economy in terms of their mutual impact and interdependence.	economic aspects and values of heritage; role of economy in heritage context	literature (books, journals); internet (e-journals)	literature review; internet search	4.2
2c Analyze the role of heritage in economic development, especially in the context of diminishing public financial support for culture and heritage.	culture-related aspects of economic development; arguments for and against public support of culture and heritage; relevant aspects of public policy	literature (books, journals); internet (e-journals)	literature review; internet search	4.2 4.3 4.4
2d Explore the notions of heritage values, valuation and utility, analyse the relevant valuation techniques, and identify the key concepts and drivers of heritage management.	context and content of the heritage values debate; heritage valuation techniques; concept of entrepreneurship in heritage context	literature (books, journals); internet (e-journals); interview data	literature review; internet search; interviews	4.3 4.4 6.2
2e Characterise modern tourism from the economic perspective, and explore the concepts of heritage tourism and heritage as a tourist product.	definitions of tourism; size and composition of tourism industry; concepts of cultural and heritage tourism; concept of total tourist product; concept of commodification of heritage for tourism	library holdings (books, journals); author's Master's thesis; internet (e-journals); castle survey data; interview data	literature review; web search; castle survey; interviews	5.2 5.3
2f Identify and discuss the opportunities and threats at the intersection of tourism, economy and heritage.	impact of tourism on heritage and of heritage on tourism; role of heritage in economy	library holdings (books, journals); author's Master's thesis; internet (e-journals); interview data	literature review; web search; interviews	4.2 4.3 5.3

Aim Three	Introduce the theory of models in economics, investigate the viability of creating a new management model in the context of this thesis, and develop a theoretical model for the management of castles in Poland.			
Objectives	Information Required	Sources of Information	Method of Research	Thesis Sections
3a Introduce and explore the concept of economic modelling, and analyse the advantages and disadvantages of models in economics.	theory of models in economics	literature (books, journals); internet (e-journals)	literature review	6.2 6.3
3b Analyse the need for a new model and the applicability of an economic model in the context of heritage management, and determine the theoretical foundations of the proposed Model for the management of castles in Poland.	arguments for new models in heritage management; specific aspects of economic modelling in the context of heritage; concept of heritage as a system; concept of castle as a form of capital	literature (books, journals); internet (e-journals); own theoretical analysis	literature review; critical analysis	6.2 6.4
3c Develop the necessary assumptions of the proposed Model, present the Model graphically, and analyse its theoretical strengths and weaknesses.	graphical representation of the proposed Model; analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the proposed Model	literature (books, journals); internet (e-journals); own analysis	literature review; critical analysis	6.4 6.5 6.6

Aim Four	Investigate the current practice of management of castles in Poland and confront it with the proposed Model in order to critically assess the viability of the theoretical premises of the Model and its applicability.			
Objectives	Information Required	Sources of Information	Method of Research	Thesis Sections
4a Investigate the structure and forms of castle ownership in Poland, the duties of castle administrators, the states of preservation and originality of castle fabric, explore the functions, the tourism offer of castles in Poland, as well as the characteristics of 'castle tourism'.	current structure of castle ownership in Poland; duties of castle administrators; state of preservation of castles in Poland; functions, tourism offer, and other factors of castle management in Poland	castle survey questionnaire	castle survey	7.2 7.3
4b Identify the advantages, deficiencies and challenges of the current practice of castle management in Poland, and the areas of existing or potential dissonance and challenge.	advantages, weaknesses, challenges and details of everyday practice of castle management in Poland; specific aspects of dissonance and challenge in the opinion of castle administrators	castle survey questionnaire; castle administrators	castle survey; interviews	7.3 8.2
4c Assess the assumptions and premises of the proposed theoretical model in the light of the collected and analysed data about the practice of castle management in Poland.	practical relevance of the assumptions and premises of the theoretical model	own analysis	critical analysis	9
4d Investigate the possible practical and legal obstacles for the implementation of the proposed Model in Poland.	specific aspects of the legal and practical setting of castle management in Poland	castle administrators; own analysis	interviews; critical analysis	9

Appendix B - Castle survey questionnaire

Survey of Castle Administrators in Poland



UNIVERSITY OF
NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

This questionnaire has been designed to take no more than 15 minutes to fill. There is space provided below every question, should you however require more space to answer any of the questions or for your comments, please do not hesitate to use the last, blank page.

International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies (ICCHS)
School of Arts and Cultures
Bruce Building
Newcastle University
Newcastle upon Tyne
NE1 7RU
Telephone: +44 (0)191 222 7419
Fax: +44 (0)191 222 5564
e-mail: icchs@ncl.ac.uk

Name of the castle or of the town where it is found:

.....

1. What is your name and surname

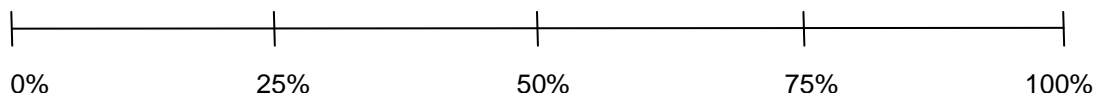
(it is needed for validation purposes only and will be kept confidential)

.....

2. What is your job title?

.....

3. Approximately, what percentage of your working time is devoted to managing the castle?
(please circle the relevant point on the scale)



4. Could you please describe up to 3 of your most important duties with regard to the castle?

1.

2.

3.

5. Who is the owner of the castle you administer?

(please mark relevant box)

the state

non-profit organization (society, foundation etc.)

private owner

business owner (for commercial use)

6. How many staff is involved in running the castle?

(please mark relevant box)

Regular staff

Seasonal staff

none

none

1-5

1-5

6-10

6-10

11-20

11-20

21-30

21-30

> 30 (please specify)

> 30 (please specify)

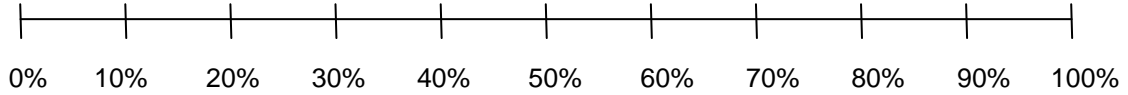
7. How would you describe the state of preservation of the castle?

(please mark the relevant box)

- complete castle
- partly ruined \longrightarrow since when?
- complete ruin \longrightarrow since when?

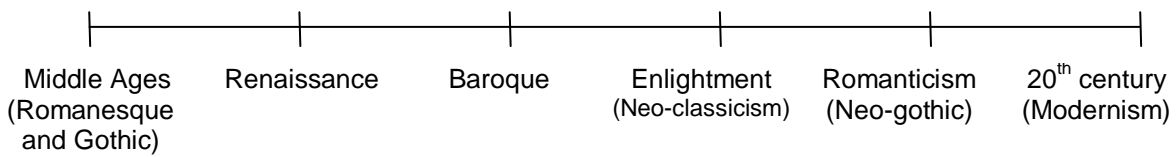
8. Approximately, what percentage of your castle fabric is original? (i.e. has never been replaced nor altered during any known construction works since the year 1945)

(circle the relevant point on the scale)



9. Which period (architectural style) does most of your castle fabric date from?

(circle the relevant point on the scale)



10. Is your castle a listed building?

(mark relevant box)

- yes \longrightarrow when exactly was it listed?
- no

11. Do you agree that the current Act on Safeguarding and Protection of Monuments of 23 July 2003 and related legislation assist your castle management practically?

(mark relevant box)

strongly disagree	disagree	neither disagree nor agree	agree	strongly agree	does not apply
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

12. After the original function (residential and defensive) - did the castle have a function in the past that would be different to the function it has today (examples: previously a private residence, currently a hospital, changed in 1950's; or: previously public services offices, currently a private hotel, changed in 1990's)?

(mark relevant box)

- yes
- no (proceed to question 13)

12.1 If your castle had a past function (or functions) different than today, please describe it (them) and specify when the change(s) took place.

.....

.....

.....

.....

13. What are the primary functions / secondary functions of your castle currently?
(mark as many as apply)

	Primary Function	Secondary Function
Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gallery	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
State Administration	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Local Authorities Offices	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Court of Law	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Scientific Institution	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Educational Institution	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Healthcare Institution	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Catering Services	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Accommodation (for visitors)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Conference / Training Venue	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Owner's Accommodation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Permanent Ruin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Archaeological Site	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please describe)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

14. Where do your funds come from?
(mark as many as apply and estimate the percentage)

ticket sales	<input type="checkbox"/> %
Primary Functions (as in the table above)	<input type="checkbox"/> %
Secondary Functions (as in the table above)	<input type="checkbox"/> %
state subsidy	<input type="checkbox"/> %
Other (please describe)	<input type="checkbox"/> %
Other (please describe)	<input type="checkbox"/> %

15. Please describe the features your castle can offer to its visitors.

(mark as many as apply)

- guided tour
- self-guided tour (with a guide book or other tour aids)
- simple sightseeing of the castle, no tours of interiors
- exhibition(s)
- live interpretation / historical re-enactment
- various organized events
- café / restaurant
- overnight stay
- commanding / interesting view of the surrounding area
- other or non-tourist facilities (if the castle's function is not tourist oriented)

16. Why do most people visit your castle?

(mark as many as apply)

- to enjoy its features
- because it is famous
- because it is picturesque / beautifully positioned
- because it is on a major communication route
- because it is a part of the national curriculum to visit a castle when at school
- because it has been recently advertised / featured on the TV / promoted in another way
- it is a popular feature in package holidays
- they were encouraged by their friends / relatives / word of mouth
- they come to take part in an event taking place at the castle
- other or non-tourist reasons (if the castle's function is not tourist oriented)

16.1 How are you aware of this information?

(mark as many as apply)

- | | | |
|---|--------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> through visitor surveys | —————> | Who administered the surveys? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> through personal observation | | <input type="checkbox"/> you (the castle administration) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other: | | <input type="checkbox"/> another body (e.g. the Tourist Board) |

17. Would you like to attract more visitors?

(mark relevant box)

- yes
- no (proceed to question 18)
- not applicable (proceed to question 18)

17.1 If you would like to attract more visitors, please specify why and how.

.....
.....

18. Does the castle have a Management Plan or a similar strategic management document?

(mark relevant box)

- yes
- no (proceed to question 19)
- in development (proceed to question 19)
- not applicable (proceed to question 19)

18.1 If your castle has such document, please explain briefly its title and what it covers.

.....

19. If available, could you please provide the visitor figures for the last 5 years?

2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
.....

20. During the last five years - was the tourist activity at the castle continuous or seasonal?
 (mark relevant box)

- continuous
- seasonal → when is the high season?

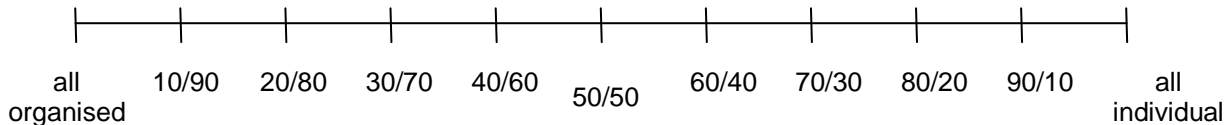
21. Please indicate the average proportion of foreign to domestic visitors to your castle (during the last five years).

(circle relevant point on the scale)

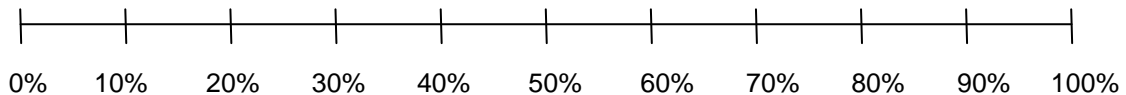


22. Please indicate the average proportion of organised groups to individual visitors to your castle (during the last five years).

(circle relevant point on the scale)



23. During the last five years - what was the average share of school groups within the organized groups? (circle relevant point on the scale)



24. Would you agree to take part in a more in-depth interview in the future?

- yes
- no

Appendix C - Interview Questions

Definitions

1

There is an ongoing discussion about the definition of a castle amongst those involved with castles in Poland and in the Polish subject literature. How would you define "a castle"?

1a

Would you accept the following definition: "an enclosed structure of both residential and defensive purpose"

2

Would you describe your castle as a Polish castle?

3

Would you agree that "castle administrator" is a fitting title to describe your position?

Castle management

4

What influences / instructs the way your castle is being administered? (Management Plan, Policy Document, Statutory Acts)?

5

You indicated that the 2003 Act on Safeguarding and Protection of Monuments does/doesn't assist you management of the castle - which aspects of this Act do you find particularly helpful / unhelpful and why?

6

As the castle administrator (if agreed to the term, if not - use adequate term suggested), to what extent can you influence the castle's surroundings?

7

Do you know / have contact with other castle administrators / owners in Poland? Which ones?

8

What is your and your staff background and training?

Protection and identity

9

What are in your opinion the most important consequences of listing your castle?

10

Do you think that the local community recognises the consequences of your castle being a listed monument?

11

Does the local community identify itself with the castle, and if yes - in what ways?

Functionality

12

You indicated that your castle has several functions. Which one of them is the most important in your opinion?

12a

How important are the functions of your castle, in your opinion, to the local and the wider community?

Visitors

13

Do you think that the visitors to your castle have anything in common as a client group (target group)?

14

Do you think there is a separate category of 'castle tourism'?

15

Do the needs of your visitors ever conflict with other aspects of managing the castle?

Ownership

16

Is the recent ownership of the castle contested, and if yes - why?

16a

How is this problem being addressed?

Appendix D - Castle survey accompanying letter

Michal Ryszard Koskowski

Postgraduate Research Student - Newcastle University

email: m.r.koskowski@ncl.ac.uk

telephone: +44 7792 492 545

post: 10a Alexander Place, IV3 5BX, Inverness, Wielka Brytania

Dear Sirs,

Introduction

I am a fourth year part-time postgraduate research student at the Newcastle University in Great Britain. I am conducting a research project in the field of heritage management. In particular I am interested in the management processes of castles in Poland.

The attached questionnaire is the most important tool of gathering data for my research. It is being sent to over two hundred and thirty castle administrators to help identify the practical circumstances of castle management in contemporary Poland. The questionnaire is designed to take approximately a quarter of an hour of your time to complete it. Upon completion please insert the questionnaire in the included franked return envelope and post it as an international mail. If possible please kindly do so within two weeks of receiving this letter and no later than within one month.

Ideally the person completing the questionnaire would be the owner, the manager, or the director of the castle. However, it will be just as important and welcome if the task will be carried out by any other person with practical knowledge of the processes involved in the castle's management.

If any point of the questionnaire seems not applicable to your castle please do omit it. Should you have any questions or reservations regarding the questionnaire please do not hesitate to contact me using the email, telephone number, or post address given above. I will be most happy to assist you.

Data Protection

I would like to assure you that this research project is being carried out in compliance with the Statement of Ethical Practice for the British Sociological Association (March 2002) and according to the Good Practice Guidelines of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Newcastle upon Tyne. In particular I would like to emphasize that the identities and research records obtained through the attached questionnaire will be kept confidential. Furthermore, the anonymity of participating persons and institutions will be preserved throughout the research project and in any ensuing publications. Care will be taken to prevent any data being released or published in a form that would permit potential identification of the research participants without their prior written consent. Completion and return of the attached questionnaire will be treated as your informed consent to participate in this research under the conditions stressed above.

I am grateful for your attention and will mostly appreciate your involvement in completing this questionnaire. Should you require any more information about this research project please do not hesitate to contact me or, if you prefer so, my supervisor using the contact details provided in the attached letter of support.

Yours sincerely,
Michal Ryszard Koskowski

Appendix E - Castle survey letter of support from Peter Stone

To whom it may concern

This is to confirm that Michal Koskowski is a registered postgraduate student in the School of Arts and Cultures at this University. His thesis topic is: *Castle Management in Poland in the early Twenty-First Century*.

This survey forms a crucial part of his research and I would be very grateful if you would provide him with as much support as possible by completing his questionnaire.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if I can provide any further information concerning this project.

Thanking you in anticipation.

Professor Peter G Stone
Head of School

Appendix F - Informed consent form for interviewees



Michał Ryszard Koskowski
Research Postgraduate
Tel (UK): +44 7792 492 545
Tel (PL): +48 601 621 302
e-mail: m.r.koskowski@ncl.ac.uk

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NE1 7RU
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Tel: +44 (0)191 222 7419
Fax: +44 (0)191 222 5564
e-mail: icchs@ncl.ac.uk

Name of the town or name of the castle:

.....

Consent Form

This research project is carried out in compliance with the Statement of Ethical Practice for the British Sociological Association (March 2002) and in accordance to the Good Practice Guidelines of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Newcastle upon Tyne.

All information obtained and recorded during the interviews will be kept confidential and the anonymity of participating persons and institutions will be preserved throughout the research project and in any ensuing publications. Care will be taken to prevent any data being released or published in a form that would permit potential identification of the research participants without their prior written consent.

I confirm that I have read the above statement for the research project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand that my participation in this project is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from it at any time, without needing to give a reason.

I give my consent to audio-recording of the interview under the conditions stated above.

Name of participant

Date Signature

Researcher Date Signature

One copy to the participant and one copy to the researcher.

Appendix G - Additional Tables

Table 14. Previous function of the castle - spreadsheet.

Castle number	Public - Administrative	Public - Educational	Public - Museum	Public - Housing	Public - Hospital	Public - Orphanage	Public - Leisure venue	Courthouse	Prison	Warehouse	Religious	Military	Private residence	Disused
3		•												
6			•											
11		•												
14		•												
16														•
17										•				
21								•						
22									•					
25	•													
26													•	
28												•		
31						•								
32							•							
36				•										
40	•													
45														•
46													•	
48											•			
49														•
50				•										
52					•									
53									•					
54										•				
57	•													
58									•					
61										•				
62										•				
65		•												
67		•												
69							•							
71														•
73											•			
76													•	
Σ	3	5	1	2	1	1	2	1	3	4	2	1	3	4

Table 15. Current primary and secondary functions of the castle - spreadsheet.

Castle number	Primary functions											Secondary functions																				
	Museum	Gallery	State administration	Local authorities	Courthouse	Scientific institution	Educational institution	Healthcare institution	Catering	Visitor accommodation	Conference / training venue	Private residence	No function - permanent ruin	Archaeological site	Other	Total no. of functions	Museum	Gallery	State administration	Local authorities	Courthouse	Scientific institution	Educational institution	Healthcare institution	Catering	Visitor accommodation	Conference / training venue	Private residence	No function - permanent ruin	Archaeological site	Other	Total no. of functions
1														•	1																	1
2	•														1		•					•	•									4
3	•														1																	0
4															0																	0
5	•	•					•							•	4															•	1	
6	•														1																	0
7															0																	0
8	•														1																	0
9	•														1															•	1	
10														•	1																	0
11		•					•			•					3									•	•							2
12															1																	0
13												•			1														•		1	
14	•														1																	0
15												•			1	•																1
16														•	1																	0
17	•														1							•	•			•						3
18															0																	0
19															0																	0
20															0																	0
21	•					•	•								3																	0
22	•														1							•	•									2
23	•														1																	0
24												•			1																	0
25															0																	0
26															0																	0
27															0																	0
28	•	•													2							•	•									2
29													•		1															•	1	
30							•								1	•																1
31	•									•					2		•					•		•				•				4
32									•	•	•				3	•	•										•	•				4
33					•										1																	0
34									•						1																	0
35								•							1																	0
36	•														1		•					•					•			•		4
37															0															•	1	
38		•					•								2	•	•							•	•	•						5
39	•						•								2										•	•						2
40	•	•				•	•						•		5																	0
41												•			1	•													•			2
42															0																	0
43							•								1												•					1
44			•												1																	0
45	•														1																	0
46							•								1																	0
47														•	1																	0

Table 16. Sources of funding - spreadsheet.

Castle number	Admissions	Primary functions	Secondary functions	State subsidies	Local government subsidies	Other (own resources)	Castle number	Admissions	Primary functions	Secondary functions	State subsidies	Local government subsidies	Other (own resources)
1				40%	60%		43		100%				
2	8%				92%		44		100%				
3		10%			90%		45	1%	99%				
4							46				90%		
5							47	80%					20%
6	10%			70%	10%	10%	48	34%	27%	28%		53%	20%
7							49		100%				
8	1%				90%	9%	50		100%				
9	2%		3%		95%		51						
10							52		99%				1%
11	15%	10%	10%	30%	20%	15%	53	10%				90%	
12							54		10%				90%
13			1%			99%	55					100%	
14					100%		56	40%	10%			50%	
15	100%						57				100%		
16							58	20%				80%	
17	5%		1%		94%		59						
18							60				100%		
19							61						100%
20							62			10%		90%	
21		10%			90%		63				100%		
22	1%				70%	29%	64						
23							65		100%				
24							66				80%		
25					100%		67				100%		
26							68						
27							69	10%		2%	25%		63%
28	10%			45%	45%		70				100%		
29							71						
30				100%			72						
31							73	2%		2%		96%	
32	30%	50%	10%			10%	74	5%	15%	13%	7%	60%	
33						100%	75						
34							76	5%	65%	25%	5%		
35				30%		70%	77	40%				40%	20%
36	2%					98%	78	3%	20%	35%	40%		2%
37							79		100%				
38	10%						80						100%
39	80%		20%				81						
40	1%			90%		9%	82	12%		21%	67%		
41	100%						83						100%
42							84	30%			70%		
							Median	10%	58%	10%	70%	90%	25%

Table 17. Visitor services offered by the castle - spreadsheet.

Castle number	Guided tour	Self-guided tour	Simple sightseeing, no tour	Exhibition(s)	Live interpretation / reenactment	Organised events	Tearoom / cafe / restaurant	Overnight stay	Commanding / interesting views	Other / non-tourist features	Total number of features
1											1
2	•	•	•	•		•	•				7
3	•	•		•	•	•	•				6
4											0
5	•	•	•	•	•	•		•			8
6	•	•	•	•		•	•	•			7
7											0
8	•	•		•		•				•	4
9	•	•	•	•	•	•			•		7
10											0
11	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	10
12											0
13	•					•		•		•	4
14											0
15		•		•					•		3
16	•					•			•		3
17	•			•		•					3
18											0
19											0
20	•	•	•	•							4
21	•	•	•	•		•					4
22	•	•	•	•		•			•		4
23	•	•	•	•		•					5
24											0
25			•								1
26											0
27											0
28	•	•	•	•		•					5
29		•	•	•							2
30	•	•	•	•		•	•	•			2
31	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	•		8
32	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	•		6
33			•							•	2
34											0
35			•								1
36	•	•	•	•		•			•		6
37											0
38	•			•		•	•	•	•	•	7
39	•	•		•				•	•		5
40	•	•	•	•	•			•	•		7
41	•	•		•				•			4
42											0

Castle number	Guided tour	Self-guided tour	Simple sightseeing, no tour	Exhibition(s)	Live interpretation / reenactment	Organised events	Tearoom / cafe / restaurant	Overnight stay	Commanding / interesting views	Other / non-tourist features	Total number of features
43		•									1
44	•	•	•	•		•					7
45	•	•		•							6
46			•								1
47	•	•									2
48	•	•	•								3
49			•								1
50	•		•					•	•		5
51											0
52		•		•		•			•		4
53	•	•		•		•					4
54			•					•		•	3
55		•		•		•				•	4
56	•	•		•		•			•		5
57			•								1
58	•	•		•		•	•		•		6
59	•	•		•	•	•			•		6
60	•	•	•	•		•			•		6
61	•		•			•			•		4
62	•	•		•		•		•	•		6
63											0
64											0
65	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•			8
66		•								•	2
67			•						•	•	3
68											0
69	•	•	•	•	•	•					6
70	•	•			•	•	•		•		6
71	•	•	•	•		•	•		•		7
72		•									1
73	•	•	•	•		•	•	•			6
74	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	•		7
75											0
76	•		•	•		•	•		•	•	7
77	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•		8
78	•		•	•		•	•		•		6
79								•			4
80	•			•	•	•	•	•	•		7
81											0
82	•	•	•	•	•	•	•				7
83	•	•	•	•		•	•		•		5
84	•		•	•		•	•	•			6

Table 18. Reasons and means to attract more visitors - detailed - the reasons.

If you would like to attract more visitors, please specify why and how.
Part 1. Reasons
Status
The castle is the most important monument in town
The castle has an interesting offer
Museum performance is measured through admission numbers
The castle is the only such well preserved castle of this type in the country
To make the castle more popular
Because it is a historical monument in a historical setting
It is a very attractive and regionally unique building
We would like the castle to become a key tourist attraction in the region
The castle played a monumental role in the history of the country
The castle is the biggest cultural institution in the region
The castle boasts unique architectural features
The castle is worth it
Mission
Admissions justify the need for the museum to exist
Our mission is not to protect the castle but to educate and entertain visitors
Museum could better realise its educational mission
It is natural for a museum to wish for more admissions
More visitors could spread the word better about attractions in our town
More people could learn the history of our region
More visitors mean that the word-of-mouth can spread even better
As institution of culture we need to fulfil our cultural and educational mission
Revenue
More admissions mean more revenue
More visitors = more money = more flexibility to act
To increase available financial resources
If the castle is popular, the institution which owns it earns more money
Museum receives very little subsidy - admissions could improve its standing
To earn more money which then enables us to organise free mass events
Once the castle is better known countrywide it can earn more money

Table 18 continued. Reasons and means to attract more visitors - detailed - the means.

If you would like to attract more visitors, please specify why and how.
Part 2. Means
Marketing & Promotion
Modern methods of promotion are needed
The castle needs to be promoted also as an off-season attraction
The castle needs to be promoted alongside the town in one big campaign
Publication of a new book about the castle could help
The castle needs to be promoted as part of its very attractive region
Promotion needs to be intensified
Better advertising and more interesting exhibitions and events
Better advertising, especially at the roadside
We are currently advertising new permanent exhibitions about our town
Tourists need to be channeled in from the surrounding area
The castle needs to be included in promotional materials about the region
Advertising to a wider audience is needed but it requires more funding
Marketing activities are necessary
Promotion through travel agents - organised tours
Better advertising in mass media
History needs to be better promoted
A lot of money is required for promotion
Tourist offer
The number of functions of the castle is increasing all the time
Exhibitions need to be more attractive
Conservation works need to be advanced
The tourist offer must include living history that involves visitors
We can offer beautiful panoramas of the surrounding area
Additional offer for staying guests - sauna, fitness
We have interesting exhibitions
We have prepared an offer which combines culture and leisure
More money is needed to broaden the offer and to revitalise the castle
Intervention in the fabric
Further reconstruction of the castle will help broaden the offer
To let in more tourists the castle needs to be fully refurbished
Refurbishment of the hotel and thematic, historical styling of the interiors
Tourists need to be let into currently inaccessible parts of the castle
The castle's historical interiors have to be recreated
More money is needed for refurbishment and maintenance
We are applying for European funding to revitalise parts of the castle
Change of Ownership / Management methods
The castle needs a new owner
More staff and better infrastructure are needed to serve tourists
We need to raise more operational funds
All local public institutions must get together for this
Education
History of Poland needs to be taught better at schools
The castle is a family seat of a historically important family
Infrastructure
Better auxiliary infrastructure is needed and more promotion
Tourism infrastructure, transport links and roadside signage must be improved

Table 19. Foreign visitors, organised groups and school groups in 2003-2007 - detailed figures.

Castle number	Average proportion of domestic tourists	Average proportion of organised groups	Average proportion of school groups within the organised groups	Castle number	Average proportion of domestic tourists	Average proportion of organised groups	Average proportion of school groups within the organised groups
1	90%	90%	100%	43	50%	80%	30%
2	80%	40%	70%	44	98%	99%	70%
3	90%	70%	90%	45	90%	10%	90%
4				46		100%	
5	90%	70%	35%	47	40%	60%	60%
6	80%	40%	60%	48	90%	60%	90%
7				49	80%	90%	20%
8	90%	30%	80%	50	70%		30%
9	90%	60%	90%	51			
10				52	70%	60%	50%
11	90%	50%	25%	53	90%	20%	80%
12	100%	80%	90%	54	40%	70%	40%
13	90%	60%	40%	55	90%	80%	50%
14				56	90%	60%	60%
15	90%	60%	80%	57			
16				58	70%	60%	30%
17	90%	40%	70%	59	70%	50%	70%
18				60	90%	80%	90%
19				61		50%	
20				62	80%	70%	30%
21	80%	60%	70%	63			
22	90%	30%	80%	64			
23	80%	50%	30%	65	70%	60%	30%
24	100%	70%	50%	66		80%	40%
25				67			
26				68			
27				69	70%	50%	50%
28	90%	30%	90%	70	80%	50%	30%
29			80%	71	90%	40%	80%
30	90%	60%	70%	72			
31	85%	40%	80%	73	90%	40%	40%
32	85%	75%	80%	74	70%	70%	
33	80%	90%	30%	75			
34				76	80%	70%	70%
35	90%	90%	10%	77	80%	40%	40%
36	70%	80%	20%	78			80%
37				79	90%	20%	95%
38	80%	80%	40%	80	90%	30%	30%
39	80%	40%	60%	81			
40	80%	80%	0%	82	80%	50%	70%
41	90%	60%	30%	83			
42				84	70%	70%	40%
				Median	85%	60%	60%

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