



Challenges and Priorities for Action in Urban Conservation

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ABSTRACT: The threats to historic urban areas generated by modern urban planning have been of concern to the conservation community since the mid-1960s. Since that time, evolving concepts of urban heritage conservation and its role in urban rehabilitation and regeneration have been addressed through international, regional and local principles and guidance, driven largely by conservation practitioners. Over the last decade, the urban conservation challenge has grown critical due to rapid urbanization and the resulting growth and transformation of cities worldwide. Conserving historic urban environments is currently one of the most universally urgent and challenging cultural heritage conservation issues. This paper makes an effort to enumerate the key challenges in conserving historic cities and urban settlements and understand how these challenges have had an impact on these cities; to examine the role of heritage professionals and others involved in interrelated disciplines such as social and economic development; to recognize the most critical theoretical and practical conservation needs of the field; to discuss specific tools needed to better plan and conserve historic fabric, to improve practice, and to support professionals and decision makers in addressing conservation threats.

Keywords: Urban Conservation, Historic Urban Environments, Historic cores.

I. INTRODUCTION

Over the past century, unprecedented changes, globalization, rapid uncontrolled development, demographic changes, and building up of economic pressures among others has directly impacted the preservation of historic urban environments. Immigration and natural population growth leads to rapid urban expansion and subsequently an increased density within historic areas, while smaller rural centres turn obsolescent and suffer from high rates of emigration resulting in abandonment and/or stagnation. This paradoxical existence of growth and decline are indicative of larger social, economic, and cultural factors that shape development.

Rapid population growth and urban sprawl contribute towards the evolution of cities into megalopolises where planning agencies fail to control development effectively. Urban Typologies specified for general and strategic planning purposes are seldom recognised during urban conservation drives. As a general practice, cities have been labelled according to size and certain assumptions made about planning needs and potential solutions based upon these size typologies. Conservation practice has not related common

problems to this type of categorization. Therefore specific impacts on heritage have not been correlated to these typologies. It also hampers the practitioners' ability to discuss these issues. Instead, solutions are best developed on a case-to-case basis. Use of a similar typological approach would improve the ability of heritage practitioners to relate impacts upon heritage to larger planning issues, facilitate a common language for discussing these issues, and assist the field in strategically targeting needs to these urban typologies. Four focus areas of need identified for successful management of urban heritage:

- (i) An effective governance and legislative framework;
- (ii) Policies to facilitate implementation of the legislative framework;
- (iii) Economic instruments and tools that address market failures and secure conservation actions where these occur; and
- (iv) Awareness about the value of heritage and mechanisms to enhance active public participation.

The solutions for conservation and management of a historic area are inter- and intra-dependent and do not fall within the purview of any area exclusively. Efforts in each of these areas need to be balanced and simultaneous.

An overreliance on legislation, for example, without addressing economic issues will have limited success. Although there is widespread acceptance of the need for better integration of conservation into the broader planning and city management framework; there is a lack of knowledge about how to achieve this.

II. THE ACTORS: ROLES, RESPONSIBILITIES AND INFLUENCE ON CONSERVATION OUTCOMES

Historic cities and urban settlements are live sites, subjected to constant pressure to meet the needs of many users who live, work and use the urban area on a daily basis. The challenge lies in the seemingly opposing but often allied forces of conservation and development being balanced while these agglomerations undergo change and adapt to the evolving needs and aspirations of their inhabitants. Addressing conservation needs requires improved channelling of factors of change to mitigate the potential negative impacts on the significance and value of the historic urban fabric. To ensure this, both tangible and intangible heritage values that contribute to the heritage significance of the urban area need to be clearly identified, and mechanisms for their protection and management established and integrated into the planning framework. These mechanisms must take account of and circumvent the pressures of modernization, the desired improvement in living standards, and new environmental requirements. Acknowledging the physical impact of social change is vital to identifying new protocols for managing such impacts and finding ways to successfully accommodate advances in civil society to retain the heritage significance.

To arrive at a successful, proactive, integrated solution for the conservation of heritage and to manage the inevitable change and demands for sustainable development, an ever expanding range of actors need to be involved in urban planning and conservation processes. Isolated or confined conservation efforts result in a lack of integration into the general urban planning framework, thereby limiting success. Aiming for an integrated approach implies a shared responsibility of decision-makers, owners, inhabitants, users, and visitors. The relationship between the actors is critical with clearly defined roles and responsibilities that are well understood by all the actors and processes for dealing with conflict if necessary.

A. Political Decision Makers

At the municipal level, political decision makers define and implement policies that drive the approach to the interpretation of heritage, its conservation and the role

conservation plays in the city's future development. Decision makers are seldom trained in the field of heritage conservation and rely on the city's various technical departments to manage urban development and conservation.

As politicians are elected to the platforms aimed at improving the urban environment through change, development & economic advancement and heritage conservation & management is often perceived as an impediment to the same; they look to the future rather than the past, to short-term actions rather than long-term planning. Often iconic new buildings are considered synonymous with development and regeneration. Subtle, less visible change is not as recognizable, and thus politically less attractive. It is vital to link conservation actions with visible and recognizable improvements which correspond with shorter timeframes and complement political cycles.

While urban planning is essentially a locally administered process, heritage conservation, especially when involving a World Heritage site, is operated at the regional or national level. Conflicting objectives, priorities and interests across various levels of administration complicate both the decision-making process and implementation of heritage policies, further isolating conservation practice from the city's management. As national funding drops, cities are increasingly required to become financially self-reliant and attracting private investment to facilitate their municipal needs inevitably becomes a priority. Strong local leadership emerges as the key to ensuring the integration of conservation planning needs with other strategic planning demands, to establishing official mechanisms that meet various governance requirements, to engaging with the population and other entities that can affect conservation outcomes, and to securing and directing the necessary resources to implement actions that will serve as catalysts in the conservation process.

B. Urban planners, architects and conservation professionals

Maintaining a robust and effective administrative structure is critical because of the rapid cycle of changes at the political level. Ongoing education and support for appointed government officials ensure long-term environmental, social, and economic sustainability of cities. Given that urban environments are subject to continuous evolution and change, establishing and retaining professional conservation expertise within the core of an urban area's planning and management structure becomes critical. The processes require periodic revision and adaptation to keep pace with planning processes.

Heritage conservation professionals and urban planners are acknowledged as experts representing separate areas of practice. Conservation professionals and departments occupy obscure levels in municipal institutional hierarchies where their influence is meagre and no direct access to the decision-making paths necessary to propagate good conservation practices. Lack of policy guidance and poorly implemented legislation can aggravate this situation.

Current architectural education offers little training about historic urban environments, historic buildings or conservation. Current architectural training emphasizes the new and promotes personal expression over context-based design. The rise in the popularity of the iconic building as emblematic of a city's success and power has reinforced this approach. Newer, bigger, more noticeable insertions into historic urban areas now compete with the historic environment rather than recognize it as iconic in its own right. Global architectural approaches currently pay little heed to the local context and rarely recognize the local distinctiveness that comes from historic fabric. Furthermore, those approaches do not encourage the use of materials that reflect local conditions. Current architectural education has also largely abandoned teaching about traditional materials and construction techniques, thus deskilling generations of architects in how to work with historic buildings. This shift in architectural approach and language has not only had a major impact on global, historic urban environments, but it also reflects a lack of consensus and consistency in the implementation of conservation planning processes.

Contemporary urban planners are not well versed in the analysis of historic urban areas and their role in the urban environment, which limits the potential for development of an understanding of how the urban area functions or what the relationship between intangible and tangible heritage values is. New urban planning trends have sought to emulate the benefits of earlier historic models but have not dealt with how to interface with what already exists.

Conservation training provides a little interface with the range of disciplines engaged in the urban planning process – such as social development or infrastructure development, which play a role in the urban conservation process. Situations in which the heritage field's definition of successful outcomes with respect to planning initiatives is so inflexible that a solution is difficult to reach, and can be mitigated through training in negotiation, collaboration, and conflict resolution.

The various elements that contribute to the heritage values of a place have not been accurately articulated. The architectural values may be well expressed, but the

social values, landscape, and less-tangible values that need to be conserved to sustain the urban area may not be well defined, and the mechanisms for their protection may not be well established. Conservation practitioners do not always agree on the fundamental concepts of urban conservation and are not using a common language within the profession. Coupled with the fact that the field uses conservation-specific terminology that is not well understood outside of the conservation sphere, the ability to integrate heritage conservation into the broader planning framework is hampered.

In Less-developed countries may lack a rigorous framework for heritage conservation, as well as competence, skills and/or resources. Competence in urban planning skills and experience may also be lacking. Combined with rapid urban expansion, underdeveloped infrastructure, and new economic models that rely more on the private sector to deliver public outcomes, this means that the challenges are critical.

C. Developers

In many parts of the world, the shift to—or growing strength of—the market-driven economy has resulted in an increasingly powerful development industry. In some areas where governments do not have good strategic planning frameworks in place, developers play a determining role in the process of urban development. Without a sound planning framework, when left to the market urban development and regeneration is opportunistic and driven largely by economic market forces such as real estate or tourism. This can result in uncontrolled land speculation, leading to issues such as mono-functional development, which can drive out activities and occupants that contributed to the significance of the place. Demolition and replacement of heritage buildings to provide new and modern architecture and infrastructure; or over-gentrification of heritage places, which can distort or misrepresent their heritage values, inevitably resulting in the loss of intangible heritage values that contribute to the significance of the place.

The development industry can play an important, beneficial role if the framework is well defined, and the interests of the government, developer, and population are aligned. Private sector involvement in heritage conservation is increasingly demanded by governments around the world. This can be highly successful, especially if the government strategically drives the process through identification and clear expression of significant heritage values, as well as provision of a sound legislative and policy framework for the protection of heritage values and management of appropriate changes.

Clearly defining what needs to be conserved, what extent or type of change is appropriate, and how the heritage values of the place need to be revealed or interpreted during the development process can result in highly successful and sustainable conservation outcomes.

D. Builders and contractors

The impact of the construction industry and prevalent practices is often overlooked when building works in historic areas are carried out. The general acceptance of practices that fall short of the expectation when intervening in historic urban environments causes a divergence between the objective and the attempts made towards achieving it. Builders working in historic areas, particularly those involved as contractors in major restorations and public works, should be selected on the basis of their competence to respond to the specific requirements of historic buildings and urban environments.

E. Inhabitants, users and visitors

Inhabitants and Owners play a crucial role in conserving historic urban environments. Unlike many large monuments, urban areas include privately- and publicly-owned buildings and public spaces. In many instances, the heritage significance of an urban area may also be the result of the particular use of these buildings or spaces, as well as other intangible values such as living traditions. Conservation is thereby implicitly linked to the inhabitants. They are the caretakers of the place, responsible for the daily use and maintenance of both private and public spaces. They also transmit the intangible cultural values of the urban area and may have long-held associations with the place.

Gentrification and the resulting displacement of traditional inhabitants, or conversely abandonment by the middle-class to lower-income inhabitants, fractures the relationship between inhabitants and the significance they contribute to the place and can result in a loss of the intangible heritage values of the place. The shift from middle-class to low-income inhabitants can result in absentee ownership, a lack of commitment by owners, the inability of low-income inhabitants to maintain the physical fabric of the buildings, increased density of occupation, the subdivision of properties from single to multiple family occupancy, and unsympathetic accretions and additions. Gentrification, or land speculation due to tourism or other economic forces, can drive up land prices, displace populations, change the use of buildings and urban spaces, and remove activities that may contribute to significance.

Inhabitants play an important role in promoting, conserving, and managing their heritage. Identity, a

sense of belonging, and ability to continue the activities associated with intangible heritage values of a place ensure the continuity of these values. Therefore, inhabitants should be involved in the planning process in a timely manner and from the start of the various processes. However, the success of inhabitants' involvement relies on a sound governance framework, clarity about their roles, and acknowledgement that some decisions and actions may need to be undertaken by the government.

The multifunctional nature of the city (economic, administrative, commercial, recreation, and residential) is usually reflected in its physical fabric. Where the urban area is multifunctional, maintaining these activities secures the cultural dynamic and sustainability of the place. This requires specific policies and mechanisms to retain this dynamic and address issues such as use. For example, for the cultural significance of the urban area to be sustained when there is pressure for tourism-related development within a residential area, the inhabitants need to be considered as the primary stakeholders.

F. Relationship between actors

Public institutions lack a holistic vision of how historic urban areas should be planned and managed, while the residents themselves are marginalised and have little control over the decisions that directly affect their immediate surroundings. This lack of vision and abdication of responsibility and controls has created a situation in which the initiative is largely left to private, piecemeal interventions, without coordination or a sense of the long-term objectives to be achieved. This development model can be devastating when applied to the often fragile fabric and social context of historic urban areas, which are highly valuable for their centrality and thus perceived as opportunities for high-end redevelopment. Without consideration for the tangible and intangible values accumulated over many generations, and for the dense stratification of housing, small businesses and localized manufacturing that are the lifeblood of historic cities everywhere.

In general, heritage conservation is not well understood by politicians, decision-makers, owners, and inhabitants. There is a crucial need to better present the value and the benefits of the heritage and its conservation. Local government officials, investors, and local communities seek clear, transparent, accessible presentation of the aims and benefits of the preservation of the historic environment. They seek to better understand how conservation can improve the quality of life, how historic buildings can be adapted to useful new functions, and how conservation of cultural resources relates to other concerns, such as sustainability and environmental conservation.

There is a need to promote the heritage values of a place and highlight conservation as a positive, attractive and beneficial strategy for urban management and development, and demonstrate conservation's role in the identity, social, cultural, and economic life of the city.

Key to success is a strong, centralized governance framework, with skilled heritage professionals as well as other urban experts who understand the role of heritage conservation and an informed, engaged citizenry.

The involvement of inhabitants and local people is indispensable and can endure through political cycles. Successful conservation is a result of simultaneous top-down and bottom-up support. Building long-term support for heritage and its conservation is critical.

Urban and conservation planning should be better integrated across professional spheres of urban planning, including social and economic areas of development. It is imperative to bridge expertise within the different fields of a city's management to ensure constructive, multidisciplinary, transverse understanding, and to generate cross-cutting efforts.

There is a potential to include conservation in the dynamic of an urban area's development, to better integrate conservation into the decision processes of other fields, and ensure a multidisciplinary approach that would facilitate the integration of social needs with other needs of modern life such as transportation and infrastructure. Approaching conservation from other perspectives through other initiatives (such as environment, health, and education) would contribute to a more proactive attitude and, consequently, be more successful.

Within the professional conservation sphere, international doctrinal documents such as charters and declarations provide a common body of knowledge and language. However, heritage professionals do not share this language often enough outside their domain, and many have not been effective at communicating how heritage significance relates to other necessary actions. Heritage practitioners need to work together to improve communication within the profession and find common means of adapting their messages and language to appeal to a wider audience.

Generally, there are few well-articulated principles for intervention in the historic environment. This is particularly true for infill development, an area demanding more and more attention, where it is necessary that there be agreed-upon approaches and ground rules both for those intervening and for decision makers.

III. DEFINING HISTORIC CITIES AND URBAN AREAS AND IDENTIFYING TYPOLOGIES

A. Relating significance to the area to be protected

At present, there is no well-understood definition of the historic centre or core that identifies all associated tangible and intangible attributes. A historic urban area is essentially defined by the extent of the historic fabric. This definition fails to recognize and protect significant features, such as geographic setting that contribute to the significance. Different constituent parts of an urban area – the city plan, strategic areas, monuments, landscape, etc. should be identified and attributed different values and levels of significance; this helps in developing tailor-made conservation strategies. In a historic city continuously evolving and changing with time, pacing the development and/or managing the physical manifestation of change is critical. While some constituent parts, run a high risk of exposing their heritage significance to irrevocable damage, other components may be more flexible and accommodating of change. Decision makers are benefitted with this knowledge about the limits of adaptability and should be able to discern how and where development is required to either interpret or sustain the historic urban environment. The system thus developed needs to anticipate change and be applied consistently.

B. Scale as a means of identifying urban typologies

Cities resemble forms of life, using their structure to respond continuously to the changing conditions, yet having well-established cycles of use and disposal of energy and resources, all set to variable cycles of time. They are the true expression of a culture and accurately reflect its capacities, ideas, skills, values and grasps. In their form, structure and architecture, they symbolize human aspirations, reflect the social needs of their citizens and exploit the limits of technology. Political events and historical phenomenon play important roles in the shaping of the human environment. Each has its own character and physiognomy.

There may arise commonalities in approach, drawn from size, scale and expanse of the city, such as whether the historic area is within a modern city or the historic fabric extends over most of the urban environment. The issues and conservation approaches shall differ for a small city versus an extensive metropolis. Prevalent methodology in urban planning uses the concept of city typology and defines common approaches based on the segregation. This approach has not been followed by urban conservators, but there appear to be benefits to examining it. Once the relevant typologies have been identified, it will be possible to develop or identify specific tools or approaches that work best for the various typologies.

In that way, urban conservation actions can be fitted within more general planning approaches for the different typologies. Existing urban typologies can be used as points of reference to support a useful classification for historic urban settlements. Adopting this urban planning methodology to urban conservation can assist in better targeting the tools used for managing historic urban areas. It will also bring urban conservation closer to urban planning methodologies and facilitate interdisciplinary communication about conservation needs and practices.

C. Function, use and tourism-related development

Most historic cities and many historic urban areas support a range of different but complementary functions. Retaining the multifunctional dimension in the historic urban area is crucial to preserve its values and secure its future. Poorly managed tourism-related development is a specific issue that has been identified as a cause of damage to historically significant urban areas, particularly those on the World Heritage List. Tourism-related development is often seen as the solution to secure the economic viability of historic urban environments. This concept is widespread and misleading, frequently interrupting the balance between multifunctional aspects of the city and all too often leading to the destruction of the very thing attracting people to the area. The economic benefits resulting from tourism are often so important that governments have responded by establishing governance structures that take tourism-related development outside the usual heritage and planning framework, frequently with disastrous consequences.

Where heritage is a source of substantial economic benefits, it is essential to manage the pressures that result from tourism-related development through a sound governance structure that puts heritage conservation front and centre. A more sustainable approach to focusing all development on tourism is to introduce tourism-related activities into the range of activities that already exist, without damaging others that contribute to the heritage significance of the place. Providing a diverse and wide range of activities and attractions that recognize, celebrate, and interpret the various heritage values of the urban area and neighbouring areas is a means of both reducing the stress on the historic core and promoting development in other areas, thus benefiting a wider sector of the community.

IV. TOOLS FOR ENHANCED CONSERVATION OUTCOMES

A. Urban analysis and mapping tools

Mapping techniques, including GIS, are widely employed tools used by governments to document what

exists and plan for the future of the physical environment. Most heritage mapping tools identify and locate heritage places. Some define levels of significance, plot policies for their management, and in some instances plot heritage values. The potential to map other values, including intangible values, social significance, and economic benefits is less well utilized, but could be a very powerful tool in gaining an understanding of intangible values and relating economic benefits to heritage significance.

Conservation policies and actions may not apply to the whole city, but these policies and actions need to be located within the overall planning framework for the city. Macro-planning efforts need to indicate and be cognizant of the need for detailed analysis of the historic urban environment and its conservation needs.

Defining the acceptable degree of change based on typological studies of the urban fabric is an important tool to manage historic urban fabric. This information should inform strategic urban planning efforts, and together with a flexible decision-making process will result in better conservation outcomes. But decisions need to be made based on sound, detailed knowledge.

New technologies and tools used in other planning fields should be investigated to determine how they may be adapted to the fundamentally cyclical process of planning. Much heritage analysis work has not yet been incorporated into planning databases used by authorities, thus undermining a more effective integration of conservation into the planning process.

The tools for monitoring the condition of the historic urban environment are inadequate at best and non-existent at worst. Few examples exist where mapping tools have been used to provide clear information about the condition or the vulnerabilities of the historic urban environment, particularly with respect to monitoring the extent and rate of destruction and/or transformation of historic areas. Consequently, there is little information on the impact of the change in historically significant urban areas.

B. Economic tools

Economic analysis plays an ever-increasing role in the development of government policies and in securing private investment for the conservation of the historic environment. The tools for economic analysis as they pertain to heritage conservation are limited and difficult to apply. Clear models and tools for articulating the economic benefit of urban heritage are urgently needed. The impact of development on the heritage values of a place is often weighed against the economic value of carrying out development in the region or urban area. Better tools to assess this would assist the decision-making process, where loss of heritage value is being traded off against short-term economic benefits.

Traditional construction techniques, materials, and methods are often disregarded as inferior or considered too time-consuming and, therefore, too costly to use in the process of urban regeneration or rehabilitation. However, the abandonment of traditional methods or materials invariably has long-term detrimental effects, not just to the fabric itself but also in the eventual loss of know-how and the disappearance of traditional materials (due to loss of the market for the material). Enhanced information and tools that evaluate the long-term cost/benefit of using more traditional approaches can assist in making a case for sustaining the use of traditional materials and methods.

C. Models and examples

Despite the plethora of heritage-related publications in circulation, it is difficult to gather information about successful examples of urban conservation practice. Better information and awareness of best practices that describe the legislative and governance structure, policies and plans for actions, economic models, and public programs that secure community support and action is needed. There are successful, locally developed guidelines that deal with issues such as adaptive reuse of buildings, urban regeneration, and infill development, but there is little generic information available that can be easily adapted at alternate locations.

V. ACTIONS TO ADDRESS THE IDENTIFIED CHALLENGES AND NEEDS

1. Integrate conservation practices and protocols within the urban planning process

-Previous attempts to integrate the practice of evaluating pre-existing conditions of historic urban environment and its conservation into the urban planning process have been neither bold nor assertive enough.

-Strategic partnerships are required to reiterate the significance of the symbiotic relationship between conservation and sustainable development.

2. Enhance the mapping tools used by authorities to identify and manage the historic urban environment

-Mapping is a powerful tool that can be employed to visually identify and locate the historic urban environment and assert the relationship between significance and the policies in place to protect that significance. There exist mapping tools that provide legible information on condition and underlying vulnerabilities of the historic urban environment, and can be used to calibrate change. Providing good models of such mapping tools would greatly enhance the ability to communicate conservation needs and monitor actions.

-Establishing mapping tools to enable monitoring of the extent and rate of destruction and transformation of historic urban areas on an ongoing basis.

-Promoting increased public participation and improved understanding mandates better public access to less jargon-laden and visual mapping tools with simple user interface. Public access to information about heritage places that explains their significance and conservation policies in place to protect these values will improve understanding of the system, inspire greater confidence, and ensure wider support.

-Mapping methods are potential robust decision-making tools if employed to reflect the impact of social and economic values.

3. Categorize urban areas by typologies and develop typology-specific tools and strategies

-This approach will enable efficient management of historic urban areas and frame appropriate target policies. It is also a way align the methodologies of urban conservation and those employed in urban planning.

4. Carry out a pilot study that embeds economic development in a conservation management plan

-Choose a historic area with a need to improve economic sustainability as a case study and conduct a pilot study that aims to link local development actions with conservation actions.

5. Identify successful models and best practices of tourism management to guide local governments to better evaluate the potential of tourism development.

-Critically examine examples where tourism initiatives draw upon the pre-existing cultural activities, with a special focus on the tools and methods employed and scale and focus area of interventions. The examples should highlight how the reinforcement of local activities helps arrive at integrated conservation solutions.

6. Identify good examples of long sustained practices, embedded in regional or national frameworks that successfully communicate heritage values, enable effective management of local needs and assist in developing suitable conservation actions.

7. Change the paradigm of urban conservation and try to illustrate how conservation actions can improve the quality of life, manage thoughtful change that limits negative impact on the heritage values and reinforces said values.

8. Recognize and reiterate the importance of local government's role in managing historic urban environments. Examples of potential tools/guidance to develop include:

-To secure buy-in for conservation actions, raise the profile of heritage, and clarify its role in the cultural, economic, and social development of the city. Tapping into pre-existing mechanisms and programs within city governance frameworks—e.g., the sustainability agenda increases acceptance.

-Information for the local government on managing and facilitating public participation.

-Build negotiation skills of conservation professionals to interact within the governance framework.

9. Build the construction industry's capacity in construction work

-Raising awareness amongst contractors' associations and chambers of commerce to disseminate the special requirements and methods of construction applicable to historic buildings and infrastructure installations in sensitive heritage areas.

-Encourage the development of firms well-versed in heritage conservation, as well as the establishment of accreditations and rosters for specialized contractors.

10. Forge strategic partnerships between development agencies and heritage practitioners / agencies.

11. Develop a transparent framework to translate well-targeted guidance policies into an applicable process. This template should propagate identification and categorization of various typologies and allow flexibility of the framework across varying contexts.

12. Develop principles-based guidance on intervening in the urban environment. Guidance could cover issues such as the inclusion of modern architecture in the historic fabric, how to address issues such as significant

views, skylines, adaptation and regeneration of historic cores, and how to manage issues of increasing density.

13. Installing a credible framework to assess the economic benefits of heritage and integrate it within the decision-making process.

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