

Preservation and Transformation: The Role of Industrial Heritage in Urban Regeneration

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Abstract

This research proposes the reconsideration of cultural built heritage and its role in revitalization projects, based on the analysis of specific examples of regeneration through Culture. In this paper, the emphasis will be placed on a rather underestimated type of heritage, - the industrial one. As a result, a series of concepts associated with cultural regeneration of former industrial sites will be analysed, in order to illustrate the benefits resulting from the implementation of cultural and creative functions within the industrial areas. Widely, this paper proposes to identify the possible directions of intervention and the existing theoretical approaches regarding the urban regeneration phenomenon through culture, by emphasizing the results obtained through the implementation of projects based on Culture and Creativity. A consistent part of the research focuses on alternative approaches regarding the use of cultural activities in urban regeneration projects. Thus, the author intends to identify the effects resulting from the implementation of cultural strategies based on the regeneration of former industrial sites, used by a large number of European cities in their quest to win the title of "European Capital of Culture" (ECoC) – Glasgow, Liverpool, Essen, Lille, Mons or Pecs. In this regard, a series of questions arise: Can an abandoned, de-structured industrial site become a key tool in urban regeneration projects? What kind of strategies can be adopted in the regeneration process of a former industrial heritage site? Which are the positive and negative effects resulting from the integration of built heritage into the future urban development projects? What is the scale of interventions? What can be preserved and what must be transformed in order to guarantee a successful regeneration project? The answer to these questions is discussed in the present article.

Rezumat

Această cercetare propune reconsiderarea patrimoniului cultural construit și a rolului său în cadrul proiectelor de revitalizare, pe baza analizei unor exemple specifice de regenerare prin intermediul culturii. În această lucrare, accentul se va pune pe un tip de patrimoniu destul de subestimat, - și anume cel industrial. Prin urmare, vor fi analizate o serie de concepte asociate proceselor de regenerare culturală a fostelor situri industriale, cu intenția de a ilustra beneficiile rezultate din implementarea funcțiilor culturale și creative în zonele industriale. Pe larg, lucrarea propune identificarea posibilelor direcții de intervenție și a abordărilor teoretice existente privind fenomenul de regenerare urbană prin cultură, subliniind rezultatele obținute prin implementarea proiectelor bazate pe Cultură și Creativitate. O parte consistentă a cercetării se axează pe abordări alternative privind utilizarea activităților culturale în proiectele de regenerare urbană. Astfel, autoarea articolului își propune să identifice efectele care rezultă din implementarea strategiilor culturale bazate pe regenerarea fostelor situri industriale, folosite de un număr mare de orașe

europene în încercarea lor de a câștiga titlul de "Capitală europeană a culturii" (ECoC) - Glasgow, Liverpool, Essen, Linz, Lille, Mons sau Pecs. În acest sens, o serie de întrebări pot fi adresate: poate un sit industrial abandonat și distrus deveni un instrument-cheie în proiectele de regenerare urbană? Ce fel de strategii pot fi adoptate în procesul de regenerare a unui fost sit din domeniul patrimoniului industrial? Care sunt efectele pozitive și negative rezultate din integrarea patrimoniului construit în viitoarele proiecte de dezvoltare urbană? Care este amploarea intervențiilor? Ce se poate păstra și ce trebuie transformat pentru a garanta reușita unui proiect de regenerare urbană? Răspunsul la aceste întrebări este analizat în prezentul articol.

Keywords: industrial heritage, culture, reuse, urban regeneration, sustainability, European Capital of Culture

1. Introduction

The role of Culture in urban regeneration projects has been recognized by international documents dedicated to cultural heritage and by the specialty literature. Franco Bianchini [1] noted in 1993 that the evolution of the cultural contribution in the urban planning has undergone major transformations in the last decades: if until 1970 the economic potential of cultural activities was ignored, starting with the social movements in the urban environment in the 1980s, the role of culture was intensively speculated, cultural activities being seen as an integrant part of urban development projects. This is the moment when *Culture* is placed at the heart of urban regeneration strategies, the substantial infrastructure investments leading to the creation of cultural reference projects, often related to the built heritage. As a result, the cultural values integrated within the historical architecture become essential in the process of conversion, the protection of these attributes through the cultural re-use of industrial heritage buildings being a desired intervention method.

This trend was generated by *the transition from an industrial to a post-industrial society*, in which the manufacturing production tends to be replaced by a new type of economy, based on innovation and creativity. Culture-led regeneration, a process dedicated to the production and consumption of cultural goods, emphasizes both social and economic components. This development model involves however, a multidisciplinary approach based on the reuse, revitalization or renovation of a place, through the active involvement of art, culture and creativity [2]. In this context, culture often serves as a palliative measure for solving various problems generated by de-industrialization, cultural activities being seen as a catalyst force and an engine for the regeneration of former industrial areas [3]. At the same time, the symbolic role, clearly assumed by projects based on cultural functions, allows the reinvention of de-structured industrial centres, as the impact generated by the use of culture in the transformation of the territory is obvious. In addition, culture can constitute the link between the past and the future, facilitating the emotional relationship of the community with its long-lost history. The implementation of urban regeneration programs based on culture is therefore one of the main methods of action in the field of territorial planning, the role of cultural functions being speculated equally by the cultural, administrative and political factors involved in this process.

2. "European Capital of Culture" - a useful tool in urban regeneration

One of the programs that helped promote *Culture* among European cities was without a doubt the "European Capital of Culture" program (ECoC), initiated in 1985 - a catalyst for the urban regeneration process through culture. This initiative aims to highlight the cultural diversity and richness of Europe, with a special contribution to the sustainable development of cities and

surrounding areas. The program has benefited from massive promotion, the scale of the event rising considerably from year to year and becoming one of Europe's most known and visible cultural events. The initiative has led to the creation of "laboratories for a strategic investment in culture at local and regional level" [4]. In its thirty years of activity, the program offered millions of Europeans a new sense of belonging to a common cultural space, culture being in this sense the catalyst element of the whole process: "The concept of *Culture* received a new meaning with the launch of the European Capital of Culture program. [...] The capitals have demonstrated Europe's capacity for defining culture in the broadest possible sense — and for giving it a high profile too. In recent years, the chosen cities have promoted culture in so many of its facets, from the most refined miniatures to the most spectacular public events. And in giving culture that high profile, it has repeatedly breathed new life into a city's cultural consciousness [5]".

The overall objective of this approach, carried out over a calendar year, consists of protecting and promoting the diversity of Culture in Europe, highlighting common features, increasing the sense of belonging to a common cultural space among citizens and stimulating the contribution of culture to the long-term development of cities [6]. In addition, as specified in the European Capitals of Culture Report 2020-2033, the program refers to a number of specific objectives that need to be met by candidate cities, including:

- improving the range, diversity and European dimension of cultural facilities in the cities, including through transnational cooperation;
- expanding the access and participation in cultural actions;
- strengthening the capacity of the cultural sector and its links with other sectors;
- strengthening the international profile of cities through culture.

As the reports prepared in order to assess the impact of this program show, for most of the cities that held this status the implications were beneficial, the title of ECoC acting as a catalyst in the process of territorial transformation. In addition, there has been a significant increase in self-esteem and pride of the local community towards the city, this resulting in a considerable involvement of citizens in relation to the cultural actions undertaken. Also, the development of a new cultural offer and infrastructure allowed a better understanding and definition of the cultural profile of the city, both at national and international level, thus favouring the development of tourism in the area. The events within the ECoC program foster the development of infrastructure and cultural facilities, being equally tools for the economic revival and the enhancement of the candidate city's image [7].

However, the expected results have not always been achieved through the implementation of the ECoC program. Often, the incoherence of cultural strategies, which rely on the effects produced by punctual interventions, overlook the real stakes of this program, almost totally ignoring the development of the tourism sector (the success of this initiative being often measured in the number of visitors attracted) or the implementation of long-term development of the territory. Thus, the lack of sustainability in the implementation of the cultural projects is seen as a common problem, part of the candidate cities for the ECoC title directing their efforts to fund events and projects dedicated to celebrating this event throughout the year, without taking the necessary steps for the long-term development of the territory [8]. At the same time, in isolated cases, the negative image associated with post-industrial cities is only partially transformed by the implementation of this program. Thus, although in the short term, the reputation of these urban centres has been improved by the recognition of their status as cultural cities, after this event the physical characteristics of the urban environment, specific to the post-industrial cities, continued to dominate the perception of the public, as G. Richards and J. Wilson suggest.

3. Reinventing the industrial past through Culture

European cities have noticed the potential of this cultural program, the competition for the title of "European Capital of Culture" being increasingly accentuated in the last decades. In this respect, a number of cities with a rich industrial past have tried to claim their status as Capital of Culture, including Glasgow, Liverpool, Rotterdam, Essen, Linz, Genoa, Marseille, Lille or Pecs. Thus, the transformation of extensive former industrial areas into spaces dedicated to culture and creativity was an essential element in the process of reinvigorating these former urban industrial centres. Starting from the analysis of a large number of reports addressing this topic, the following paragraphs offer a brief overview of some of the cities who relied on the rich industrial heritage in an attempt to affirm the uniqueness of their local character.

Glasgow, 1990

Unlike other cities that previously benefited by the EcoC title, Glasgow was the first city to propose the use of this program in order to accelerate the urban regeneration process through the use of culture [9]. The British city, which did not have a clearly defined cultural identity at the time of its candidacy, used this opportunity not only to increase its visibility among other European cities, but rather to experience different advanced planning strategies [10]. Glasgow's vision has made it possible to reinvent the original concept proposed by EcoC, as the policy followed by the British city has led to a change in the attitude of cultural policy makers in relation to the future strategies used by the European candidate cities for the title of Capitals of Culture. The European program thus became "a powerful instrument of cultural development, operating on a scale that offers unprecedented opportunities, acting as a catalyst for the change of the city." [11] Notwithstanding this, it should be noted that Glasgow's approach has been innovative in several aspects, cultural events being strategically planned under the guidance of specialists in the field. In addition, the British city was the first European Capital of Culture to monitor the impact of these actions on the economic and social environment, even after the end of the program [12].

In the case of Glasgow, a port city marked by the decommissioning of industrial facilities, this program has benefited from considerable funds from the local authorities, being financially supported by the private sector in order to develop a cultural infrastructure and to fund cultural activities dedicated especially to the educated public in this field. The implementation of cultural programs was not limited to the central areas of the city, the cultural strategy of the former industrial city relying heavily on the rehabilitation of the existing built heritage [13]. In addition, the continuous development of the economic, social and tourism sectors, as well as the cultural and touristic infrastructure, together with the radical transformation of the city's image - complete the range of benefits provided by ECoC program implementation in the British city [14].

Despite its unquestionable achievements, a number of limitations can be highlighted in the implementation of this program in Glasgow. On one hand, the criticisms regard the way in which the cultural programs relate to the citizens of the city, these events being dedicated mainly to an elitist public. At the same time, the industrial heritage of the city has not been fully exploited, in some cases being reduced to a series of inconsistent images [15]. In addition, the number of tourists was not maintained at the 1990 rates, the lack of long-term strategies having negative implications on the growth rates provided by the authorities [16]. Equally, the inconsistency of cultural policies application developed during the implementation of this program has led to the impossibility of financially supporting long-term cultural programs, the British city's evolution being in this respect attenuated after 1990. However, as Jurgen Mittag observes, following the example imposed by Glasgow, the ECoC program has received an impulse and a new identity. In addition, the author notes that after this initiative, there has been a major change in the selection criteria of the candidate cities, these being nominated not only because of their qualities, but also because of the creative potential and the proposed innovative strategies that appeal to the sustainable development of

culture [17].

Liverpool, 2008

Another city elected European Capital of Culture, Liverpool - one of the least typical British cities, has benefited from a similar process. A port city with a rich industrial past, Liverpool underwent a series of dramatic changes in the post-war period, which have put their mark on all sectors of urban life. In addition, a major problem was the large number of emigrants, with their integration becoming a priority. To solve these problems, Liverpool has developed its application file based on the example offered by Glasgow, the regeneration action through culture being an essential element: "The regeneration of the industrial landscape is the main objective on the agenda. Culture, with its potential to stimulate both tourism and domestic investment, but also to meet the enormous challenges posed by the community regeneration, is a key tool in this direction" [18].

The first attempts to regenerate the city began well before the ECoC title was awarded, with the rehabilitation of the port area - Albert Dock, in 1980. The rehabilitation of the vast harbour complex soon became a "symbol of optimism and national hope for the future of industrial cities under siege and for the potential of industrial heritage preservation projects" [19]. Thus, the port area of the British city was gradually transformed, alongside the famous Albert Dock (which include, among others, a maritime museum, an art museum and two hotels), the Wapping Docks and Waterloo Dock being rehabilitated through the implementation of residential functions. Stanley Dock Warehouse was part of this massive project and is currently used as a commercial market and space for cultural events [20].

This approach is continued two decades later when, in 2008, Liverpool won the title of ECoC with a project entitled "The World in One City". Based on its rich cultural heritage inherited from past ages, Liverpool sought to position itself on the cultural map of Europe using this event as a catalyst for its development as a major touristic destination [21]. It is also interesting to note that starting from 2003 and continuing until 2010, Liverpool has launched a series of thematic cultural programs in order to encourage the sustainable development of the territory, the cultural infrastructure and the area's economy, while the cultural activities can be seen also as an appropriate response in solving social problems. The area known as Kings Waterfront - located in the immediate vicinity of the famous Albert Dock is transformed as well: between 2005 and 2008, on the site of a former car park a conference centre, residential and touristic buildings and leisure facilities were built [22]. The considerable operating budget allocated to the ECoC program, worth 142 million Euros (four times higher than the average budgets attributed to other cities holding the ECoC title) [23], has facilitated the radical transformation of Liverpool.

The success of the ECoC project in Liverpool cannot be challenged. The major social, cultural and economic benefits generated in 2008 make the city a frequent used example for the positive implementation of this program. However, there were voices criticizing the approach of the British city, arguing that the investments and cultural events were directed mainly to the city centre, the impact of these actions being insignificant in other urban areas, as D. Hull writes. In addition, the author suggests that much of the local diversity and traditional forms of culture have been ignored under this program at the expense of cultural activities dedicated to an elitist public [24]. At the same time, despite the considerable financial support and significant tourism revenue, the Liverpool municipality faced a series of financial difficulties after 2008, the success of the programs developed after the ECoC year event being questioned.

Pecs, 2010

Pecs, one of the most important mining centers in Hungary, was chosen in 2010 as European Capital of Culture. The past has left deep traces in the city's physiognomy, reflecting equally on its cultural life. Thus, winning the title of ECoC was seen as a major opportunity to revive the city's

economic, cultural and social life. These aspects were also highlighted in the application for the title of ECoC, among the objectives mentioned by the organizers being: the transformation of former industrial buildings into cultural and artistic centers, the rehabilitation of public spaces and built heritage, the development of creative industries sector, the transformation of the urban environment through the arts, but also the social rehabilitation of the neighborhoods in the area [25].

The transformation of the post-industrial Hungarian city character through the implementation of cultural and creative activities seems to be an appropriate response to a sustainable development of the territory. In this respect, the extension of the cultural infrastructure, resulted in the reuse of existing industrial facilities, has found its answer in the creation of a new cultural cluster - Zsonay Cultural Center, which was funded on the site of a former ceramic factory. The main purpose of establishing this cultural center is, as stated by the project's initiators, to create a compact creative environment in order to transform it into a space dedicated both to production and consumption [26]. The newly created Zsolnay Cultural Quarter provides, besides the necessary facilities for the development of the creative environment, a series of spaces for cultural production, education and performances that can be used both by tourists and by the citizens of the city.

Although the new cultural center, spread over an area of almost five hectares, was one of the five key elements provided in the original draft for the ECoC competition, the intervention was not completed in 2010. Thus, only a limited number of spaces within the Zsonay Cultural Center were used with the occasion of ECoC event. This has attracted a large number of criticisms, the whole approach being considered "rather an ad hoc result of individual ambitions, than a rational and complete planning project" [27]. This statement is supported by the fact that the new functions and the profile of the new users were not fully known when the rehabilitation project of the former industrial facility has started. Although bold, the approach made by Pecs raises an alarm signal against the management risks that are associated with a far too centralized and over-politicized administration, being able to undermine the legitimacy and the success of the whole process [28].

Lille, 2004

Together with Glasgow and Liverpool, Lille has been able to assert its position among the most important European cities, significantly improving its urban image following the implementation of the ECoC program. The initiative of the French city was unique until then, by involving the members of the Belgian administration in organizing the event, the location of the implemented cultural programs crossing the country's borders and celebrating its history as a historic Flemish city [29]. By considering the entire metropolitan area, which includes a total of 193 cities, Lille certainly was the most European city in the program, as Pier Luigi Sacco and Giorgio Blessi noticed [30].

Lille, one of the major commercial and industrial centers in northern Europe, has benefited since the 1970s from a series of rehabilitation interventions of its former textile factories, by transforming them into residential or office buildings, these operations being financially supported by the local authorities. Due to the strong link between the local population and the architectural legacy of the industrial age, the regeneration through culture of an extended area "is not just a response to the region's lack of attractiveness, it is also a matter of self-esteem and pride for the community" [31].

Under the ECoC program, the industrial past of the city has not been overlooked, as the industrial image of the region was strongly re-evaluated. An essential step of the program implemented in Lille was marked by the launch of the twelve new cultural poles across the entire region named Les Maisons de Folie [32]. The industrial heritage of the area has been put to good use through the proper conversion of these former industrial premises into art factories. These include La Maison Folie Wazemmes (the former Leclercq spinning mill), La Maison Folie de Moulins (the former Trois Moulins brasserie), La maison Folie de Roubaix (the former administrative building of the Roubaix Chamber of Commerce, designed to control the quality of textiles). Following this event,

Lille continued in the same direction, capitalizing on the region's industrial past, by rehabilitating valuable decommissioned industrial buildings. Thus, thanks to projects developed in recent years, the industrial heritage of the city has been brought to the attention of the community. The new "EuraTechnologies" - the former Le Blan-Lafont spinning mill or "Fives Cail Babcock" - a former steelworks industrial unit, are just two examples that demonstrate the success of these interventions.

Essen – Ruhr, 2010

A similar approach was taken by Germany in 2010, when Essen won the ECoC title, involving in this process the entire Ruhr region with all its 53 municipalities. The program, developed under the motto "Change through Culture - Culture through Change", aimed at a radical transformation of the largest mining region in Europe, which entered the 1970s in an accentuated phase of decline.

The decision of the organizers was motivated by the regeneration of the former industrial area, a process initiated in the late 1980s, with the implementation of an international exhibition dedicated to architecture - Internationale Bauausstellung Emscher Park. This approach rejected the idea of urban planning, proposing instead an original development strategy, based on the reuse of existing industrial buildings, the valorization of the existing heritage, with respect for ecology and tourism promotion through major cultural events [33]. Encouraged by the success of this initiative, the German city has based its cultural strategy on a number of concepts, two of which call for the vast industrial heritage of Ruhr region: "Culture as an engine" (which involves the use of industrial heritage in order to create a cultural and creative economy, but also to address the ecological problems of the region) and "Creativity for Europe" (which promotes the transformation of the industrial society into a creative one, through the use of cultural activities) [34]. Culture has been used as a tool for the economic and social revival of the region, with more than 1000 listed industrial monuments being integrated into the proposed strategy, the heritage finding a new utility.

At the same time, as part of the sustainable development of the region, the emphasis was on the implementation of creative programs. Essen was the first European Capital of Culture to integrate creative industries into its development strategy in order to create new capital markets [35]. In this respect, the European Center for Creative Economy (ECCE), a creative platform whose mission is to continue the ECoC initiative, was founded in Essen. As a consequence, a considerable number of urban centers joined this approach, a series of creative hubs originating in the region following the capitalization of the existing industrial heritage. Together with Zeche Zollverein (a former coal mine industrial complex included in the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2001) - the creative image of the ECoC program in Ruhr region, the industrial buildings transformed into creative centers included the former Zeche Lohberg mine in Dinslaken, the former Dortmund U brewery in Dortmund or Lindenbrauer brewery in Unna, the former spinning mill Scheidt'sche Hallen in Essen. and Jahrhunderthalle URBANATIX - a former steelwork in Bochum.

Mons, 2015

Although the approach was different for Mons in Belgium, the results are similar to those recorded in Ruhr. The slogan of the campaign, "Where Culture Meets Technology," embodies the desire for dynamism and economic revival of the Walloon city, by developing an alternative economy based on culture and technology. This theme proposes, among other things, the development of links between the rich cultural heritage of the past and the future development of digital art facilities, placing Mons in the SMART cities category [36].

However, the action proposed by Mons for the 2015 event is part of a much broader strategy, initiated more than ten years ago, with the main purpose of transforming the entire region of Hainaut. Belgium is one of the European countries whose economic development was largely depended on the innovations of the industrial revolution. A special sector of the Belgian mining industry was responsible for the prosperity of the country at the beginning of nineteenth century.

However, after the 1960s, the Belgian mining industry entered a phase of decline, with much of the former mines in Hainaut being closed and abandoned. The proposal for a comprehensive urban regeneration initiative, focused on heritage, tourism, culture and economy that was initiated in the late 1980s, facilitated the regeneration of former mining centers. Thus, a number of valuable industrial sites in Hainaut, including Bois-du-Luc, Bois-du-Cazier, Grand Hornu or Crachet Picquery, benefited from complex cultural reconversion programs and were then strongly promoted. As a result, the Hainaut region has radically transformed, supporting Mons in its effort to win the title of European Capital of Culture in 2015.

Although the valorization of its industrial past was not a major objective in implementing the cultural program for ECoC, the Belgian town refurbished part of the valuable industrial buildings still preserved. Thus, La Machine à Eau waterworks was transformed into a memorial museum, the former Garage of the Police - Le Manège de Sury is now used as a creative hub, while the former slaughterhouse of Mons has become an artistic creation center - Les Abattoirs.

Timișoara, 2021 - where to?

The creation of a specific identity through the use of cultural programs has become a common practice nowadays, being even more evident for the ECoC title candidate cities. Timișoara, who entered in 2014 the competition for the title of "European Capital of Culture - 2021", could rely on creativity and innovation in this approach.

"The Cultural Strategy of Timisoara" was initiated in 2014 in order to provide a set of directions for the long-term development of the local cultural activity, as part of the preparation process for the ECoC 2021 event. A number of criteria have been taken into account in elaborating this cultural strategy, among them being the valorization of culture's economic potential, the relationship between the stakeholders Timișoara's culture in order to involve the cultural operators in this process, as well as the construction of connecting bridges between the Municipality, the cultural sector and the local community.

One of the major directions on which the cultural strategy of the city is based takes into account the rich built heritage. Thus, as stated by the authors of the Cultural Strategy, over 14.500 buildings are listed as historical monuments or are part of architectural ensembles, most of them being civil buildings. Despite its importance in the development of the city, the industrial heritage in Timisoara is very poorly represented in the List of Historic Monuments, the vestiges of the industrial age being threatened by neglect and disappearance. However, the existing resources left behind by the industrialization can be reused with the help of the Municipality, as these interventions are necessary in order to create a "trustworthy context based on a clear program, even only for a limited period of time, [through which] the spaces that are now abandoned could shelter the artists and the public, and through which the cultural and artistic events could increase the prestige and ensure the visibility of these spaces" [37]. The representatives of the cultural and creative industries sector are very interested in taking over the abandoned industrial units, which could easily accommodate creative activities. Some of them were trying to organize a series of temporary cultural events in order to bring them to public attention and to demonstrate the re-use potential of former industrial spaces in the event of their future conversion [38]. The first step was already taken in this regard: in 2014 an inventory and map of potential cultural spaces was made, these premises being primarily represented by privately-owned decommissioned industrial sites, that are regarded as suitable to host cultural events. Thus, some valuable former industrial sites have been mapped in order to ensure the needs of the cultural and creative sector for new spaces [39].

However, with the exception of a small number of events that highlighted the industrial architecture of Timisoara, this category of heritage was not yet fully speculated in the preparation process for the ECoC 2021 event. Even so, Timisoara can still benefit from the immense potential offered by its

industrial heritage, by assigning new cultural and creative functions and integrating it into future development projects. Thus, the preservation and rehabilitation of industrial heritage supports the consolidation of the specific character of Timisoara, the memory associated with these buildings strengthening the identity of the former industrial city. Also, in the absence of a sufficiently developed and diversified cultural infrastructure, it is necessary to reconsider the historical industrial units still existing, in order to convert and revive these premises. Nevertheless, by following Essen and Mons example, Timisoara can take advantage of this cultural event, by speculating the immense potential owned by Banat - one of the richest Romanian regions in terms of industrial heritage.

4. Conclusions

As mentioned above, Glasgow's approach has made it possible to change the way this cultural program is implemented around Europe: the annual event has become a pretext for urban regeneration and not a celebration of European culture, as desired by the initiators of the ECoC project. Glasgow has thus opened the way to a new mode of using culture as part of territorial planning strategies, its example being followed by a considerable number of European cities. Despite the difficulties encountered during the past, for the former industrial cities the program represented the impulse needed to solve the economic, social or cultural problems caused by de-industrialization, even though in some cases the regeneration process started long before the ECoC title was granted. Thus, whether they have taken advantage of the opportunity offered by the ECoC event to improve their urban image or to develop a creative economy, the cities holding the title of "European Capital of Culture" have explored the potential of cultural activities, both at urban level (Glasgow, Liverpool, Pecs), as well as on a regional scale (Lille, Essen, Mons). Therefore, the integration of culture into urban regeneration projects allows the transformation of a former industrial city into a powerful economic center [40], the 30-year existence of the program initiated by the European Union being a testimony in this regard.

In order to ensure the sustainability and the success of this approach, a thorough analysis of the urban context is required, as well as a long-term planning of the investments implied by the implementation of this cultural program. On the other hand, the involvement of the local community in the decision-making processes can guarantee the success of the whole operation. In this sense, the promotion of cultural diversity must become a priority, with the proposed cultural programs and activities being aimed at all social categories. Also, the needs of the local population must take precedence over the requirements imposed by the tourism actors. The success of urban regeneration operations, process and outcome alike, depends on the cultural specificity of each city, on the way in which the programs are implemented (see Pecs), but also on the attitude of the authorities, the local community and the investors in relation to the existing built heritage.

In all the European countries mentioned above, a significant number of decommissioned buildings and industrial complexes have been recovered and revived through the implementation of new architectural programs. Starting with the warehouses found in port areas, the factories or railway stations located in the city centers and continuing with the large steelworks complexes, the economic and cultural values of industrial sites have been universally acknowledged. As seen in the cases analyzed earlier, the reuse of former industrial buildings and sites have allowed the regeneration of degraded areas within the cities and their surroundings, which became more attractive to the local communities, investors and tourists. Therefore, the industrial heritage should be placed at the heart of extensive development strategies (within the ECoC program and beyond), that should start with the recognition of economic and social benefits to the local community in terms of employment, funding flow and well-being [41].

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