Heritage within landscapes as catalyst for socio-economic development: locating social impacts for rural communities outside of museum walls.

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Introduction

This paper aims at disentangling the role of rural heritage and specifically rural landscapes and vernacular heritage assets for supporting social wellbeing in rural areas in Europe. In this sense, the paper presents findings on how heritage can assist communities respond to key challenges through engaging in processes of valorization and interpretation but also management of heritage assets not only of national but also of local significance. The paper bases its conclusions on a case study from Orkney islands, Scotland, UK-firstly the profile of few rural communities in Orkney is drawn and links between communities and different heritage assets in the projects studied are presented. Insights from participants' perceptions around community needs and way of life allow for an understanding of aspects of rural community's wellbeing. Following, the findings from the analysis of 42 interviews realized with heritage professionals and local people who took part in the completed Scapa Flow Landscape Scheme (2009-2012), are presented, aiming at understanding perceived social impacts, stemming from local community participation in tangible and intangible heritage related activities around Orkney's rural landscape that extend "museum walls" to explore the meaning the participants attribute ad the difference that these experiences made for their lives. Finally conclusion are drawn around the new potential that landscape heritage presents for heritage management at European level in order to fully harness the social benefits for rural communities.

1. Background

Before discussing the notion of participation and community engagement with heritage landscapes or the social impacts form it, a background on the development of the idea of heritage assemblages and the new conceptualizations like cultural landscapes is briefly presented together with implications for management and types of engagement these bring with them.

The notion of assemblages signifies a re-definition of heritage "construct" that suggests embracing intangible aspects of heritage but also a holistic conceptualization, that is not confined to (museum) objects or collections but whole assemblages, traditions and traditional way of life in landscapes that bear meaning for the communities and represents their identity

A rather new definition of cultural heritage is presented, as "a social and political construct encompassing all those places, artefacts and cultural expressions inherited from the past which, because they are seen to reflect and validate our identity as nations, communities, families and even individuals, are worthy of some form of respect and protection" (Labadi and Logan 2015: xiii).

.The European landscape convention (2004, Council of Europe Treaty Series no. 176), is embedding this focus on all places including the rural and local: encouraging member States to introduce a national landscape policy that is not restricted to the protection of exceptional landscapes but also takes everyday landscapes into consideration. At the same time, the Convention includes reference to responsibilities for establishing participation procedures for the general public, local and regional authorities, and other parties with an ultimate goal of the implementation of the landscape policies.

At European level, the same key ideas notion are also endorsed and explored through the Faro Convention (2005), which emphasizes the important aspects of heritage as they relate to human rights and democracy and promotes a wider understanding of heritage and its relationship to communities and society (Schofield, 2015). Faro additionally encourages us to recognize that objects and places are not, in themselves, what is important about cultural heritage. Their importance stems from the meanings and uses that people attach to them and the values they represent. In the outcome of Faro, authors like Fairclough, et al, (2014) suggested a need to emphasize on the wider potential of heritage for supporting sustainable development through the use of term 'cultural sustainability' in parallel with ecological, social or economic sustainability models (e.g. Hawkes 2001; Throsby 2008; Duxbury & Gillette 2007, Kagan 2011).Unlike most heritage conventions, 'Faro' is not concerned with how to protect heritage but why: what are the social and cultural benefits, indeed imperatives, in doing so (Fairclough et al. 2014).

However the Faro was not ratified by all counties and seemingly presented difficulties in its implementation and operationalization. What its basic statements suggest, implies that the Intangible aspects and values are key and are assisting us to better define significance and engage with tangible aspects.

As Munjeri, (2004: 18, quoting Appadurai 2004:18) puts it: 'intangible heritage because of its very nature as a map through which humanity interprets, selects, reproduces and disseminates cultural heritage was an important partner of tangible heritage. More important, it is a tool through which the tangible heritage could be defined and expressed

[thus] transforming inert landscapes of objects and monuments turning them into living archives of cultural values.'

Finally Faro, included a dimension around democratic participation and rights to exercise heritage crucial for developing a 'new paradigm' in the sector, really important in terms of who has rights in engaging with heritage definitions in an era of cultural mix (Holtorf and Fairclough 2013: 197-8) and fluid demographics (particularly relevant to island destinations that are shaped through population movements through years). A parallel body of work has been looking at links between heritage and wellbeing, focusing more on a rights-based approach to heritage and contributions to wellbeing via equity and justice Hodder (2010) and Langfield and Logan (2009).

Faro considered that heritage should also be exercised (as in daily life it often is) by individuals and by heritage communities: by people who share values about specific aspects of cultural heritage to be sustained and transmitted to future generations, by people who share landscapes (see, eg, Shelley et al 2011). This means democratic Participation "to involve everyone in society in the ongoing process of defining and managing cultural Heritage", to preserve heritage not for its own sake, but for explicit and broad social benefit.

Our research approach, will show how aspects of rights and ownership are very relevant, however wellbeing benefits for rural communities realtes very much with planning and function regulation as well: impacts derived indirectly from heritage functioning as social infrastructure, affecting community cohesion for disperse communities, empowerment and development capacity to act towards common goals.

From the role of Heritage as driver for social development to mapping specific social impacts

In a wider, global scale recommendations the issue of the role of culture for sustainable development has been addressed by publications by UNESCO (2010) and UN (2012) and multiple academic and policy voices (Clark ,2007) including a authors dealing with critical heritage studies and sustainable development, who have elaborated realised that 'few studies have so far considered culture in an analytical and explicit way within the frame of sustainability' (Soini and Birkeland, 2014).

In European level, the council of Europe in its last summit, expressed

their commitment to "improving the quality of life for citizens". And included an Action Plan on "Promoting sustainable development", were States agreed that, 'on the basis of the existing instruments, the Council of Europe would further develop and support integrated policies in the fields of environment, landscape and spatial planning, in a sustainable development perspective'.

While multiple academics discuss or have supported the role culture or heritage can play for sustainable development, the focus on social dimension and specifically social impacts is rather more recent. The power of heritage and culture to enhance social inclusion or social cohesion was key focus of such studies, looking also into the controversial role of dissonant heritage.

Engagement with cultural activities in general is considered to support wellbeing as well as enhancing connection with place (Moobela et al, 2009; Lewicka, 2011) or leading to an increased "sense of place" (Graham et al, 2009). Several evaluation reports and studies especially in the UK, supported how heritage participation can enhance both social but mainly individual wellbeing, looking into volunteering experiences to define impacts (Maeer and Fawcett, 2011; BOP Consulting, 2011). However much less work has been focusing on less-formalized experiences of participation, even less outside museum-led and designed projects, with the term engagement adding some "vagueness" around the process of participation. This disrupts our understanding of non-institutional heritage practices in relation to current identification of community's and development needs.

What is more, existing research exists on museum's role for learning benefits and physical health (studies related to use of objects like *Ander et al(2010),* and psychological wellbeing or changes in mood). Another body of work looks at impacts of heritage through regeneration schemes or heritage tourism (between others Mak et al 2017), focusing more on economic impact, integrative planning but looking less on intangible heritage aspects), , leaving a gap for the role of heritage -not to mention and natural and cultural landscapes- for impacting social relationship at community level and aspects of quality of life in on non-urban contexts.

Considering specifically rural heritage assets and social wellbeing or quality of life, one needs to ask first : What aspects of rurality and rural life affect wellbeing? And how can wellbeing assessed or measured at social and community level?

Personal, social and contextual factors (eg. Role of place dependency and physic/social accessibility) pose important restrictions to rural

residents, while proximity with natural environment is considered to offer more opportunities for relation with the outdoors. Ramsey and Smit(2002) offer a set of measures and attributes to assess social impacts on community: as well as understand aspects of rural area wellbeing, through a socio-spatial approach (Dolff-Bonekämper, 2009)and inspired our approach to analysis, suggesting a holistic, social and spatial review of impacts. Moreover the term social wellbeing (as defined by Nef, 2009) can be measured through social capital indicators (see Putnam, 2000, Harper, 2002 for indicators[38] and an application of the theory and concept by Murzyn –Kypisz and and Działek, 2013)that set emphasis when viewed at rural community level to various aspects of connections between small-parish related communities (or variations in levels of bonding, bridging, linking capital highly dependent on rurality effects). Also the interplay of social with individual level, mental wellbeing which may be also affected due to physical isolation in such contexts is crucial.

2. Case study: Bottom up approach to looking at social impacts and challenges of rural context

Orkney is an archipelago with 20 inhabited islands, hosting in total 21,349 inhabitants (2011, 2017 National records, Census). Their context is considered remote in the sense that their distance for the mainland and the restricted accessibility of some of those islands can significantly affect the way of life , resources and opportunities for communities to sustain themselves.

For Orkney Islands in 2014, the percentage of people living in 15% **most 'access deprived' areas** was 62%, which was 311% higher than the Scottish level of 15%. The study aims to shed some lights on how locals perceive social issues associated with that type of deprivation. In that sense is providing evidence around developing ideal indicators for assessing social impact in those areas as well. They also face pressuring sociodemographic challenges due to quickly ageing populations and out-migration issues, that resembles challenges faced by other archipelago's populations across Europe, like for example the Mediterranean but also rural and remote areas. Orkney is projected to have an ageing population

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[38] Harper(2002) for the ONS study, identifies 5 dimensions (social participation, social networks and social support , reciprocity, civic participation, view of local area) related to theoretical aspects of the concept of social capital as defined by Putnam.

over the next 25 years, with a projected increase of 48% for those aged 65 or over. In contrast, the working age population (aged 16-64 years) is projected to fall by 11% between 2014 and 2039.[39]

Despite these, Orkney islands hold an important amount of tangible heritage ranging from prehistoric an Neolithic archaeology (Orkney features over 200 scheduled archaeological sites) to natural heritage -rich biodiversity (a great density of Special areas for conservation-SAC, and Natura areas) as well as rich intangible heritage, with a particular dialect and traditional music preserved by local communities. Finally existing vernacular housing typologies like the remnants of crofters' estates, are combined with crofting and pastoral landscapes (usually existing within areas of outstanding natural beauty-AONB), while in some areas traditional aspects of way of life are preserved (like traditions of peat cutting, stone-dyking etc). All these render Orkney a specifically tempting touristic destination, adding to increased pressures due to the increasing numbers of tourist flows (mainly due to cruise ships) that shape the contextual characteristics defined earlier.

The paper focuses on identifying ways of communities' interaction with existing range of heritage projects realized within the area of Scapa Flow and related with the islands of Hoy, South Ronaldsay, Flotta and the mainland. The projects included multiple types of heritage assets- both designated and sites with non-statutory recognition.

The totally 44 small projects were realized between 2009-2012, thanks to a fund of £1,355,800 mainly by Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) but also complemented by contributions through the European Rural Development fund.

The scheme focused on achieving greater and better public engagement, expressed through specific objectives for including communities in projects, while it involved heritage professionals working on the local institutions that regularly deal with day-to day management of specific heritage typologies in the area. What is interesting is that apart from local authority run-museums, a big number of community-run groups like heritage trusts and associations, were engaged with delivering projects added to research or educational institutions (like universities engaged with archaeological projects).

The five objectives that run through all the projects' development in order to maintain the focus on landscape heritage "alive", focused on (1) access, interpretation of landscape values and heritage (2),

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[39] Data are available here: https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/files//statistics/demo-cen-profiles/orkney-islands-eea-profiles.pdfs

(3) biodiversity conservation but also awareness about it, (4) marine environment, (5) a rather general category of History, culture and nature as well as overlapping areas between (6) education and training[40]. Moreover, 4 cross-cutting, core themes were developed:

(a) conserve and restore built and natural heritage (b) Conserve and celebrate cultural history, events and other activities (c) Encourage more people to access, learn about and become involved in heritage (d) support continuation of local crafts and other skills and each one of the projects belonged at least to one of the latter and to one or more of the first objectives.

The interviews focused on 5-7 smaller projects and these cases will be used to illustrate the links of peripheral, disperse communities with islandic (cultural and natural) rural landscapes, where natural heritage holds a particular significance for local population.

3. Methodology

We performed two sets of semi-structured interviews with 47 people, including 25 community members and 10 heritage professionals who managed projects in the scheme, while we also included few local authority representatives (7) who allowed for a greater understanding of the development of those heritage projects, and various perspectives around the relations of sites with the surrounding landscape. Few projects were selected on the second phase as holding greater importance to understand processes of participation but also enabling us to see various forms and typologies of engagement realized.

Local population representatives around the area of Scapa flow were sampled using the snowball method (Biernacki and Waldorf , 1981),starting with local managers who connected us with various participants. Participants were asked about their motivations for participation, the various activities and roles within projects and most importantly about perceived social impacts of participation in relation to existing social issues and needs of local community.

The rich qualitative data collected were analyzed performing thematic analysis using the software NVivo (Brown and Clarke 2006) in two stages, including both open and axial coding. This enabled the inductive formation of a descriptive set of themes and variables to describe

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[40] Source of information: Appendix 2a, Project selection Matrix for SFLPS, available to the researcher by the interviewees

perceived social wellbeing impacts and social needs or challenges mentioned by community members, that could be grouped not only under individual but most importantly community-level impacts.

4. Findings

Participation : a broad spectrum of what was described as 'active engagement' starting from minimum contribution like experiencing open days and reaching the level of community-initiated and leading proejcts were mapped. Projects included activities which required locals' skills and knowledge for heritage interpretation (exhibition making process, material crowdsourcing for oral histories around landscape etc.) or documentation of sites /portable tangible heritage and changes in the course of time.

The table describes few key projects revolving around sites in Orkney's landscapes and the typologies of participation they represent, with various levels of power and responsibility by community members:

Project description	Participation typology
1.Archaeological excavations and documentation (Iron age/Neolithic)	Training and volunteering (adults/ university students)
2. WWII site "Battery" Restoration project	
3. Vernacular heritage-"crofter" house restoration and reuse as a museum	Self-initiated , community-led project
4. A parish church reuse into a community center and archive and restoration and archive creation of local history	
5. A new interpretation wing development for a *family-run* archaeological visitor centre	Internal managers liaised with external ones, professionals and volunteers in the centre

Table 1: Projects studied and typologies of participation observed in each regarding role of local communities

Following, it will present research findings on perceived social impacts, stemming from participation of local communities in those activities. Those range from an increase in various aspects of social capital (by boosting cohesion and networks creation) to an enhanced «sense of place» and subsequently, the capacity to get involved in decision making processes around place making. I will only focus on discussing the impacts reported at community level or those that affect social life of individuals (instead of impacts around individual learning and skills development that were also widely present in the interviewee's accounts, as expected) (see Gallou and Fouseki, 2019 for an overview of findings).

Perceptions of heritage's role for local sustainable development

Aim of the questions was not only to locate heritage values, but also to understand how local people perceived the role of heritage to support sustainable development locally and specifically enhance aspects of community's wellbeing. What is interest to notice is that despite the research initially aiming at understanding social aspects of wellbeing, the concept was more broadly understood by participants (both managers and locals) including both social and economic parameters and response to contextualized socio-spatial community needs (ie. lack of provisions for socializing, affected by seasonality, lack of spatial infrastructure on the islands that may affect community cohesion and identity at community level and loneliness in individual level) .

In that sense, heritage participation was considered to (1) directly support social development and wellbeing through: (a) Recreational opportunities and act of socialising (b) Integration opportunities for incomers and isolated individuals that was combined with skills sharing, knowledge exchange processes and further educational development especially affecting livability options for younger adults on the islands (a key step for reversing ageing population trends in smaller islands that gradually lose their population).

Indirectly, heritage role for wellbeing was reflected through the prism of :

(2) Supporting local economic development (like through heritage offering job opportunities to tackle issue of seasonality issue in occupation of locals or as expected support local businesses / economy based on services and tourism

(3) Finally and most prominently, heritage role as sustaining place and communities of place (intersects both with social and economic aspects) was underlined:

> This was either through processes of heritage interpretation, here groups could rediscovered personal and communal history and re-stablish connections with place (that sustains population interest and care for depopulated areas for example, instigating further engagement in processes of place-making) or through heritage adding a distinctive identity to place and promotion of key qualities as part of place branding (especially relevant to destination's effect, and heritage viewed as natural environment and landscape/wilderness)

Looking into the indirect role of heritage for supporting livelihoods through economic development opportunities, common perception for managers and locals, was that locals are 'using heritage' to survive: developing relevant tourism activities and economic advances through businesses dependent on heritage, through the concept of competitive advantage:

> "..there is real buzz in that island..in that community....they are utilizing their heritage..they have agricultural heritage.. to attract people to come to their island.." [I9/M9 manager]..

Both Managers admitted that they see a strong role for heritage to assist communities develop new livelihood opportunities, connecting participating in heritage with *using heritage* as a resource via processes of commodification, denoting a certain dependence, in order to fulfill basic functions and secure existence for the rural community that is apparently facing decline due to depopulation/increased out migration of youth. (Clark, 2008). Some community members however, were critical of mass tourism initiatives (like the huge impact of cruiseliners for local wellbeing, where disruption of way of life way evident due to increased tourist flows).

Looking directly to social *wellbeing* of residents, heritage was viewed as supporting liveliness and in long term perspective sustain island livelihoods and way of life. This could be realized by simply allowing for greater connections between locals through heritage activities, where they can discuss current issues with others and socialize. Looking at the issue at another level (relationship between smaller islands' communities) participation with open calls allowed for connecting communities of place that were traditionally not meeting, and allowed for more cohesive relationships to be formed , around common values like place identity. As one participant puts it the contribution;

> "..They did a superb project, you know this encourage lot of history and photos, from all the people in the community ..and also the wider community down in the island has brought stuff and so they got several cabinets, displaying that.. and people enjoying it ..all year around.."[M11 manager]

Furthermore, in a quickly ageing setting, it allowed for .intergenerational transmission and bequest of values towards sustaining not only heritage but primarily community itself and community identity:

> "..they did a lot.. my neighbours in Racwick..some more in Hoy i think (names)... Submitted photos based on her dad... now what is interesting is what is happening..my husband and i were elders.so

we were supervising and helping the young folks.. whereas now, which is superb, after my husband dies, A(name) started working for Hoy Kirk.. [C7]

"is nothing as good as taking over from us....i was so delighted.. and they have done a briliant job, ..setting up the committee now and those taking part .. I would like them to be on the board. "[C14-C15]

'its made Hoy work together better as a team, I think so..So were very dependent on Stromness people Supporting us, so we had run quite a few things for SFLP.. we run film shows and other things, an art group and a craft group..it was really nice a take off..and now people would come to that..[C6]

This transmission of responsibility to safeguard heritage is accompanied with direct knowledge transfer, especially valuable in terms of local skills and intangible heritage in rural places, acting as vessels for continuing character of place and community identity into the future: Safeguarding intangible and skills transmission :

"..because of the commitment to training as part of the scheme, We insisted they have an apprentice in the job.. a younger person can work alongside (name of only left traditional boat builder in that area)..."[C24-C25]

As mentioned earlier, the skills exchange is also happening between incomers and locals, allowing for smoother social integration of incomers in local networks. However it was not uncommon to view tensions, when educated and skills incomers in leadership positions, where considereds threat to locals, especially older community members, despite that, their much need skills were appreciated as they assisted in many cases in competing the propjet deliveries and develop further plans for future projects.

Heritage as counter- acting for lack of social infrastructure, especially in shrinking localities, was an important function recognized especially by the smaller communities (outside of the more central areas of Kirkwall and Stromness), which saw the amount of community assets shrinking during the last decade. Vernacular heritage assets or listed monuments like parish churches can act as hubs for community gathering and function as social infrastructure. They are offering spaces of regular meetings that assist to combat loneliness, induced due to long distances between rural settlements but also allow for non-connected communities to meet and this way enable distanced (socially) communities to re-gather and link with each other. Few

quotes can show how participants experienced this use of heritage spaces, combined with the activities performed there:

> "..and then the beauty of Hoy Kirk is so superb that it is open 24/7.[C8]

> "..and there is nowhere to except for Hoy Kirk..And people would come and make themselves a cup of tea, and in winter there is nowhere on the island to eat except for Hoy kirk..."[C7] [C6]

> 'nowadays the ferries don't work that way, but we could really go over.. and quite a few people particularly the locals, born and bred here have links with Hoy, and you know for them it was quite good, because it was a social event as well, as going over for sth specific.. yes, to reconnect..you know they coud meet up, and chat etc..'[C5]

A key aspect revealed was the active role communities developed in local consultations and planning decisions around land uses in their area, once they have delivered the transformation of the church in a community /heritage hub. Apart from the transformation itself allowing to a bottom-up 'place making' approach, reflecting the start of a social transformation for the remote locality of North Hoy (for the role of heritage in place-making see Cilliers and Timmermans, 2012; Rios and Vasquez 2012), local people build their knowledge and understanding around processes of physical ownership, asset management and financial/funding bids, thanks to their interaction with local authority councilors. At the same time, the process of re-instating the identity of the church in connection with the past of this community, assimilates a creation of a 'new past', that when is constructed in local communities, assumes a key 'need to understand what values are being articulated, and how and why' (ibid.), allowing in other words to develop a strong image of place that supersedes the historic aspect of it.

> "..people move away from that time unless people who are alive who remember it, I think the general public's interest grows because they realize it will be lost.. [M4]

Places after all, assume a key role in the urbanization processes as they satisfy the need for identity and cultural heritage holds key role in establishing that identity in periods of 'regeneration' or 'redevelopment'(Hosagrahar, et al, 2016 ICOMOS agenda). In the case of Hoy, in Orkney glimpses of regeneration can be viewed in a wave of reuse plans in public buildings that lost their use (like schools, that close due to depopulation) but also the increasing pressure form speculating developers to gain access to assets close to pristine wilderness or cultural landscapes aiming at shaping anew touristic resort character for the place.

5. Discussion

The nature of the projects and the themes /objectives developed viewed vis a vis the motivations and perceived impacts, indicated the important interdependence of intangible heritage with aspects of tangible as key for engagement from the perspective of the communities.

This suggests the importance for heritage managers dealing with tangible heritage to understand and approach the diversity of cultural expressions[41] and the perceptions of "practicing communities" in case they still exist or the memories of those, as part of the social history-ies of the place (like in cases of restoration/reuse of vernacular building sand physical attributes that form part of identity of landscapes).

The interconnections between natural and cultural heritage also is another interesting overlap, visible in the case study and in multiple funded stakeholder projects like the ones supported by ERDF and Leader (especially ones encouraging exchanges natural and cultural heritage). These can allow for easier application of the principles of Faro convention in practice and have wider implications for planning similar initiatives, as important overlaps between cultural and biological diversity (Unesco, 2008) are present, since both form vital part of rural lifestyles and traditional knowledge that local communities are willing to conserve and share (see Kassam et al, 2009 for similar findings on indigenous communities), supporting this way local economic development (Bellini et al, 2008). Existing institutional practices should ensure they do not obstruct these exchanges through participation programs.

The analysis showed a list of social impacts affecting wellbeing at community level, that supersede the learning benefits and personal development expected outcomes form participating in heritage activities to affect the broken or distant relationship between neighboring island communities through use of unofficial heritage spaces. These spaces not only allowed for social gathering and covered the lack of social infrastructure present in resource-restricted smaller islands, but in some cases served as symbols of common identity (Nas,2011), uniting people in the base of common memories of the past of such places.

Viewing heritage as a process, as a continuing process, of creating, constructing, using and modifying (Fairclough 2009, 29) ordinary

[41] See also the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005) .

assets as part of ordinary life, as seen within Faro, it is easier to recognize how it operates to form such impacts related with group identity/ shared identity and differentiation (Wolferstan & Fairclough 2013) at community level analysis.

What can be considered a potentially "dark area" in rural context(dark side of Social capital by Putnam, 2000 on effect of bonding on bridging in social capital terms) , is the power of heritage to increase distinctiveness , when misused to enhance segregation or local rivalries (at geographical level), and instead of allowing opening up of communities to new wider audiences and networks, to enclose them in a narrow circle of overprotected heritage. The role of local authorities and professionals in formulating narratives of identities in such small localities should not be underestimated and should be utilized to develop networks of collaboration that extend narrow geographical borders to avoid such consequences.

The findings open up a discuss on how we can start disentangling the role of heritage as driver for social and economic development in European context and specifically in rural contexts: heritage's emerging role in place-making is key, amidst of challenges of gloablisation and touristification as it offers a set of values to re-imagine shrinking places and even develop new "sense of place" that maintain parts of distinctive parts of place identity and community identity itself (that seemed embedded in place identity).

In other words, the social impacts were mapped and connected with spatial implications: engaging with heritage actually affects sustaining people in place, and subsequently sustaining places at risk of disappearance due to demographic reduction. Following place-branding and opportunities for socio-economic development for island destinations can be more firmly grasped upon these. It also offers the opportunity to develop new niches for economic eco-cultural activities (eg. through local entrepreneurship) in remote territories that strive for livability support through a competitive advantage logic in heritage tourism (Loulanski and Loulanski, 2011). In order to better establish the impacts of such processes (and not only their outcomes) in a European level, we need to combine similar studies with comparative policy analysis in different national contexts, in order to understand the role of contextual factors to provide systemic level changes in the long run.

Considering implications of those findings for heritage practitioners or experts, especially all over Europe, (see also Silberman,2012; Wolferstan, 2016 in the afterlight of Faro), key changes in their role are necessary in order to embrace this engagement with both

tangible and intangible aspects, while institutional flexibility in project planning and opportunities for democratic participation is necessary to accommodate community interests and ensure relevance with local (Avrami et al, 2000) public (Clark, 2006 ed.)or social values (Jones, 2016) (including commemorative and symbolic sects) that are always in a process of redefinition. The role of professionals becomes even more crucial in processes where power dynamics are negotiated and skills are shared, in order to allow for communities to actively take part in decision making and ultimately even develop a sense of ownership not only of heritage as a resource but of project projects themselves round it, turning participation to a process of empowerment. Participation this way can extend the limits of volunteering and training (educational) to take different forms or typologies, and become process of collaborative creation of knowledge (interpretation) where people take responsibility but also are authorized access to articulate their common heritage.

Conclusion

The paper showcased 'hidden' values and perceptions of heritage for community level wellbeing and roles of heritage within visions for sustainable development. The findings and the qualitative, bottom up approach offer an alternative method to develop locally relevant indicators for evaluating social impacts of heritage projects, on rural settings.

We discussed how are the social impacts from rural heritage participation are actually harnessed through interactions with landscape and social history and therefore cannot only be conceptualized as learning outputs from museological, interpretation projects. Our findings relate to other research findings using the term cultural sustainability (Hawkes 2001, Duxbury and Gillette, 2007): in our case using a more specific socio-spatial framework to discuss the evidence in terms of impacts, allowed to relate use of culture and specifically what can be termed "local heritage" to tackle locally relevant societal challenges (Kagan 2011).

The case studies chosen, within a Landscape partnerships scheme, illustrated the new opportunities emerging from heritage projects designed within a conceptualization of 'landscape as heritage' or 'everyday or unofficial heritage within landscapes', regarding intangible community connections and new ways of engaging with their heritage (typologies of participation) that can be revenant in multiple European landscape settings. We saw that in rual settings, this humble heritage has more direct connections with local

lifestyles and can contribute to important impacts like community identity shaping and community empowerment. Finally the paper, identified some implications for practitioners and planners or local authority representatives engaging with communities in processes of consultation-project planning, heritage valuation, and project delivery in order to enhance socio (economic) impacts of those projects and enable meaningful interactions with local heritage assets. We recognize that the flexibility and capacity of institutions to support this reciprocal interaction with local community groups differs all over Europe, however the key principles identified can be widely applied. We consider this an important step towards operationalizing the principles of Faro convention and contributing at the same time to a smoother integration of heritage projects within development planning activities that support overall progress of rural contexts, by tackling key socio-demographic challenges they face.

Nvivo inductively produced list of social impact variables at community level	Regrouping variables into composite indicators
b. Direct impacts (community level /participants)	
Increase inclusion of newcomers in community roles	Social capital Bridging/Inclusion
Increase bonding and empowerment via team work	Social capital Bonding/ cohesion
Intra-generation links	
Connect with other/different island residents and link with council representatives	Social capital -bridging and linking
Sense of belonging to community	Collective empowerment
Unlock potentials for self-enclosed groups to collaborate with others	Enhanced sense of belonging to group
c. Indirect impacts (for wider community of place via use of outputs)	
Heritage centers utilized as community centers and poles of interest	Enhanced sense of belonging to group
Supporting access to place	Enhanced community and place bonds
Heritage protection projects trigger more spatial development opportunities	
Increase 'sense of ownership' through recognition of uniqueness of place/identity	

Table 2: List of key variables describing impacts for social wellbeing of communities/ groups of participants and wider communities of place
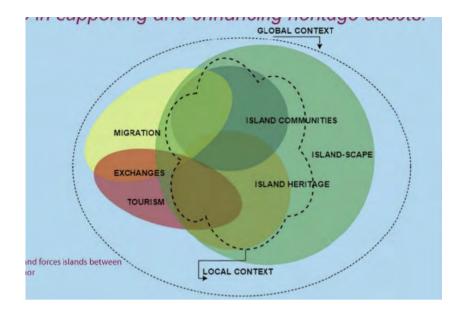
Fig.1 A schematic representation of the pressures and systemic elements that affect island communities resilience and relation with heritage, as viewed through the case study

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