

Citizen perception about world heritage and archaeology in three Spanish cities: first methodological case studies

Percepción ciudadana del patrimonio mundial y la arqueología en tres ciudades españolas: primeros casos de estudio

Alicia CASTILLO*

Universidad Complutense de Madrid
Facultad de Geografía e Historia. Departamento de Prehistoria
Alicia.castillo@ghis.ucm.es

Marta DOMÍNGUEZ*

Universidad Complutense de Madrid
Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociología. Departamento de Sociología II
martadom@cps.ucm.es

Ana YÁÑEZ*

Universidad Complutense de Madrid
Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociología. Sección Departamental de Derecho Administrativo
yanez@der.ucm.es

*Grupo de Investigación Complutense ‘Gestión del Patrimonio Cultural’

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ABSTRACT

This text presents a first methodological experience aimed at understanding the social perception of the archaeological dimension and of World Heritage (WH) in three Spanish cities. Firstly, the rationale behind this kind of study is considered as resulting from previous research performed. This research revealed that archaeological heritage is absent in many of the European and Latin-American cities inscribed in the WH list. Secondly, Alcalá de Henares, Córdoba and Toledo, the three cities selected as case-studies, are briefly presented. All of them have developed archaeological heritage management strategies at least from the 1980's onward; however, they are "less spectacular or socially recognized" than other "classical archaeological cities" in Spain. Thirdly, the methodology, composed of qualitative and quantitative techniques, is called into question since it is necessary to keep on working on it. Finally, the main results of each case study are compared and analyzed. Significantly, we observed a marked indifference among the inhabitants of these cities regarding the town's archaeology and World Heritage. Additionally, there is an absolute disconnect between expert and the lay people visions. Consequently, it was necessary to reflect upon the problem and to perform (sometimes even more recurrently) social-perception studies to bridge the gap between both visions and to justify the efforts made to preserve and study Cultural Heritage.

KEY WORDS: *Social perception studies, cultural heritage management, archaeological heritage, world heritage cities, Alcalá de Henares, Córdoba y Toledo.*

RESUMEN

Este texto presenta una primera experiencia metodológica destinada a comprender la percepción social de la dimensión arqueológica y del Patrimonio Mundial (PM) en tres ciudades españolas. En primer lugar se consideran las razones que motivaron este estudio. Las investigaciones previas revelaron que el patrimonio arqueológico está ausente en muchas ciudades europeas y latinoamericanas inscritas en la lista de PM. Posteriormente se presentan brevemente las tres ciudades seleccionadas como casos de estudio: Alcalá de Henares, Córdoba y Toledo. Todas ellas han desarrollado estrategias de gestión patrimonial al menos desde los años 80; sin embargo, son ciudades "menos espectaculares o reconocidas socialmente" que otras "ciudades arqueológicas clásicas" en España. En tercer lugar se pone en duda la metodología empleada, compuesta por técnicas cuantitativas y cualitativas, puesto que se requiere seguir profundizando en ella. Finalmente se comparan y

analizan los principales resultados de cada caso de estudio. Hemos observado una marcada indiferencia entre los habitantes de estas ciudades en relación a la arqueología y el Patrimonio Mundial de la ciudad. Además existe una absoluta desconexión entre las visiones expertas y ciudadanas. En consecuencia, era y es necesario reflexionar sobre el problema y llevar a cabo estudios de percepción social (a veces incluso con más frecuencia) para superar el espacio entre ambas visiones y justificar los esfuerzos realizados para preservar y estudiar el Patrimonio Cultural.

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Estudios de percepción social, gestión del patrimonio cultural, patrimonio arqueológico, ciudades patrimonio mundial, Alcalá de Henares, Córdoba y Toledo.*

SUMMARY: 1. Introduction. 2. Cases Studied. 3. Methodology. 4. First Results from the Three Cities. 4.1. Feeling of belonging and quality of life. 4.2. Historic center and traditional vision of cultural heritage as part of the imaginary. 4.3. Responsibility for Cultural Heritage. 4.4. World Heritage as a brand or nothing. 4.5. The archaeological dimension, a traditional perspective. 5. Social Perception Studies for Cultural Heritage Management: a Tool to be Constantly Used. 6. Conclusions.

1. Introduction

This text critically approaches a first methodological experience performed to understand the social perception of the archaeological dimension (Castillo and Querol 2014) and World Heritage (WH) in three Spanish cities inscribed in the WH list.

This thread of research aimed to test the idea that archaeology was unknown in these cities despite the economic and human efforts made by the administration, certain enterprises, and even researchers. The work was framed within a project supported by the Spanish ministry of economy and competitiveness¹ using the WH files of 122 European and Latin-American cities. Similarly, 2500 bibliography references (scientific-technical profile) concerning these cities were also reviewed. Additionally, 24 of those cases were studied in depth considering land planning, legal framework of the archaeological heritage, and visibility in social media, etc. The results suggested that the impact of the scientific-technical archaeological interventions and their results was low, generally speaking. Furthermore, the quality of interpretation of these sites, with some exceptions, was poor as well. Finally, thanks to the study of the archaeological aspects we could identify other problems and put forward solutions concerning management that could be useful for different Cultural Heritage properties in the context of WH cities. (Sagardoy y Castillo, Märtens y Castillo, Mestre, and Castillo and Mestre, Yañez 2012, Castillo and Menéndez 2014).

However, we were concerned about the importance of reevaluating the material dimen-

sion of the cities from an archaeological point of view. It was observed that even in the cities with well-established work in disseminating urban archaeology and projects involving local community, the awareness of the values of WH and archaeology by the inhabitants was scarcely known or considered. With a pro-active attitude, we decided that before continuing with participatory strategies it was highly important to understand people's perception. Consequently, social psychologists and sociologists were contacted to help us develop a specific methodology to understand the inhabitants' perception of archaeology and WH in three Spanish cities: Alcalá de Henares, Córdoba, and Toledo.

This work revealed some problems especially related to the adaptation of methodologies and the importance to keep working to improve them.

2. Cases Studied

The case selection was mainly motivated by the methodology of the project previously commented. One of our objectives in this project included making experimental actions with Spanish cases.

Spain is, following China and Italy, the country with more WH sites in the world. There are 44 sites inscribed in the WH list and 26 are included within urban contexts: some of them declared as archaeological ensembles (e.g. Tarragona) and others are included as just some of their buildings (e.g. Barcelona and Gaudi works or Burgos and its cathedral).



Figure 1: Map locating the cities under analysis. Source: Google Earth. 2014. Authors, 2014.

Most of these cities are, however, inscribed as cities or historical ensembles.

Moreover, the development of archeology in Spain has also been studied. The study of preventive archaeology and the urban context have been important in approaching this topic (Martínez and Castillo 2007; Querol 2010: Chapter 11). Finally, as it has already been commented these cities are not especially well-known for their archaeological remains but all of them have performed urban archaeology and protective management measures through land planning for a long time (*i.e.* Méndez 1991 in the context of Alcalá de Henares; Murillo 2006 for Córdoba, Sánchez Chiquito 2007 for Toledo). These cities have witnessed archaeological practices for more than two centuries and since the 1980s their archaeological sites have been mapped. These cities display archaeological remains in several areas with different degrees of public presentation explaining (part of) the town's history from an archaeological perspective. On a different note, all cities have been controversial concerning the conservation of archaeological remains, allowing their destruction even without previous archaeological studies. Finally, the three cases are less socially renowned from a traditional urban archaeology perspective in Spain when compared to other

sites belonging to, for example, the Roman period (e.g. Tarragona or Mérida), although these cities were founded in earlier times. That means that archaeology is not the main character in urban cultural heritage in these three cities, it is just one item more, and sometimes, it could be an added value to visit the city.

Urban archaeology is alive and needs to be constantly renovated and reviewed from the scientific perspective. It is much more than an archaeological site or a "city site"- it has to be integrated with the town's other values and resources. As such, the significance of urban archaeology is not its monumental character but it is the materiality and the option to interpret it to fulfill a social purpose. At the same time, we are very interested in how the archaeological science and its social transfer in cultural heritage management are perceived. The fact that the three cities are WH must make them a good example of best practices in archaeological management (Castillo and Querol 2014). Obviously, these three WH sites were not inscribed in the UNESCO's list due to their archaeological features but they are important to underpin and improve the scientific-technical values of the cities. Today, these cities could serve as examples of the archaeological dimension of WH, even more considering that

WH archaeological sites represent, most of the times, a very static and Romantic image of archaeology. This is the past of archaeology but not its present, at least if we consider archaeology as a science.

Significantly, tourism plays a significant role in all the cities analyzed in this project, and Toledo and Córdoba are considered as top tourism destinations in Spain. Tourism in Alcalá de Henares started in the 1980's while the WH inscription (1998) was important for the city and its international "fame". Toledo is close to Madrid and is used as a dormitory town as is Alcalá de Henares, although many people have moved out from the city. Important efforts have been made to avoid these processes² but the economic crisis has stagnated rehabilitation and restoration works carried out in collaboration with the citizens (owners). These works were trying to keep residents living in the city center (see *i.e.* Sánchez Chiquito 2011).

3. Methodology

We include a methodological summary to highlight the relevance of improving and adapting the technique to archaeological/cultural heritage.

Field work took place between the end of 2012 and the beginning of 2013. As it has been mentioned, a classical methodology of the social sciences for social-perception studies was used. The research was carried out combining qualitative and quantitative approaches. First, we defined the topic that we wanted to ask, then, we organized a focus group; and, after that, surveys were carried out (Castillo *et al.* 2014, in press). The goal was to involve inhabitants, but unfortunately, no similar studies concerning Cultural Heritage in other cities have been found to be used for comparison purposes. A similar absence of previous works in the urban context, at least, as part of a systematic research was observed (Ibañez 2013 was published after our fieldwork was completed, and the author only carried out surveys).

As the following figure shows, we firstly considered some Cultural Heritage basic principles to undertake social perception studies.

We considered that inhabitants should be regarded as more important than tourists to value

Cultural Heritage and we decided to focus on them. This decision is based on the fact that cultural heritage firstly affects local communities as Faro Convention (2005) recognizes as well. In this context, archaeology is one more dimension and it was clear that we needed help from people heavily trained in social sciences.

Both focus groups and survey questionnaires were guided by various aspects such as the degree of knowledge of the city's heritage, satisfaction levels, identification of the most emblematic monuments, feeling of belonging to the city and its image, problems and advantages of living in a heritage city and attitudes towards heritage managers (see Appendix for the questionnaire).

Focus groups with residents of the three cities were organized to record their views and attitudes towards the towns' heritage (group organized in November 2012). These focus groups were summoned as representative of social discourses, to understand how they regard heritage. One of the most important problems was to gather people for these meetings. Cultural groups, women, immigrants and neighborhood associations (amongst others) were contacted; we even tried to collect people on the street. In order to motivate and promote participation, a small gift or an economic incentive is commonly offered (we offered books and guide visits, depending on the city). The location and date of the meeting were important too and needed to be carefully chosen since they could prevent participants from taking part in the focus group.

Following previous work on focus groups carried out by disciplines such as sociology, facilitators were included to guide the conversations. The advantages associated with using facilitators include avoid biases, especially if those facilitators are not experts in cultural heritage. For the case study performed, the facilitators were social psychologists, and cultural heritage experts could only observe the development of the meeting (one per session). The level and guidance control of the conversation during the meetings, carried out by the facilitators, was complex too. Having a facilitator without specific knowledge on the topic proved to be an inconvenience when only certain participants of the focus group had a good command on the topic. For exam-



Figure 2. Scheme of basic considerations to perform social perception studies in archaeological (cultural) heritage management. Source: Castillo, Yañez and Märtens. 2007: Social perception of the urban archaeological heritage. Implementation of alternative methodologies for analysis. World Archaeological Congress paper. 2007. Dead Sea. Jordan. 2007.

ple, one of the representatives was part of a cultural association and expressed an official discourse, which was perceived as new and fresh by the facilitators, despite not being so. As such, this representative prevented others from participating in the conversation because the facilitator gave preeminence to this representative’s ‘official’ discourse. Indeed, associations have their own discourses which

are standardized and well-known for experts in Cultural Heritage. To lead conversations to our interests and to control the level of manipulation proved to be a significant obstacle. As it was observed, cultural heritage emerged as a secondary issue during the conversations, and the topic had to be purposefully pursued by facilitators. This idea was contrasted with the subsequent surveys.

CITIES	UNIVERSE (total population) >18 years (January 2013)	Sample (Number of interviews)	Error	Date of the survey (2013)
Alcalá de Henares	204.823	380 (398)	*/- 4,5 (95%)	February
Toledo	83.788	380 (374)	*/- 4,5 (95%)	June
Córdoba	328.704	380 (389)	*/- 4,5 (95%)	October

Figure 3. Samples of the three cities. 2013. Source: Authors, 2014.

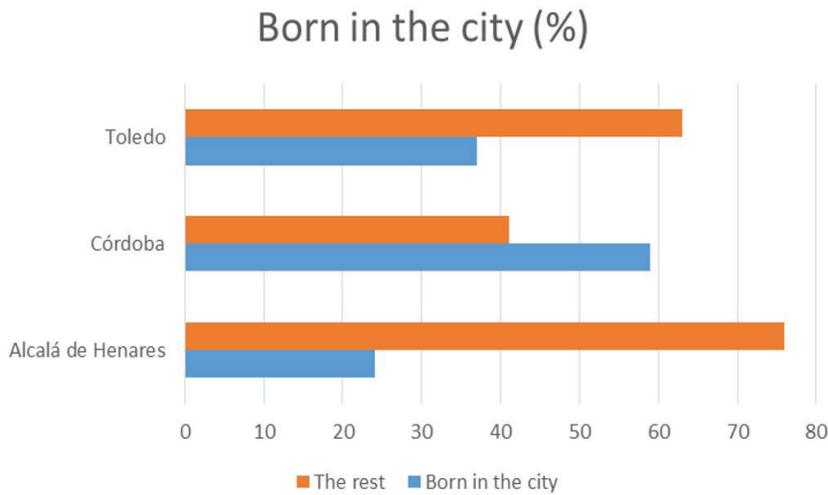


Figure 4. Place of birth of the city inhabitants. Source: Authors, 2014.

The second phase of this project included surveys. Questionnaires were drafted based on the results of the focus groups organized. The answers obtained in the focus group were codified according to the following categories: the concept of Archaeology, kind of heritage and its use, Cultural Heritage (responsibilities and conflicts) and the communication channels (as commented earlier this part was only included in the last survey). The feeling of belonging transversally crossed all these categories.

Regarding practical aspects of this second phase, respondents were evenly and propor-

tionally assigned in quotas for each neighborhood in all the three cities. These surveys were carried out in the busiest points of each district (neighborhoods) and the last selection was made by filling quotas previously assigned by sex and age. Global data were weighted by shares of activity of the population. The team conducting the survey consisted of students from the Faculty of Geography and History (degree of Archaeology).

For each city, 180 surveys were conducted (see the figure below) which required, on average, a team composed of 5 people working



Figure 5. Sense of belonging. Source: Authors, 2014.

during one week. The surveys were long (approx. 10 minutes per survey which included 19 questions) and repetitive which allowed us contrasting the answers. The professional experience of the surveyors could be called into question although it should be noted that the most prestigious enterprises specialized in surveys work with young people and graduates. Besides, the students went through a training session with the sociologists to make data gathering and interviewing easier.

Clearly, the first survey was the hardest one to perform and the experience improved as the work evolved. Subsequently, the last place to be surveyed, Cordoba, included some more questions in the questionnaire emerging out of previous experience. These questions (5) sought for local data, scale of values of Cultural Heritage and possible channels of communication concerning our topic (these questions are not included in this text/annex).

Some problems should be observed. The date when the survey was carried out was very significant. It was 2013, a year when the economic downturn hit a low. As such, the interest in culture or similar topics was clearly reduced in this period since citizenry were more concerned on other issues. The distribution of the survey throughout the geography of the municipality also proved difficult. Some neighborhoods are located far away from the city center, even physically disconnected from it. Interestingly, the use of the city center as a reference point is not significantly affected by the spatial location of the household of the respondent. This point will be commented in the following section.

As a first experience, the results obtained are important to contrast those announced by other researchers about the impact of archaeologi-

cal heritage and WH. They call into question our main impressions about people’s thinking and understanding on these topics. It should be noted, however, that methodology needs to be improved. It is suggested that shorter and more continuous surveys could be very a better strategy to maintain a constant source of information about the state of the social perception on WH in cities.

4. First Results from the Three Cities

4.1. Feeling of belonging and quality of life

Most people in Córdoba were born in Córdoba itself (59%) in contrast with the situation in Alcalá de Henares and Toledo, where people were mainly born in other cities. It was observed that the respondents expressed a feeling of belonging to these cities and were proud of them, even more so in the case of Córdoba (see graph below). Respondents in Alcalá de Henares and Córdoba mostly valued the town’s health services and similar social services (around 14%), while quietness is the most appreciated aspect for Toledo’s respondents (12%).

4.2. Historic center and traditional vision of cultural heritage as part of the imaginary

As in most “historic cities” inhabitants identified themselves with their city centers (*i.e.* Troitiño 1995), using them as an imaginary spatial reference. However, as it was observed, this identification does not occur from an official heritage perspective; in other words, such identification with the city center is not due to its historic and heritage values (as they are defended in the official discourse); it is not about

Alcalá de Henares	Córdoba	Toledo
Historic Center (25%)	Environment and citizens (40%)	Monuments (23%)
Citizens (20%)	Monuments (20%)	Citizens (17%)
Monuments (16%)	Historic Center (19%)	Historic Center (17%)
Cultural Heritage (14%)	Culture and tradition (16%)	History (15%)

Figure 6. Main results in open answers concerning the feeling of belonging in each city. Source: Authors, 2014.

recognition of such heritage values but instead, it has to do with the recognition of the city center as a spatial reference of significance in the town’s imagery. An open-ended question was used to enquiry about this issue (See Appendix. Question 2).

Significantly, 40% of the respondents in Cordoba ensured self-identifying with the town’s ‘Environment and citizens’ (Fig. 6). It is considered that this high percentage is associated with the significant number of locally-born individuals in this city in contrast with Toledo and Alcalá de Henares. As it has already been commented, although the respondents expressed this feeling of identification with part of the town’s tangible Cultural Heritage, the meaning people ascribed to it significantly differs from the experts’ view and the traditional discourses of cultural heritage management. In the case of Córdoba, even the intangible dimension of Cultural Heritage could be noticed. People frequently referred to “tapas” and local gastronomy (14% of respondents) but they do not approach these activities from a heritage perspective, but instead as part of their quotidian lives. Interestingly, the word ‘heritage’ is part of the vocabulary of the citizens surveyed; this use contrasts with other non-urban Spanish contexts where the word ‘heritage’ is heavily used by local authorities in the official discourse but is absent among non-experts (Sánchez-Carretero 2012). Similarly, the concept of Cultural Heritage as exclusively constituted by monuments is one of the dominant perspectives in all the cities. Consequently, we confirm

that there is a very traditional understanding of Cultural Heritage.

As already commented in the methodology section, all cities have several distant neighborhoods from the city center. A great deal of these “external” neighborhoods located in the cities’ outskirts concentrate people who were not born in the city itself. Such identification with the historic centers of people living in these outside neighborhoods reinforces the pervasiveness of the traditional vision of the past among citizens. Furthermore, this self-identification might be disturbing because people who are normally marginalized (both spatially as living in the outskirts and in terms of their contribution to local history) identify themselves with a spatial area that is not part of their daily routines. In turn, they seem to have just adopted the official discourse. In fact, residents living in the neighborhoods located in the outskirts usually do not go to the city center. They prefer to travel to Madrid, which is the great metropolis close to their home too. What is then the reality behind recognizing the historic centers of these medium-size cities as part of their identities, as something belonging to them, owned by them?

Other significant result is the identification of Cultural Heritage as a common word, something that only appears in Alcalá de Henares with high percentages. Following this, as the reader can imagine, unless we directly ask about cultural heritage topics, nobody discuss about them in their quotidian conversations. In fact, in the case of Córdoba a question related to the most important topics for people

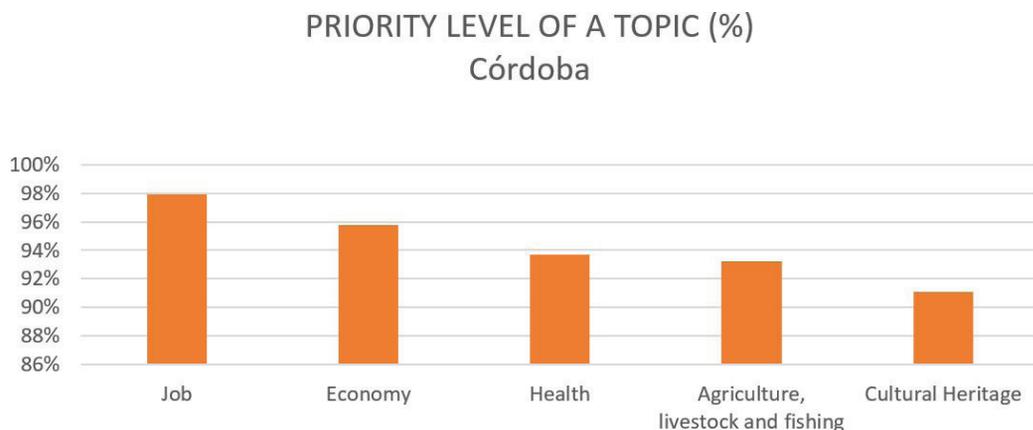


Figure 7. Priority level of a topic. Source: Authors, 2014.

LIFE IN THE HISTORIC CITY CENTER:	Advantages (%)	Disadvantages (%)
Alcalá de Henares	Services 33, DK N/A 19%	Pollution (42% mainly noise) and Traffic 33%, DK N/A 17%
Córdoba	Beauty 23, DK N/A 26%	Traffic 29%, nothing 15%
Toledo	Beauty 27, DK N/A 26%	Traffic 41%, Urbanism 26% and DK N/A 26%

Figure 8. Advantages and disadvantages of living in the city center. Source: Authors, 2014.

was added, and we asked them to rank several pre-given topics according to their relevance they hold for the respondent. Cultural Heritage was the least chosen topic, as it is shown in the following graph

When we asked directly about the advantages and disadvantages of living the in the historic city center, the main answers did not refer to Cultural Heritage either (see **Fig. 8**):

Curiously enough, citizens in Córdoba and Toledo consider beauty as the first advantage of living in the historic center. Once again, this idea does not exactly match the view of most experts in heritage management who in turn pay attention to artistic and historic values. In Alcalá de Henares the heritage issue is not regarded as one of the main advantages of living in this central area. Concerning disadvantages, traffic is strongly criticized in Alcalá de Henares and Toledo; and although traffic is a typical problem in most historical cities, it is something less important in Córdoba. Besides traffic, another disadvantage recurrently mentioned in Toledo is urban planning since it is a steep and uneven town. In this town, urban planning has forced many people to abandon the city center and move to the neighborhoods located in the outskirts. Traffic, as a main dis-

advantage of living in the city center, has been partially controlled by the authorities and the “new and bigger cars” have a lot of problems to circulate inside the city center (although it is only possible for inhabitants).

4.3. Responsibility for Cultural Heritage

Despite the responsibility of municipalities in the cities, the Spanish regional government is responsible for Cultural Heritage. In addition, regarding World Heritage properties, the State is the ultimate representative for UNESCO, and is fully responsible for the property, although its function is quite administrative. Indeed, a great part of cultural heritage management is undertaken by town councils, under the authorization of the regional government when the actions affect the physicality of the properties.

Concerning questions relative to what person or organization is in charge of cultural heritage management, respondents mainly recognized the town council as responsible for its management (see **Fig. 9**). Regarding people’s own participation, the level of involvement is low in every city. They do not feel as participating in cultural heritage management. Córdoba is an exception in this regard because

Organization	Alcalá de Henares	Córdoba	Toledo
Town hall	67%	73	63
Regional Government	16%	37	33
State	18%	23	28
Citizens	29%	44	21

Figure 9. Answers of inhabitants to which is the organization or person in charge of Cultural Heritage management. Source: Authors, 2014.

Topic	Alcalá de Henares	Córdoba	Toledo
Culture	36%	43%	28%
History	27%	17%	25%
Architecture	7%	16%	16%

Figure 10. Identification of WH with several topics in each city. Source: Authors, 2014.

44% of the citizens interviewed identified the citizenry as the main responsible group for cultural heritage.

Similarly, we also enquired about the budget used in Cultural Heritage management. In general, people do not know the amount allocated to Cultural Heritage (Alcalá de Henares 67%, Córdoba 67% and Toledo 73%). This ignorance regarding expenditure in heritage exemplifies the lack of participation of population in cultural heritage management. In spite of this lack of involvement of communities, most inhabitants affirmed to be satisfied with their cities' cultural heritage management (Alcalá de Henares 37%, Córdoba 44% y Toledo 49%). Significantly, respondents express interest in getting more involved in cultural heritage management; however, when inquired about who should be responsible for this task, they never think of themselves in this role.

4.4. World Heritage as a brand or nothing

As we expected, urban archaeology was quite unknown among citizens and, to be taken into consideration by respondents, the interviewers have to ask about it directly. But the differences when compared to WH, are smaller than we expected (see following section). Importantly, when respondents in these cities talk about World Heritage they never mention archaeology (see **Fig. 10**).

When you ask people about what it means to be WH more than 30% of respondents considered that WH does not mean anything (Alcalá de Henares 30%, Córdoba 21% and Toledo 26%). In those cases, when the respondents did consider that WH had a meaning, common answers included prestige³, pride⁴ and tourism⁵. It is significant that pride was the most important value associated with WH in both Toledo and Cordoba. This value is consistent with conver-

sations observed in previous focus groups and other questions concerning WH, people in general established some sort of competition between their cities and other, especially Spanish, World Heritage cities, discussing about which one is the best and the one which clearly deserves being WH. Probably, this emphasis might be a reflection of the image that sometimes the majors of the cities have portrayed in relation to the importance of WH, especially through different media. Although we do not have a specific study about it, majors recurrently appear in local and national press, especially in cities belonging to the Organization of Spanish WH cities (*Organización de Ciudades Patrimonio de la Humanidad españolas*) and stress the importance of being WH.

Concerning the question about the meaning of WH, many respondents chose 'culture' among other categories from a list; history and architecture were the next most cited categories (see **Fig. 10**). Certainly, this vision is coherent with the general image of WH, but it is difficult to know the real significance and meaning it has for people through this type of questioning. The way inhabitants understand WH is more of a brand rather than an awareness towards the historical or cultural values. In this way, it is representative that the inhabitants of the three towns consider tourism as the main advantage of being WH (Alcalá de Henares 40%, Córdoba 46% and Toledo 35%) or rather, do not appreciate anything whatsoever (Alcalá de Henares 26%, Córdoba 13% and Toledo 16%). Concerning the question about the disadvantages of being WH, most inhabitants do not identify any, with percentages over 60% in Alcalá de Henares (61%) and Córdoba (68%), and 33% in Toledo. Maybe we could relate this last data to the fact that Toledo is the historic center most affected by tourism, with serious traffic problems and unoccupied housings, as referred earlier in this paper.

Alcalá de Henares	Córdoba	Toledo
Complutum. Roman city 57%	Medina Azahara 71%	Roman circus 35%
Cervantes square 25%	Cercadilla, Maximiliano palace 15%	Vega baja. Visigoth city 35%
Esgaravita. Roman villa 26%	The Mosque 6%	Hércules Caves, Roman cisterns 21 %
Archaeological Museum 15%	Arab baths 4,7%	Tenerías. Arab baths 6%

Figure 11. Main archaeological sites cited by respondents in each city. Source: Authors, 2014.

4.5. The archaeological dimension, a traditional perspective

Percentages of positive answers to the question “Do you know any archaeological site?” are very high (Alcalá de Henares 83 %, Córdoba 88 % and Toledo 75%) (see **Fig. 11**). Indeed, the classical and publicly open sites are identified. All sites fall outside the WH limits: in the case of Alcalá de Henares, the first site identified is *Complutum* (a Roman archaeological site included within the buffer zone, close to the city center), Medina Azahara in Córdoba (is located far away from the city center, 7 km), in the case of Toledo, the Roman Circe and Visigoth site of Vega Baja (within the buffer zone, close to the city center). The references to most of interventions in the last years, within the center of the cities are unknown for most citizens, with the exception of The Cuevas of Hércules., in Toledo. This site publicly opened in 2011, but the place name was well known among Toledo’s inhabitants. Traditionally well known archaeological sites were adduced in most answers; similarly, sites affected by very controversial experiences, as the case of Vega Baja in Toledo, were cited in the responses. Vega Baja is probably the most important Visigoth city in Spain and has been subject of urban planning controversies still to be solved (see *i.e.* Ruiz Taboada 2010: 228). It is a semi-abandoned site nowadays Likewise, the site of Cercadilla in Córdoba experienced something similar, being affected by civil works to build the high speed train station (AVE). These interventions became a turning point in archaeological management policies in the city of Córdoba (*i.e.* Murillo 2006). Subsequent answers, ranked

according to their relevance, referred to new monumental or symbolic parts of the city (Mosque in Córdoba or Cervantes square in A. Henares). Such recognition of those highly symbolic and touristic places reminds us, once again, to the official vision of Cultural Heritage and archaeology itself.

Overall, it is clear that there is no link between WH and archaeology in these cities. At the same time, urban archaeology is equated to specific remains of the past, as a certain object in the city to visit, at best. Urban archaeology is not understood as a holistic approach to the past of these cities.

5. Social Perception Studies for Cultural Heritage Management: a Tool to be Constantly Used

Regardless the specific data collected and the selected cases, this study corroborates the necessity to implement social perception studies in cultural heritage management as an ordinary management strategy adapted to different topics and necessities. Social perception studies have a high potential and we need to use them as soon as possible. Although everyday surveys are more common, there are few examples, and some of them have a very traditional approach, as about it has happened when considering citizens’ heritage perception. Studies of public and assessment of museums or archaeological sites show the opposite situation, with numerous surveys concerning WH or archaeology. Some exceptional cases have been found mainly from the perspective of public archeology (Pokotylo and Mason 1991; Zimmer, Wilk and Py-

burn 1995; Pokotylo and Guppy 1999; Ramos and Duganne 2000; Balme and Wilson 2004; Sars and Cambe 2011). In the Spanish context there are some examples in Madrid (Almansa 2006) and the archaeological heritage of Sevilla (Ibañez 2014). Interesting studies about social perception on cultural heritage, from the inhabitants' perspective, have also been undertaken in our country (Morat 2007, 2012) and outside (e.g. Mori 2000). Recently, studies of tourism in WH sites are being carried out, for example Poria et. al. 2013, however, there is a clear need for deepening into the context of the city and cultural heritage in general. We think that the starting point for understanding archaeology as a dimension and the social value of cultural heritage distances itself from questioning people directly about the topic we are interested in. This sort of questioning by using direct questions or answers may generate poorer results than other methods, but we consider it more real than other social perception studies where they start asking about archaeology or Cultural Heritage in a straightforward way. In fact, the main result of this work confirms the lack of importance of archaeology and WH, in contrast with other key concerns inhabitants have. More specifically for heritage management, it is very important to make strategies inserting the archaeological and cultural heritage dimension integrally with other social values. From 2014 onwards we are experimenting with participatory activities.

Evidently, the methodology as implemented in this research needs to be reviewed. At least, it is very important to repeat the experience in several occasions and continue combining qualitative and quantitative analysis and techniques. One of the most relevant aspects to be considered is the preparation of focus group, trying to involve lay people and not associated with cultural voluntary associations and similar local organizations. This is highly difficult in practice and consequently is one of the threats. At present, we are experimenting with public actions in central squares as a possible solution. Maybe the survey is an expensive device when compared to the results that are reached, but it is useful to get a first approximation and for comparative analyses among three cities. Other multiple combinations are also possible. For

example, it is possible to cross-reference the information with neighborhoods' data to detect differences in the valuation of the city center, the problems of noises or the archaeological dimension. Data about level studies, gender and the like and their relationship with the answers are possible and absolutely necessary to use as support for several aspects in management: education programs, social conflicts concerning Cultural Heritage could be very usefully dealt with from this perspective.

These kinds of studies must be accompanied by other methodologies such as developing a stakeholders' map and are basic to initiate participative processes in Cultural Heritage (Castillo *et al.* 2015; Castillo 2015). It has already been claimed in numerous articles the lack of connection among stakeholders, citizens, the problems of the official discourse and the need for new discourses or multivocality in interpretations, but now, we need to articulate these studies to be efficient in heritage management and especially in public presentation and interpretation.

6. Conclusions

The results of the surveys on social perception of World Heritage and archaeology in three Spanish WH cities (Alcalá de Henares, Córdoba and Toledo) highlight several aspects. Inhabitants seem have the city center as part of their urban imaginary, but not in the same way as experts interpret the historic center, or as it is officially explained to tourists. At the same time, the use of the city center as a reference point is surprising for people living in neighborhoods located far away from this central area; in some cases, these neighborhoods are even separated by natural or artificial barriers: rivers, highways, etc. The people who live in these areas—at least in the case of Toledo and Alcalá de Henares—do not usually go to the city center. Assessing why these residents do not identify new referential centers in their neighborhoods emerges as a way forward. Furthermore, working towards the identification and construction of new and more significant pasts for these inhabitants will become necessary for future cultural heritage management strategies.

On a different note, respondents consider the town's city council responsible for the cultural heritage and clearly they do not know what we consider as basic information such as the budget allocated to the matter. Clearly, people are scarcely involved in cultural heritage management, but, at the same time, the interest of citizens in taking part in it is quite relative. Citizens seem to prefer to delegate the functions of specific heritage asset management on the institutions rather than to directly get involved. The way Cultural heritage (historic center questions) is considered reveals this inhabitants' indifference towards the concept of Cultural Heritage from an expert perspective. In general, people show disinterest regarding cultural heritage, and in the few cases when this is considered⁶, cultural heritage is associated with tourism and revenue-making. This relationship tourism-cultural heritage (Prats 2003) cannot be assumed as an overarching idea since it was expressed by a small percentage of respondents; in fact, a similar percentage of respondents in Toledo expressed the existence of disadvantages regarding cultural heritage. In other words, cultural heritage is regarded positively in terms of producing revenues through tourism but is equally regarded as entailing negative aspects such as traffic, noises and as crowd-puller.

Historic centers of these towns, as has been commented, generate a specific response among citizens, no matter how far or close they live to these central areas. They identify themselves with these areas, but from a spatial and referential point of view; a symbolic appropriation seems not to be present among respondents. Further reflection should be done in this respect. Likewise, the idea of World Heritage exclusively generates pride, but the reasons and contents behind such title are not understood and acknowledged, they are not appropriated revealing a context of disaffection regarding this heritage. At the same time, the idea of World Heritage as just a brand transmitted by the media has pervaded people's perceptions of World Heritage.

Once again, it is observed that Archaeology as such is not well-known among non-expert people, and when it is considered, the most famous cases are cited⁷. This situation corroborates that the archaeological dimension of these towns is fragmentally viewed; in other words, only highly popular cases are mentioned. Medina Azahara could be an exception in Córdoba, but is far away from the city center and the WH area; it is treated as an isolated archaeological site, in spite of the total and thorough relation it has had with the history of Córdoba. Likewise, the case of *Complutum*,



Figure 12. Students of Complutense University of Madrid who helped with the fieldwork. Córdoba. Source: Daniel Sánchez. 2013.

a Roman city in Alcalá de Henares is similar. In both cases, these sites have been subject to museumization actions for over than 20 or 30 years. Consequently, the idea of the archaeological dimension of the city is unknown or is reduced to very specific sites, contrasting to the specialists' view.

These results are considered harsh, from our point of view. At least, since the 1980's, there has been a significant investment to restore and rehabilitate city centers and many interventions have been undertaken in the cities from an archaeological perspective too. Respon-

dents assumed that it is necessary to protect cultural heritage, but as part of an official, already-made discourse, the values and contents associated with such cultural heritage are not appropriated or integrated. They do not seem to know what the reasons to protect them are. The indifference of these cities' inhabitants probably is the key result of these studies. Specialists need to reflect upon this indifference and ways to approach it. In this regard, better social perception studies could help connecting lay people with experts in multiple ways, as cultural heritage management requires.

NOTES

1. www.parquecipamu.es.
2. Especially significant are the work and strategies developed by the Toledo Consortium at the beginning of the twenty-first century.
3. 21% of respondents in all cities answered this.
4. A. Henares 18%, Córdoba 42% and Toledo 35%).
5. A. Henares and Córdoba 28% and Toledo 21%).
6. Exclusively in Toledo and just 25% of respondents made reference to Cultural heritage.
7. Only 30% of respondents made explicit reference to urban archaeology and only regarding monumental or conflictive examples of archaeology in the towns under study.

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International Context

- Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. UNESCO. 2011.
- Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape. UNESCO. 2011.

Link to the World Heritage files:

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- Córdoba: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/313>
- Toledo: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/379>

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ANNEX

**QUESTIONNAIRE ABOUT SOCIAL PERCEPTION ON WORLD HERITAGE AND
ARCHAEOLOGICAL MANAGEMENT IN ALCALÁ, TOLEDO AND CÓRDOBA
(2012-2013)**

Name of surveyor: _____

Date: _____

Place: _____

Instructions for the surveyor are written in Italics. Do not read them out loud. If anyone does not know or answer, the surveyor will write down DK/ NA after the question.

Guidelines to introduce yourself: **“Good morning/afternoon, at the Complutense University of Madrid we are carrying out a short survey with the citizenship of _____ (Surveyor: include here the name of the city you are working in). We are interested in your opinion. Could you please answer a few questions? (Y/N). Thank you very much”**

How long have you been living in _____? *(Include here the name of the city)*

1- I was born here	2- More than 40 years	3-Between 10-40 years	4- Between 2-10 years	5-Between 1-2 years	6- Less than 1 year*	7- I do not live here*
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(*In this case we will not continue the survey; we will thank the interviewee’s cooperation)

1. Do you identify yourself with _____ (Name the city)?

Yes....1/ No....2/ DK....8/ NA...9

2. As far as you can see, what three aspects make this city special? What three things make you feel identified with this city? (Name them according to their relevance, in order from highest to lowest)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

3. Ranging from 0 to 10, how would you assess the quality of life you have in this city?

(0=nothing and 10= max.) DK....88/ DA....99

4. Why is that so? What are your reasons, why? (Do not give the following answers, just cross them out when mentioned by the interviewee)

1-Health Services	2-Educational Services	3-Social Services	4-Heritage	5-Environment	6-Tourism
7-Accessibility	8-Transport System	9-Culture	10-Sports	11-Leisure	Other:

Other: _____

DK....88/ NA....99

5. This city is a World Heritage site, do you know for how long it has been so, roughly?: _____ years. DK....88 / DA....99

(Surveyor: turn all answers into years passed since the site’s nomination as a World Heritage place)

6. What does it mean for you? (Surveyor: do not read the following options. You can tic more than one answer. In case the answer is “Other” write the answer).

1-Nothing	2-Prestige	3-Pride	4-Income	5-Revenue
6-Tourism	7-Jobs	8-Advantages	9-Disadvantages	Other

Other: _____

DK...88/ DA...99

7. What do you associate Heritage with? When you hear the word Heritage, what else do come to your mind?
(Surveyor: do not read the answers)

1-Culture	2-Landscape	3-Archaeology	4-Art	5-Folklore
6-Traditions	7-Architecture	8-City	9-History	10-Nothing

Other: _____

DK.....88/ NA.....99

8. What advantages do you recognize in living in a World Heritage city (WH)?

1-Quality of life	2-Prestige	3-Beauty	4-Tourism	5-Services
6-Pride	7-Income	8-Culture	9-Discounts	10-Sensibility

Oter: _____

DK....88/ NA....99

9. What disadvantages do you recognize in living in a WH city?

1-Traffic	2-Noise	3-Dirt	4-Tourism	5-Shortage
6-Insecurity	7 - W o r k s (construction)	8-Public transport	9-Development	10-Pedestrian- ization

Other: _____

DK...88/ NA...99

10. What advantages can you think of living in the Historic City Center?

1-Quality of life	2-Prestige	3-Beauty	4-Tourism	5-Services
6-Pride	7-Income	8-Culture	9-Discounts	10-Sensibility

Other: _____

DK...88/ NA...99

11. What disadvantages can you think of living in the Historic City Center?

1-Traffic	2-Noise	3-Dirt	4-Tourism	5-Shortage
6-Insecurity	7-Works (construction)	8-Public transport	9-Development	10-Pedestrian- ization

Other: _____

DK....88/ NA....99

12. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the management of the city's Heritage? (Surveyor: do not read the options)

1-Rather satisfied	2-Neither satisfied, nor dissatisfied	3-Rather dissatisfied
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DK.....88/ NA.....99

13. As a citizen of Toledo, Segovia, Alcalá, Córdoba, to what extent (from 0 to 10) do you participate in taking decisions regarding the management of heritage? (e.g. monument restoration) 0 means nothing and 10 means the maximum of participation in such decision: _____. DK....88/ NA.....99

14. To what extent, as a citizen, would you like to participate in taking this sort of decisions?

(i.e. about whether a monument should be intervened or not) 0 means nothing and 10 means the maximum of participation in such decision:.....

DK....88/ NA....99

15. What entity or institution do you think should be responsible for managing the city's heritage? Please, name three institutions, from the highest to the lowest level of responsibility.

1-City Council	2-Autonoums Government	3-Estate	4-Church	5-University
6-Associations	7-Citienship			

Other: _____

DK...88/ NA...99

16. From your point of view, the budget allocated by the City Council to the city's cultural heritage management is....

1. I do not know how much it is/ 2. Very Inadequate/ 3. Inadequate/ 4. Sufficient/5. Excessive
DK.....88/ NA...99

17. Do you know any archaeological site?

Yes....1 No....2 DK....88 NA.....99

18. Could you tell me which one?

(Spontaneous answer) _____

19. Do you think this site is included in the World Heritage nomination?

Yes....1 No....2 DK....88 NA.....99

Finally, please, tell us:

The zone or neighbourhood you live in _____

Age:

18-40	41-65	66 +
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Level of completed studies:

1- No studies	2- Primary School (those who did not study secondary school or did not complete EGB or ESO)	3- Secondary School (A levels, complete EGB, ESO)	4- High School (A levels, BUP, Baccalaureate)	5- Vocational Training courses
6- University degree	7- Higher University studies (Bachelor, Masters, PhD)	8- Other studies not officially regulated	9- NA	

Work situation:

1-Working	2- Retired/ pensioner (has worked before)	3- Pensioner (has not worked before)	4- Unemployed but has worked before	5- Unemployed but looking for the first job
6- Student	7- Househusband/ housewife	8- Other situation	9- NA	

Main occupation if the interviewee is working or has worked before (*write the detailed answer*) _____

Do not ask but include if the respondent is: 1- Man / 2- Woman

Thank you very much for your time