The Role of Built Cultural Heritage in Urban Development Strategies. Case Studies from Budapest

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A B S T R A C T

The competition among cities is becoming more intense, widespread and comprehensive nowadays. To be successful in this competition, cities have to consider the needs of residents, visitors, investors and other actors at the same time. Urban areas are able to satisfy all the various needs only if they can simultaneously strengthen the residents' local identity, the feeling of home, and also offer a pleasant milieu for visitors and economic actors. In this process, the role of local cultural heritage is increasing. The aim of this study is to find out whether cultural heritage is given these kinds of roles in three culturally rich areas of Budapest. To answer this question, we analysed the Integrated Development Strategies (IDS) relevant for the three research areas. With the help of content analysis it became evident that in these areas the built cultural heritage is indeed acknowledged to have an outstanding role. Subsequently, the IDSs show that built cultural heritage is considered to be a development key-factor in all of the cases, but the specific roles they are assigned differ a great deal according to the characteristics and functions of the areas.

1. INTRODUCTION

The characteristics, the milieu of the places where people live their everyday life influence people, the way they feel, think and act. All societies have the desire to be able to alter the places they are living in. If the residents of a place are not able to make changes in these places, they may feel that they live in a place independent of them. They may feel that they live in a place where residents are given a passive role, to accept or tolerate the place but not being able to alter it and subsequently not being able to regard it as their own home [30]. Consequently, if the development of places is carried out without taking into consideration the identity of the residents, they may become estranged from the place; they may not feel at home in these places. If people do not feel home, they participate less in social activities, feel less attached to the place and are less sensitive towards the social problems of the community. The identity-perception is stronger in case of individuals or social groups who are able to influence the processes going on in their places [4].

As space is a social construction [18], urban planning should not concentrate only on places but on societies as well [4]. This idea is also emphasized in the Hungarian Act on Regional Development and Regional Planning stating that one of the aims of territorial development is "to maintain and strengthen national and local identity" [35], which can be facilitated by the attendance, the maintenance and the utilisation of the built cultural heritage.

In the process of urban development, local government have to take into consideration not only the needs of the residents, but the cities' political and economic context as well. While in the last centuries the cities competed with other cities at a significantly smaller scale (at a regional or national level), today's globalising world is widening the scope of this

competition. Not only there are more competitors, but the contest is more intensive and comprehensive. This is a new and hard situation for all the cities, especially for those that have faced these challenges only lately, due to diverse causes. For example, until the 1990's all the cities of the East-Central Europe were isolated from the capitalist world due to the strong presence of the Soviet supremacy, which was somehow buffering the already ongoing process in other parts of Europe and in the world. With the sudden ceasing of the Soviet "defensive net", these processes affected more intensively these cities, which were not prepared for the upcoming changes. Beyond the difficulties caused by the not at all competitive economic structure and the absent economic investments of the previous decades, new phenomena appeared in the cities' physical appearance, society functioning (ceasing of the central governance, restitution of the self-governing system, substantive handling of the properties) [7]. The successful participation in this competition is not any more mainly determined by the "hard" or "classic" location factors (the infrastructural, energetic characteristics), but rather by the "soft" factors (the image, the cultural milieu) of a city [3].

As culture is gaining a stronger role in spatial planning, local governments pay more attention to revealing and maintaining the local culture and its particularities. However, because of the lack of adequate economic resources regarding the budget of the local governments, it is often the "residual principle" that comes into force if, in the development of cities, the role of the culture is in question [17].

The aim of this paper is to find out what kind of role is given to culture and cultural heritage in the urban development of three culturally rich residential areas of Budapest. To be able to answer this question the content of the Integrated Development Strategies (IDS) relevant for the three research areas was analysed. During the analysis, we focused on the present and future roles of built cultural heritage, its context and the frequency and location of its appearance within the strategies.

2. THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

2.1. The conceptual background of culture and cultural heritage

The notion of culture is a topic debated for a rather long time in the social sciences. The interpretation of the notion has been continuously changing, and today the concept of "culture" has manifold meanings. On the one hand, culture signifies a system of values that functions as a reference point for certain social groups (nations, local communities, etc). On the other hand, it may signify the system of social norms (unwritten customs, legislation) that express to a

certain extent the interests of the social groups. Thirdly, culture is a daily social practice that represents the things and processes regarded to be important by the social groups. Thus, culture is not only a spiritual notion, but a system of signs influencing our activities and pervading our everyday life. Consequently, culture is the "product" of society and, as the societies are in constant change, culture is changing as well [23].

Though culture is a continuously changing system, some of its elements are more stable than others. These rather stable elements of culture that are considered to be valuable enough to be passed over to the next generations form the body of cultural heritage [6]. For example, as the interpretation of history (which parts of the past are highlighted in which era) is changing, the scope of cultural heritage is changing as well [10], [11], [25]. The interpretation of history and thus the scope and the evaluation of heritage are often influenced by various media organs [20], [5], [21]. Therefore, there may be more readings of the past (more histories) at the same time, but a social group or a person regards only one of them to be valid, thus the notion of history and consequently the notion of heritage may be changing from person to person [12] [15]. One of the most important characteristics of heritage is that it is a value inherited from the past which is regarded to be worthy of preserving and passing on to the future generations. Thus, the importance of heritage derives not from the value of its characteristics itself, but from the aspect that some individuals or social groups regard as to be valuable [10].

The growing interest towards cultural heritage is partly due to the numerous political-historical and demographical processes that have been going on for several decades, and partly due to the so far unknown processes appearing in the world right now. For example, the relatively frequent changes in the borders of Europe, the change of regimes, the population exchanges after the World War II, the break-up of the Soviet Union, the intensification of the emigrational processes, all required and resulted in the re-interpretation of the position of the individuals and social groups in the altered situation [9], [14], [2]. In an unstable, continuously changing context, people's uncertainty, disappointment and hopelessness often turn them towards their heritage, which creates a connection between their past and their future, this way strengthening their identities [19], [26].

Cultural heritage is a cultural product, a political resource and knowledge on the one hand, and an economic resource on the other hand. Cultural heritage is often used in tourism strategies, and seems to be one of the pillars in projects focusing on economic development, on tourism or on city revitalisation [1], [29], [28]. Cultural heritage has an increasing role in urban development as well. All types of heritage

(natural, spiritual-social, material-historical) are overwhelmingly used in the development of urban spaces. From the 1980s on, both the state and the private developments are more frequently connected to cultural heritage, be it the opening of a visitor centre or the renewal of a city quarter [15]. In creating urban places, the elements of local culture are highlighted in the urban development projects to avoid sterile, a-cultural, "senseless places" where there is no reference to the culture of the place at all. In the urban development projects, the material cultural heritage, more precisely the built cultural heritage is mainly utilised [6].

One of the specific characteristics of the urban development in Europe is the historical continuity of the urban tissue, which can be sensed in the cities, even if they have become metropolises of more million inhabitants by now. This continuity is the proof of the city's constant presence through many generations [8]. The old buildings and other forms of built cultural heritage are the most obvious evidence of the long history of cities. These cities are usually under the protection of their monuments and thus they often function as pivots in urban development. How to develop these cities or city quarters is a frequent question. Should the developers stick to the old, traditional but often outdated structures, or should they create something new and modern instead? The historical buildings (mainly situated in historical city centres) represent the roots of the local society and strengthen their identity as well. On the other hand, modern buildings are the symbols of innovation and improvement. Using modern technical solutions and giving new functions to historical buildings can be a solution to combine the two approaches. According to Harvey (1973), places are continuously re-constructed by social interactions and the ongoing processes of the world [13]. At the same time, social groups and individuals are also influenced by places. Soja (1989) called this process the dialectics of space and society [27].

As both places and social groups living in these places influence each other, it is very important to examine what kind of role is given to the built cultural heritage in the urban development. As the built cultural heritage is conveying the past, the traditions and the identity of the city, it is important to know if their maintenance is an aim phrased in the development strategies or not. It is also important to know if the protected monumental buildings are regarded to be the inhibiting factors in urban development or rather the engines of progress.

2.2. Data and methods

In the present study, all the above mentioned questions are to be answered through the example of

Budapest, a city from the East Central Europe, where due to the change of regime of 1990 new and quite intensive social and physical processes started to take place in the urban transformation. In this research, we focus not on the whole city, but on three quarters of it. All of these quarters are residential areas with rich cultural heritage, have some connection to the world heritage (WH) title (either they are WH territories, or are in the WH buffer zone, or wish to apply for the title), but their location, characteristics and functions differ a lot (fig. 1).
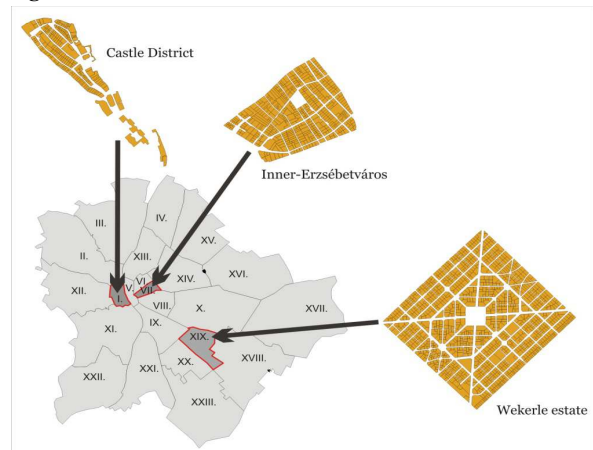

Fig. 1. The location of the three research areas within Budapest.

The first case study area is the Castle District in the Buda side of the city, which is part of the 1st district. Buda Castle is the most important tourist destination in Budapest and even in Hungary [22]. In this quarter, nearly all the buildings are under monumental protection, and the whole territory bears the title of UNESCO World Heritage, which means that the territory has to meet all the requirements of the strict heritage protection regulations set by the UNESCO. The buildings of the Castle District have undergone many alterations during the long and rich history of the city quarter. In many of the houses, remaining pieces of old buildings from the baroque era can be seen (fig. 2).

The second quarter, called Inner-Erzsébetváros comprises the inner parts of the 7th district (also called Erzsébetváros, which in Hungarian literally means Elizabethtown). As this neighbourhood was the cultural-religious centre of the Jews and was mainly inhabited by Jewish people, the quarter has a rather unique and organic architectural-cultural heritage. Today, the quarter is a densely inhabited neighbourhood with intensive cultural-entertainment facilities due to which tourists often spend their evenings in this part of the city. In this quarter, a large number of buildings are under monumental protection. In general, the building stock of the quarter is rather diverse. Many of the buildings are in very bad condition (no matter if they are under monumental protection or

not), some of which are even uninhabited as the tenants were evicted because of their life threatening conditions. On the other hand, there are also numerous new buildings in the quarter, many of which do not fit into the existing urban tissue. In this research area, the alteration of the urban fabric is rather fast and nearly incontrollable, which brings along a number of conflicting situations. The quarter is situated in the World Heritage buffer zone, which means that a certain level of regulation is in force here as well (though the criteria are not as strict as they are in the Castle District) (fig. 3). The third examined residential area is the Wekerle Estate which is situated further away from the previous research areas, in the 19th district of Budapest (also called Kispest, which in Hungarian means the Small Pest). This residential area is a unique, garden-city-like part of the city. It is also rich in built cultural heritage. Its buildings were built in Art Nouveau style in the first quarter of the 1900s (fig. 4).

Fig. 2. The urban characteristics of the Castle District: the urban tissue, a typical street and a piece of built cultural heritage. *Source: [36], [37], [38].*
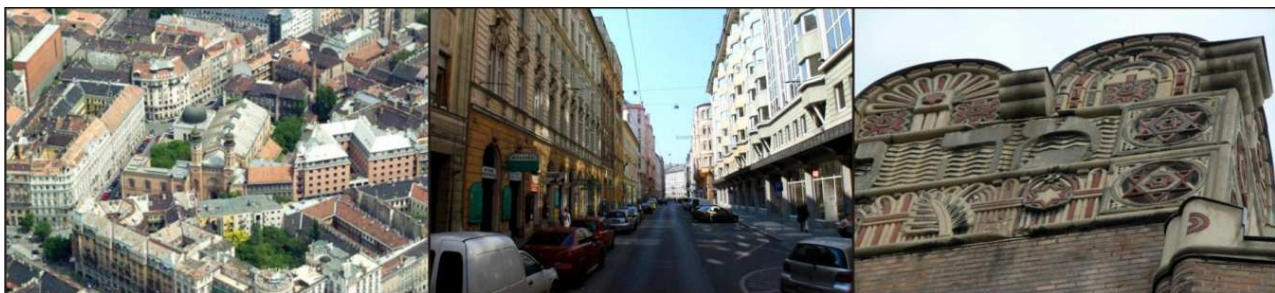

Fig. 3. The urban characteristics of the Inner-Erzsébetváros: the urban tissue, a typical street and a piece of built cultural heritage. *Source: [39], [40], [41].*

Fig. 4. The urban characteristics of the Wekerle: the urban tissue, a typical street and a piece of built cultural heritage. *Source: [42], [43], [44].*

The quarter made steps to enrol for the UNESCO World Heritage title, but the application was not submitted finally as the area was in bad condition and probably would not have been granted the title. However the buildings of the main square of the Wekerle gained monumental protection already in 1977, the whole estate received a temporal and some years later a permanent protection (in 2009 and 2011 accordingly). The Wekerle estate is not visited by many tourists; mainly those come here who have a special interest in the Art Nouveau architectural style or in the garden city movements.

In the case of all three areas, we analysed several development documents, which are the Integrated Development Strategies (IDS) of the districts[1]. The IDS are medium term development

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[1] After the change of regime in 1990, the local councils won back the right of self-governance. In Budapest, this has led to the development of a two-tier administrative system. This means that there is a city municipality for Budapest and 23 local governments for the 23 districts

strategies (7-8 years) that approach and elaborate the development aims of cities or city quarters on a territorial basis. In this research we analysed the IDSs of the 1st, 7th and 19th districts (the districts where the research areas are situated). The content analysis aimed to find out whether preserving the cultural heritage of these residential areas is considered to be important and what kind of roles it is given. It was also the aim of the research to find out how strong is the relationship between built cultural heritage and local identity in each of the districts and what kind of steps do they take to maintain or strengthen this relationship. During the content analysis we also analysed those "logical units"[2] that focused on, mentioned or referred to the built cultural heritage. During the analysis not only the expression "built cultural heritage" was taken into consideration, but also the expressions very similar to its content often used as synonyms, such as: "architectural monuments", "architectural values", "cultural quarters", "cultural monument", "cultural surroundings", "historical surroundings", "historical city centre", "value-keeping rehabilitation", "urban landscape", etc – such expressions that imply the unique, valuable, aesthetic built cultural heritage of the quarter even though the text phrases it directly or only refers to it indirectly. In all the cases, we analysed only those logical elements that referred to the built, physically tangible heritage, thus the logical units dealing with cultural traditions, habits, and festivals not being subject to analysis.

In the study, the context of the logical units was examined. We grouped the logical units into two sets based on their reference to their present or future roles. We also examined which chapters of the development strategies dealt the most with the cultural heritage.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The aim of the content analysis of the IDS was to find out how important development factor the built cultural heritage of the research areas is regarded to be. It was also a question of how significant is the role of cultural heritage in the present or in the future development of these areas.

The results of the content analysis showed that in the case of all three districts cultural heritage was assigned an outstanding role in the IDSs. The richer the territories were in cultural heritage, the more important their built cultural heritage and its contribution role seemed to be. The most frequent reference to cultural heritage was found in the IDS of the 1st district (110

logical units), followed by the 7th and the 19th districts (with 73 and 35 logical units respectively).

It was important to find out whether the analysed logical units concerned the districts as a whole, the research areas only, or some other parts of the district (table 1). All of the analysed integrated strategies approached cultural heritage very similarly (e.g. heritage as an abstract notion, the heritage of the country, the heritage of Budapest in general) while in the general sense it is mentioned very seldom (in 0-8.2% of the cases depending on which district's strategy is taken into consideration). All districts focused on their own cultural heritage, even in the case of the 1st and the 7th districts where in half of the cases there was no particular reference to an actual place within the district. In the IDS of the 19th district, cultural heritage in general was hardly mentioned. There was an exact territory designation in nearly all the cases. In most of the cases (80%) when territory was defined, it referred to the Wekerle estate, which shows that it is an outstanding part of the 19th district from the point of view of built cultural heritage. In the case of the 7th district, about the ¾ of the references with exact territory designation concerned the Inner-Erzsébetváros and about ¼ related to other parts of the district, which signifies that the built cultural heritage is situated mainly in the inner part of the district. Interestingly, in the IDS of the 1st district the built cultural heritage of the research area is less emphasised than that of the other parts of the district. The fact that the heritage of the Castle District gained less attention in the IDS than the other parts of the district (and less than the Inner-Erzsébetváros and the Wekerle estate in their districts), shows that the built cultural heritage of the 1st district is not concentrated in the research area. Beside the Castle District, other parts of the district (e.g. the Tabán, the Gellért-hill, the Viziváros) are also rich in cultural heritage.

Not only the expression "built cultural heritage", but its numerous synonyms are also used in the strategies (fig. 5).
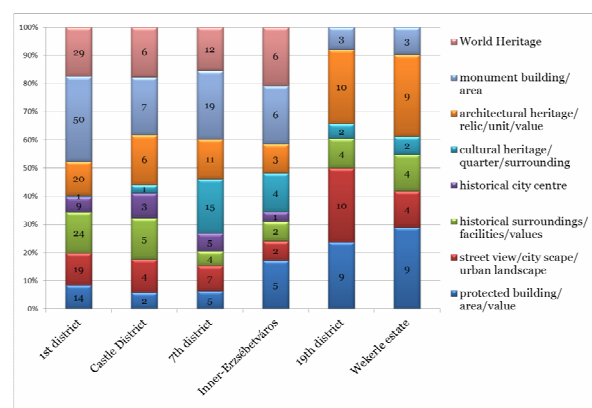

Fig. 5. The frequency of the expression "built cultural heritage" and its synonyms occurring in the IDSs of the districts.

of Budapest. Thus all the districts have their own local governments which are more powerful than the city municipality [16]. As all the districts of Budapest legally function as autonomous settlements, all of them have their own Integrated Development Strategies.
[2] Logical units analysed in the research could be either words or sentences or paragraphs.

While the most frequently used expressions in the development strategies of the 1st and 7th districts were "world heritage", "monument building" and "monument area", in the strategy of the 19th district only the last two expressions were used and they referred to the Wekerle estate in all the cases. The expression "world heritage" did not appear in the IDS of the 19th district, which signifies that the district has completely given up the plan to try and nominate the Wekerle estate for the world heritage title. However, in comparison with the two other areas, in case of the Wekerle estate, its development strategy highlighted

more strongly that the Wekerle focuses on its architectural value. The expressions used in the analysed logical units referring to the Inner-Erzsébetváros and the Castle District are very similar. In both cases, it was emphasised that these parts of the city can be defined as historical city centres. In case of Erzsébetváros, the usage of phrases like "cultural heritage" and "cultural quarter" refers to fact that this quarter has such a strong cultural milieu that the built cultural heritage is only one element of it (and not the only one). In this case cultural heritage is not restricted only to the architectural heritage.

Table 1. The appearance of built cultural heritage in the Integrated Development Strategies of the districts.

	In general		In reference to the quarters						Altogether	
			In general; without exact territory designation		With exact territory designation					
					research area		beyond the research area			
	unit	(%)	unit	(%)	unit	(%)	unit	(%)	unit	(%)
1st district	9	8.2	54	49.1	20	18.2	27	24.6	110	100
7th district	0	0	40	50.3	28	35.9	10	12.8	77	100
19th district	1	2.8	2	5.7	28	80	4	11.4	35	100

The appearance of the analysed logical units in various chapters of the IDSs shows a different distribution in all the districts (fig. 6). While the logical units analysed in the IDS of the 1st district, or more narrowly the researched area within the 1st district, appeared in the introducing chapters (e.g. the role of the district in the urban network, the analysis of the position of the district, the analysis of the city quarters based on a territorial approach), in the case of the other two districts and the research areas the situation is exactly the opposite. The analysed units in connection with the 7th and the 19th districts (or more precisely the Inner-Erzsébetváros and Wekerle estate) appear more frequently in the strategic chapters debating the development areas and the feasibility of the strategy.
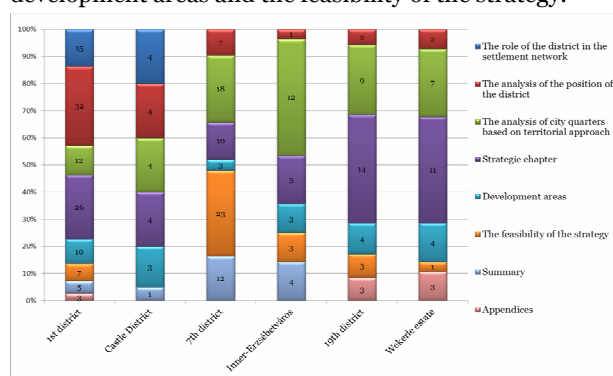

Fig. 6. The division of the analysed logical units among the chapters of the IDSs.

The appearance of the analysed logical units of the various districts or of the various research areas in different chapters of the IDSs signifies that all the

analysed districts and all the analysed research areas are aware of the importance of their built cultural heritage, which is reflected in the development projections of all the districts.

The developmental tasks based on the cultural heritage are the most emphasised in the case of 19th district and the Wekerle. One of the four aims phrased in the IDS of Kispest specifically concerns the Wekerle estate. The title "Protecting the values of Wekerle estate: renewal with protection" signifies that the renewal of the area is aimed to be carried out by preserving its values [33].

The accomplishment of the strategic aims (development of economic services, renewal of the residence improving the quality of life) phrased in the IDS of the 7th district is considered important to achieve in the Inner-Erzsébetváros as well. Two out of the four delineated activity areas of the district, that is the B1 "the development concept of the old Jewish quarter" and the B2 "the reconstruction of the Klauzál square" [32] are situated in the territory of the Inner-Erzsébetváros. The concept of developing the old Jewish quarter coincides with the two priorities phrased in the Core Program[3] of the Budapest Medium-Term City Development Program (also called the Podmanicky Program). Within the framework of the priority "Attractive Urban Surrounding" the "concentrated rehabilitation of the Jewish quarter" [34] is to be

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[3] The Budapest Medium-Term City Development Program (also called the Podmanicky Program) is a development strategy for 9 years, that is between 2005 and 2013. It sets 7 main development areas and 7 main thematic programs. The Budapest Core Program lists the tasks of the Podmanicky Program that has to be realised by all means.

carried out, and within the framework of the priority "Creating cultural values" "Strengthening the cultural potentials of territories bearing strong cultural identity during their territorial revitalization" [34] is to be realised. The Core Program states that the basic tool for revitalizing territories bearing strong cultural identity is the strengthening of local cultural identity – for example strengthening the Jewish culture in case of the Jewish quarter [34].

The subtitle of the strategy concerning the Castle District is "Tradition and renewal" [31] and even the name itself refers to the fact that the strategy considers the preservation of traditions and the modernisation of the area equally important. Accordingly, the strategy designates two development directions. Beyond "expanding the functions", the rehabilitation also appears which takes into consideration the preservation of traditional elements, and subsequently the "sustainable and value-keeping rehabilitation". These two strategic directions coincide with the aim of the Podmaincky Program, namely that the touristic functions of the Buda Castle should be expanded as to turn the Castle District into a more lively and vivid area even if the tourist season is over. This aim is to be realised mainly through the revitalization and the functional change of the old, run-down building of the Ministry of National Defence [34].

As to find out how important role is given to the cultural heritage of the districts not only the context of the logical units has to be analysed but their references to the present or future roles have to be taken into consideration (Table 2). While the logical units concerning the 1st district and the Castle District, the 19th district and the Wekerle estate more often appear in the context referring to the future, the logical units of the 7th district and the Inner-Erzsébetváros more frequently refer to the present situation. It is important to note that the sum of the shares of statements referring to the present and to the future is in some cases more than 100%, which is due to the fact that some logical units referred both to the present state and to the future usage of heritage.

If the context of the analysed units, regardless of whether they refer to the present or to the future usage of heritage is focused on, a rather diverse picture is obtained at the three districts and research areas. In the case of all the three IDSs, among the statements referring to the present built cultural heritage occur as a touristic attraction or other potential resource of the city (Table 3).

As long as in the strategy of the first district it is emphasized that a lot of tourists visit the district, it is often phrased in the strategy of Kispest that the Wekerle is not a tourist destination and only some individuals come to visit the unique architecture of this great European example of the garden-city movement. In the development strategy regarding the Inner-

Erzsébetváros it is stressed that it is a special cultural district due to its Jewish traditions.

All the three IDSs stressed that the built cultural heritage of the areas are in bad, run down conditions. This aspect was mainly highlighted in the case of the 7th district. In the IDS of this district, as opposed to the other two analysed ones, it was phrased that the dilapidation of the building stock can be hindered by the activities of the building contractors in the area.

Table 2. The context of the logical units concerning cultural heritage in the IDSs of the districts.

	1st district	Castle District	7th district	Inner-Erzsébetváros	19th district	Wekerle estate
The share of statements referring to the present (%)	40	45	60.3	67.9	45.7	39.3
The share of statements referring to the future (%)	54.6	65	57.5	60.7	51.4	50

Here it is visible that entrepreneurs take a significant role in the city renewal, however it does not mean that the renovations and the new buildings they construct are in accordance with the characteristics of the place. It is also the IDS of the 7th district alone that does not stress that property investments may endanger the urban landscape if the new elements inserted to the urban tissue do not fit there and do not harmonise with the traditional building style. On the other hand, some analysed logical units in connection to the Inner-Erzsébetváros phrased that the built cultural heritage strengthens local identity.

The logical units concerning the Inner-Erzsébetváros rather often refer to the traditions of the Jewish culture, which feature of the place is regarded to be revitalised in the future. It is worth highlighting how differently the protection of the built cultural heritage appears in the three strategies. Apart from the fact that the building stock of the 1st district has the strongest protection (as it is a World Heritage Site) the protection is not mentioned here as a restrictive element, but as a prescribed rule to be kept by all means. Besides the stressed regulation, the functional complexity of the Castle District is highlighted. In some logical units of the strategy of the 7th district, the monumental protection of some buildings were regarded to be a prohibitive factor. Since this territory belongs to the buffer zone of the World Heritage Site, it is also under strict prohibition regarding the changes in its urban landscape.

The monumental protection interpreted as a hindering factor is most often seen in the case of the Wekerle estate. This is probably because all the properties of the Wekerle are in personal ownership, thus the owners feel that they should have the right to make some changes on their properties. Consequently, they regard the protection to be a barrier in extending and turning their small flats into bigger and more comfortable ones.

Table 3. The context of the built cultural heritage in the statements concerning the present (pieces).

	1st district	Castle District	7th district	Inner-Erzsébetváros	19th district	Wekerle estate
The quarter of city rich in built cultural heritage, as a touristic attraction	6	1	2	0	2	2
Heritage, as a potential resource of the area	6	1	7	5	1	1
The building stock is dilapidating	1	1	10	4	2	2
Developments in a way appropriate to the historical environment and to the city character	7	2	0	0	1	0
The activities of building contractors in the area	1	0	7	3	0	0
Property investments, as city renewals potentially endangering the cityscape of the quarters (alien elements entering the urban fabric)	3	2	0	0	1	1
Built cultural heritage, as an agent strengthening the (local) identity	1	0	6	1	0	0
The protection of built cultural heritage, as a restricting factor	0	0	2	1	2	2
The number of all the analysed logical units	110	20	73	28	35	28

Legend	The relative frequency of appearance within all the logical units (%)	0.1-5.0	5.1-10.0	over 10

It is also highlighted in the strategy that these extensions and alterations carried out on the houses often spoil the milieu and the urban landscape of the quarter. On the other hand, nearly all the flats of the Castle District and some flats of the Inner-Erzsébetváros are in the property of the local government, due to which the residents or the tenants have no possibility and no desire to extend or renew the buildings, which would then be encumbered by the protection.

The thoughts concerning the built cultural heritage phrased in the IDSs often refer to the future prescribed roles of heritage (Table 4). In all the three districts and research areas, the rehabilitation of the built cultural heritage is regarded to be a substantive device in the renewal of the urban tissue. All the IDSs emphasise the importance of heritage based value-keeping urban rehabilitation. While whenever heritage based rehabilitation is mentioned in the IDS of Kispest, it happened with the reference to Wekerle in all the cases. This was not the fact in the 1st district. However, in case of the Castle District, the preservation of the historical character is often mentioned in the strategy, just as the fact that all the developments have to be carried out in accordance with the world heritage regulations and standards. Whenever heritage based rehabilitation is mentioned in the IDS of the 7th district, it never happens in connection with the Inner-Erzsébetváros. In this part of the city, heritage-based functional change and the extension of functions gain bigger emphasis, which is not at all present in the two other research areas.

The functional change based on cultural heritage in the Inner-Erzsébetváros coincides with the wish to revitalise the Jewish culture and milieu of the territory. This shows that the functional facilities of the Castle District and the Wekerle estate are more clarified than in the Inner-Erzsébetváros where the changes of the last few years cannot be regarded to have come to an end by today. This area is changing in a rather dynamic way still these days. One of the aims stated in the strategy is to strengthen the service and the hospitality functions here. In all the strategies analysed, although variously emphasised, appeared the aim to strengthen the local identity. According to the strategy referring to the Wekerle estate this will be carried out by organising educational and public cultural programs. Not only the question of identity, but the local community is also dealt with in the IDSs. However, strengthening the community and the feeling of commonness is not phrased as an aim in case of the Castle District, but it was quite stressed in the Inner-Erzsébetváros and especially in the Wekerle estate. The differences may be due to the fact that the Castle District has the most tight-knit community out of the three research areas. The communities are less close both in the Wekerle estate where one of the biggest problems is the hostility among the residents (and

mainly between neighbours) [24] and in the Inner-Erzsébetváros due to the cultural diversity and the dynamic fluctuation of the residences.

The common characteristic of all the three IDSs is that they give rather little information on the financial resources needed to carry out the aimed changes. There is also no word about the executing bodies of the prescribed aims. However, in all the three IDSs there is a reference that the neighbouring districts or the districts with similar facilities need to cooperate when creating and executing their development plans.

For instance, the development ideas of the districts with similar characteristics can be often materialised within the framework of a thematic program. For example, within the framework of the Budapest Ring Alliance of the Local Governments, its members (the Local governments of the 7th, 19th, 10th, 11th, 13th and 14th districts and the Budapest Municipality government) set the task for themselves to harmonise their urban development ideas, to create a common urban development concept, to synchronise certain urban development ideas.

Table 4. The context of the built cultural heritage in the statements concerning the future (pieces).

	1st district	Castle District	7th district	Inner-Erzsébetváros	19th district	Wekerle estate
Stopping the decay of the building stock, renovation, rehabilitation	16	3	23	14	6	5
The significance of heritage based urban rehabilitation	14	3	9	0	4	4
Functional change and extension of functions based on cultural heritage	4	0	13	4	0	0
Strengthening the tourism function	6	2	4	1	1	1
Strengthening the hospitality and service functions	0	0	7	5	1	0
Strengthening the residential function	6	1	4	1	1	1
Strengthening the local community	0	0	2	2	4	4
Strengthening the local identity	2	1	2	1	1	1
Necessary renewal of green territories and public spaces	1	0	1	1	2	2
The number of all the analysed logical units	110	20	73	28	35	28

Legend	The relative frequency of appearance within all the logical units (%)	0.1-5.0	5.1-10.0	over 10

On the other hand, in the IDS of the 7th district it is stated that in certain parts of the district the ideas phrased in the Heart of Budapest Program has to be taken into consideration due to the fact that the action territories delineated in the Program, mainly on the territory of the 5th district, has such a halo that it spans over the territory of the 7th district as well.

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the content analysis of the IDSs of the 1st, 7th and 19th districts of Budapest, a rather complex picture was unfolded regarding the way they use and wish to utilise their built cultural heritage. Most of the logical units analysed referred to the research areas, parts of the districts that are rather rich in built cultural heritage.

The aims that are expressed in the IDSs are rather different. While in the IDS of the 1st and 7th districts the present and the future roles of the heritage as tourist attractions are highlighted, this is not mentioned in the IDS of the 19th district.

On the other hand, while the extension of the functions is a prescribed aim in the Inner-Erzsébetváros, it is not taken into consideration in the case of the two other research areas, which is due to their more clear-cut functional roles. The functions, as well as the physical characteristics of the Inner-Erzsébetváros are still changing today.

Out of the three research areas, this is the only one where some of the buildings (even some under monumental protection) are in such bad conditions that had to be evacuated and now stand uninhabited. This is why the IDS of this district emphasises the most the need of rehabilitation and renovation.

However, the heritage-based rehabilitation was not mentioned in this strategy, and the fact that property investments may endanger the cityscape by raising buildings that do not harmonise with the urban landscape, which has actually happened in this area quite frequently in the last decades. It is also interesting that strengthening the local identity and the local community by maintaining and renovating the old buildings is regarded to be important by the strategies

referring to the Inner-Erzsébetváros (where due to the dynamic fluctuations, the community is not a close-knit one) and to the Wekerle (where the conflicts between neighbours are frequent).

Based on the analysis of the three IDSs, it is absolutely clear that the built cultural heritage is regarded to be a valuable tool in the hands of the local government, but their desired utilisation in urban development differs a lot according to the aims of the certain local governments.

5. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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