Towards a Conceptual Model for Heritagepreneurship and Regional Development

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Abstract In this text, we present a conceptual model for discussing and analysing what happens when culture, in the form of heritage, and regional development, in the form of entrepreneurship, is juxtaposed (=heritagepreneurship). By comparing case studies from Mexican and South West Scandinavian regions our ambition is to elucidate potentials and limits in different ways of working with regional development using heritage as a mean.

Our case studies showed that heritage becomes staged, enacted, and perceived in very differing ways depending on the ways memories are embraced, constructed or repressed in the heritagepreneurship process. Different meanings thereby give different societal effects, influencing the heritagepreneurship process.

The strategies used in these case studies tend to be located "in the extremes", from unconscious ignorance or a conscious effort to forget, to efforts to provide full attention and an active awareness of what has happened. We believe that more nuanced strategies for more long-term sustainable heritagepreneurship and regional development are located in-between these extremes.

Keywords Cultural heritage • Heritage management • Entrepreneurship • Regional development

JEL Classification L1 • L26 • L31 • L83 • Z11

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1 Introduction

How can telling the past at historic sites benefit our society? This question has recurrently been discussed over the years within heritage studies and heritage practices, and suggested answers are many (Smith, 2006). In economic scholarly literature, the interface between culture heritage and economy is argued, for example when discussing the culture/creative industries (Bowitz & Ibenholt, 2009).

In this text, we elaborate what happens when culture in the form of heritage, and regional development in the form of entrepreneurship, is juxtaposed. As part of the Swedish cultural policy objectives, heritage is an integral part of regional policy agendas. Thus, heritage politics are more and more addressing social aspects of contemporary life (Högberg, 2013).

From various perspectives, heritage is related to issues on regional development (Skoglund & Jonsson, 2012). Heritage is recognized as a central part of a region's identity, thereby attracting people to places as well as increasing economic flows relevant for the survival of local economies (Ramírez-Pasillas, 2007). At the same time, knowledge of issues related to heritage is often inadequate within regional policy, resulting in that decisions are commonly instrumental rather than creative and development orientated (Blank & Weijmer, 2009). This of course has effects when it comes to regional development.

In this text, we develop aspects of such effects using case studies from two very different parts of the world, Mexico City and Öresundsregionen. By comparing Central Mexican and South West Scandinavian regions, our ambition is to elucidate potentials and limits in different ways of working with regional development using heritage and entrepreneurship as a mean.

2 Heritagepreneurship and the Concept of 'Proper'

Heritage is to be understood and conceptualized as something created in social processes. There is a well-established academic distinction between on the one hand a heritage record and on the other hand what is done with it (Holtorf, 2005). But the precise processes by which the heritage record is negotiated and transformed into something useful and used have only begun to be explored (Watson, 2009). The case studies here presented elaborate on such processes. These cases are places with complicated heritage. Such places are often difficult to change and develop, why strategies are needed for dealing with a heritage that is filled with conflicts, contradictions, and traumatic memories and/or connected with negative associations. These strategies are going from unconscious ignorance or a conscious effort to forget, to full attention and an active awareness of what has happened (Smith, 2006).

Anne De Bruin has suggested that heritagepreneurship consists of the activities and actions conducted to acquire and safeguard heritage based resources (De Bruin, 2003, p. 170). Such efforts combine economic and non-economic goals, local

engagement and a variety of actors aiming at using heritage as a benefit for various communities (Johnstone & Lionais, 2004; Katz & Steyaert, 2004; Lundberg, 2002, 2005). Richard Pfeilstetter emphasize that entrepreneurship in relation to heritage must be understood as processes of social change fostered by agency-based and institutionalized innovative and/or conflictive ideas in a social environment within a market-like competition for economical, political and symbolical resources (Pfeilstetter, 2014, p. 5). This means that heritage as well as entrepreneurship are social processes and as such affect society in diverse ways. Consequently, to understand the effects of heritagepreneurship in regional development it is not enough to detail activities conducted to acquire and safeguard heritage as resources, as De Bruin (2003) puts it. We need to understand possible outgrowths and consequences of activities conducted to sustain or contain heritage.

To elaborate on this, we take as our point of departure the concept of proper, as de Certeau (1988, 34ff) understood it when elaborating upon distinctions between strategy/tactics and space/place. In de Certeau's understanding, a proper place is a manifestation of certain powers, an ordered place in which "the elements taken into consideration are beside one another, each situated in its own 'proper' and distinct locations, a location it defines. A place is thus an instantaneous configuration of positions. It implies an indication of stability" (http://particulations.blogspot.se/2012/08/spaceplace-culture-and-time-part-1.html). In proper places, consensus oriented mainstream discourses on heritagepreneurship agreed upon by those with main discursive and material powers prosper. Here, de Certeau uses the concept of strategy (in detail introduced in de Certeau, 1988, 34ff) in a very different (and considerably more critical) way relative to the mainstream understanding of this concept, to analyse processes that generates and normalizes these consensus oriented mainstream discourses. These mainstream discourses often "pose as entrepreneurship" and are also among the big masses perceived as "being entrepreneurship" (as they are for example correctly registered start-ups, creating jobs). But looking at them more closely, they often are just replicas of what already exists in abundance (i.e. just another filial of a franchise brand).

As contrast, regarding in-proper places (not a de Certeau-concept, but derived by us in order to contrast proper places), our working hypothesis is that more vital, non-mainstream discourses on heritagepreneurship may prosper. We base our understanding on in-proper on the way de Certeau's use the concept of tactics (in detail introduced in de Certeau, 1988, 36ff) which he understands as processes of creative friction that "juxtaposes diverse elements in order suddenly to produce a flash shedding a different light on the language of a place and to strike the hearer" (de Certeau, 1988, 37ff). Such surprising actions, adding to or even fundamentally changing the physical structure as well as the behavioural grammar of any given place, more often than not make more in-depth use of generic human capacities such as being, acting and thinking creatively and innovative.

To sum up, we in Fig. 1 elaborate on a basic matrix of proper and in-proper heritagepreneurship as a base for discussing our case studies.

Proper mainstream heritagepreneurship (A) focus on *generics*, i.e. successfully replicating some well-established practice (i.e. gentrification of historically significant urban neighborhoods), calling it entrepreneurship, because it satisfies agreed

	Embracing memories	Repressing memories
Organising logic mainly based on *ordering* activities, people and meeting places	A) Proper mainstream heritagepreneurship	B) Proper forgotten heritagepreneurship
Organising logic mainly based on *juxtaposing* activities, people and meeting places	C) In-proper revitalized heritagepreneurship	D) In-proper selective heritagepreneurship

Fig. 1 Proper and in-proper heritagepreneurship

upon minimum definitions (new jobs, start-ups) within mainstream discourses that perceive this "as entrepreneurship". Proper mainstream-processes blend memories with specific activities, people and meeting places and order it all into a coherent whole; a relatively friction-free place for everyday consumerism, with Sunday culture consumption as peak of the week.

Proper forgotten heritagepreneurship (B) focus on *abandonment* of non-preferred memories. Such processes can be the result of intended efforts by specific actors to contain memories, unintended decision processes or lack of public resources. Proper forgotten-processes can be combined with an "extreme makeover"-strategy (building something completely new and historically anachronistic on the place of the memory) or with a "fade to grey"-strategy (slowly passing a non-preferred memory into decay and forgetting by using non-action as main mode of agency and non-sense as main mode of communication).

In-proper revitalized heritagepreneurship (C) focus on *context*, i.e., the specific requirements in any given memory context for staging a heritagepreneurship venture that may be perceived as innovate enough to win an immediate audience in order to get going (establishing the venture) as well as to stand the test of time in order to last (consolidating the venture by making it profitable over time via maintaining or increasing the "cultural cred", not at the expense of it). Besides this practice-argument—that in-proper heritagepreneurship nurture innovativeness in more open-ended ways relative to proper heritagepreneurship—we also want to stress that such a focus also is a respond to calls within entrepreneurship research that "argues that a contextualized view on entrepreneurship can add to our knowledge of when, how, and why entrepreneurship happens" (Welter, 2011, p. 176).

In-proper selective heritagepreneurship (D) focus on *specific memories*, which are to be remembered at the expense of others. Such places are renewed specifically with a preferred target audience in mind (i.e. "the creative class"), for which distinct activities and tailor-made meeting places are developed. Non-target audiences are

encouraged to visit but their role is at large to function as extras and props on a stage developed for "specific others".

3 Methodology

This is a conceptual paper with the main purpose of presenting the conceptual model outlined in Sect. 2. Empirical illustrations to this conceptual model are generated through comparing multiple case studies from Mexican and South West Scandinavian regions. With this, our ambition is to elucidate potentials and limits in different ways of working with regional development using heritage as a mean.

4 The Four Cases: Centro Histórico and Tlatelolco in Mexico City and Lomma Eternit and BT Kemi in South West Scandinavia

4.1 Centro Histórico and Tlatelolco in Mexico City

UNESCO declared the historical center of Mexico City a World Heritage in 1987. Centro Histórico is the central neighborhood in Mexico City that roughly covers 9 km^2, occupies 668 blocks and contains around 9000 buildings of which around 1550 have been declared historically important (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historic_center_of_Mexico_City).

At the heart of Centro Histórico is the Zócalo, the main square. In one corner of the Zócalo is the main archaeological site holding the remains of the city of Tenochtitlan, the capital for the rulers of the Mexica Empire (or Aztecs as they are called in occidental historiography since Alexander von Humboldt in 1810 coined the term).

The Mexica/Aztecs are the indigenous people of the Valley of Mexico, belonging to the Nahua people. Different branches of the Mexica/Aztec people founded several cities around AD 1200 in this area, of which Tenochtitlan was the capital and political center of their empire and Tlatelolco the more commercially oriented sister city of Tenochtitlan (located just north of it, see Fig. 2).

Tenochtitlan is thought to have been among the largest cities in the world at that time and the existence of such a splendid non-Christian civilization was hard to digest for the Spaniards. Instead, Hernán Cortés made "sober" notes in his letters to the Spanish king, like "sixty thousand people come each day to buy and sell. . ." (http://www.livescience.com/34660-tenochtitlan.html#sthash.ZtKuQFC9.dpuf). We all know what then happened; how the conquest of Mexica/Aztec territory was done, how Tenochtitlan, Tlatelolco and the other cities in the Mexica/Aztecan empire were destroyed, how Lake Texcoco was drained and how the city we

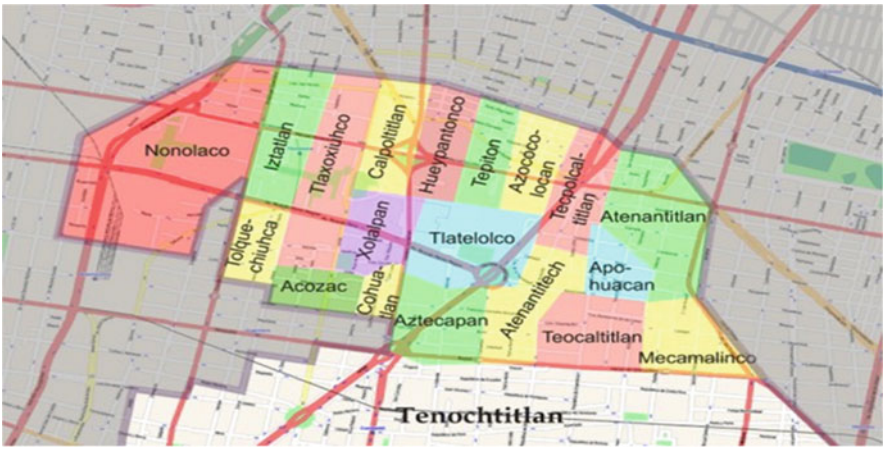

Fig. 2 Barrios of pre-Colonial Tlatelolco over modern map. *Source*: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Tlatelolco_Barrios.png

today know as Mexico City was founded by the Spaniards by literally building it upon the ashes and dust of the destroyed capital of the Mexica/Aztecan empire.

As these two archaeologically and culturally highly significant historical twin-cities are located within the formal territorial boundaries of Centro Histórico, as they both are officially declared Zona Arqueológica and as Centro Histórico as such has UNESCO World Heritage status since many years back (1987), one might have expected equal interest in and focus on the two cities alike. This is not the case. Since the all-time-low of "forgetting" in the 1980–1990s, when Centro Histórico was plagued by decreased population, increased criminality and buildings deteriorating, the combined effect of becoming UNESCO World Heritage and the richest man in the world (Mexican tycoon, Carlos Slim) being in need of revamping his image, changed the destiny for the two cities.

Tenochtitlan became an "archaeological diamond" (http://whc.unesco.org/en/news/863) through the big scale revitalization project Fundación del Centro Histórico de la Ciudad de México, involving hundreds of organizations and hundreds of millions of dollars of investment over a long period of time, with the Zócalo as symbolic center for the renewal. The revitalization of the Centro Histórico led to the renewal of old buildings that were rented to coffee places, restaurants, bars, retail shops and associations. Several streets were closed down to car traffic encouraging the continuous flow of pedestrians. Museums, art galleries, old dance halls and old cantinas became even more popular. Local police forced informal street vendors out of their locations. A group of activists that gathered in the Alameda Central on Sundays to disclose news not published by media was also re-located.

This renewal-through-gentrification project gradually made Tenochtitlan attractive for "preferred visitors" to take a stroll in streets, visit the archaeological sites

and museums and socialize with friends in cool places at the Centro Histórico, see Figs. 3 and 4.

In contrast, Tlatelolco firmly remains in the realm of the forgotten since the massacre of over 300 students there in 1968; "A massacre turns a place into a garbage can". This quotation by the writer Juan García Ponce refers to the state crime that ended the Mexican student movement on October 2, 1968, resulting in a still unknown and controversial number of deaths (Arroyo, 2009, p. 51).

Fig. 3 Big scale model of Tenochtitlan at the Zocalo, Mexico City. Photo: Hans Lundberg, 2010-12-05

Fig. 4 Big scale Christmas and New Year illuminations at the Zocalo, Mexico City. Photo: Hans Lundberg, 2009-12-21

Tlatelolco is a place of historical significance long before this, though. Founded by a dissident group of Mexicas in 1338, it became an important center for commerce. Tlatelolco was the last place where the Spaniards faced resistance in 1521 but ultimately Tlatelolco was destroyed and a square (Plaza de las Tres Culturas), the Church of Santiago and the Imperial College of the Holy Cross was built on its ruins. During the 1960s, Tlatelolco was modernized through the development of new buildings and the location of UNAM high schools, thereby making Tlatelolco an important meeting place for students.

In October 2, 1968, students from UNAM and Instituto Politecnico, in their quest for the right of freedom of speech and democracy, gathered in Tlatelolco to discuss how to level up their protests and obtain support from more actors. Government became afraid of alternative emergent powers that could be developed and sent different groups of armed forces to stop student's protests. It soon became very violent. Students hiding from armed police in the Chihuahua building located in front of the square of Plaza de las Tres Culturas were forced out. In despair, students tried to hide in the Church of Santiago. The church closed its doors, leaving students exposed to armed forces. One by one students were shot down. Police closed all access to the square, impeding people from realizing what has happened. The place was cleaned up and the many hundreds of bodies were taken away. Next day, no single newspaper or news program reported about the event.

For crimes on this scale, few cover up attempts hold up in the long run though, and the students made this more than obvious by promptly "re-naming" Plaza de las Tres Culturas to "Plaza de las Tres Gorilas" (referring to the three main responsible for the massacre; President, Gustavo Díaz Ordaz; Ministry of Internal Affairs, Luis Echeverría Álvarez; President's Chief of Staff, Luis Gutiérrez Oropeza), see Fig. 5

Fig. 5 Main Entrance to Plaza de las Tres Culturas/"Plaza de las Tres Gorilas", Tlatelolco, Mexico City, as of 1968. Photo (of the original photo exhibited at the Museo Memorial del 68, Tlatelolco, Mexico City): Hans Lundberg, 2011-05-08

Fig. 6 Main Entrance to Plaza de las Tres Culturas, Tlatelolco, Mexico City, as of 2011. Photo: Hans Lundberg, 2011-05-08

for the legendary photo of this "re-naming" (before it hastily was washed away) and Fig. 6 for how the entrance to the plaza looks as of today.

The massacre was silenced for many years. Relatives could not persuade any government to raise a memorial to commemorate all the people that were killed. In 1985, another tragedy took place; many residential buildings were damaged or destroyed due to the Mexico City earthquake and hundreds of the over 10,000 victims died in Tlatelolco. In 2005, Centro Cultural Tlatelolco of UNAM was opened to the public. Thus, an exhibition to remember both the 1968 massacre and the 1985 earthquake were installed. In 2014, the federal government plans to open a museum and a library, but still there is no mention of the massacre.

4.2 Lomma Eternit and BT Kemi in South West Scandinavia

The Skandinavisk Eternit Company (Lomma Eternit) was founded in 1906, specializing in the production of a building material called Eternit. The company had great success, and Eternit came to be known as 'the one building material of Swedish modernity' (Martinsson & Schlyter, 2005). Eternit consists of a mixture of cement and asbestos fibers. Asbestos gave the material strength and made it water- and fireproof, qualities that contributed to its success (Fig. 7).

Fig. 7 The Skandinavisk Eternit Company (Lomma Eternit) in the early twentieth century. *Source*: Eternitbolaget efter 40 år, 1946

But today we know that asbestos is also lethal. The fibers became plastered on to the factory workers' lungs, and about 250 of them eventually died a painful death either from lung cancer or by slowly suffocating. The company had been aware of the dangers involved in working with asbestos since the 1950s. Medical examinations carried out by the company showed that several workers had died after long illnesses that were caused by the environment in which they worked. Nevertheless, the company chose to deny the dangers, went on covering up the truth about the lethal environment and did little or nothing to protect its employees as they went

Fig. 8 The office building for Skandinavisk Eternit company. Photo: Anders Högberg

about their work (Andersson, 1980). This has gone to history as the "Asbestos working environment scandal". In 1976 the sale of Eternit products was prohibited, and a year later the factory closed down.

In 2003, after years of planning, the elected political assembly of the municipality decided to transform the old and at that time shabby industrial area of Lomma Eternit into a modern seaside residential area. The aim was to create a new, attractive urban district. During this process, the area was completely transformed. Antiquarian experts defined the industrial heritage values within the area. Their report focused on objects and established that only a few buildings with connections to the industrial history still stand at the site. It was stressed that "these are essential to protect and preserve as monuments over the important role the industrialism has had for the growth and development of Lomma municipality" (Reisnert & Wallin, 2002; authors translation). The office building from 1937 was highlighted as a notable example of a building that needed to be protected, see Fig. 8.

However, nothing in the preservation process highlights the fact that the area once was a flourishing industrial area. There is nothing unique about the preserved office building in itself. To understand it today as having once been part of an industry, you need to know that, in the past, office buildings were generally located in the same area as factories. For those who remember the place as a thriving industrial area, the office building is a reminder of old times. But to those who do not have these memories, the office building says nothing. It just looks like all the other houses built in the area. The preserved building only represents architecture; no narratives about the working environmental scandal that once took place at the site are manifested in the preservation. In this sense, the heritagepreneurship conducted at the site reflects more a process of forgetting than of remembering.

Fig. 9 The Lomma Eternit area today. Photo: Anders Högberg

The way the industrial heritage at the site is visualized, perfectly mirrors the symbolic importance the place has for the local politicians and other decision makers, as a vision of the future, free of negative loadings from the past (Kvalitet-sprogram för Lomma Hamn, 2002). The former industrial district has become the kind of symbol of the prosperous future that it was meant to be. It has been transformed from a memory connected to a working environmental scandal into a luxury residential area with a charming but harmless heritage, see Fig. 9.

The area has attracted high earners, who make a significant contribution to the prosperity of the municipality by paying taxes and spending money in the local shops. But the area mostly attracts inhabitants from the same socio-economic groups, leading to segregation problems generating conflicts between social classes and generations (Högberg, 2011).

Our fourth and last case brings us to a neighboring town, just about 22 km north of Lomma, called Teckomatorp. When hundreds buried and corroding waste containers with toxic substances were found in 1975 on the BT Kemi's factory area in the small town of Teckomatorp, one of the largest Swedish poison scandals of modern times was a fact. By the cover of night, the BT Kemi Company had for years been systematically disposed residues from their manufacturing of plant toxins and buried the toxic barrels within an area of the factory property. When the media uncovered the scale of the scandal and prosecution for environmental offence against the company was raised, BT Kemi was putted into bankruptcy. Teckomatorp was left with a highly polluted industrial site.

Since then, thousands more or less corroded barrels filled with highly toxic content have been dug up at the site and the name Teckomatorp has become "world famous" through the BT Kemi environmental scandal. In 1979, the old factory building was demolished. But, the factory area is still toxic and in the early 2000s

Fig. 10 The BT Kemi area, then and now. *Source*: http://www.svalov.se/ovrigt/ga-direkt/bt-kemi-efterbehandling.html

the local municipality and the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency reached an agreement on the cleanup costs and efforts, see Fig. 10.

In 2005, work started to refurbish the BT Kemi area. Besides remove all toxic waste, an important goal of the project is that the image of and attitudes to the name Teckomatorp shall be changed in such a way that the place is no longer stigmatized by the BT Kemi scandal. Another goal is to remembering what happened at the place as a way to learn from the past. The environment scandal is well known and Teckomatorp has by the cleanup of the factory site come to be not only associated with a poison scandal, but also with positive actions and change. In December 2009, a nature park was inaugurated in the parts of the area that are cleaned and decontaminated, see Fig. 11.

The area is today an appreciated part of Teckomatorp and the environmental scandal is not just a stigma, but also an important experience to learn from as well as an appreciated recreational area as people increasingly are adopting the newly inaugurated nature park (Högberg, 2011).

Source: http://www.svalov.se/ovrigt/ga-direkt/bt-kemi-efterbehandling.html.

Fig. 11 Layout plan of nature park. *Source*: http://www.svalov.se/ovrigt/ga-direkt/bt-kemi-efterbehandling.html

5 Concluding Discussion

In this text, we have discussed case studies that highlight various nuances and aspects of heritagepreneurship processes in regional development in order to illustrate the potential use of the conceptual model we here have proposed.

In the case of Tenochtitlan, the *proper mainstream heritagepreneurship* (quadrant A in Fig. 1) emphasizes the collaborations amongst government, trade associations and non-for-profit associations to achieve positive outcomes of mainstream cultural and commercial activities as means for regional development. Within this multitude of intertwined proper mainstream heritagepreneurship processes, memories of the past are indeed embraced, some of them "in their own merits", but still many others are ordered in positions and behaviors mainly aiming at boosting consumerist and aesthetic activities and meeting places. Such blending creates a regular space of social interaction where memories are preserved but also is taking new forms (commodities, for instance).

The case of Tlatelolco is a clear example of *proper forgotten heritagepreneurship* (quadrant B in Fig. 1). Memories of the massacre and the impact of the 1985 earthquake on Tlatelolco were for long to be disremembered and repressed and only to be remained as lived experience of those surviving the massacre and the earthquake (or those who lost a beloved one). Efforts by many people along the years to demand justice, accountability and restitution have at large been met with

delaying, systematic avoidance, ignorance and counter-arguments using technicalities or legal loopholes to avoid discussion on content and what really matters. Such discursive practices is a kind of art in Mexican politics, a specific Mexican governmentality, an ordering logic that steer away the files of complaints into never ending columns, categories, registers and other abstractions that make one wish for Kafka, Musil or Foucault to rise from their graves and write up yet another moment 22, man without qualities or another archaeology of knowledge to once and for all "analyse away" such discursive practices whose sole purpose is to produce subjects that cries without weeping, talks without speaking and screams without raising their voice (if to paraphrase U2s famous 'Running to Stand Still'-song). Gradually (but very slowly) though, Tlatelolco is moving towards *in-proper selective heritagepreneurship* (quadrant D in Fig. 1) as government plans to build a library and a museum linked to the archaeological site of Tlatelolco. The exhibitions of the Centro Cultural Tlatelolco created a space of reminiscence through the work of volunteers, universities (i.e. UNAM), academics and non-profit associations that fight for keeping the memories of the space alive.

The cases of Lomma and Teckomatorp are examples where the heritage of highly polluted industrial areas with strong historical associations from important parts of modern history has been processed.

In the case of Lomma, at a first glance heritagepreneurship looks like *proper mainstream* (quadrant A in Fig. 1). But the initial processes of heritagepreneurship actually repressed the memories of what ones happened at the site. A nice neighborhood was created which is highly appreciated by its inhabitants. Over time, tensions caused by segregation have become a lived experience in the area though, gradually moving it towards *proper forgotten heritagepreneurship* (quadrant B in Fig. 1).

In the case of Teckomatorp, the material heritage is not preserved. Initially the outspoken ambition was to transform the site it into something not remembered (*proper forgotten heritagepreneurship*, quadrant B in Fig. 1). But gradually awareness within the community arose on the importance of remembering what has happened at the site, at least for the "close ones", the ones now living there, thereby moving heritagepreneurship towards *in-proper selective* (quadrant D in Fig. 1). In the most recent phase, memory lives on converted into an immaterial heritage and an outspoken *proper mainstream heritagepreneurship* approach, manifested in a nature park (quadrant A in Fig. 1).

A lesson learned from the case studies here discussed is that the way heritage becomes staged, enacted and perceived as proper, in-proper or a mix of both, depends on the way memories are embraced, constructed or repressed in various phases of the heritagepreneurship process. Different meanings give different societal effects to the heritagepreneurship process. Overall though, the strategies used in these case studies tend to be located "in the extremes"; from unconscious ignorance or a conscious effort to forget, to full attention and an active awareness of what has happened. We believe that more nuanced strategies for more long-term sustainable heritagepreneurship and regional development are located in-between these extremes.

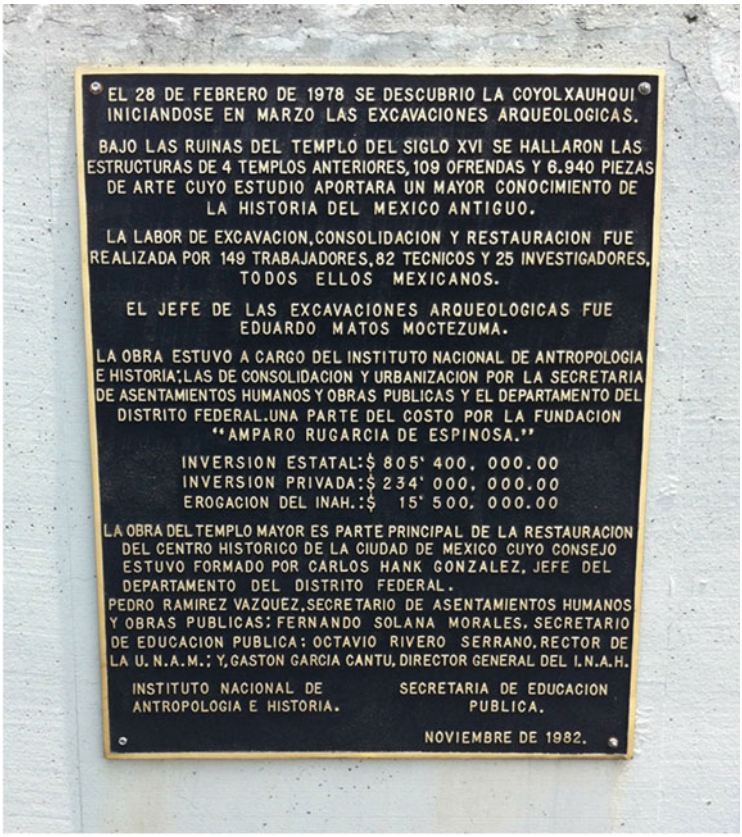

Fig. 12 Public display of the investment sums related to the archaeological excavations of Templo Mayor, Centro Historico, Mexico City. Photo: Hans Lundberg, 2014-07-11

In sum, heritage is more and more appreciated as an important tool for regional development. It is also increasingly important to communicate to citizens and visitors "just how much" appreciated it is, see example from the "archaeological diamond" of Tenochtitlan in Fig. 12.

Our case studies, and using the herein proposed conceptual model for analysing them, reveal that the effects of heritagepreneurship differ radically depending on how the social processes in the making of heritage are handled. Such processes need to consider opening a dialogue with universities, civic society and entrepreneurs. Such an inclusive process goes beyond short-term political gains to prioritize sustainable regional development. Thus, to understand processes created by juxtaposing heritage and entrepreneurship is vital for nurturing a sustainable regional development. Our case studies and conceptual model further show that an important issue is to clarify what society means and aspire to in terms of sustainable regional

development and how heritagepreneurship can lead to these effects. In sum, we see the herein proposed conceptual model for analysing heritagepreneurship and regional development as a tentative but potentially useful analytical tool for the purposes here outlined.

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