Dinara Satbayeva

ADAPTIVE HERITAGE REUSE IN KAZAKHSTAN AS A RESOURCE FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND URBAN REGENERATION

MA thesis in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy and Management

Central European University

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FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND URBAN REGENERATION

by

Dinara Satbayeva

(Kazakhstan)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

Central European University, Vienna, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of

Arts degree in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, Management.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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Chair, Examination Committee

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Thesis Supervisor

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Examiner

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External Reader

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External Supervisor

I, the undersigned, **Dinara Satbayeva**, candidate for the MA degree in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, Management declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Vienna, 30 May 2022

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Signature

Abstract

Built heritage is uniquely situated to be a point of connection between social, economic, environmental, and cultural sustainability. Urban heritage in Kazakhstan can consolidate communities for discussion, action, and participation. Yet, urban architecture is still poorly preserved, despite the growing recognition of its value among grassroots, organized groups and communities in Kazakhstan. Adaptive heritage reuse is a growing alternative to demolition in many countries; hence, heritage activists and bottom-up initiatives can benefit from developing and applying the adaptive heritage reuse approach in their work and advocacy. It is a tool for instrumentalizing redundant heritage buildings for education, culture, innovation, development, and social empowerment. As a nexus issue of urban environments, it is most effective when approached with transdisciplinary and holistic thinking. The author conducted several in-depth interviews with urban and heritage activists in Kazakhstan to outline the challenges associated with bottom-up work in heritage preservation and reuse. The author also used analysis of secondary literature, case studies, and discourse analysis to evaluate the existing conditions based on several success factors, under three categories: (i) **heritage environment**, as expressed via policy, urban development, scholarly discourse, and heritagization process; (ii) **inclusion** through participation, stakeholder integration, cooperation and engagement in urban governance (iii) **financial sustainability** through access to funding. These factors are used to understand the short-term and long-term opportunities, strategies, and tools to introduce and develop adaptive heritage reuse in Kazakhstan. The research shows that while policy and market forces are some of the factors that is not easily influenced, bottom-up initiatives can optimize other success factors to benefit their projects. This research shows, that Kazakhstani urban bottom-up actors already show

creativity and perseverance in advocating for more comprehensive urban practices, including heritage protection and redevelopment. Recommendations developed in this thesis are based on both creating unique, innovative, and inclusive solutions and adapting diverse experiences of other adaptive heritage reuse projects to the local context. Adaptive heritage reuse is a promising tool for heritage interpretation and the creation of sustainable, resilient, and inclusive heritage initiatives in Kazakhstan. With such an approach, I expand the discussion on adaptive heritage reuse into non-Western contexts, show its limits, and provide a reader with a holistic view of the urban heritage field of Kazakhstan today. Finally, in this thesis, I would like to underline the importance of urban and heritage activism that has made such research possible with documentation, analysis, policy review, and participatory initiatives.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to everyone behind the CEU Cultural Heritage Studies Program and especially to my supervisors Volodymyr Kulikov and Dóra Mérai, who have been incredible teachers, advisors, and a role models. I applaud the dedication and enthusiasm of my supervisors, the faculty, and my fellow colleagues, who work hard to advance the body of knowledge and practice in the cultural heritage field. Special thanks to Jóska Laszlovszky and Zsuzsanna Szálka, who significantly contributed to the expertise and experiences that I acquired throughout the program.

This thesis also would not be possible without my family, my mother Irina, and my grandmother Larissa, who instilled in me the passion for knowledge from my early childhood and encouraged all of my endeavors. I want to mention my friends from Kazakhstan and friends I made while at the program, who supported me in the process of writing this thesis with understanding, kindness, and feedback.

Finally, I would like to thank my interviewees and all people, who dedicate themselves to the study of and activism in heritage, urbanism, and community building in Kazakhstan and beyond. These professionals are an immense inspiration and a driving force behind my work and my optimism about the future of the field.

Table of Contents

List of Figures, Tables or Illustrations

Tables

List of Abbreviations

- AR – Adaptive Reuse

- AHD – Authorised Heritage Discourse

- AHR – Adaptive Heritage Reuse

- CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis

- FZ – autonom-feministische Kommunikationszentrum für Frauen, Lesben, Migrantinnen und Mädchen

- SF – Social Finance

- SFs – Success Factors

- UFK – Urban Forum Kazakhstan

- UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

- ICOM – International Council of Museums

- ICOMOS – International Council on Monuments and Sites

- WUK – Werkstätten und Kulturhaus

Introduction

Built heritage is uniquely situated to be a point of connection between social, economic, environmental, and cultural sustainability. Urban architecture in Kazakhstan and heritage issues have a capacity of consolidating communities for discussion, action and participation. In turn, communities become essential for heritage valorization, protection and management. However, this potential is often overlooked on the policy level due to a lack of strategies for heritage buildings life cycles and transformations. These gaps and issues can be addressed within the framework of heritage management known as adaptive heritage reuse (hereafter AHR). Adaptive reuse of buildings is one of the methods of instrumentalising built heritage for urban regeneration, sustainability and development. It helps heritage buildings in creating new strategies to serve and empower contemporary communities, especially when formal national or international heritage preservation policies do not meet community needs.

My thesis is aimed to contribute towards scholarly interest and practical application of the adaptive reuse of urban heritage in Kazakhstan. Therefore, I will present an exploratory, holistic, and aspirational inquiry into the possibilities of adaptive heritage reuse practices in Kazakhstan based on a contextual analysis and assessment of the urban heritage preservation context and several success factors. I will look at the policy context, research capacities, stakeholder integration, participation, and access to funding to propose possible suggestions on how to approach and create successful adaptive reuse practices in the future.

I will primarily look at urban architectural heritage in Almaty, Kazakhstan. Here it is defined as consisting of both listed and unlisted, protected and unprotected heritage buildings with a convincing value to the history of local people and communities. Soviet architectural heritage is

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the main kind of urban heritage in Almaty and therefore is the primary example used in this research. In contrast with the pre-Soviet and pre-imperial heritage, national policies and "authorised heritage discourse" (AHD)[1] has kept urban Soviet architectural heritage largely ignored without addressing the issues and interpretation that this heritage brings for the city community and wider population. As a result, Soviet architectural heritage, which even if considered valuable in certain cases, is not always equally protected, with absence of comprehensive approaches to heritage management and community building. Adaptive Heritage Reuse will be a good way to manage such urban heritage in the contexts of urban expansion, democratization, nation-building and economic market challenges. This will be further developed in the following Chapter Two, talking about policies and Chapter Two discussing online heritage discourses.

GosPlan - the initiation of heritage discourse

The story of former GosPlan building is a story, which encompasses the need and potential for alternative solutions to heritage buildings in urban spaces in Kazakhstan. In July 2015, former State Planning Commission (GosPlan) building located on the corner of *Zheltoksan* and *Bogenbai Batyr* streets in Almaty (former corner of Mira - Kirova streets) was announced to be demolished. The institute ceased to exist after the fall of the USSR. Therefore, the Stalinist neo-classicist building had been unlisted, unprotected, and unused for several years. Although it was not a listed

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[1] Laurajane Smith. *Uses of heritage*. (Routledge, 2006); Laurajane Smith, "All Heritage is Intangible: Critical Heritage Studies and Museums" (Amsterdam School of the Arts: Reinwardt Academy, 2011).

heritage site officially, the building was situated in the city's historical core and was a place of memory and history of the Soviet past.[2]

The private owner of the building, the Bay Shatyr Group insisted that it was dilapidated and would have been better off substituted by a six-story administrative construction.[3] However, there was no consensus on that among heritage and architecture experts. Many underlined the heritage values of the building, its functionality and potential for alternative use.[4] The president of Kazakhstan's ICOMOS Committee, Natalia Turekulova pointed out that the national list of monuments did not contain any object that would have belonged to the categories of 'historical buildings' or 'historic cities', which put buildings like that of the former GosPlan at risk of demolition, despite their compelling historical and social value, and their role in the cityscape of Almaty.[5] For the lack of better alternative and dominance of private interests, eventually, GosPlan was demolished. When the demolition was already approved, approximately thirty people gathered around the building. They were singing, signaling with flashlights, and symbolically signed an open letter to the that time President of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, requesting to override the decision of the city authorities. This only pointed out the absence of transparent institutions for people to rely on.[6]

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[2] Venera Gaifutdinova, "Почему в Историческом Центре Алматы Хотят Снести Старые Здания [Why Do They Want to Demolish Old Buildings in the Historical Center of Almaty]", *Forbes KZ*, July 16, 2015, https://forbes.kz/life/observation/pochemu_v_istoricheskom_tsentre_almatyi_hotyat_snesti_staryie_zdaniya/.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Aleksey Sledenko, "Нужно Ли Сносить в Алматы Здание На Мира-Кирова: Мнения Архитекторов [Is It Necessary to Demolish the Building on Mira-Kirov Street in Almaty: Opinions of Architects]." *BURO247*, July 15, 2015, https://www.buro247.kz/buro-choise/opinion/dom-na-prospekte-zheltoksan-snosit-ili-ne-snosit.html.
[5] Venera Gaifutdinova, "Почему в Историческом Центре Алматы Хотят Снести Старые Здания [Why Do They Want to Demolish Old Buildings in the Historical Center of Almaty]", *Forbes KZ*, July 16, 2015, https://forbes.kz/life/observation/pochemu_v_istoricheskom_tsentre_almatyi_hotyat_snesti_staryie_zdaniya/.
[6] "Алматинцы Вышли На Флешмоб Против Сноса Здания Госплана [Almaty Residents Took Part in a Flash Mob against the Demolition of the State Planning Committee Building]." *Today KZ*, July 22, 2015, http://today.kz/news/zhizn/2015-07-22/621212-almatincy-vysli-na-flesmob-protiv-snosa-zdania-byvsego-gosplana/.

Even though their effort did not save the building, this case raised essential questions related to heritage protection for the wider public.

First, the story of the GosPlan building marks the city's tendency toward infill development and demolition of its historical building stock. According to the masterplan of Almaty, the *akimat* [municipality, mayor's office or the city administration] is planning to demolish around 500 buildings between 2019 and 2024. The majority of these are two-storey houses built in the Khrushchev period (1950-1960). High-rise residential complexes and business centers will take the vacant spaces.[7] Indeed, wholescale museification of heritage buildings in a dynamically changing urban environment, cannot be sustained, however no alternative is offered to meet the demands of development.[8]

Second, this case drew more solid lines between different stakeholders and their motivations. Private owners, the *akimat*, heritage experts, and the wider public, among others were engaged in a debate over many questions, such as: What to do with historical buildings, when their original function expires? How can urban heritage accommodate development needs? What buildings need to be preserved in an urban setting and why? What are the alternative mechanisms to top-down protection and preservation policies? What is the role of activism and bottom-up initiatives in addressing the issue?

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[7] "Circular Economy Opportunities in Almaty: A metabolic approach to define a resource efficient and low-carbon future for the city", *Shifting Paradigms*, 2019, https://shiftingparadigms.nl/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/Circular-Economy-opportunities-in-Almaty-Web-spread-20190627.pdf

[8] Kristy Dyson, Jane Matthews, and Peter ED Love. "Critical success factors of adapting heritage buildings: an exploratory study." *Built Environment Project and Asset Management* (2016) Vol. 6 No. 1, pp. 44-57., https://doi.org/10.1108/BEPAM-01-2015-0002

Figure 1 Citizens of Almaty gathered to oppose the demolition of the former GosPlan building. Source: "Алматинцы Вышли На Флешмоб Против Сноса Здания Госплана [Almaty Residents Took Part in a Flash Mob against the Demolition of the State Planning Commi

Third, as David Kaminski – a journalist and an architect recalls, little attention was given to the "scandal" of GosPlan in the press.[9] Whereas in the years after a lot of processes around endangered built heritage started to be more publicized and documented with additional scrutiny. "In the 2000s and in 2015 there were some separate public blogs, but now we see something released on (media platforms) - Vlast.kz, the Village, Informburo, The Steppe… publications like Tengri News… Akimat Almaty TV... the topic of architecture and heritage has already begun to be mentioned, and in some cases, it has already become a (special) feature of the publication."[10]

Respectively, the number of civic grassroots and platforms started to increase around the same time. Many of these groups has grown and solidified since then, and now they are operating and monitoring urban heritage on a regular basis. There was a spike in online activism too. There are multiple groups on Facebook devoted to saving the historical cityscape of Almaty. A small, but growing number of regular citizens also started to be more interested and willing to engage in

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[9] David Kaminski, interview by the author. August 8, 2020.
[10] David Kaminski, interview by the author. August 8, 2020.

urban heritage dialogs.[11] According to Saule Mamayeva from the Soros Foundation Kazakhstan, the very term 'urbanism' started to emerge in the Kazakhstani discourse around five years ago. Now it is well grounded and local urbanists are moving forward a new way of looking at cities and its heritage.[12] Urbanism and heritage studies as guiding disciplines are more commonly used in projects not only in Almaty, but in many other cities, such as Astana, Karaganda, and Atyrau.

Figure 2 Pasha Cas, "Vy deistvitel'no? [Do you really]?". 2015. Accessed 18 November 2020. Source: https://www.buro247.kz/buro-choise/opinion/dom-na-prospekte-zheltoksan-snosit-ili-ne-snosit.html

Research Questions

This research primarily aims to address the following questions - how can vacant urban heritage buildings in Kazakhstan be adaptively reused to amplify their value as heritage and resource, beyond official top-down practices? Adaptive heritage reuse can be a promising solution to preserve and instrumentalise urban architecture in Kazakhstan, and hence, the thesis aims to address the following sub-questions: What are the most important success factors and steps for establishing the practice of adaptive heritage reuse in Kazakhstan? What are the relevant heritage discourses and contexts for AHR? How to consolidate and empower communities to participate in

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[11] David Kaminski, interview by the author. 2020.
[12] Urban Forum Kazakhstan, "Critical Mass", May 24, 2021, YouTube Video, 38:38, https://urbanforum.kz/critical-mass

decision-making? What are the possible funding mechanisms and schemes available in the given context?

Research Aim

I aim to present a holistic, exploratory, and aspirational study of urban architectural heritage preservation that can further facilitate more systematic practices for the preservation and reuse of built heritage in Kazakhstan. I aim to introduce the urban heritage landscape of Almaty, Kazakhstan and map up the layers of cultural significance relevant to AHR discourses. The study will help to understand bottlenecks associated with heritage preservation and to explore potential success factors that can contribute to development of bottom-up projects of adaptive heritage reuse. Several success factors, under three categories will be prioritized based on the available data: (i) **heritage environment**, as expressed via policy, urban development, scholarly discourse, and heritagization; (ii) **inclusion** through participation, stakeholder integration, cooperation and engagement in urban governance (iii) **financial sustainability** through access to funding. I also aim to lay out the main stakeholders, their motivations and discourses, understand the past experiences of participatory projects and their potential. I will place this research in the context of existing practices from different Central Asian, post-Soviet/Communist, and European countries by providing a comparative analysis of different case studies, in order to evaluate the transferability and adaptability of these practices in Kazakhstan.

Figure 3 Kazakhstan on the map. The capital - officially called Nur-Sultan (hereafter Astana), former Soviet capital - Almaty, other provincial cities and neighboring countries. Source: U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. "Kazakhstan Maps - Perry-Castañeda

Sources and Methodology

Although the reuse of heritage buildings is a growing alternative to demolition and reconstruction in a number of countries, it is not a well defined practice in Kazakhstan, hence a strong body of studies or empirical data would largely benefit the area; it is completely lacking. As a holistic practice, adaptive heritage reuse is highly contextual. An interplay of factors shapes and defines the long-term resilience and sustainability of adaptive heritage reuse. I will use diverse examples, best practices and contextually relevant ideas to support the theoretical basis of adaptive heritage reuse and to examine what these can offer in terms of the new perspectives on urban heritage preservation in Kazakhstan.

One of the main data collection mechanisms of the research are online in-depth interviews with Kazakhstani and foreign urban heritage practitioners, researchers, journalists and activists. These interviews present a unique opportunity to study phenomena which cannot be directly observed.[13] Local Kazakhstani experts and bottom-up organizations have created a solid foundation of

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[13] Steven J. Taylor, Robert Bogdan, and Marjorie DeVault. *Introduction to qualitative research methods: A guidebook and resource*, (John Wiley & Sons, 2015).

research and accumulated experiential knowledge in urban and heritage policy and management, providing this study with detailed, credible and up-to-date data on a set of discussed topics. An interpretive research approach is used to uncover opinions, beliefs and experiences of the interviewees. Additionally, although conducted in Russian language, interviews help to partially balance the dominance of English and Russian language secondary literature and give visibility to alternative sources of knowledge.

One of such overarching findings that I want to emphasize was a prevailing sense of pessimism and distrust in the government and public institutions when dealing with heritage and participatory governance, which is based on years of work and research in the field by the interviewees. These opinions are mirrored in the public, as the social media analysis shows. Although these opinions and claims are well founded and relevant, the issue of stakeholder cooperation is identified as one of the overarching issues when it comes to heritage preservation. The thesis will try to apply some alternative view on the issues and see how interview data can be complemented with a more hopeful and future-oriented discussion.

The majority of urban experts and activists interviewed for this thesis reside and work in Almaty. Since Almaty is a model for other Kazakhstani cities, some general tendencies in preservation, future perspectives for adaptive heritage reuse, and social empowerment in Kazakhstan can be drawn from their input. Almaty is also the city that has the most preserved and well-documented architectural heritage from various epochs at the moment. The interviewees are Adil Nurmakov, Anel Moldakhmetova, David Kaminski (Almaty), Temirtas Iskakov (Astana) Adi Kuneva (Sofia, Bulgaria), Anna Pashynska (Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine), Astrid Exner and Vincent Abbrederis (Vienna, Austria).

Semi-structured interviews were conducted to identify what are some of the AHR challenges and to derive hypothetical success factors, from the perspective of interviewees' experience. The interviews were semi-structured, with sets of questions covering various topics provided in advance to each interviewee, such as:

- Preservation of architecture in Kazakhstan (for local experts);

- Top-down mechanisms of preservation and protection;

- Stakeholder and civil society engagement and participation;

- Legislation on architectural heritage and reuse;

- Cultural heritage discourse and Soviet urban heritage (for local experts and experts working in post-Soviet/Socialist contexts);

- Additionally, some experts' interviews were more focused on exploring the thematic topic through case studies of specific heritage buildings.

All interviewees were encouraged to modify the interview according to their own areas of expertise and to expand on some answers that had a specific relevance to the thesis. All interviews except for the interview with Anna Pashynska were digitally recorded using the embedded IPhone mobile application and later manually transcribed.

A study of secondary literature also aims to enrich these hypotheses with diverse, international examples and case studies. Secondary literature selection process was aiming to: 1) enlarge the understanding of what Adaptive Heritage Reuse entails and the development behind this idea and approach; 2) identify relevant to AHR context and/or issue specific examples and to cover a range of cases, from Viennese former squat and now vibrant municipally supported cultural center to the experimental Tselinny Cinema transformation in Almaty. Case studies were further enriched by

European initiative and studies, such as OpenHeritage (Horizon2020)[14] and through the Online Summer Course: Industrial Heritage as a Source of Social Empowerment and Economic Revitalization.[15]

These examples will inform the comparative analysis to identify transferability and adaptability of international best practices of adaptive heritage reuse in Kazakhstan. I will specifically look at policy context, research capacities, stakeholder integration, participation, and access to funding as these were the recurring issues cited by the interviewees and there was more data available for both Kazakhstan and the international practice. I will be developing suggestions for Kazakhstani bottom-up initiatives, authorities and private sector developers and businesses alike on what aspects of AHR deserve attention and can lead to practical application of novel governance, funding and participatory management models in the future. I attempt to place this research in the context of existing practices from different post-Soviet, and European states. The comparative cases are chosen on the basis of possible contextual similarities or original solutions that they exhibit.

I further utilize policy analysis to position urban architectural heritage and discourses in light of authorised procedures and practices.[16] I review and analyse some of the key heritage related laws and regulations, and the consecutive obstacles and opportunities that these can offer. Although I

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[14] OpenHeritage – is a project that identifies and tests the best practices of adaptive heritage re-use in Europe. It promotes reuse through through Inclusion, Technology, Access, Governance and Empowerment. More: https://openheritage.eu/

[15] The course focused on the potential of industrial heritage to be a transformative influence in the post-industrial regions. It aims to bridge an industrial past, through a deindustrialized present, towards an economically and socially sustainable future. More: https://history.ceu.edu/article/2019-11-29/call-application-industrial-heritage-source-social-empowerment-and-economic

[16] Laurajane Smith. *Uses of heritage*. (Routledge, 2006); Laurajane Smith, "All Heritage is Intangible: Critical Heritage Studies and Museums" (Amsterdam School of the Arts: Reinwardt Academy, 2011).

do not intend to provide a detailed legal analysis, I illustrate some of the policy conclusions through the local examples of heritage buildings in Kazakhstan. The main legislative documents cited in this research are: Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan of 26 December, 2019 № 288-VI «On the protection and use of historical and cultural heritage sites»[17], the Decree "On approval of the Rules for identifying, recording, granting and depriving of status, moving and changing, monitoring the state and changing the category of monuments of history and culture" dated April 15, 2020[18] and the Decree "About Approval of the State List of Monuments of History and Culture of Republican Value"[19].

The thesis also uses content analysis, critical discourse analysis (CDA) stemming from the critical theory of language, and digital ethnography to interpret online media publications, public Facebook posts and interviews. These are not primary thesis methodologies, however are useful in deriving data based on the actions and attitudes of people. CDA specifically looks at the ways in which language captures various perspectives.[20] It is an interdisciplinary approach to text and the texts' wider social and political significance.[21] As Norman Fairclough et al. (2004) states "people not only act and organize in particular ways, they also represent their ways of acting and

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[17] *Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated December 26, 2019 No. 288-VI On the protection and use of historical and cultural heritage sites.* Zakon.kz: https://online.zakon.kz/m/document/?doc_id=34894354

[18] Decree "On approval of the Rules for identifying, recording, granting and depriving of status, moving and changing, monitoring the state and changing the category of monuments of history and culture" by the Order of the Minister of Culture and Sports of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated April 15, 2020 No. 92. Registered in the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Kazakhstan on April 16, 2020 No. 20407. Accessed 28 June, 2020: https://adilet.zan.kz/eng/docs/V2000020407

[19] Decree "About Approval of the State List of Monuments of History and Culture of Republican Value". Law.gov.kz. Accessed May 18, 2019: http://law.gov.kz/client/?#!/doc/141722/rus

[20] Jürgen Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*, (MIT press, 1991).

[21] Brian Poole, "Commitment and criticality: Fairclough's critical discourse analysis evaluated." *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 20, no. 2 (2010): 137-155.

organizing, and produce imaginary projections of new or alternative ways, in particular discourses", including the heritage discourse.[22]

I will provide a critical discourse analysis of Facebook posts on the topic of the reconstruction of Tselinny cinema project, a former purpose-built modernist cinema in Almaty, Kazakhstan. I have chosen to examine this project from a social media discourse perspective because it allows to enlarge the pool of relevant opinions that shift and shape public perceptions of adaptive reuse projects, urban architecture and decision making. Such insights may also tell something about what characterizes Almaty urban heritage communities and what are the relevant points of discourse that can have an impact on future AHR practices.

In this approach I try to find patterns which can inform, confirm or reject my hypotheses on social discourses. These hypotheses are tested against other texts in the topic. I therefore can open up questions about social relations and discourse found in the texts, starting from a textual analysis (Fairclough's box 3), keeping in mind the limited nature of a single approach to data and that the other frameworks are crucial in providing other perspectives.[23]

As one of the reasons for choosing social media analysis is that first, it is an important platform of activism and second, city *Akimats* representatives are increasingly present on social media, are tagged by people to draw attention to issues discussed online and are expected to contribute to these discussions. It is indicating that to an extent, social media based discourses shape city politics

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[22] Fairclough et al. (2004), 2, Cited in Jacobs, Keith. "Discourse analysis and its utility for urban policy research." *Urban policy and research* 24, no. 1 (2006): 39-52.

[23] Janks, H. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis as a Research Tool. Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 18(3), 329–342. Accessed 23 May, 2019: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0159630970180302

and practices. These discourses can be of paramount interest in further research of expert groups'

polarization in postcolonial perspectives on heritage on Soviet heritage in Kazakhstan.

Heritage and decision making

The thesis is based on the emerging paradigm of heritage studies - critical heritage studies, which

can be conceptualized as a dynamic wave of the discipline's self-study - rethinking and reshaping

approaches to heritage scholarship and practice. Laurajane Smith introduced the concept of

"authorised heritage discourse" (AHD)[24] and examined power relationships in the heritage

industry, how heritage is constructed and hence the political side of representation.[25] In the case

of this thesis, the most important context in this respect is political representation and governance

in the urban space.

Critical heritage studies sees the conservative heritage field as insufficient and ineffective in

actualizing the potential that cultural heritage entails in regards to the regional, as well as global

transformations and challenges of economic inequality and sustainable development to name a

few.[26] These challenges can be even more prominent in newly independent countries with

developing economies and national identities, such as Kazakhstan.[27] Adaptive heritage reuse fits

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[24]Laurajane Smith. *Uses of heritage*. (Routledge, 2006); Laurajane Smith, "All Heritage is Intangible: Critical Heritage Studies and Museums" (Amsterdam School of the Arts: Reinwardt Academy, 2011).

[25] Witcomb, Andrea, and Kristal Buckley AM. "Engaging with the future of 'critical heritage studies': looking back in order to look forward." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19, no. 6 (2013): 575.

[26] Gustavo F. Araoz, "Preserving heritage places under a new paradigm." *Journal of cultural heritage management and sustainable development* (2011).

[27] Tim Winter. "Clarifying the critical in critical heritage studies." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19, no. 6 (2013): 534.

into the framework by underlining the idea that heritage is a resource that can be instrumentalised to facilitate sustainable development, urban regeneration and social empowerment.[28]

Critical heritage studies also asserts that based on the 19th and 20th century elitist, publicly funded, and predominantly Eurocentric methods of heritage conservation, heritage studies lacks the understanding and connection to big picture roles that heritage plays around the world, in diverse socio-economic and political contexts.[29] The heritage studies field is seen as "insufficiently theorized and that heritage practice itself is politically naïve at best or, at worst, actively excluding marginalised groups from its representations".[30] Some of the overarching propositions are in gaining "post-western understandings of culture, history and heritage and the socio-political forces that actualise them".[31]

The new paradigm challenges the institutionalized power of international heritage institutions such as UNESCO, ICOMOS, ICOM and IUCN and heritage practitioners both from within and without.[32] It advocates against power imbalances and for the plurality of stakeholders, for finding ways to democratize heritage production processes and access to its results by the general public and the broader society is one of the main values. It is committed to fostering empowering collaboration and human rights. Grassroots and activist level heritage practitioners are some of the

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[28] Robert Shipley, Steve Utz, and Michael Parsons. "Does adaptive reuse pay? A study of the business of building renovation in Ontario, Canada." International Journal of Heritage Studies 12, no. 6 (2006): 505-520.; Girard, Luigi Fusco, and Antonia Gravagnuolo. "Circular economy and cultural heritage/landscape regeneration. Circular business, financing and governance models for a competitive Europe." BDC. Bollettino Del Centro Calza Bini 17, no. 1 (2017): 35-52.

[29] Gustavo F. Araoz, "Preserving heritage places under a new paradigm." *Journal of cultural heritage management and sustainable development* (2011).

[30] Andrea Witcomb and Kristal Buckley AM. "Engaging with the future of 'critical heritage studies': looking back in order to look forward." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19, no. 6 (2013): 564.

[31] Tim Winter. "Clarifying the critical in critical heritage studies." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19, no. 6 (2013): 534.

[32] Tim Winter. "Clarifying the critical in critical heritage studies." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19, no. 6 (2013): 534.

actors that are viewed to be key in creating more progressive heritage academia and practices.[33]

Critical heritage studies therefore rests on several pillar concepts and ideas, such as multidisciplinarity, dynamism, participation, heritage communities, and intangible aspects of heritage (stories, tradition, rituals and beliefs), all of which will be used throughout the thesis.

Although many scholars accept the inevitability and the need for change in the field of heritage, there is no consensus on the criticism that has been generated towards it.[34] There is a concern for the developmental and economic agenda overtaking and undermining conservation per se. In some extremes, critical heritage studies seem to be perceived as anti-heritage.[35] Even though this debate is fascinating and insightful, it presents a separate inquiry, and therefore will not be addressed in much detail. In this thesis however, I take a strong stance in favor of progressive critical heritage approach, with clear understanding that its principles have varied, contextual and circumstantial applications that are not universal. Values of heritage are seen as diverse, contextual, circumstantial and not fixed in time, just like heritage itself.

Another dimension of the reinterpretation and reshaping of approaches manifested in the field of urban heritage management starting from the 1990s.[36] What became known as a landscape-based approach incorporates concepts of intangible heritage and values, location specific context, and urban and sustainable development. This implies a need for a more unified approach towards urban heritage management, that takes into account the policy and practice of conservation and urban

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[33] Andrea Witcomb and Kristal Buckley AM. "Engaging with the future of 'critical heritage studies': looking back in order to look forward." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19, no. 6 (2013): 563.

[34] Silberman, Neil. "Changing visions of heritage value: what role should the experts play?" *Ethnologies* 36, no. 1-2 (2014): 433-445.

[35] Tim Winter, "Clarifying the critical in critical heritage studies." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19, no. 6 (2013): 532-545.

[36] Veldpaus, Loes, Ana R. Pereira Roders, and Bernard JF Colenbrander. "Urban heritage: putting the past into the future." *The Historic Environment: Policy & Practice* 4, no. 1 (2013): 4.

development.[37] Therefore, conservation of built heritage is argued to be an important facilitator of urban regeneration.[38] UNESCO has adopted the recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape in 2011.[39] Nevertheless, the prospects of applying the approach at national levels remains unclear.[40]

Limitations

One of the limitations is the availability of data on heritage in Kazakhstan. It was especially difficult to access public resources of the Ministry of Culture and the municipality of Almaty. I have also made a choice of not contacting these authorities to request information, as the process is very bureaucratic and was fruitless when attempted by local organizations and activists in the past. Future research could greatly benefit from understanding the government's perspective.

When it comes to local reuse cases in Kazakhstan, this research is rather limited, as I was not able to find or was not able to conduct interviews with initiators of reuse projects. One of the cases for future analysis could be Hydra factory in Astana. However, overall there are no cases that are explicitly using adaptive heritage reuse approach. The Tselinny Cinema case discussed in Chapter Three, will be useful to illustrate the public discourses around heritage reuse and can serve as a starting point of AHR in Kazakhstan.

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[37] Loes Veldpaus Ana R. Pereira Roders, and Bernard JF Colenbrander. "Urban heritage: putting the past into the future." *The Historic Environment: Policy & Practice* 4, no. 1 (2013): 3-18.
[38] Peter A. Bullen, and Peter ED Love. "Adaptive reuse of heritage buildings." *Structural survey* (2011). ; Pendlebury, J. (2002), "Conservation and regeneration: complementary or conflicting processes? The Case of Grainger Town, Newcastle Upon Tyne", Planning Practice and Research, Vol. 17 No. 2, pp. 145-58. ; Strange, I. and Whitney, D. (2003), "The changing roles and purposes of heritage conservation in the UK", Planning, Practice and Research, Vol. 18 Nos 2/3, pp. 219-29.
[39] UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape
 https://whc.unesco.org/en/hul/
[40] Loes Veldpaus Ana R. Pereira Roders, and Bernard JF Colenbrander. "Urban heritage: putting the past into the future." *The Historic Environment: Policy & Practice* 4, no. 1 (2013): 4.

This research could also be meaningfully enhanced by adding a linguistically, geographically and demographically more diverse range of interviewees and sources base. While researching phenomena in Kazakhstan, I was not able to utilize resources in Kazakh language, which is the official language of Kazakhstan, nor was I able to interview experts or activists in Kazakh language. This contributes to the disparity of information in Kazakh, Russian and to an extend English languages in Kazakhstan, as well as the information accessibility. I as the author also do not have a working level of Kazakh to seek reliable resources. Since the research mainly focuses on Almaty, it is also limited in the scope and relevance of its findings to other cities in Kazakhstan.

When it comes to the utilization of international resources, case studies and interviews, this research inevitably misses out specificities of local contexts and histories, which can "get lost in translation". I am also aware of the dominance of English-language secondary literature, in line with the phenomenon of the monolingualism of contemporary science, as discussed in the "Scientific Babel" by Michael Gordin.[41]

An overarching limitation of the research is also the size and scope of a Master thesis. On the one hand it provides a convenient guideline, while on the other hand, leaves out a great amount of additional relevant research questions and focuses, which will be explored in more detail in the concluding parts of the thesis.

Relevance

This research can serve as an introduction into urban landscape and urban heritage management in Kazakhstan for foreign, English-language scholarship, as well as local, Kazakhstani audiences

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[41] Michael D. Gordin. "Scientific babel" *In Scientific Babel*, (University of Chicago Press, 2015).

ranging from experts through politicians to the general public. It can be also interesting to practitioners of adaptive heritage reuse, who may find new perspectives on the potentials or limitations of this method in the Kazakhstani context. Local bottom-up initiatives and NGOs can use this thesis to explore the approaches and experiences of adaptive heritage reuse and its success factors. To my knowledge, this study presents an original attempt at researching several intersecting ideas in the field of heritage, concepts and practices, especially when it comes to Kazakhstan. Despite the lack of experiential knowledge on adaptive reuse in Kazakhstan, the value of this thesis is in promoting this concept and discussion among the scholarly community and generating new interest in tackling heritage governance and management challenges informed by the best adaptive reuse practices.

Thesis structure

Chapter One will present the theoretical basis of Adaptive Heritage Reuse, the development of the concept in the context of the discipline, and the success factors associated with it. It will start by introducing the origins of this approach and further will review international secondary literature on AHR. This chapter will provide the basis of comparative analysis and allow to understand the situation of AHR in Kazakhstan on practical and legislative levels.

Chapter Two forces on exploring the existing heritage protection environment, as expressed in the contexts of legal protection and policy, urban development, scholarly discourse and bottlenecks, as one of many pre-requisites to a successful Adaptive Heritage Reuse projects. Therefore, this Chapter will focus on the success factor of heritage environment in Kazakhstan, and more specifically in Almaty. It will present the short historical context of town-planning and heritage in Almaty to define the place of urban heritage in Kazakhstan's cultural heritage agenda. It will look at processes of heritagization or heritage-making from both top-down and bottom-up perspectives.

The chapter will look at various bottlenecks associated with heritage and AHR, when it comes to urban development, heritage protection, scholarly discourse, and policy.

Chapter Three will look more closely at inclusion and its sub-success factors, surrounding participation, stakeholder integration, cooperation and engagement in urban governance and urban heritage projects, which are some of the cornerstones of successful adaptive reuse practices and policies. It will explore participatory elements in authorised heritage settings and evaluate them against theoretical frameworks on participation. I will also look at bottom-up participatory initiatives to establish an understanding of the participatory potential and practices. I will further look at how heritage experts and the public react and deal with these settings, with an attempt to map up communities through Facebook based discourse analysis. The alternative discourse analysis will be juxtaposed with the authorised discourse. The chapter will draw some general conclusions and recommendations based on this analysis.

Chapter Four will discuss another important success factor: financial sustainability, through the issue of access to funding for AHR projects. It will look at the accumulated AHR experience in Kazakhstan and in European comparative context, with some focus on bottom-up initiatives. I will discuss several types of funding and also attempt to understand which funding schemes can be applicable in the Kazakhstani context in the short and long terms.

In conclusion, I will offer a summary of findings and suggestions based on several success factors and how these areas can be improved in order to ensure the potential of Adaptive Heritage Reuse projects in Kazakhstan. I will also offer future directions for research to evoke scholarly interest and promote the practical application of AHR for professionals in local and international academia, heritage researchers, and practitioners.

Chapter 1 – Adaptive Heritage reuse approach in theory and in practice

This chapter will establish the theoretical background of Adaptive Heritage Reuse and the success factors associated with it. It will start by introducing the origins of this approach through the history of heritage studies and policy. Review of international secondary literature on AHR, as well as the preceding developments in the practice of AHR will provide the basis of comparative analysis and allow to understand the situation of AHR in Kazakhstan on practical and legislative levels.

1.1 Adaptive Heritage Reuse

Adaptive heritage reuse (hereafter AHR) is an emerging field, a strategy, and a contemporary concept in built heritage preservation.[42] It can be derived from the concept of adaptive reuse, which is the "conversion of a building, site or precinct from one use to another."[43] The principles of conversion or repurposing were primarily studied from the architectural and engineering point of view. Adaptive heritage reuse emerged to complement the definition, as a practice "where the site being reused has heritage value, and the new use should support the ongoing interpretation and understanding of that heritage, while accommodating its new functions."[44] Adaptive heritage reuse also implies research and a set of practices that are necessary to create appropriate AHR models based on multidisciplinary success factors, stakeholders, tools, strategies and needs.

Adaptive heritage reuse is a specifically important term as it incorporates a holistic approach to heritage buildings. There are no fixed procedures behind this approach, as it involves working with

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[42] Yazdani Mehr, Shabnam. "Analysis of 19th and 20th century conservation key theories in relation to contemporary adaptive reuse of heritage buildings." *Heritage* 2, no. 1 (2019): 920-937.

[43] Clark, Justine, and T. Wolkenberg. "Adaptive reuse of industrial heritage: opportunities & challenges." *Melbourne: Heritage Council Victoria* (2013).

[44] Clark, Justine, and T. Wolkenberg. "Adaptive reuse of industrial heritage: opportunities & challenges." *Melbourne: Heritage Council Victoria* (2013).

each case of heritage with specific attention to its past and present context, as well as to its future potential. "The most successful adaptive reuse projects are those that respect and retain a building's heritage significance as well as add a contemporary layer that provides value for the future."[45]

Adaptive heritage reuse, although an emerging field, has become a domain of high expertise in terms of architectural and conservational work, as well as a field of scholarly inquiry of its own.[46] AHR has been incorporating ideas around reviving and continuing vernacular and 'user-led' approaches to built structures common throughout human history, but underpinned by rather practical and economic considerations.[47]

In academic scholarship, the ideas of AHR can be traced back to the 19th century. Some principles were present in works on restoration by Viollet-le-Duc, and the opposing ideas of anti-restoration, pro-conservation approach best exemplified by John Ruskin and William Morris. Viollet-le-Duc acknowledged that "the best means of preserving a building is to find a use for it," while restoring the building as close to the original architects' ideas.[48] These conventional understandings, however transformed the practices of buildings management and emphasized 'restoration'[49] over practical repurposing.[50] While all three authors considered the importance of the original architect's vision, Ruskin and Morris went further to advocate for more conservation, based on the idea that a stylistic restoration of a buildings' fabric would be historically misleading, and therefore should not be prioritized, thus prioritizing the age value of constructions. The two scholars

[45] Bullen, Peter A., and Peter ED Love. "Adaptive reuse of heritage buildings." *Structural survey* (2011).
[46] Plevoets, Bie, and Julia Sowińska-Heim. "Community initiatives as a catalyst for regeneration of heritage sites: Vernacular transformation and its influence on the formal adaptive reuse practice." *Cities* 78 (2018): 128-139.
[47] Plevoets, Bie, and Julia Sowińska-Heim. "Community initiatives as a catalyst for regeneration of heritage sites: Vernacular transformation and its influence on the formal adaptive reuse practice." *Cities* 78 (2018): 128-139.
[48] Dewidar, Khaled Mohamed. 2015. "Viollet Le Duc's Concept on Historic Preservation."
[49] Viollet-le-Duc, Eugène-Emmanuel. *On restoration*. Sampson Low, Marston Low, and Searle, 1875.
[50] Plevoets, Bie, and Julia Sowińska-Heim. "Community initiatives as a catalyst for regeneration of heritage sites: Vernacular transformation and its influence on the formal adaptive reuse practice." *Cities* 78 (2018): 128-139.

introduced the notion of value to heritage scholarship, which was further advanced by Reigl offering a critical approach to the 19th century heritage building conservation.[51]

The conventional conservation-oriented approach has been manifested in attempts of freezing heritage sites in time, discouraging change and thus distancing the buildings from evolving surrounding realities and societies. Although such an approach was contested by authors and practitioners such as Camillo Boito (1836–1914) and Cesare Brandi (1906–1988), it was not until recently that a systematic alternative was formulated under the term adaptive heritage reuse.

In the international context, the ideas of AHR started to emerge as early as in the Athens charter of 1931 recommending that "the occupation of buildings, which ensures the continuity of their life, should be maintained but that they should be used for a purpose which respects their historic or artistic character."[52] It also accepted the use of modern materials where this was considered useful for the conservation. Built upon the Athens Charter, the Venice Charter of 1964 reexamined conservation theory was, introducing adaptive reuse as an approach to conservation. Article 5 defines finding a new, socially useful function to the building as a means of conservation, but specifying that the new use should not change the lay-out or decoration of the building.[53]

The Venice Charter also formulated the importance of communities in the preservation of heritage buildings, emphasizing the need for a 'socially useful purpose'.[54] The charter marked a

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[51] Yazdani Mehr, Shabnam. "Analysis of 19th and 20th century conservation key theories in relation to contemporary adaptive reuse of heritage buildings." *Heritage* 2, no. 1 (2019): 920-937.
[52] "The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments - 1931," International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS, November 11, 2011), https://www.icomos.org/en/167-the-athens-charter-for-the-restoration-of-historic-monuments.
[53] "International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter 1964)," International Council on Monuments and Sites – (ICOMOS), https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf
[54] Yazdani Mehr, Shabnam. "Analysis of 19th and 20th century conservation key theories in relation to contemporary adaptive reuse of heritage buildings." *Heritage* 2, no. 1 (2019): 920-937.

shift in the understanding of heritage value from "prestigious, monumental or historically significant buildings" to include buildings of more vernacular origins. [55] In contemporary interpretation these can include constructions ranging from redundant office buildings, obsolete community structures, residential houses, and industrial sites.[56]

Today adaptive heritage reuse is one of the leading approaches to heritage preservation, due to a renewed interest, multidisciplinary scholarly inquiry, and the potential to integrate building conservation into the broader strategies for urban regeneration and sustainability.[57] AHR has also grown to be a subject of holistic calls in the framework of Creative Europe Programme EU 2020, EU and Futurium 2020, UN-HABITAT 2016 and other funding programs.[58] By the early 2000s, AHR became a part of general architectural practice; for example, an estimated forty percent of construction in Central Europe was adaptation of older buildings as opposed to demolition and new construction.[59] Once the old structures become inadequate to their functional and programmatic needs, AHR is a sustainable option for the reclamation of the sites.[60] Existing scholarly works emphasize several structural benefits of AHR, pioneering Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs),[61] especially SDG 11 "Make cities and human settlements inclusive,

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[55] Bullen, Peter A., and Peter ED Love. "Adaptive reuse of heritage buildings." *Structural survey* (2011).

[56] Hamer, David. "Learning from the past: historic districts and the new urbanism in the United States." *Planning Perspectives* 15, no. 2 (2000): 107-122.

[57] Bullen, Peter A., and Peter ED Love. "Adaptive reuse of heritage buildings." *Structural survey* (2011). ; Rezaei, Naimeh, Mahsa Rasouli, and Bahareh Azhdari. "The attitude of the local community to the impact of building reuse: Three cases in an Old Neighborhood of Tehran." *Heritage & Society* 11, no. 2 (2018): 105-125.

[58] Mérai et al., Typology of current adaptive heritage re-use policies. Open Heritage: Deliverable 1.3 (Report). Accessed 17 May, 2020: https://openheritage.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Typology-of-current-adaptive-resue-policies.pdf.

[59] C. Schittich. In detail interior spaces. Birkhauser, Berlin (2003) cited in Mısırlısoy, Damla, and Kağan Günçe. "Adaptive reuse strategies for heritage buildings: A holistic approach." *Sustainable Cities and Society* 26 (2016): 91-98.

[60] Mohamed, Noorzalifah, and Kartina Alauddin. "The criteria for decision making in adaptive reuse towards sustainable development." In *MATEC Web of Conferences*, vol. 66, p. 00092. EDP Sciences, 2016.

[61] "The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development". Accessed 10 October 2020: https://sdgs.un.org/goals

safe, resilient and sustainable.". AHR is a strategy of urban regeneration and heritage conservation that embodies the four dimensions of sustainability.

Adaptive heritage reuse ideas can also follow less structured and more grassroots paths. Vacant buildings can be spontaneously occupied without a 'proper' legal procedure for the construction or land ownership, which is summed up in the term "squatting".[62] This phenomenon often helps save obsolete buildings from decay and gives them a temporary use and a continuation of their identity. Such practices also help form a community that can further the process of adaptation.

This is frequently the case with industrial heritage, such as UFA Fabrik in Berlin, which was peacefully occupied by more than 100 individuals to create culture and ecology-oriented projects in 1979.[63] The Arts Printing House in Vilnius was occupied in a similar manner in the 1990s. In the early 2000s, squatters gained a legal agreement to operate in the complex from the municipality of the city.[64] Such developments were not planned and conceptualized as adaptive reuse from the early stages and had a spontaneous start. However, these examples demonstrate the natural potential of communities to bond with existing structures and creatively upcycle them for the future benefit. It also shows how adaptive reuse as such is a part of new ways of thinking about progress and economic success.

For example, AHR can be incorporated as part of Circular Economy approach, which is actively promoted as an alternative to linear (GDP-based) understanding of economic success. Circular economy tries to rationalize, recycle and otherwise keep "products, components, and materials at their highest utility and value at all times", where one kind of product becomes a part of another

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[62] "Manufacturing". 2019. City Scanning Sessions newspaper. Print.
[63] Miles, Malcolm. Urban utopias: the built and social architectures of alternative settlements. Routledge, 2007:
[64] Menų spaustuvė: http://www.menuspaustuve.lt/en/about/menu-spaustuve

in a circular process.[65] It is also a policy concept that was highlighted under the previous EU Commission of Jean-Claude Juncker and continues to transform EU policies to make the EU climate neutral continent by 2050.[66] Thus, AHR management strategies can be a part of larger sustainable development policies on both national and international levels.

Therefore, adaptive heritage reuse is increasingly incorporated into different national policies as a means to address various other issues, such as vacancy, conservation, planning, and sustainable development.[67] Based on an overview of the literature on adaptive reuse, Rezaei, Rasouli, and Azhdari (2018) identified some of the key benefits as well as issues associated with AHR based on physical, economic, environmental, and sociocultural aspects.

Table 1 The impacts of adaptive reuse (shortened and adapted from Rezaei, Naimeh, Mahsa Rasouli, and Bahareh Azhdari, 2018)

Physical	Restoration and conservation of historic buildings; Reduction in the number of abandoned and unused buildings; Improvement in the character of area and town scape; Formation of landmark.
Economic	Diversity and dynamism of the local economy; Creation of employment opportunities for local people; Increased land value; Increased investment due to the attractiveness and increased safety of a place or a growing tourist economy; Reduction in costs of continued urban development and expansion; Creation of a business brand identity; Tourism development; Revival of traditional handicrafts.
Environmental	Sustainable development; Reduction of building demolition waste; Reduction in energy and resources consumption.
Sociocultural	Opportunity for the public to access privately-owned heritage properties; Reduce crime and increase security; Social dynamics and vitality of historical areas; Social Enhanced collective memory; Civic pride; Reinforced sense of place; Reinforced sense of belonging; Maintaining the significance of heritage; Strengthening the residential role of historic neighborhoods; Improved services.

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[65] "Circular Economy". Accessed December 21, 2019: https://sustainabilityguide.eu/sustainability/circular-economy/

[66] Simon, Frédéric. "LEAK: EU's new circular economy plan aims to halve waste by 2030". Accessed February 2, 2020: https://www.euractiv.com/section/circular-economy/news/leak-eus-new-circular-economy-plan-aims-to-halve-waste-by-2030/

[67] Mérai et al., Typology of current adaptive heritage re-use policies. Open Heritage: Deliverable 1.3 (Report). Accessed 17 May, 2020: https://openheritage.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Typology-of-current-adaptive-resue-policies.pdf.

Environmental impact

There is a considerable amount of evidence that AHR is a way to facilitate sustainable urban regeneration. Studies support that claim particularly through recycling and upcycling structures, which allows decreasing demolition waste, reducing carbon emissions, and reusing the embodied energy of the structures.[68] Moreover, heritage can inspire local communities to take care of their local environment and lead more sustainable lifestyles. It creates "a powerful connection to their physical environment through visual amenity and the intrigue and uniqueness offered by heritage buildings and streetscapes."[69]

Socio-Cultural impact

Adaptive reuse of heritage buildings can foster introspection into the communities' character, its past, its present, its achievements, and future.[70] Conserving heritage buildings and giving them new function, while taking into consideration its socio-cultural contexts, has the potential of assisting the future generations in understanding where they are coming from.[71] AHR creates a stronger sense of connection for communities, a sense of belonging, that is not achieved through the mentality associated with new constructions. Heritage buildings reuse therefore can directly

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[68] Girard, Luigi Fusco, and Antonia Gravagnuolo. "Circular economy and cultural heritage/landscape regeneration. Circular business, financing and governance models for a competitive Europe." *BDC. Bollettino Del Centro Calza Bini* 17, no. 1 (2017): 35-52.

[69] Bullen, Peter A., and Peter ED Love. "Adaptive reuse of heritage buildings." *Structural survey* (2011).

[70] Rezaei, Naimeh, Mahsa Rasouli, and Bahareh Azhdari. "The attitude of the local community to the impact of building reuse: Three cases in an Old Neighborhood of Tehran." *Heritage & Society* 11, no. 2 (2018): 105-125. ; Kigadye, Fabian S. "Adaptive re-use of historic building and community development: the case of Mikindani Old Boma-Tanzania." (2012): 414.;

[71] Mısırlısoy, Damla, and Kağan Günçe.2016."Adaptive Reuse Strategies for Heritage Buildings: A Holistic Approach."Sustainable Cities and Society26: 91–98.

impact social sustainability.[72] Despite the shifting paradigms in understanding of heritage values, the values of aesthetic, age and history remain important and influential in any adaptive heritage reuse decision-making. Buildings that possess stories and histories are therefore important to preserve as material evidence for both scientific and mundane inquiry. In many studies, heritage is defined as a "common good".[73]

Economic impact

Economic prospects of AHR are primarily associated with cost reductions of adapting an existing building versus constructing a new one. It can also create unique business models and brand identities. Evidence suggests that this would depend on the ability of estimating economic viability of such projects.[74] On the other hand, recent approaches in cultural economic theory show that the "economic value is created indirectly, through shared meanings that glue together persons and chains". Additionally, the preservation of the historic fabric of the city presents the foundation for cultural heritage tourism. Tourism in its turn offers various opportunities to foster economic development of the local communities.[75] It is more closely examined in Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000)[76] Fotsch (2004)[77] Kalman(2004)[78].

[72] Bullen, Peter A., and Peter ED Love. "Adaptive reuse of heritage buildings." *Structural survey* (2011).
[73] Girard, Luigi Fusco, and Antonia Gravagnuolo. "Circular economy and cultural heritage/landscape regeneration. Circular business, financing and governance models for a competitive Europe." *BDC. Bollettino Del Centro Calza Bini* 17, no. 1 (2017): 35-52.
[74] Bullen, Peter A., and Peter ED Love. "Adaptive reuse of heritage buildings." *Structural survey* (2011).
[75] Kigadye, Fabian S. "Adaptive re-use of historic building and community development: the case of Mikindani Old Boma-Tanzania." (2012): 414.
[76] Ashworth, Gregory John, and John E. Tunbridge. *The tourist-historic city*. Routledge, 2000.
[77] Fotsch, Paul M. "Tourism's uneven impact: history on Cannery Row." Annals of Tourism Research 31, no. 4 (2004): 779-800.
[78] Kalman, Harold. "Adaptive re-use: learning from Vancouver." In *The conservation of urban heritage: Macao vision*, pp. p-179. 2004.

Cautionary tales underline the importance of keeping all factors and contexts in mind. For example, there is a need to account for the gentrification that can be initiated with adaptive reuse of heritage. The studies that tackle the issue of the prices of the surrounding properties are by Stas (2007)[79] Winson-Geideman, Jourdan, and Gao (2007)[80], and gentrification of the neighborhood by Lynch (2011).[81] Although studies show that adaptive reuse of buildings can present multiple challenges to building ecological performance, these should be based on a case sensitive evaluation of the buildings life cycle.[82] Achieving an environmentally friendly adaptive reuse depends on the availability of needed expertise and resources for establishment of efficient heating, insulation and low-impact materials use. In terms of socio-cultural impact, AHR is not always easily welcomed by communities, due to alternative understandings of heritage value and use, lack of engagement, or due to objective economic and environmental factors. A holistic nature of the approach should address the possible negative side effects. "While giving new functions to heritage buildings, the existing fabric should be analyzed in depth [...] the needs of the district should be discovered and possible users of the building should be identified."[83]

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[79] Stas, Nart. 2007. The Economics of Adaptive Reuse of Old Buildings: A Financial Feasibility Study & Analysis. Waterloo: University of Waterloo.
[80] Winson-Geideman, Kimberly, D. Jourdan, and S. Gao.2007. "Preserving Whose Neighborhood? The Effects of Adaptive Reuse by the Savannah College of Art & Design on Property Value and Community Change in Savannah, Georgia."Commissioned by the Lincoln Institute for Land Policy.
[81] Lynch, Nicholas.2011.""Converting" Space in Toronto: The Adaptive Reuse of the Former Centennial Japanese United Church to the"Church Lofts". The Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada 36 (1): 63–73.
[82] Bullen, Peter A., and Peter ED Love. "Adaptive reuse of heritage buildings." *Structural survey* (2011).
[83] Mısırlısoy, Damla, and Kağan Günçe.2016." Adaptive Reuse Strategies for Heritage Buildings: A Holistic Approach."Sustainable Cities and Society26: 91–98.

1.2 AHR Projects Success Factors

Success factors (SFs) of AHR projects vary on a case-by-case basis depending on the history and context of each individual building that is reused (Table 2). Success factors indicate what conditions provide for a successful adaptation and reuse of heritage buildings. SFs are used to evaluate the cultural, social, infrastructural and financial appropriateness of a new use of a heritage building[84], as well as the principles implemented in the process. Furthermore, the Critical Success Factors methodology can be helpful in underlining the specific areas that critically contribute to managerial or organizational success of an AHR project (Boynton & Zmud, 1984, p.17). In a broader sense successful AHR projects are those that become 'living assets' of their surroundings and communities. However due to the limited nature of this research, I will only discuss broad categories of SFs under three categories: (i) **heritage environment**, as expressed via national policy, urban development, scholarly discourse, and heritagization; (ii) **inclusion** through participation, stakeholder integration, cooperation and engagement in urban governance (iii) **financial sustainability** through access to funding.

Table 2 Summary of chosen Success factors and their significance

Stakeholder Integration	Engaging more stakeholders in the planning and decision-making stages of built heritage projects can help alleviate the tensions and conflicts of interest and contribute to project sustainability over time
Community and Participation	Increased public relevance of heritage projects as well as heritage valorization creating a sense of shared ownership and responsibility for people involved; empowerment in the overall socio-political sphere
Research	Underlying abilities of research and evidence-based studies is to uncover and inform heritage values, introduce best practices and solutions to create environments that foster preservation and reuse; heritage experts and academia provide guidance on state and public level and can foster international linkages

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[84] Mısırlısoy, Damla, and Kağan Günçe. "Adaptive reuse strategies for heritage buildings: A holistic approach." *Sustainable Cities and Society* 26 (2016): 91-98.

National Policy	Policies set the official instruments of heritage preservation and reuse and can have an impact on the access to resources and legal frameworks of ownership of heritage buildings
Access to Funding	It ensures financial sustainability of projects through diverse and flexible funding models, which can be matched with unique needs cultural and heritage projects

Stakeholder integration

Freeman's Stakeholder theory defines stakeholders as "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of an organization"[85] or the organization's objective. Alternative definitions can be found in Eden and Ackermann (2011) as "those groups without whose support the organization would cease to exist."[86] When I talk about heritage buildings, identifying stakeholders will also have an effect on "who" and "what" are significant in heritage management and decision-making. According to Lou, Lee, and Yoke Mui Lim (2021) "Conflict in heritage is predicated on a number of fronts, examples include: power vs powerlessness (Abakerli, 2001), conservation vs development or exploitation (Holder, 2000), economic/social gain, and cultural and/or environmental degradation (Gossling, 2002; Turk et al., 2019)."[87] By engaging more stakeholders in the planning stages of built heritage projects can help alleviate the tensions and conflicts of interest. It can also contribute to long-term sustainability of the decision-making and project strategies. Eventually it can increase the "community's ownership of heritage through

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[85] Freeman, R. Edward. "Stakeholder theory." *Wiley encyclopedia of management* (2015): 1.
[86] Ackermann, Fran, and Colin Eden. "Strategic management of stakeholders: Theory and practice." *Long range planning* 44, no. 3 (2011): 179.
[87] Lou, Eric CW, Angela Lee, and Yoke Mui Lim. "Stakeholder preference mapping: the case for built heritage of Georgetown, Malaysia." Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development (2021).

education, and to enhance the community's trust in heritage management".[88] Heritage managers should also pay attention to analysing various stakeholder needs and how they change over time.

Community and Participation

Community is generally defined as formations of groups of people motivated by both individual interest and the interest of the wider group. There is a focus on the sense of belonging, where people feel loyalty to a group. Moreover, they exhibit shared goals, values and beliefs, not essentially tied to common religion, ethnicity or nationality.[89] In liberal democracies the importance and responsibility of communities was recognized in many spheres of public governance.[90] In many states, community engagement is growing in popularity for various public institutions, such as local councils, governments, arts and heritage organisations. Whereas participation was critically defined by Arnstein (1969) and can be defined as the "redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future". It defines the specific ways in which 'have-nots' are engaged in decision-making, like "determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programs are operated, and benefits like contracts and patronage are parceled out."[91] Big picture, participation fosters social reform that in turn gives the 'have-not' citizens share in the benefits that comes from developments and advancements in the society.

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[88] Lou, Eric CW, Angela Lee, and Yoke Mui Lim. "Stakeholder preference mapping: the case for built heritage of Georgetown, Malaysia." Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development (2021).

[89] Sapu, Sakkarin. "Community participation in heritage conservation." *Conserving Heritage In East Asian Cities: Planning For Continuity and Change* (2009).

[90] Meskell, Lynn. "Heritage, gentrification, participation: Remaking urban landscapes in the name of culture and historic preservation." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25, no. 9 (2019): 998.

[91] Arnstein, Sherry R. "A ladder of citizen participation." Journal of the American Institute of planners 35, no. 4 (1969): 216-224.

These further develop whole strategies and mission statements that underline the important role of community consultation and participation.[92] Given the structural benefits of community participation like legitimacy for institutions, justice of expanding the pool of voices and 'subaltern' heritage discourses (as opposed to authorized heritage discourses)[93], as well as the effectiveness in introducing heterogeneous and diverse needs and issues, not many academics or practitioners would disagree that the governments should be attentive to the needs and ideas of ordinary citizens.[94]

Participation is not a universally good solution to all issues and needs to be properly designed and applied; it can have opposite and negative effects, such as conflicting goals, expectations or means. Still, departing from "top-down" approaches in heritage management has been studied to have a plethora of positive impacts. According to Birgit Eriksson, Camilla Møhring Reestorff, and Carsten Stage (2018) positive effects of participatory governance outweigh the negative impacts and can include:

Table 3 Positive Impacts of Participatory governance Adapted from Eriksson, Birgit, Camilla Møhring Reestorff, and Carsten Stage (2018 [95]

Aesthetic intensity	Sensory stimulation of the body, feeling affected, experiencing art as a promise of a better world.
Feeling of togetherness	Emotional and cognitive sense of bond to various others.
Social inclusion	Moving persons/groups from a marginalized to an included position

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[92] Perkin, Corinne. "Beyond the rhetoric: negotiating the politics and realising the potential of community-driven heritage engagement." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16, no. 1-2 (2010): 107-122.

[93] Smith, Laurajane. *Uses of Heritage*. Routledge, 2006.

[94] Midgley, James. "Popular participation, statism and development." *Journal of Social Development in Africa* 2, no. 1 (1987): 6.

[95] Eriksson, Birgit, Camilla Møhring Reestorff, and Carsten Stage. "Forms and potential effects of citizen participation in European cultural centres." *Participations Journal of Audience & Reception Studies* 15, no. 2 (2018): 112-114.

Wellbeing	Physical/mental positivity/vitality, (e.g. having fun or feeling that you do something for others).
Learning	Achieving certain skills or competencies (e.g. learning to perform or to collaborate with others).
Empowerment	Feeling of (shared) agency regarding certain self-defined goals.
Cultural & political reflection	Stimulating critical analysis of society and thinking about or experimenting with possible alternatives (e.g. sharing economies).
Local development	Changing the centre and/or surrounding environment (neighbourhood, city, region) for the better
Sustainability	Stimulating positive green/environmental changes (e.g. through repair cafes or recycling initiatives)

Such processes can reinforce public relevance of heritage projects as well as heritage valorization creating a sense of shared ownership and responsibility for people involved.[96] Participation helps advance democratic values, political legitimacy and communication between the citizens and authority to properly address the needs of communities.[97] When it comes to participatory adaptive reuse of heritage sites can activate and open urban areas, create dialog, consolidate communities and sub-cultures, encourage development and business innovations, as well as increase protection, comfort and enjoyment of people. Ultimately these practices can lead to citizen and community capacity building, and more meaningful inclusion in the wider array of issues.

On the flip side, communities are easily blamed for the issues associated with "their" neighborhoods and communal heritage. Communities can risk being perceived as 'unsuitable

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[96] Fung, Archon. "Varieties of participation in complex governance." *Public administration review* 66 (2006): 66-75; Hodges, Andrew, and Steve Watson. "Community-based heritage management: A case study and agenda for research." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 6, no. 3 (2000): 231-243; Head, Brian W. "Community engagement: participation on whose terms?." *Australian Journal of Political Science* 42, no. 3 (2007): 441-454.
[97] Boonstra, Beitske, and Luuk Boelens. "Self-organization in urban development: towards a new perspective on spatial planning." *Urban Research & Practice* 4, no. 2 (2011): 99-122.

stewards' of their own heritage.[98] Therefore, effective participation entails such factors as: empowerment, communication and responsibility. Empowerment comes both in the ability to discuss the concerns but also to have influence in the decision making. Participatory projects thus need to give the communities the needed information on the heritage conservation issues, heritage values and approaches with effective communication strategies.[99]

In international practice, the rights of ordinary citizens to engage with their heritage were established and recognized as a missing part of the conventional heritage preservation agenda. If historically, more attention was given to professional authority or "expertise", as heritagization aimed at artistic and historic artefacts that were considered as more creative bearers of national identity, now these canons are changed.[100] The previously dominant conservationist approach highlighted the tangible aspects of buildings or objects as well as framed the nation-states and their governments as main authorities over the heritage field. The role of the intangible aspects of built heritage was neglected.

With the trend of internationalization, there was an attempt for a change in heritage studies acknowledging and forwarding the right of communities to "coexist, preserve or produce these

[98] Meskell, Lynn. "Heritage, gentrification, participation: Remaking urban landscapes in the name of culture and historic preservation." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25, no. 9 (2019): 997.

[99] Dian, Azni Mohd, and Nuraisyah Chua Abdullah. "Public participation in heritage sites conservation in Malaysia: Issues and challenges." *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences* 101 (2013): 248-255.

[100] Berger, Stefan, Bella Dicks, and Marion Fontaine. "'Community': a useful concept in heritage studies?." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 26, no. 4 (2020): 325-351.
Mason, Randall, Margaret GH MacLean, and Marta de la Torre. "Social Values, Heritage Values, and Strengthening Conservation."." *Reflections on Preventative Conservation, Maintenance and Monitoring of Monuments and Sites by the PRECOMOS UNESCO Chair. eds. Koenraad Van Balen and Aziliz Vandesande.(Leuven: Acco, 2013)* (2013): 30-35. Cited in Mason, Randall, Margaret GH MacLean, and Marta de la Torre. "Social Values, Heritage Values, and Strengthening Conservation."." *Reflections on Preventative Conservation, Maintenance and Monitoring of Monuments and Sites by the PRECOMOS UNESCO Chair. eds. Koenraad Van Balen and Aziliz Vandesande.(Leuven: Acco, 2013)* (2013): 30-35.

heritage aspects" giving space for more bottom-up initiatives.[101] A trending concept that applies in this discussion is "heritage communities". Community and heritage are naturally connected phenomena. There is almost an existential codependency of these concepts in contemporary discourse solidified in international policy.

In 2005 the UNESCO convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions established the fundamental role and right of people to participate in and enjoy culture for heritage preservation and development.[102] In European context, the 2005 Faro Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society signified another paradigm change where heritage was seen in relation to human rights and democracy. It encourages a more intricate interpretation of heritage, where objects and places only matter because of the "meanings and uses that people attach to them and the values they represent"[103]. According to Smith, these developments helped to make the "heritage community" associated with ordinary people. In heritage it became "a counter-image to the conservative, aristocracy-biased traditional heritage of the 'authorised discourse' ".[104] Thus, a less elitist or expert-led approach to heritage evolved.

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[101] Heras, V., Steenberghen, T., Zuñiga, M., Cardoso, F. and Van Balen, K. (2011), "Monitoring the complexity of change of a world heritage site after the inscription on the world heritage list", Proceedings of the International Conference on Preventive Conservation of Architectural Heritage, Yifu Science Hall, Southeast University, October 29-30, pp. 34-43. Cited in Mason, Randall, Margaret GH MacLean, and Marta de la Torre. "Social Values, Heritage Values, and Strengthening Conservation."." *Reflections on Preventative Conservation, Maintenance and Monitoring of Monuments and Sites by the PRECOMOS UNESCO Chair. eds. Koenraad Van Balen and Aziliz Vandesande.(Leuven: Acco, 2013)* (2013): 30-35.

[102] Kazakhstan is not a party to this convention according to https://pax.unesco.org/la/convention.asp?KO=31038&language=E&order=alpha ; http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=31038&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

[103] "Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro Convention, 2005)." Council of Europe. Accessed March 10, 2019. https://www.coe.int/en/web/culture-and-heritage/faro-convention.

[104] Smith, Laurajane. *Uses of heritage*. Routledge, 2006.

National Policy

Adaptive heritage reuse in many cases is implemented as a part of national or regional policy and heritage agenda. As a multidisciplinary approach it relies on diverse policies, not just in heritage, but also in urban planning, regeneration, sustainability, tourism, circular economy, and creative industries.[105] These policies can have an effect on many aspects of heritage management, including the access to resources and legal frameworks of ownership. Policies also establish possibilities of international cooperation and exchange, define international linkages, partners and ratification of international laws and conventions. In Chapter Two, I will look at various sides of heritage and urban development policies and heritage practices through examples from Kazakhstan to better understand the prospects of adaptive heritage reuse in the local context.

Research

One of the key success factors of adaptive heritage reuse, is research. It refers to both the historical analysis of the built environment, the previous uses of the building, as well as the communities and histories associated with it. One of the underlying abilities of research is to create and sustain heritage values and create environments that foster preservation and reuse.[106] It is also one of the success factors noted by Kazakhstani urban researchers and activists. It has proven to be an essential phase of launching any project, as it also allows to understand the relevance of the project to the wider public or specific target groups. It serves as a foundation to a better communication and engagement between the researcher and the public, creating a discourse and the analytical

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[105] Mérai et al., Typology of current adaptive heritage re-use policies. Open Heritage: Deliverable 1.3 (Report). Accessed 17 May, 2020: https://openheritage.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Typology-of-current-adaptive-resue-policies.pdf.
[106] Dyson, Kristy, Jane Matthews, and Peter ED Love. "Critical success factors of adapting heritage buildings: an exploratory study." *Built Environment Project and Asset Management* (2016).

foundation for advocacy and negotiation with the authorities and other stakeholders.[107] It is especially relevant in maintaining an inclusive approach in urban heritage preservation discourse, where a lot of political, historical and emotional ideas interplay. Finally, research can create cross-border exchange and connections, opening up more information to best practices and frameworks in diverse contexts.

Access to funding

Adaptive heritage reuse is frequently associated with higher costs as compared to demolition and new construction. This can be true in certain circumstances, which involve finding proper materials, performing energy renovations and engaging heritage specialists. However, AHR projects can also prove to be more cost effective due to the removal of the demolition process and re-use of structural elements.[108] One of the discouraging factors is the lack of incentive for the private sector to develop, invest and sustain projects based in heritage buildings, as they are usually not tied to immediate commercial benefits. On the other hand, private investment creates an incentive for innovation, experimentation and creativity, which can be seen in many international cases of AHR. Overcoming these limitations can be a big step in fostering AHR projects in Kazakhstan.

As with many socially and culturally motivated initiatives, diversification of financial resources is one of the main strategies for the long-term security of the project's operations. Bottom-up projects in cultural heritage tend to struggle covering the costs of the buildings' adaptation and long-term

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[107] Urban Forum Kazakhstan, "Critical Mass", May 24, 2021, Youtube Video, 38:38, https://urbanforum.kz/critical-mass
[108] Dyson, Kristy, Jane Matthews, and Peter ED Love. "Critical success factors of adapting heritage buildings: an exploratory study." *Built Environment Project and Asset Management* (2016).

maintenance. This is not a unique struggle for Kazakhstan, and a lot of promising initiatives in Europe have to surrender under the pressure of financing their enterprise. It is hard to achieve desirable funding from the traditional commercial financial institutions, which creates space for alternatives, such as diverse types of social financing, grant schemes and programs, private investments, as well as diversified funding schemes.[109] Creative and innovative solutions that are customized to the needs of each AHR case, can be one of the positive outcomes resulting from the mitigation of this challenge.

Alternative types of funding that will be discussed in Chapter 4 include:

- Social Finance: (i) Ethical banking or cooperative banks and anti-speculation institutions, Impact investing; (ii) Community Crowdfunding; (iii) Private foundations, investments, donations or (venture) philanthropy; (iv) Corporate Social Responsibility

- International grants and programs

Prominent success factors that will be discussed in this thesis are under three categories: (i) **heritage environment**, as expressed via national policy, urban development, scholarly research, and heritagization; (ii) **inclusion** through participation, stakeholder integration, cooperation and engagement in urban governance (iii) **financial sustainability** through access to funding.

1.3 AHR in Kazakhstan

According to the law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated December 26, 2019 No. 288-VI *On the protection and use of historical and cultural heritage sites* one of the practices of architectural

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[109] OpenHeritage. "Financial Guidelines: How to build a project-plan, project-structure and financial plan for community-led adaptive reuse projects. Published 12 November 2020. Accessed May 22, 2021: https://eurodite.eu/wp/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/20201112_Financial-guidelines.pdf

preservation can be interpreted as adaptive heritage reuse. The Legislation of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the protection and use of objects of historical and cultural heritage states that Article 32: 6) *prisposobleniye* [adaptation] (can be also translated as an adjustment" or "an accommodation") is a set of measures taken to create conditions for the modern use of a historical and cultural monument without detriment to its historical, artistic value and preservation".[110] Apart from this sentence, however, the law does not specify any criteria for appropriate reuse, procedures, other relevant laws, or responsible parties. It is also limited to monuments that are actually listed, where monument protection lists are a hindrance of heritage preservation on its own.

Respectively, when it comes to practice, rare heritage redevelopment projects can be considered as adaptive reuse, but not as adaptive heritage reuse. All experts interviewed for this research struggled to find good examples of heritage adaptation and reuse in Kazakhstan, however provided evidence for the attempts of creating projects that align with the principles of adaptive heritage reuse. Therefore, despite presence of a formal basis for adaptive reuse, underlining the intangible and tangible aspects of heritage buildings, there is not enough expertise, regulation, and accountability to make it a sustainable practice. Urban heritage buildings, which are inconsistently protected, do not undergo a comprehensive reuse process, which could enhance their historical, material, and functional values.

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[110] *Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated December 26, 2019 No. 288-VI On the protection and use of historical and cultural heritage sites.* Zakon.kz: https://online.zakon.kz/m/document/?doc_id=34894354

Conclusion

This chapter provided the theoretical background of Adaptive Heritage Reuse and the success factors associated with it through the synthesis of the available resource on the history of heritage studies, AHR and policy. Review of international scholarly literature on AHR, as well as the preceding developments creates a foundation for the following chapters which will deal in more detail with discussing the selected success factors of three categories: (i) **heritage environment**, as expressed via national policy, urban development, scholarly research, and heritagization; (ii) **inclusion** through participation, stakeholder integration, cooperation and engagement in urban governance (iii) **financial sustainability** through access to funding. A comparative analysis of best practices and AHR in Kazakhstan will illustrate possible strengths, as well as weaknesses when it comes to achieving the aforementioned success factors.

Chapter 2 – Adaptive Heritage Reuse in the context of urban development: heritage protection, scholarly discourse, policy, and bottlenecks

This chapter focuses on urban heritage environment through a group of success factors that have a significant contribution to AHR introduction and development in Kazakhstan. These are national policy, urban development, scholarly discourse, and heritagization. The text will provide a brief introduction to the city of Almaty and its history, focusing on the active engagement of bottom up initiatives towards the preservation of architectural cityscape and urban development that respects the city's 'identity'. It will also illustrate with examples how legal gaps and institutional malpractice create a lack of trust and pessimism towards the government of Kazakhstan and heritage authorities. The activity of citizens, NGOs and grassroots is very limited and institutionally discouraged. Whereas on the level of government and public support for the preservation agenda, there are still many bottlenecks and space for improvement, grassroots activism and non-governmental sector work to both collaborate with the city administration and supplement the missing dialog with the wider public. Urban heritage has been on the radar of urbanists and urbanites for less than a decade, yet it illustrates the intersection of different issues generally characterizing the urban governance. There is a great potential for adaptive heritage reuse in Almaty, however a supportive heritage reuse environment via policy would be an important success factor that would favor in the long term bottom up consultations and expert contributions.

2.1 Historical background and the characteristics of urban heritage in Almaty

Successful Adaptive Heritage Reuse projects largely depend on the existing heritage environment, as expressed in the contexts of legal protection and policy, urban development, scholarly discourse,

and bottlenecks. Therefore, this chapter will focus on these success factors to map up the heritage environment in Kazakhstan, and more specifically in Almaty. Urban heritage is not a new topic for Kazakhstani researchers and heritage professionals, however it is still quite a young field, especially when it comes to placing it within the history of European heritage discourse and its study. Therefore, I will first present some aspects of the historical, geographical and socio-political context to situate the reader in the space and time of this research.

Kazakhstan's borders enclose a vast territory of 2,930 kilometers, which makes Kazakhstan the ninth biggest country in the world.[111] It is also the biggest country in the region of Central Asia, compared to Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan. Kazakhstan became an independent republic after December 16, 1991.[112] As of 2021 its population is 19 169 550[113] and is ethnically and linguistically diverse with more than 120 ethnic groups living in the country.[114] The capital of Kazakhstan is Nur-Sultan, however it will be referred to here as Astana, which was the name of the city up until March 20, 2019. Kazakh is the official language of Kazakhstan, whereas according to part 1 of article 7 of the Constitution of Kazakhstan dating from 1995, Russian language, along with Kazakh, is officially used in state organizations and local governments.[115]

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[111] "Kazakhstan." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. Accessed May 10, 2021. https://www.britannica.com/place/Kazakhstan.

[112] "Kazakhstan." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. Accessed May 10, 2021.https://www.britannica.com/place/Kazakhstan.

[113] "Итоги переписи: население Казахстана составляет 19,17 миллиона человек" [Census results: the population of Kazakhstan is 19.17 million people]. 2021.Accessed 21 February 2021: https://rus.azattyq.org/a/31599116.html

[114] Makhanov, Kanat. "ETHNIC DIVERSITY CHANGE IN KAZAKHSTAN DURING 2010-2020 2010-2020'DE KAZAKİSTAN'DA ETNİK ÇEŞİTLİLİKTE DEĞİŞİM." *EURASIA OUTLOOK 2018*: 246. https://eurasian-research.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Eurasia-Outlook-2020.pdf#page=247

[115] *Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan*. Adopted on August 30, 1995: https://online.zakon.kz/document/?doc_id=1005029&pos=17;21#pos=17;21

When it comes to monuments of architecture and town-planning, the history of the country is rich and diverse throughout its territory. It would be an impossible undertaking to cover these in a single thesis, therefore, here I will focus on the city of Almaty and its contemporary urban heritage. Almaty the former capital of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic (1929–1991) and the first capital of Independent Kazakhstan (1991–1997). Almaty is located in the southeastern territory of Kazakhstan, at the foot of the Tian Shan mountains and the border with Kyrgyzstan. It is the second-largest city of the country with a population of 2 million (2021).[116]

Figure 4 Almaty in the foothills of the Tien-Shan. Source: Baklanova, Maya. "Almaty: What to Do in Kazakhstan's Cultural Capital." The Calvert Journal, May 18, 2017. https://www.calvertjournal.com/articles/show/8279/almaty-what-to-do-kazakhstan-cultural-capital-

The history of Almaty's urban development and architecture underwent numerous influences and manifested different cultural links throughout the centuries. Most known nomadic *auls* (a mobile nomad camp consisting of *yurts* - mobile houses) did not have a significant impact on the development and planning of cities, however, are reflected in the contemporary pastoral nomadic practices to a limited extend.[117] In Almaty, located in the south - a sedentary part of the country,

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[116] "Urban Expansion and Kurgan Loss in Almaty, Kazakhstan." Central Asian Archaeological Landscapes, November 16, 2021. https://uclcaal.org/2021/09/02/urban-expansion-and-kurgan-loss-in-almaty-kazakhstan/.

[117] Nomadism in Kazakhstan is historically defined by different degrees of system of seasonal pastures. "In today's Kazakhstan, nomadic pastoralism is not only an aspect of heritage. It is also an existing, though minor and comparatively unacknowledged, reality." Source: Ferret, Carole. "Mobile pastoralism a century apart: continuity and change in south-eastern Kazakhstan, 1910 and 2012." *Central Asian Survey* 37, no. 4 (2018): 503-525.

city planning had more influence from eastern countries such as Turkey, Iran, Uzbekistan, and India. Nevertheless, the influence of tsarist Russia and the Soviet period, informed by the European urban planning school, on the urban development in Almaty is much stronger.[118]

From the 1730s – 1740s, Kazakhstan was under the state of "protectorate" of the Russian Empire, which in the consecutive decades turned to distinctively colonial expansion of the Empire.[119] In the territory of todays' Almaty, first settlement under the Russian Empire is traced back to 1854, when a Russian military base Verny was established.[120] In 1867, the Verny base became town Verny. It also was appointed as the administrative center of the Semirechensk region.[121] According to Glaudinova et al, by 1870s the city had several identifiable parts: fortress, big and small villages, Tatar settlement and the new city. The architectural situation that developed in Kazakhstan in the 19th century lies in the stylistic diversity of the structures being erected. Along with the buildings traditional for Central Asia, due to the Russian Imperial settlements, buildings of different European origin of the time are erected in styles of: historicism (neoclassicism, neo-Gothic, neo-Russian and pseudo-eastern styles, romanticism), "brick style", eclecticism, and modernism. However, after the nine degree magnitude earthquake of 1887, most of the city's buildings were destroyed, and after the earthquake of 1910, only a small number of wooden structures of Verny

[118] Khalima, Trusbekova. "Архитектура Алматы и вопросы идентичности." *Central Asian Journal of Art Studies* 1, no. 3 (2016). [Truspekova, Halima. "Almaty architecture and identity issues." Central Asian Journal of Art Studies 1, no. 3 (2016).]

[119] Shaukenov, Ali. "Changes in the political and legal system of Kazakhstan in the process of its incorporation into the Russian Empire from the second half of the 18th century to the end of the 19th century." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 22 (2013).

[120] Абилов, Алексей Жаилханович. "Некоторые особенности трансформации общественных пространств г. Алматы в постсоветский период." *Вестник современной науки* 8 (2015): 165-178. https://www.elibrary.ru/download/elibrary_24307878_74290292.pdf

[121] Glaudinova, M. B., B. Glaudinov, A. S. Galimzhanova, D. A. Amandykova, K. I. Samoilov, and O. N. Priemets. "HISTORY OF KAZAKHSTAN ARCHITECTURE."

remained.[122] Some of the wooden buildings remained and are under the protection of the state today.
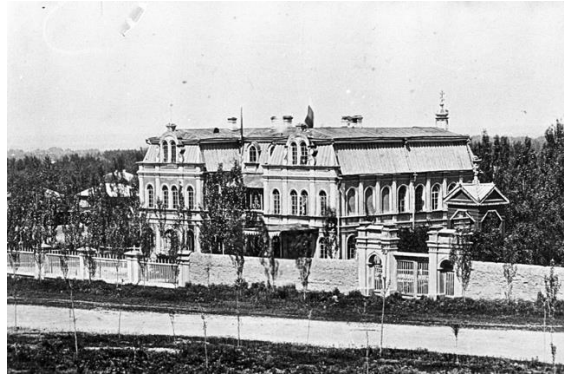

Figure 5 Verny, 1887. Bishop's house before the earthquake. Reproduction of a photograph of Father Leibin. Source: Romashkina, Svetlana. 2015. "Исчезнувшие здания Алматы" [Disappeared buildings of Almaty. Accessed September 6, 2021:https://vlast.kz/gorod/13012-is
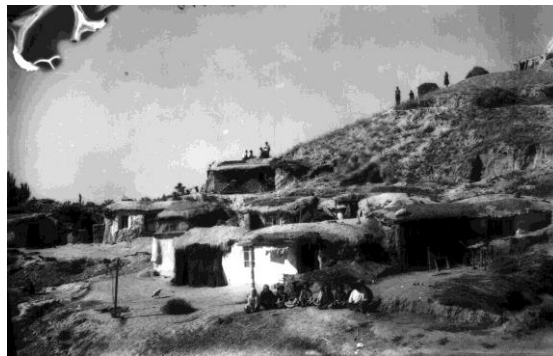

Figure 6 1930 Huts on Verigina Mountain (mountain Kok-Tobe). Source: Romashkina, Svetlana. 2018. "Как переносили столицу из Кзыл-Орды в Алма-Ату: Поиски места для дома правительства, малярия и Троцкий" ["How the capital was moved from Kyzyl-Orda to Alma-Ata: Se

After the Bolshevik revolution, on August 26, 1920, the Kirghiz ASSR was founded. In 1925, the capital city was moved from Orenburg to Kyzyl-Orda, however due to a combination of what was considered as difficult environmental and economic conditions, Alma-Ata (now Almaty) was

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[122] Ordabayev, Almas. 2020. ArchCode. Accessed 19 September, 2020: https://archcode.kz/journal/view?category=article&sefname=istoria-arhitektury-goroda-almaty

made the capital of Soviet Kazakhstan in 1927.[123] Over the next decades, Alma-Ata was growing in size, however the 1960s marked the period of large-scale construction (housing, public buildings and other). This tendency followed up until the 1980s, when financial resources started to deplete.[124] [125] Soviet modernism is one of the dominating styles of historical architecture throughout the country. Specifically in Almaty, architecture built between the 1960s and the dissolution of the USSR covers 80-90% of the entire city from the center to the periphery.[126]

Soviet modernism is one of the three distinct styles of the Soviet Union, which followed the short-lived constructivism and the Stalinist Empire (Stalinist neo-classicism). Historically, the year 1955 marks the beginning of Soviet modernism. That year Khrushchev expressed the initiative in the communist party resolution of the 4th of November 1955 "on the elimination of excesses in construction and design" and the beginning of de-Stalinization of the USSR. This rebranding strategy was driven by the innovative, simplifying approach to architecture and construction. It developed into what was then called *sovremenny stil'* [modern style] in the following decades, which was the main direction of architecture until the dissolution of the USSR in 1991. In some cases, plans and constructions of Soviet modernist character were carried out beyond the existence of the Soviet Union itself.[127] Alike modernism of the West (from 1920s), some essential pillars of the early Soviet Modernism became its functionality, lack of architectural decor, abandonment of

[123] Romashkina, Svetlana. 2018. "Как переносили столицу из Кзыл-Орды в Алма-Ату: Поиски места для дома правительства, малярия и Троцкий" ["How the capital was moved from Kyzyl-Orda to Alma-Ata: Search for a place for the government house, malaria and Trotsky"]. *Vlast.kz*. Accessed September 6, 2021: https://vlast.kz/istorija/30916-kak-perenosili-stolicu-iz-kzyl-ordy-v-alma-atu.html
[124] Alexander, Catherine. "Soviet and post-Soviet planning in Almaty, Kazakhstan." *Critique of anthropology* 27, no. 2 (2007): 165-181.
[125] Ordabayev, Almas. 2020. ArchCode. Accessed 19 September, 2020: https://archcode.kz/journal/view?category=article&sefname=istoria-arhitektury-goroda-almaty
[126] Anel Moldahmetova, interview by the author. April 12, 2020.
[127] Yun, Ilya. "Советский Модернизм – Потерянная Мечта [Soviet Modernism - a Lost Dream]." BURO24/7, April 22, 2020. https://www.buro247.kz/lifestyle/design/sovetskiy-modernizm-poteryannaya-mechta.html.

historical reminiscences, pure geometric forms, and its compositional complexity[128]. It had a similar quest for utilitarian and rational architecture.

Modernism, was an essential attempt to rebrand the "socialist project" by shifting ideas about culture, style, modernity, and social relations. It returned avant-garde principles as "true architecture of the first years of the Soviet state, as something connected with the pure idea of Leninism". It also created a conceptual transition of architecture from the realm of arts into the realm of technology.[129]

Soviet modernism meant architectural experimentation in the republics, for example, Alma-Ata was the place where the first all-glass office building was built in the Soviet Union as well as the first building in Central Asia with sunblinds used as a structural elements on the facade, the world's first transparent library, the first high-mountain skating rink called Medeo, the first 25-storey skyscraper in the 9-point seismic hazard zone, the first hi-tech and the first avant-garde spiral house.[130] Although not always successful and climate-friendly, the experiments contributed to a uniqueness of some buildings in the city, as compared to the rest of USSR.

On the 10th of December 1997, the capital of Kazakhstan was moved from Almaty to Akmola (Soviet Tselinny, Astana from 1998, and Nur-Sultan from 2019). Astana, as a new independence project, undertook most postmodern, new-totalitarian, national, and neoliberal architectural plans.

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[128]Komarova, Mariya. 2015. "Последняя архитектурная утопия: что такое советский модернизм [The last architectural utopia: what is Soviet modernism]," Style, July 15, 2015. Accessed July 14, 2019: https://style.rbc.ru/impressions/571f2eb39a79473d66b8377b

[129]Zagrutdinov, Almaz. "Анна Броновицкая: 'Москва Находится Под Влиянием Казани.'(Anna Bronovitskaya:'Moscow Is Under the Influence of Kazan')" Собака.ru, October 16, 2015. https://www.sobaka.ru/kzn/city/city/40699.

[130]Bronovitskaya, Anna, and Nikolay Malinin. *Алма-Ата: архитектура советского модернизма 1955-1991 [Alma-Ata: soviet modernism architecture 1955-1991].* (Moscow, Russia: Garage, 2018.) Accessed December 19, 2019.

According to David Kaminski, Soviet architecture at the time of independence was seen as "negatively alien, it was necessary to get rid of it, push it in, and so on…" He says: "You can recall Astana in which all of the old modernist buildings on the right riverbank were demolished, rebuilt...".[131]

Based on the conducted interviews, the attitudes to Soviet buildings are not as hostile in Almaty, and it has always been a city where its many of the residents advocate for architectural preservation and integrity of the cityscape, accompanied with feelings of nostalgia over the Soviet past.[132] Nevertheless, there are emerging postcolonialist discourses in Kazakhstan that address Soviet architecture, monuments and toponyms as painful remnants of unjust policies of the metropolis of Moscow, which today can also be seen as symbols of geopolitical 'soft power' of Russia. According to Temirtas Iskakov, "first-wave postcolonialists" deny the Soviet heritage. They do not recognize it and consider it flawed. They argue that this heritage is "built on blood and exploitation of the Kazakh people who suffered from collectivization and industrialization", coupled with the depletion of local financial and natural resources.[133] Therefore in many instances, experts and communities favor demolition or drastic modernization of the monuments, as I will elaborate on this tendency in Chapter Three.

Although in many instances, the postcolonial movement in Kazakhstan might contradict an idea of preserving object of the Soviet past, Adaptive Heritage Reuse in the context of this research, presents an opportunity to reinterpret and illustrate the past through the multidisciplinary and

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[131] David Kaminski, interview by the author. August 8, 2020.
[132] Bronovitskaya, Anna, and Nikolay Malinin. *Алма-Ата: архитектура советского модернизма 1955-1991 [Alma-Ata: soviet modernism architecture 1955-1991].* (Moscow, Russia: Garage, 2018.) Accessed December 19, 2019.
[133] Temirtas Iskakov, interview by author. May 07, 2020.

comprehensive repurposing and reuse, in alternative to authorized heritage discourse. Therefore, it can be a meeting point for perspectives that both include postcolonial discourse and understand its relevance, but also propose models that create alternatives to demolition and large-scale reconstruction. The buildings of the Soviet period are important witnesses of the past, the good and the bad, containers of the irrational, intangible heritage and memories, generational trauma and possibly reconciliation, as well as lessons for the future. As places of memory, in words of Pierre Nora what "we see in them is essentially how we have changed, the image of what we are no longer".[134]

Figure 7 Photo from the Monumental Art presentation by researcher and activist Denis Kin. Source: https://urbanforum.kz/dennis-keen

2.2 National policy context

Urban heritage is not the focus of Kazakhstani heritage policies. Since the independence, nation building and the research of heritage of the pre-imperial past became a cornerstone in heritage policies, while urban heritage in most cases became a ground for modification and modernization. Former president Nazarbayev took several steps in defining cultural politics, which had the aim of

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[134] Augé, Marc. *Non-places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*. verso, 1995: 55.

reasserting Kazakh political dominance in the era of independence. For example, the year 1998 was declared "the year of national unity and national history" when major archaeological campaigns took place. Sites that came to light through this research were, for example, the medieval city of Otrar, and the Saka-period frozen tomb burials in Berel. Chang (2019) refers to this approach as a policy of Kazakhization of national culture, which is underpinned with the idea of ethnogenesis and "ethnos" where "national people originated from a very ancient heritage that established this territory as specifically Eurasian in origin...". The sense of pride of connectedness to the ancient past was a building block of Kazakhstani cultural politics and heritage revival.[135]

Heritage policy is substituted by *Rukhani Zhangyru,* a program aimed at the "modernization of national consciousness".[136] Although not formulated explicitly, the core idea follows similar patterns as those of the early independence developments: returning back to what is considered to be a pre-Soviet and pre-imperial Kazakh culture and the culture of the ancestors.[137] Two programs in *Rukhani Zhangyru* concerned with material heritage are *Tugan Zher* and the "Sacred Geography of Kazakhstan", designed to "reliably anchor in the minds of the people spiritual shrines, the image of the framework of national identity, and create a protective barrier for alien ideological influences".[138]

These programs have contributed to both the academic and the popular interest in the previously national culture, they have played a role in discovering many new heritage sites as well as bringing

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[135] Chang, Claudia. "Archaeological Sites, Cultural Heritage, and Sustainable Development in the Republic of Kazakhstan." In *Democracy and Human Rights*. IntechOpen, 2019.

[136] "Rukhani Zhangyru – National Identity Programme: One Year on." The Astana Times. April 10, 2018. Accessed May 10, 2019. https://astanatimes.com/2018/04/rukhani-zhangyru-national-identity-programme-one-year-on/.

[137] Melich, Jiri, and Aigul Adibayeva. "Nation-building and cultural policy in Kazakhstan." *European Scientific Journal* (2013).

[138] Nazarbayev, Nursultan. *Эра независимости [Independence Era]*. 2017. QAZaqparat. Accessed 10 April, 2019: https://elbasy.kz/sites/default/files/pagefiles/2019-06/423d7253d66cad2c6f68758bcaf33782.pdf

archeological knowledge, but such policy has significant drawbacks. These programs appear to be ad hoc, centralized, and partially driven by the personality of the former president Nazarbayev. Therefore, while substituting an overall cultural policy, these are far from being transparent or participative programmes that would take the multidimensional, holistic and complex potential of heritage into consideration. To an extent, the government builds its policy on "pseudo-historical appeals to a primordial attachment between land and indigenous people",[139] involving and prioritizing those touristic and marketable parts of the heritage which are politically relevant and attractive to the state agenda and the outsiders, however not always authentic.[140] This highly selective approach to what is officially considered as heritage does not provide an open platform to engage the diverse communities, histories and values to Kazakhstani heritage.

Internationally, Kazakhstan readily embraced cultural cooperation. It is Party, for example, to the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (Paris, November 16, 1972) and the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (Paris, October 17, 2003). There are three objects from the territory of Kazakhstan listed on the World Heritage List: the Mausoleum of Khoja Ahmed Yasawi (since 2003), the Petroglyphs within the Archaeological Landscape of Tamgaly (since 2004) and recently the Silk Roads: the Routes Network of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor (since 2014).[141]

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[139] Denison, Michael. "The art of the impossible: Political symbolism, and the creation of national identity and collective memory in post-Soviet Turkmenistan." Europe-Asia Studies 61, no. 7 (2009): 1167.

[140] "Почему Мы Занимаемся Культурным Наследием [Why Do We Engage With Cultural Heritage]," *Alert Heritage*, August 30, 2017. Accessed May 18 18, 2019: https://www.alerteheritage.org/7-vmesto-manifesta

[141] Auganbai, A., B. Kalymbek, G. K. Shulanbekova, A. A. Urisbaevaiv, and R. Yerezhepkyzyv. "Kazakhstan: Protection of Objects of Historical and Cultural Heritage: Legal Problems and the Application of Information Technologies." *Environmental Policy and Law* 49, no. 6 (2019): 379-388.

When it comes to Soviet architectural heritage, there has not been much interest in it from state or local authorities. It is rather ignored in the state rhetoric, with exceptional cases. David Kaminski recalls how he and his colleague Adilzhan Psyaev were contacted by the governmental TV channels - *Kazakh TV* and *Khabar* to talk about several modernist monuments. He thinks that this can help the topic make its way into the public interest outside Almaty. However, it is hard to predict the motivations over such interest.

Regardless of official governmental interest or lack of thereof, during the years of the independence of Kazakhstan, a lot of buildings have been demolished in Almaty, regardless of their architectural and historical value. The current president of Kazakhstan Kassym-Jomart Tokaev talked about some of the losses of the urban landscape in Almaty, including the *Alatau* cinema, the Youth Theater that was destroyed in a fire, and a hotel that substituted the Palace of Pioneers during his visit to the city. So, on the one hand, the Kazakhstani government devotes a lot of time to talk about cultural heritage, including urban heritage, it prepares new programmes, organizes events, and ratifies international laws. On the other hand, domestic mechanisms of protection, restoration, preservation and reuse have not been modernized, remain ineffective, not participatory and lacking transparency.

2.3 Heritage Preservation: Actors, Responsibilities, and Bottlenecks

The conditions determined by the cultural and cultural heritage policies and practices in Kazakhstan significantly influence the public perception of heritage issues and projects. These policies also create the context of how bottom-up and non-governmental actors come up with strategies to operate in the heritage field. Conditions worth exploring are legal systems of cultural

heritage protection and management, top-down authority, accountability, expertise, private ownership, **corruption and the overall lack of stakeholder cooperation and trust.**

Heritage actors

In order to understand the distribution of power in urban heritage management and decision making, I will utilize the broad grouping introduced by Arnstein (1969), who defined the spectrum of citizen participation as ranging between "decision-makers" and "decision-takers".[142] In practice it is hard to assign an actor or entity exclusively to one of the two groups since power varies contextually and in the relation of one actor to another. For the sake of this research and simplification, however, Arnstein's categories can help explore power dynamics in heritage issues in Kazakhstan. Specifically, I want to underline the significant role that bottom-up initiatives and projects have played in positively reshaping the heritage agenda in Kazakhstan, and how this potential would be instrumental in promoting AHR approach to heritage management.

Starting from the "decision-makers", the main public heritage actors are the **Ministry of Culture and Sports**, which acts on behalf of **the Government of Kazakhstan** and is the authorised body that makes decisions on the management of heritage lists, budget planning and funding allocation towards: (i) Reconstruction, construction of monuments of historical and cultural heritage, (ii) Synopsis and systematization of the study of cultural heritage of the Kazakh people; (iii) Ensuring the preservation of historical and cultural heritage; (iv) Heritage, conservation, study and popularization of Kazakh cultural heritage and efficiency gains archiving. The ministry's departments are separated into: (i) Committee of Sport and Physical Education, (ii) Committee of

[142] Arnstein, Sherry R. "A ladder of citizen participation." Journal of the American Institute of planners 35, no. 4 (1969): 216-224.

Tourism Industry, (iii) Committee of Culture, (iv) Committee on Archives and Records Management. Overall, the scope of work of a single ministry is wide and diverse.

At the regional level, local heritage lists and their management are under the authority of the local executive body of the region and/or city *akimat*. Authorised by the ***akimat* of Almaty**, the Municipal state institution **Department of Culture of the City of Almaty** carries out some activities as related to cultural heritage. According to the budget report for 2020 and 2021, the main activities were: (i) Issuing archival certificates, copies of archival documents or archival extracts, (ii) Issuing a certificate for the temporary export of cultural property, (iii) Issuing permission for the installation of memorial plaques, (iv) Acceptance of applications for conferring the title of "People's" (exemplary) groups of amateur performances.[143]

Additionally, the **Almaty City Planning and Urbanism Department (*Upravleniye Urbanistiki*)** is responsible for urban planning issues, architectural commissions, reprofiling (changing the functional purpose) of buildings to religious buildings, and other permits. In many instances issues pertaining to demolition, reconstruction and listed buildings are directed to this institution. However, as is the case with other authorities, despite the complex structure and division between different institutions, there is no clearly explained designation of responsibilities towards heritage buildings, which will be further illustrated through concrete examples and interview evidence.[144]

In the next group of 'decision-makers', and seldom 'decision-takers' is the **private sphere: businessmen and private, for-profit companies**. This group is specifically important as due to

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[143] Regulations on a communal state institution "Department of Culture of the city of Almaty". Accessed April 8, 2022: https://www.gov.kz/api/v1/public/assets/2020/9/30/b3fefe0906b7ec9fe05bae4fe4a8087b_original.80896.doc
[144] Public services Department of urban planning and urban studies of the city of Almaty. Accessed April 10, 2022: https://gosudarstvennye-uslugi-ugpiu-ru.uaig.kz/

the nature of ownership, many historic buildings that represent heritage value, were privatized and are a subject to private interests. This on the one hand can make it difficult to achieve openness, transparency and access to buildings. On the other hand, it can present many opportunities for collaboration and funding, without the need for public resources. I will provide examples of private actors, and the benefits and drawbacks of involvement in the next sections of this chapter.

Bottom-up and non-state actors as defined in this thesis more often than not belong to 'decision-takers' and to a limited degree, can become 'decision-makers', especially when working in cooperation. Here I consider **organized interest groups, non-governmental organizations, non-profit organizations, media platfoms and heritage and public policy experts** as bottom up actors. Although they possess levels of access to information and platforms for advocacy and engagement, at the end of the day these actors work within the rules pre-defined in a top-down manner by the authorities, where even a consultative power is not guaranteed.

Urban heritage being an underprioritised area of interest and support by the state actors and private sector, can largely benefit from more inclusion and encouragement of such non-state and bottom-up actors. Managing urban heritage in new and innovative ways, which can be applied through AHR approach, has been a priority theme in the work of this group of actors for many years. These topics stand at the forefront of heritage preservation issues and urban policies, and direct public opinion towards claiming for more decision-making power and participation. Some of those featuring most frequently in this research are **Urban Forum Kazakhstan**[145]**, ArchCode**[146] and media platforms such as **Vlast**[147].

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[145] https://urbanforum.kz/
[146] https://archcode.kz/
[147] https://vlast.kz/

Urban Forum Kazakhstan (UFK) is a public fund that appeared in 2020, and until 2015 it was an initiative group of people, without any specific legal status. Since 2015, this group has set the goal of promoting the development of urban dialogue between the population, the expert community and city administration in Almaty. Since 2018, it has covered many other cities of Kazakhstan. In the first years, the group primarily organized annual forums – called Urban Forum Almaty. The team utilizes several methods applied to various urbanism and urban activism related topics, including research, expert consultations. In accordance with the preliminary research data, they form recommendations for the municipalities and other public institutes, organize large open dialogue events, with the involvement of public. During these the data obtained during the research is presented, recommendations are offered, and discussed. After that, the recommendations are finalized and formalized in some analytical form, such as a brief, and these are forwarded to the responsible parties, including local and state authorities of various levels. Urban Forum Kazakhstan's team consists of nine professionals, where Asel Yeszhanova is the head and Adil Nurmakov is a co-founder of the organization.

ArchCode Almaty is an active contributor to the research on the cityscape in Almaty. They are particularly focused on Soviet architecture, its research and knowledge dissemination. The team of ArchCode Almaty has mapped around 87 modernist buildings of various purposes and uses that can be searched based on their typology, the decades of construction, current condition, and monument status, identifying the prevalence of Soviet modernism across the cityscape as the main

architectural style of Almaty.[148] Anel Moldahmetova is a co-founder of ArchCode and a producer

of urban projects, along her colleague Adil Azhiyev.[149] According to their website, ArchCode is:

…An attempt to archive the architectural DNA of our city by taking inventory of the surviving buildings of the old architecture that are its bearers. Archcode Almaty is a copy of the architectural landscape that we have inherited, and which we will pass on to those who will live in the city after us. We want to popularize the topic of preserving the architectural heritage of Almaty, as well as bring the discussion of this issue to a qualitatively new level: create an active professional community and a stable information field around this topic, involve a wider circle of the population in the discussion, draw the attention of the city administration, developers and developers to the issue preservation of the architectural identity of the city.[150]

Another actor, or rather a group of actors comes from the new analytical platform Vlast.kz The

journalists publishing on the platform are known for the critical analysis of urban and heritage

news, they provide surveys open to public, conduct investigations in cases of corruption and

transparency issues in urban projects. The topic of city development and heritage preservation is a

feature of the platform, among other economic, political and social news. One of the frequent

contributors, David Kaminski was interviewed for this research.

Finally, the group that will not be discussed in much detail, but is worth mentioning is international

actors, such as the UNESCO office based in Almaty, overseeing the entire Central Asian region.

ICOM ICOMOS and etc. Different state cultural actors under foreign embassies also engage in

urban heritage initiatives, sometimes as organizers and other times as sponsors to the grassroots,

including the French Alliance, Goethe Institute and US Embassy. This group can be placed as a

"decision-taker" with some degree of influence and access to "decision-makers". More actors

contributing to urban development and heritage preservation will be mentioned in the next section

on heritagisation.

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[148] "List of objects". ARCHCODE. Accessed June 27, 2019. https://archcode.kz/objects/list?page=1.
[149] Anel Moldahmetova, interview by author. April 12, 2020.
[150] https://archcode.kz/

2.4 Heritagisation of urban architecture

This subchapter will analyze the process of heritagisation on the examples primarily from the urban architecture of Soviet modernism in the context of the authorised heritage discourse[151], practice and policy of Kazakhstan today, pointing out the contradictions and paradoxes of institutionalized mechanisms and bottom-up practices as well as possible areas of potential cooperation.

Heritagisation is defined here as 'heritage-making', a process or a set of processes where cultural, historical meanings, and identity are created and re-created. Heritagisation can be performed by various actors and at different levels, such as by institutions, museums, their visitors, grassroots, artists, the general public, and individuals.[152] I will use this concept to analyze the impact of authorised 'heritage-making' or top-down 'heritage-making' and that of a more decentralized process of heritagisation. The latter can bring forward heritage that is not yet widely acknowledged, not yet defined and understood, not protected by domestic or international legal mechanisms, but has a significance to a group of people. This approach was chosen to explore urban heritage values based on multidisciplinary and multi-actor perspectives.

Urban heritage of the recent years, such as Soviet Modernism, in many respect does not correspond to the conventional understandings of what is heritage in Kazakhstan. The process of heritagising urban heritage was initiated in a bottom-up way by urbanists and inspired by local and foreign publications, research, exhibitions, and public events. Local interest awakened and developed in

[151] Smith, L. "All Heritage is Intangible: Critical Heritage Studies and Museums, Amsterdam School of the Arts: Reinwardt Academy." (2011).
[152] Dzeravianka, Alina, Elina Vidarsson, and Chiara Valli. "Heritagization: How Art and Activism Can Make Heritage. Cases from Belarus and Sweden." Status Research Platfrom, February 27, 2019. http://statusproject.net/heritagization-how-art-and-activism-can-make-heritage-cases-from-belarus-and-sweden/.

parallel with the international trends. There have always been scholars and interested people, who engaged with this heritage. However, in the recent years there has been a noticeable increase in public events and publications on issues of heritage and urban development trends, in Almaty and occasionally in other cities. These research developments resonate with a wider public due to the formation, activity, and visibility of local bottom-up initiatives. These have provided platforms and expertise for a more consolidated dialog to bring together interested people into urban community(ies).

As previously mentioned, ArchCode Almaty is one of the key contributors to Soviet Modernist architecture preservation attempts in Almaty. The 87 modernist buildings of various purposes and uses they mapped can now be searched based on their typology, the decades of construction, current condition, and monument status via an interactive website.[153] The initiative researched and prepared an exhibition on the architectural heritage of Almaty that caused a lot of "intentional controversy" in the field of architecture, since Soviet modernism is still a divisive style in its historical meaning and outlook. According to Anel Moldahmetova, co-founder and a producer of urban projects, they tried to stir up the public interest, create a dialog between generations, and that aim was definitely achieved. This exhibition became a catalyst for renewed interest, especially in researching the elements and approaches to national cultural expressions in the architectural style (monumental art, decorative art and the structural forms of buildings) among the students and educators in this field.[154]

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[153]"List of objects". ARCHCODE. Accessed June 27, 2019. https://archcode.kz/objects/list?page=1.
[154] Anel Moldahmetova, interview by author. April 12, 2020.

Another organization that contributed to the transformation of urban dialog is Urban Forum Kazakhstan (UFK or former Urban Forum Almaty), an active organizer of urban social projects aiming at diversifying and improving life in the city. In 2017 their team held a public roundtable "From Dispute about Tastes to the Principles and Criteria. Practice of Making Architectural and Town-Planning Decisions in Almaty", developing a set of recommendations for the city *akimats*. The organization also created a petition on the preservation of the architectural appearance of Almaty and were able to gather 1000 signatures on the first day. A group of architects from "Atomik Architecture", producer Nargiz Shukenova and graphic designer Dastan Bisenov together with UFK conducted a large-scale research on the last purpose-built cinema Arman, sharing the research on the open access website and promoting further heritage preservation agenda to the wide public.[155] UFK has been a longtime advocate of co-creative projects for public spaces, a participatory budget,[156] and gender mainstreaming in urban planning, among many other issues.[157]

Another grassroots project started in February 2019 by a professional architect and urban researcher Temirtas Iskakov.[158] The project 'Fading TSE' (referring to Tselinny city, the preceding name of Astana/Nur-Sultan) is an online, Instagram-based platform and a research project which is poetically described as an "Ode to the Vanishing City, researching and documenting architecture and history of the capital, old courtyards, city outskirts and monumental art…".[159] After attracting public attention and many followers on Instagram, they held a multimedia exhibition on the "*Retrospektiva Stolitsy*" [Retrospective of the capital] in January-February 2020, accompanied by

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[155] "Arman Almaty. Origin". UFK. Accessed May 20, 2021: https://arman.urbanforum.kz/arman-origin-ru
[156] "A project that proposes a system where people have the opportunity to allocate city budget to areas they care about". UFK. Accessed May 20, 2020: https://urbanforum.kz/participatory-budget-library
[157] "Events." Urban Forum Kazakhstan. Accessed August 10, 2019. https://urbanforum.kz/round-tables.
[158] Temirtas Iskakov, interview by author. May 7, 2020.
[159] Fading TSE. Instagram account. https://www.instagram.com/fading.tse/?hl=en

curated guided tours, public talks, and discussions by local historians. Apart from Fading TSE, there are not many active initiatives that work with built heritage in Astana.

There are other independent researchers that work in collaboration with urban organizations. Many initiatives utilize online digital approaches to data generation and engagement. Dennis Keen, a researcher from California moved to Kazakhstan in 2013 and established the *Walking Almaty* website to document, map, and celebrate Almaty's urban landscape with walking tours. The collection of monumental artworks (mosaics, reliefs, sgraffitos) now comprises hundreds of photographs that can be found on another platform *Monumental Almaty* created in 2017.[160] David Kaminski, as well as his colleague Adilzhan Psyaev are journalists and are among the most active contributors to architectural heritage research in collaboration with Arch Code, UFK, and analytical news platforms, such as Vlast.kz, which offer a rich collection of investigative articles, photography and archival materials for research on Soviet Modernism.

2.5 Research

Today, there has been a significant growth in the archival and documentation work prepared by NGOs, bottom-up organizations, local heritage experts and journalists.[161] As David Kaminski noted, there was a primary understanding and the discovery of some basic data when it comes to urban heritage. Now, the research is focused on the deeper, hidden and less popular topics.[162]

As reflected in the limitations of this thesis, research of urban heritage in Kazakhstan is difficult with many institutionalized obstacles to open-source information.[163] The access largely depends

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[160] Dennis Keen. http://www.monumentalalmaty.com/about.html
[161] David Kaminski, interview by the author. August 8, 2020.
[162] David Kaminski, interview by the author. August 8, 2020.
[163] David Kaminski, interview by the author. August 8, 2020.

on institutional affiliation and requires several steps of bureaucratic approvals. For example, in the Archive of Scientific and Technical Documentation, which holds the materials on the existing buildings, it is required to bring a letter of approval of the 'author' or copyright organizations of a building. One of these organizations is *Kazgorstroy Proekt* that does not react to requests, or another *Kommunstroy* seized to exist after the dissolution of the USSR altogether[164]. However, a privileged access to archives is granted with more ease to some research initiatives, for example Anna Bronevitskaya and Nikolai Malinin from the Institute of Modernism coming from Moscow.[165] For local researchers, archival institutions are "a terribly impregnable fortress…".[166]

One of the crucial steps in understanding the potential application of adaptive heritage reuse is inventorying vacant structures and collecting data on their history, legal status, ownership and other aspects. This can be a difficult task for a single researcher like myself. For example, in May 2020 I made a brief research of monument protection lists to see how many buildings from 1955 to 1991 were included at different administrative levels. A recently adopted list of the monuments of national value in Almaty, approved by the order of the Minister of Culture and Sports of April 14, 2020 contains just 8 buildings from the period of 1955-1991.[167] In other cities buildings of the period are even less likely to appear on the list of protected heritage, with only one listed in Astana. My preliminary overview shows that most cities do not have any buildings dating from 1955-1991 that would be listed as being of national level heritage value and in many cases, there are simply no references to when a building was built. This brief search can be taken as anecdotal evidence

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[164] David Kaminski, interview by the author. August 8, 2020.
[165] "Институт модернизма [Modernism Institute]," Facebook. Accessed December 21, 2020: https://www.facebook.com/imodern/
[166] David Kaminski, interview by the author. August 8, 2020.
[167] Law.gov.kz. Accessed May 18, 2019: http://law.gov.kz/client/?#!/doc/141722/rus

in terms of monument listing, but as a good example of research obstacles. Additionally, some other online platforms are poorly designed, have empty pages or demand registration and/or a small payment, which is an obstacle to the free access to legal information for all citizens. Ensuring an easy access to heritage lists would be an important step towards consolidating citizens' right and ability to participate in decision-making.

Legal systems, accountability and expertise

One of the bottlenecks that often discourages bottom-up initiatives to work among the existing legal frameworks for heritage is in the legal heritage protection mechanisms themselves. Formal procedures for including and excluding monuments are defined by two laws: The law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated December 26, 2019 No. 288-VI "On the protection and use of historical and cultural heritage sites"[168] and the Decree "On approval of the rules for identifying, recording, granting and depriving of status, moving and changing, monitoring the state and changing the category of monuments of history and culture" dated April 15, 2020 [169]. Official monument protection is guided by the monument protection lists. There are two kinds of lists that correspond to the value of buildings, i.e. 1) list of monuments of history and culture of national importance and 2) lists of monuments of history and culture of local (city and regional) importance. Despite being a widespread instrument for heritage protection in international practice, in Kazakhstan, the lists became the point of hindrance and confusion.

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[168] *Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated December 26, 2019 No. 288-VI On the protection and use of historical and cultural heritage sites.* Zakon.kz: https://online.zakon.kz/m/document/?doc_id=34894354

[169] Decree "On approval of the Rules for identifying, recording, granting and depriving of status, moving and changing, monitoring the state and changing the category of monuments of history and culture" by the Order of the Minister of Culture and Sports of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated April 15, 2020 No. 92. Registered in the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Kazakhstan on April 16, 2020 No. 20407. Accessed 28 June, 2020: https://adilet.zan.kz/eng/docs/V2000020407

One of the observations that bottom up actors in Kazakhstan frequently raise is that the procedure for listing protected objects is too complicated, and the exclusion procedure is too simplified. These lists are in many ways limiting bottom-up in heritage protection. "It is very easy to get the building out, and it's almost impossible to get it in there".[170] According to Anel Moldahmetova, co-founder of ArchCode and urban projects producer, there has been just one monument included in the protected list of monuments of local importance in Almaty since the independence of 1991.[171]

The listing procedure does not follow any clear rules, and there is no clearly responsible state body for cataloging these objects. For scholars, such as Temirtas Iskakov, monument lists are usually more confusing than helpful.[172] According to him there is no logic in how the list was formed. The document on the national list contains error after error. Descriptions contain incorrect years of construction and many buildings on the list are documented in a reconstructed state, which means that a restoration that aims to bring back the original elements will likely be illegal.[173] The problems with listings puts into question more traditional heritage protection methods, but the reality remains – unlisted urban heritage buildings, such as late modernist monuments have a tendency to be under the risk of demolition specifically due to the lack of their protected status.[174]

Listing is a strictly top-down process, where the *akimats* and above that, the Ministry of Culture and Sports have the exclusive right for the inclusion and exclusion of historic monuments. The list

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[170] Temirtas Iskakov, interview by author. May 07, 2020.
[171] Anel Moldahmetova, interview by author. April 12, 2020.
[172] David Kaminski, interview by the author. August 8, 2020.
[173] Temirtas Iskakov, interview by author. May 07, 2020.
[174] Mamayeva, Olga. "Позднесоветский Модернизм Остается Самым Незащищенным [Late Soviet Modernism Remains the Most Vulnerable]." The Art Newspaper Russia, April 7, 2020. http://www.theartnewspaper.ru/posts/7985/?fbclid=IwAR0g93uSRpeJxFO9Z9ehc68FuYKOWDylDukuyeVxbcdv4tskgHNY-xx-51M.

of monuments of history and culture of national importance is approved by the Government of Kazakhstan on the proposal of the authorised body (the Ministry of Culture and Sports) for the protection and use of historical and cultural heritage, whereas the list of monuments of local importance is under the authority of an executive body of the region - *akimat* on the proposal of the authorised body (the Ministry of Culture and Sports) for the protection and use of historical and cultural heritage. What makes it even more complicated, is how these hierarchies play out in practice. It is nearly impossible to propose monuments for enlisting as a bottom-up initiative. For example, Anel Moldahmetova with the ArchCode tried to submit buildings to the list of monuments, but the attempt was not successful.[175]

According to the law, local executive authorities can propose heritage sites for protection, there is nothing mentioned about the citizens. Our legislation does not encourage people to submit something themselves. The only case when this happened - recently Almaskhan Akhmetzhanov (the head of the Department of Urban Planning and Urbanism) carried out a crowdsourcing of built objects in the city. As a result, they did not take any (crowdsourced buildings) into the list of monuments but they just took a note that these (buildings) are interesting… So, this is not a full-fledged process for listing of the monuments… people were kind of involved and asked to express opinions, but again it was like "from a master's shoulder", this is not a regulated mechanism of bottom-up engagement.[176]

In 2018, the online news platform Vlast.kz, together with Archcode Almaty, conducted two online surveys in the framework of a special project "Right to Heritage". The key aim of the project was to develop a better understanding of how the citizens can participate in deciding which buildings should be under protection and included in the monument lists.[177] Although there is no data on the number of participants in the survey and Vlast.kz is a portal that is known for critical analysis, the

[175] David Kaminski, interview by the author. August 8, 2020.
[176] David Kaminski, interview by the author. August 8, 2020.
[177] Azhiev, Adil. 2018. "Pamyatnik ili net?" [Monument or not?]," Vlast, May 28, 2018. Accessed September 2, 2020: https://vlast.kz/quiz/26-pamyatnik-ili-net/

surveys give at least some understanding of the strange disparities in official, expert, and public discourses.

The first survey investigated what people think about the monument status of several buildings in Almaty. The results showed that there is little and sometimes no overlap between the official status of a specific site and how people perceive its value (of local or national importance).[178] Following that, in June 2018 the expert group Archcode Almaty and ICOMOS chose 10 out of 100 potential heritage buildings to promote for inclusion into the monument protection lists. People were asked a simple question in each case: "Should this building become an architectural monument?" that is, included into the existing list, with three options as answers: "Yes", "No", and "Difficult to answer". The results showed that the majority vote with a "Yes" for including around 8 modernist buildings: the TV center ASK-2 with 88,6%, the Youth Theater named after Sats (the former Palace of the Almaty Cotton Mill) with 78,4%, the Three *Bogatyr* residential building with 60,2%, and even the Kazmekhanobr bus stop with 54.5%..[179]

In 2019 February, a group of modernist buildings were excluded from the National List of Monuments of History and Culture of Local Importance of the City of Almaty. It turned out that the buildings were excluded for the second time. The first exclusion happened in 2015, so the monuments already did not have a legal protection status for three following years, and in 2019, when the second exclusion took place. Some of these twice-removed buildings included one of the

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[178] Adil Azhiyev. 2018 "Памятник или нет? [Monument or not?]". Vlast, May 28, 2018. Accessed May 10, 2020: https://vlast.kz/quiz/26-pamyatnik-ili-net/

[179] Daniyar, Moldabekov. 2018. "Какое здание должно быть памятником архитектуры? [Which building should be an architectural monument?]," Vlast, December 27, 2018. Accessed December 12, 2020:https://vlast.kz/quiz/28-kakoe-zdanie-dolzhno-byt-pamyatnikom-arhitektury/

first Soviet modernist constructions in Kazakhstan - hotel *Zhetysu*, the House of Political Education, the ensemble on the Republic Square.[180]

The similar complexity of governmental bodies and their ineffectiveness is present in other cities too, where journalistic investigations have demonstrated that these institutions are the remains of the Soviet political system and are window-dressing institutions allowing private owners to demolish and develop with very little limitation and control. Complains raised to the Ministry of Culture and Sports about local institutions are redirected to the local authorities, creating a doomed cycle.[181]

Some of the urban governmental organizations, the *akimats* do not possess any 'institutional memory', especially for long-term, holistic, urban projects. This means that with changes in the office, all of the past promises, work and strategies are not guaranteed to remain. The general tendency of *akimats* is that they work on a haphazard basis in an untransparent system, which further contributes to the institutional confusion.[182] City *akimats* and *akims* [municipalities and mayors] are not elected bodies , but appointed by the Government of Kazakhstan. First, this does not give the municipalities enough freedom to develop a specific campaign that would be advertised to and challenged by the public. Second, there is no incentive to be inventive and open-minded to urban projects when the office is seen as a temporary appointment by the civil servants.

What is *akimat* in our country – this is an organization in which there is a catastrophic lack of people in general, the work never ends and there is always more than you can do, there is not

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[180] David Kaminsky and Adilzhan Psyayev. 2019. "Двойное Исключение: Про Казусы, Возникающие При Исключении Объектов Из Списка Памятников [Double Exclusion: About Incidents That Occur When Objects Are Excluded From The List Of Monuments]," *Vlast*, February 28, 2019. Accessed March 1, 2019: https://vlast.kz/gorod/31958-dvojnoe-isklucenie.html.

[181] Rustam Vafeev."Архитектурное бессилие: Уральск не готов отстаивать свои уникальные здания [Architectural impotence: Uralsk is not ready to defend its unique buildings]," *Vlast*, October 10, 2019. Accessed November 5, 2019: https://vlast.kz/gorod/35594-arhitekturnoe-bessilie.html

[182] Adil Nurmakov, interview by the author. April 12, 2020.

enough people not only as such, in numbers, but especially there are not enough professionals or people who actually in fact, understand something from the modern trends of urban development, and are not simple executors...[183]

The structure and culture of hierarchical subordination also makes it difficult for local authorities to have city-specific strategies and to involve other actors in decision-making. Adil Nurmakov highlights that *akims* are simply scared to be creative in city-planning, they do not want to become scape-goats of "wrongful" initiatives.[184]

The Palace of the Republic concert hall (former Palace of Lenin) in Almaty is a good example to illustrate how heritage buildings are managed by the public offices.[185] It is one of the main attractions of the city from the Kunayev era.[186] Today, however, it has a different stylistic character due to the failed "postmodernist" kitsch restoration and partial reconstruction in 2011. The reconstruction erased the modernist character of the building. In social media, the case circulated as a meme with the infamous "behold the monkey" icon, [187] depicting the public perception of Kazakhstani approach to restoration.

[183] Ibid., 2020.
[184] Adil Nurmakov, interview by the author. April 12, 2020.
[185] The original building was constructed in 1970. It quickly became a centerpiece of Soviet modernism in Kazakhstan. This building featured in many books and albums on Soviet Modernism, for example in the book of Frederick Chaubin "CCCP: Cosmic Communist Constructions Photographed". It represents the idea of modernism as an international style. It was originally inspired by western architecture, such as Dulles airport in Washington, designed and constructed in 1962, by Eero Saarinen. It immediately became famous for its design that salvaged the modernist problem of "fighting the masses" and later inspired the Soviet pavilion of EXPO-67 in Montreal. The hipped roof simultaneously served as an outer canopy and ceiling of the central hall. This allowed for free interior planning and impressed architects from the USSR. In the Palace of the Republic concert hall alike, the "tent" design of the roof rests on the eight concrete pillars and walls of the building envelope, not touching the roof, giving an impression of the roof floating in the air. Source: https://www.alerteheritage.org/brutalism
[186] Dinmukhamed Kunayev was the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan (CPK) from 1960-62 and 1964-1986.
[187] "Behold the monkey" refers to the failed restoration attempt and internet phenomenon, when an elderly churchgoer in Borjia, C. Giménez, attempted to restore an old fresco "Ecce Homo", and as a result completely disfiguring it. When the story became an internet phenomenon, it was renamed into Ecce (Latin) Mono (Monkey) [Behold the Monkey].

Figure 8 The Palace of the Republic concert hall. Antonov, Svyatoslav. 2016. "Советская Архитектура Алматы Уникальна [Soviet Architecture Almaty is Unique]," Vox Populi, November 17, 2016. Accessed February 2, 2020: https://www.voxpopuli.kz/main/sovetskaya-arhitektura-almaty-unikalna-13340.html

Figure 9 The Palace of the Republic concert hall (former Palace of Lenin) in Almaty, Kazakhstan. Source: "Украшает Ли Алматы Дворец Республики? [Does the Palace of the Republic adorn Almaty?]," Vlast, December 11, 2018. https://vlast.kz/carryit/26377-ukrasaet-li

Figure 10 Meme "Reconstruction of buildings in Almaty - Palace of the Republic in 1970, 2000, 2011". Source: Unknown

Physical interventions in modernist buildings, especially in the early 2000s created a loophole for decreasing protection. The current economic context also encourages the tendency to create 'non-places', spaces of commerce and consumerism, where businesses are more interested in profit

generation, therefore they can disregard heritage values.[188] According to Temirtas Iskakov monetary profit as an incentive creates precedents when people intentionally try to diminish the value of buildings and territories. "And they are already using other ways" like "someone admits that this building is dilapidated, unusable...",[189] when this is not always the case.

Private ownership and private projects

Beyond officially listed and protected heritage buildings, many unlisted ones were sold into private hands, or become private properties after a loss of monument status, meaning that city authorities do not have any say in how the buildings are used.[190] Private initiatives redeveloping heritage buildings has produced haphazard solutions as a trend. Over the years there were several amendments made in the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan "On the protection and use of historical and cultural heritage sites" in regards to the rights of private owners, virtually decreasing the degree of responsibilities and accountability.

- The owner has the right to own, use and dispose of historical and cultural monuments as property objects, with the exception of the right to destroy them.

- The owner of a historical and cultural monument has the right to prohibit entrance or deny access for research and public inspection for a period of up to fifty years, if the property belongs to private owners by inheritance rights, and/or by its origin or content is related to the person of the testator or the ancestors of the owner.

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[188] Non-places defined in contrast to anthropological places, "cannot be defined as relational, or historical, concerned with identity... The hypothesis advanced here is that supermodernity produces non-places, meaning spaces which are not themselves anthropological places and which, unlike Baudelairean modernity, do not integrate the earlier places: instead these are listed, classified, promoted to the status of 'places of memory', and assigned to a circumscribed and specific position." Sources: Augé, Marc. *Non-places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*. verso, 1995.
[189] Temirtas Iskakov, interview by author. May 07, 2020.
[190] David Kaminski, interview by the author. August 8, 2020.

- The owner has the right to profit (receive income) as a result of the use and operation of historical and cultural monuments, limited by a protective obligation.[191]

As Temirtas Isakov observed,

> A good question here (referring to the author's interview questionnaire) was *what are the interested parties and what is their distribution of power*? Well, in fact, it is clear that it is always the owner, the *akimat* and then the public, and probably in our circumstances the main power is still on the side of the owner…[192]

Iskakov further clarifies that if a building is privately owned and does not have the (heritage) status, then the *akimat* has no ownership of it, therefore there is no legal leverage from the government to influence the ways in which these buildings are used. In other cases, even if the building is an officially listed monument, and is in private hands, the involvement of the authorities depends on whether the *akimat* decides to intervene or does not dare. Iskakov further notes: "That is, we have our obvious problem. You know without me that often our business and government are fused together and they are unlikely to interfere with each other".[193]

Monuments under private ownership are usually hard to access, which disables public monitoring.[194] Private owners are demotivated to have their properties listed as monuments, or to gain some heritage related traction, as it would limit physical interventions in the buildings. Appropriate reuse almost solely depends on the individual approach of the owner and financial incentives. A recent problematic case, as David Kaminski recalls, has been the building of the NKVD[195], which hosted the Museum of Repression at the intersection of the Nauryzbai batyr

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[191] *Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated December 26, 2019 No. 288-VI On the protection and use of historical and cultural heritage sites.* Zakon.kz: https://online.zakon.kz/m/document/?doc_id=34894354
[192] Temirtas Iskakov, interview by the author. May 7, 2020.
[193] Temirtas Iskakov, interview by the author. May 7, 2020.
[194] Temirtas Iskakov, interview by the author. May 7, 2020.
[195] NKVD (abbreviation) was the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, abbreviated NKVD, was the interior ministry of the Soviet Union

Street and the Karasai batyr Street. A private investor turned the building into a hotel leaving nothing that could attest to its history and displacing the Museum and its employees, who were the only group of people openly opposed to such decision. Temirtas Iskakov also recalls a recent story of a pre-revolutionary building in Astana redeveloped for reuse. The Belarusian Embassy vacated this building that was on the balance sheet of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs leased it to a limited liability partnership and the LLP opened a karaoke-restaurant there.

> We wrote about this (on Fading TSE Instagram) and this *hiwai* [polemic] started. We raised this issue in order to attract public attention and initiate public monitoring... Everything is legal for them (private owners), but another ethical question… Instead of embracing the history of this building, to make a very cool commercial project, they took an easy way to make a hookah karaoke there just to cut loot.[196]

Ineffective use of budget, corruption, and exclusion

According to Transparency International Kazakhstan ranked as 113th out of 180, with a 34/100 corruption score in 2019.[197] According to the Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem), there has also been a growth of autocratic tendencies in terms of freedom of speech, media, academia and civil protest, strengthening electoral authoritarianism.[198] These factors have major implications for urban development.

The case of the Tram Depot at the intersection of Gogol and Baitursynov streets in Almaty illustrates this statement.[199] The history of the depot and its original use is still alive in the

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[196] Temirtas Iskakov, interview by the author. May 7, 2020.
[197] "Transparancy International. The global coalition against corruption". 2020. Accessed March 24, 2020: https://www.transparency.org/en/countries/kazakhstan#
[198] "V-Dem. Varieties of Democracy". Accessed March 3, 2020: https://www.v-dem.net/en/analysis/CountryGraph/
[199] Trams started driving through the streets of Almaty in 1937. By 1999, only two tram routes remained. In 2015 local authorities decided to terminate the tram transportation altogether. On 31 October 2016 the decision came into power.

memories of many citizens and it also went through several phases of temporary reuse by the artistic and cultural communities of the city, adding new layers to these memories. It hosted a contemporary art event in September 2016,[200] as well as the festival "Art Energy Almaty - Work in Progress". However, without constant maintenance, the site degraded heavily, presenting multiple safety challenges. The depot stood abandoned until 2017 when an architectural competition was announced.
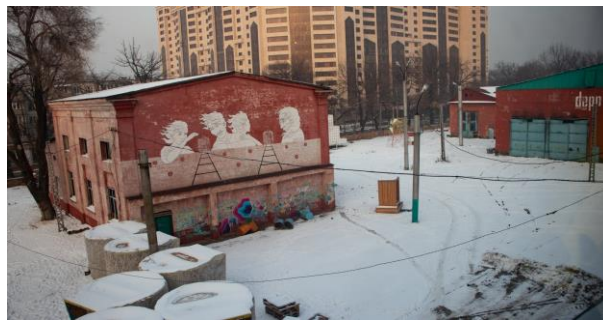

Figure 11 Mural on one of the depot buildings. Source: Loginova, Olga. 2019. "Трамвайное депо: год спустя [Tram depot: a year later]," Vlast, January 18, 2019. Accessed August 20, 2019: https://vlast.kz/gorod/31277-tramvajnoe-depo-god-spusta.html?fbclid=IwAR0XDJb

The 2016 competition for the Tram Depot redevelopment project in Almaty was the first publicly open competition where the municipality and particularly the Almaty Development Center[201] announced that not only architects but also designers, marketing agencies, public organizations, volunteers as well as university students can apply. The overarching idea was very progressive and contemporary on paper, referencing Western practice of renovation. A survey of residents living near the tram depot showed that the majority voted for creating a public space intended for leisure, meetings, cultural events and working in an informal setting. Although these data were not made

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[200] Azarov, Aleksey. 2016. "Как окультурили трамвайное депо [How the tram depot was domesticated]," Azattyq Radio, September 3, 2016. Accessed September 2, 2019: https://rus.azattyq.org/a/almaty-art-vystavka-v-tramvaynom-depo/27965029.html
[201] Joint-stock company «Centre of development of Almaty city»: https://almatydc.kz/en/about/o-nas

publicly available, the idea sounded very promising, with other conditions highlighting the importance of environment-friendly materials, preservation of architectural heritage and long-term financial sustainability.[202] Media campaigns and 'Urban Talks Panel discussion' in September 2017 were held covering the topics of dialogue between municipality and ordinary citizens and the *akim* of Almaty Bauyrzhan Baibek. The municipality decided to choose the winner by combining the votes from the online public poll and the expert jury. The winner was the DEPO Evolution Park project. Such an outcome was unexpected and caused serious questions over the transparency of the competition. As architect Zhanna Spooner, who was the initiator of another project - "Art Depo", later said, the support team saw an unnaturally rapid growth of online votes for the team of DEPO Evolution Park, which could be caused by some cheating software. The website design and the overall approach to the voting was also criticized and the results were deemed illegitimate by several other participants and people involved.[203] One of the authors of the idea on Polytechnical Museum[204] Aset Nauryzbayev also made a Facebook post stating his experience of participating in the competition and highlighting his suspicion of corruption. His opinion is that the authorities chose the winner to be able to spend public money, hiding behind the billionaire Mahmoud Chodiyev who was named as the private investor of the project.[205]

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[202] "Объявлен конкурс на создание концепции по обустройству бывшего трамвайного депо г. Алматы [A competition has been announced for the creation of a concept for the arrangement of the former tram depot in Almaty]," *Development center of the city of Almaty*, August 2, 2016. Accessed October 24, 2019: http://www.almatydc.kz/ru/ob-yavlen-konkurs-na-sozdanie-kontseptsii-po-obustrojstvu-byvshego-tramvajnogo-depo-g-almaty

[203] Statistics committee of the Ministry of National Economy of the Republic of Kazakhstan as of January 1, 2016.; https://inbusiness.kz/ru/news/sudba-tramvajnogo-depo-v-almaty-prakticheski-predreshena

[204] "Политехнический Музей Алматы [Almaty Polytechnic Museum]," Facebook. Accessed March 23, 2020: https://www.facebook.com/pmuseum.almaty/

[205] The final decision of the Development Center JSC concluded that the "DEPO Evolution Park" project was the winner. Among the authors of this project was Mahmoud Chodiyev, co-owner of the "Becker & K" group of companies and the nephew of the Kazakhstani billionaire Patokh Chodiev, as well as a certain Leyla Khaknazarova, who is the main spokesperson for the project according to the article in https://vlast.kz/gorod/31277-tramvajnoe-depo-god-spusta.html?fbclid=IwAR0XDJbVqS-Ts5Qe6hJ5Dj_luXtzkjEYY_jFsPN30eGhdt0a-4ME-VFbotQ.

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He writes:

> I believe that in this case there are signs of corrupt activities of these persons, I demand the immediate publication of the agreements of the *akimat* and the DEPO Evolution team. In case it is confirmed that a private project was financed from the state budget, an investigation should be started.[206]

Eventually, the municipality took over the project, and since then, the only thing that has changed on the territory is the partial renovation of the five-story administrative building for a "youth loft center" of the Youth Policy department.[207] The aforementioned institution may sound beneficial and progressive, as it appeals to young people, however the role of the organization is ambiguous and has specific pro-government reputation and tendencies. According to Iskakov, the government uses similar organizations to create a sense of support from the youth, when it comes to public campaigns, pro-government rallies and events.[208]

Conclusion

Almaty as a city that was able to maintain some degree of continuity in the architectural outlook, fostered popularity and interest in the history of the cityscape making urban heritage buildings into locally and internationally recognized symbols. In the past years, a discourse emerged in Kazakhstan around urban heritage, such as Soviet modernist architecture. This heritage has been on the radar of urbanists and urbanites for less than a decade, yet it illustrates the intersection of different issues generally characterizing the urban governance. Legal gaps and institutional malpractice create a lack of trust and pessimism towards the government of Kazakhstan and

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[206]Nauryzbayev, Asset. 2019. "Как миллиард тенге частного инвестора превратился в освоение бюджетных средств". ·Facebook, December 5, 2019 posted. https://www.facebook.com/anauryzbayev/posts/2661793973879425

[207]Loginova, Olga. 2019. "Трамвайное Депо: Год Спустя [Tram Depot: a Year Later]." Analytical online magazine Власть. Online magazine Власть, January 18, 2019. https://vlast.kz/gorod/31277-tramvajnoe-depo-god-spusta.html?fbclid=IwAR0XDJbVqS-Ts5Qe6hJ5Dj_luXtzkjEYY_jFsPN30eGhdt0a-4ME-VFbotQ.

[208] Temirtas Iskakov, interview by the author. May 7, 2020.

heritage authorities. The authorities that oversee all the relevant processes are rather underfunded or their budget is mismanaged, which also prevents the access to public money, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four. The activity of citizens, NGOs and grassroots is very limited and institutionally discouraged, yet persists and moved forward the agenda for more innovative heritage management approaches despite the obstacles. Although there is a great potential for adaptive heritage reuse in Almaty from the bottom up, a supportive national policy and effective institutions would be important success factors that would favor in the long term bottom up consultations and expert contributions. The next chapter focusing on participation and stakeholder integration will address in more detail how official heritage practices can benefit from opening up to diverse bottom up perspectives.

Chapter 3: Stakeholder Integration, Participation, Public Engagement for and around Heritage

As described in Chapter One, participation, stakeholder integration, cooperation and engagement in urban governance are key success factors in Adaptive Heritage Reuse practices. Participation in urban heritage projects, when mindfully crafted and sustained, can activate and open urban space, create dialog, consolidate communities and sub-cultures, encourage development and business innovations, as well as increase the protection, comfort and general quality of life of the people. These practices can lead to citizen and community capacity building, and more meaningful inclusion in the wider array of issues. These can further contribute to emergence of heritage management that brings together a broad circle of people who can benefit from such approach and ultimately, to the long-term sustainability of heritage and the resilience of heritage communities. This chapter will focus on examining to what degree Kazakhstani heritage authorities and policies implement participatory practices and recognize the social components of heritage. It will look at the wider topic of urban participatory projects, their results, lessons, and potential for AHR through the example of the transformation and reuse of the modernist building of the former Tselinny cinema into the Tselinny Center for Contemporary Culture.

3.1 The Policy Perspective on Heritage Dialog and Participation

Social capacity and inclusion are secondary, if not the last considerations influencing heritage policies and practices in Kazakhstan, and this is a general problem in many other new independent countries with emerging economies. Moreover, participation that can put forward the social and intangible values of heritage, is usually reactive. It comes up in response to a threat, such as urban

renewal or the lack of legitimacy of heritage projects, and not as a systematic, institutionalized, and empowering approach to heritage preservation.[209]

Therefore, participation can be a crucial missing piece in the management of heritage, and when present it can alleviate the inability of authorities to sustain and contribute heritage management dialogue in Kazakhstan. Participation helps advance democratic values, political legitimacy and communication between the citizens and the authorities to properly address the needs of the communities.[210] Since the processes of participation can reinforce the public relevance of heritage projects as well as heritage valorization creating a sense of shared ownership by and responsibility for the people involved, it is important to understand what is the state and potential of participation in Kazakhstan.[211]

While evaluating participation is tricky, in addition to the theoretical background presented in Chapter One, it can be theorized with a concept of Ladder of Participation, which shows levels of participation in relation to the extend of real involvement of citizens.[212] The ladder presents participation in a hierarchy of decision-making power. Similar gradation can be found in other

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[209] Zuljevic, Mela, and Liesbeth Huybrechts. 2019. "(Un) Curating the City: Participatory design and urban heritage." *Nordes* 8 (2019). Accessed March 6, 2020: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/333079745_UnCurating_the_City_Participatory_design_and_urban_heritage

[210] Boonstra, Beitske, and Luuk Boelens. 2011. "Self-organization in urban development: towards a new perspective on spatial planning." *Urban Research & Practice* 4, no. 2 (2011): 99-122. Accessed February 12, 2020: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/241746987_Self-organization_in_urban_development_Towards_a_new_perspective_on_spatial_planning

[211] Fung, Archon. 2006. "Varieties of participation in complex governance." *Public administration review* 66 (2006): 66-75. Accessed January 4, 2020: https://www.jstor.org/stable/4096571?seq=1; Hodges, Andrew, and Steve Watson. 2000. "Community-based heritage management: A case study and agenda for research." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 6, no. 3 (2000): 231-243; Head, Brian W. "Community engagement: participation on whose terms?." *Australian Journal of Political Science* 42, no. 3 (2007): 441-454. Accessed December 21, 2019: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13527250050148214

[212] Arnstein, Sherry R. "A ladder of citizen participation." Journal of the American Institute of planners 35, no. 4 (1969): 216-224.

participation theories, as discussed by Nina Simone.[213] However, context should play an important role in identifying the type of participation, which can be most effective and beneficial to the end goal or project, and will be group specific. For example, expert groups will be able to go into detail of building reconstruction and contribute valuable technical knowledge, while a general group of citizens might be confused and manipulated if asked to evaluate a technical proposal for building reconstruction. Therefore, effective participation should not be always analyzed in a value hierarchy, but rather with a consideration to Low-Cost and High-Benefit Indicators. In best practices a degree of *empowering* participation is essential.[214]

Table 4 Disadvantages of Citizen Participation in Government Decision Making Adapted from Source: Irvin, Renee A., and John Stansbury. "Citizen participation in decision making: is it worth the effort?" Public Administration Review 64, no. 1 (2004): 55-65.

Disadvantages of Citizen Participation in Government Decision Making		
	Disadvantages to citizen participants	**Disadvantages to government**
Decision process	Time consuming (even dull) Pointless if decision is ignored	Worse policy decision if heavily influenced by opposing interest groups
Outcomes	Worse policy decision if heavily influenced by opposing interest groups	• Loss of decision-making control • Possibility of bad decision that is politically impossible to ignore • Less budget for implementation of actual projects

Stakeholder integration and cooperation that is coming from the authorities like *akimats* is unsystematic and in some cases even opportunistic. With such experience, local NGOs and grassroots created inventive approaches to further their urban agenda. According to Adil Nurmakov, cooperation usually happens in case there is no conflict of interest and if *akimats*

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[213] Simon, Nina. The Participatory Museum. Museum 2.0, 2010.
[214] Irvin, Renee A., and John Stansbury. "Citizen participation in decision making: is it worth the effort?" Public Administration Review 64, no. 1 (2004): 55-65.

manage to match the work of the bottom-up actors with their own agenda of activities at the time.[215] "In some cases, the authorities will demand something in return." For example, in the "Theater *Sosedi* [Theater Neighbours]*"* project in order to get some permits from the regional department of culture, to get access to infrastructure, and electricity, the team had to agree to an unpaid participation in some other citywide events.[216]

In other cases, *akimats* pull over projects and make them their own "branding projects", i.e. projects that are supposed to create a visibility of their 'active' work, satisfy and align with the bigger political demands from the top.[217] This can happen even in situations where there is no agreement for cooperation between *akimats* and grassroots organizers. Temirtas Iskakov recalls when Fading TSE had an event opening, one of the heritage authorities showed their interest in a dubious way. When the Fading TSE organized an event, a similar event appeared on Facebook with identical content, but with the Astana office of *Ruhani Zhangyru* (cultural heritage and modernization state program) as the organizer. "This way they simply could report on paper that they held this event."[218]

Similar things are happening in other urban projects and research. Urban Forum Kazakhstan did not receive any credit for coming up with a thorough feedback and recommendations on street reconstruction in Almaty in response to the inadequate plans presented on the Facebook page of the *Upravlenie Urbanistiki* public office. The office simply claimed they had made the changes in the plans, without much explanation. "It was interesting that they certainly did not mention that it

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[215] Adil Nurmakov, interview by the author. April 12, 2020.
[216] Adil Nurmakov, interview by the author. April 12, 2020.
[217] Temirtas Iskakov, interview by author. May 7, 2020.
[218] Temirtas Iskakov, interview by author. May 7, 2020.

was a result of a dialogue, but presented it as if they themselves decided to do things this way (as per UFK recommendations)".[219]

Under these conditions, bottom-up actors tend to come up with ways of maneuvering through non-transparent bureaucratic processes and keep pushing their agenda becoming partly 'decision-makers'. Adil Nurmakov refers to the Public Council in Almaty as one of the tools that they use.

We have a structure in Kazakhstan, relatively new… - public councils - very controversial...from an organizational point of view... because it is a sub-institute with a *maslikhat* [local representative body][220] but at the same time it is not elective, nobody elected them there, well, this is some kind of pseudo representative body that has some incomprehensible power, but nevertheless we have one friendly member of this public council who helped to promote some agenda…[221]

The comparison to one of the European examples, the grassroot project of Toplocentrala in Sofia, Bulgaria, brings to surface more aspects of stakeholder integration and cooperation with the municipality. When starting renovations at the former heating plant, two competitions for the architectural and strategic plans were held, to transform it into a multidisciplinary center for contemporary art. The municipality eventually overtook the project also there; however, the organizing team was able to secure their voice in the consultation process to keep a finger on its pulse.

First, the team worked on putting Toplocentrala in the framework of the city development strategy "Vision of Sofia 2050", as well as within the application of Sofia to be the European Capital of Culture, where both initiatives helped the grassroots to get a leverage for the project. Second, the initiator team "Act Association for Independent Theater" and other grassroot groups were able to

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[219] Adil Nurmakov, interview by the author. April 12, 2020.
[220] *Maslikhat* is a supposedly elected by the population of the region, city of republican significance and the capital or district. It can be understood as a regional parliament in the Republic of Kazakhstan.
[221] Adil Nurmakov, interview by the author. April 12, 2020.

gain support from the existing networks of other cultural centers throughout Europe, as well as the support of several foreign ambassadors and experts when realizing the project. Such an approach provided them with a link to a broader European cultural agenda. Foreign advocates came to meet the municipality in Sofia every year to talk about cultural centers, their potential, and their importance. One of such supporters met and lobbied for the project among the Bulgarian politicians in Brussels during the meetings of the European Commission. All these efforts created political legitimacy and momentum for the project.[222]

Nevertheless, such support has its limits when it comes to securing the smaller details of the organizational structure and the management models of heritage projects. In 2016 the association developed a strategic plan for Toplocentrala to create an innovative model of a cultural center that would be unique to Bulgaria. The municipality decided that it was too risky and chose a more traditional top-down approach. However, because the initiative started from the bottom-up, the municipality is keeping in touch with the initiator team. The team can practice soft power in this call, so that they do not lose the whole project idea. "The value and mission and vision are already spelled out and it should be preserved," says Adi Kuneva.[223] So when the call for application the directorship of the centre will go out, the initiator team will be consulted to co-write the call trying to incorporate their initial ideas.

Participation of the wider public is not completely alien to the policies in Kazakhstan, however, there has not been enough effort and time for the implementation of these policies to become a stable and sustainable practice. As discussed in previous chapters, in Kazakhstan there are many

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[222] Adi Kuneva, interview by the author. February 2, 2020.
[223] Adi Kuneva, interview by the author. February 2, 2020.

institutional and bureaucratic barriers, non-elective *akims*, lack of institutional memory, comprehensive and enforced laws on heritage, as well as the overall lack of participatory, transparent, and open political institutions. Participation in the field of heritage is discouraged by the government and even if it happens with the government's involvement it is ingenuine, manipulative and exploitative towards the wider public and grassroots groups.[224]

The law of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the protection and use of objects of historical and cultural heritage states that the local administration is responsible to "involve the public in carrying out activities for the preservation and popularization of historical and cultural monuments", however, this statement only defines the locus authority for such activity, and not the procedures and circumstances under which people can get involved. It does not consider redistribution of power, as at the end of the day, it is completely up to the authorities, *akimats* and related institutions, to engage people or not. [225]

Occasionally, authorities propose some degree of engagement, however those initiatives are impulsive, they come "from the lord's shoulder…or, well, if you raise some noise, they react to it, but there is no systemic and constant work in that direction."[226] On the other end, talking about participation from the bottom-up, Kaminski noted "...whether these people get access to the top will depend on how loudly they shout. That is, if they can shout and they can react fast".[227]

One of the best cases to see how fast and loud the activists and citizens need to be to have their opinion considered is the story of the Kazakh TV Complex in Almaty (ASK-2), which was quietly

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[224] Adil Nurmakov, interview by the author. April 12, 2020.
[225] *Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated December 26, 2019 No. 288-VI On the protection and use of historical and cultural heritage sites*. Zakon.kz: https://online.zakon.kz/m/document/?doc_id=34894354
[226] David Kaminski, interview by the author. August 8, 2020.
[227] David Kaminski, interview by the author. August 8, 2020.

fenced around to be reconstructed in 2019 spring. In March 2019, the ArchCode team together with a group of independent architects, experts, and citizen activists were able to postpone and change the course of the reconstruction of one of the most important monuments of Soviet modernism in the city by mobilizing a comprehensive discourse on an independent platform, outside the traditional spaces of public discussion.[228]
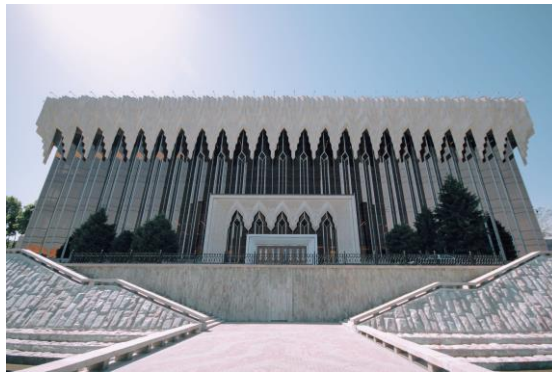

Figure 12 The Kazakh TV Complex in Almaty (ASK-2). Photo by Daniyar Musirov. Source: "Новое старое «здание со сталактитами» [New old "building with stalactites]," Vlast, June 10, 2020. Accessed August 5, 2020: https://vlast.kz/gorod/40094-novoe-staroe-zdanie-so-s

The discussion consolidated many people. There was an evident lack of research and understanding of heritage values and potentials from the side of developers and project contractors, which helped the cause. According to the author of the project, Alexandr Korzhempo, who was present at the public discussion, the building's cornice was inspired by the UNESCO World Heritage Site Mausoleum of Khoja Ahmed Yasawi in the city of Turkestan, in southern Kazakhstan. The TV complex itself was a candidate for inclusion in the UNESCO list of World

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[228] "Ситуация с АСК-2: плохая реконструкция, мнение автора и маленькая победа ArchCode [The situation with ASK-2: bad reconstruction, author's opinion and a small victory for ArchCode]," *Buro247.kz*, March 27, 2019. Accessed March 30, 2020: https://www.buro247.kz/lifestyle/design/situatciya-s-ask-2-plokhaya-rekonstruktciya-mnenie-avtora-i-malenkaya-pobeda-archcode.html
The building was created by the architects A. Korzhempo, who still lives in Almaty and M. Ezau, V. Panin in 1983.

Heritage Sites. Its almost fully glazed facade is one of the innovations of the time. The construction is a part of the architectural ensemble of the Republic Square towards the Zheltoksan Street, hence a key part of the cityscape.[229]

The representatives of BI Group building company insisted that they were just at the "sketch stage" of the process at the unofficial discussion initiated by ArchCode on the 27th of March 2019. This was, however, not enough to satisfy the audience. Under the legal regulations for the preliminary lists of monuments of local importance, the transformation of the building's status into a protected monument was already in progress. Any reconstruction in such cases must undergo a long process of obtaining permissions, licenses, and special committees must be convened. Otherwise, it is simply illegal.[230]

The public talk helped to convince the company to involve the author architect of the building Aleksander Korzhempo, as well as an outside expert group, also including some of the civic activists, to oversee the work. In the end, there was a shift towards restoration, rather than reconstruction. This was, however, a unique example since in all previous cases the usual procedure of discussion of reconstruction projects took place behind closed doors with the post-factum reveal of a finalized project and without any public monitoring and contribution.[231]

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[229] "Алма-Ата модернистская [Modernist Alma-Ata]," Vlast, May 10, 2021. Accessed May 20, 2021: https://vlast.kz/gorod/22900-alma-ata-modernistskaa.html; Loginova , Olga. 2019. "Здание Аппаратно-студийного комплекса будет реконструирова [Building Hardware-studio complex will be reconstructed]," Vlast, March 22, 2019. Accessed May 15, 2020:Http. s://vlast.kz/gorod/32294-zdanie-apparatno-studijnogo-kompleksa-budet-rekonstruirovano.html

[230] *Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated December 26, 2019 No. 288-VI On the protection and use of historical and cultural heritage sites.* Zakon.kz: https://online.zakon.kz/m/document/?doc_id=34894354

[231] "Новое старое «здание со сталактитами» [New old "building with stalactites]," *Vlast,* June 10, 2020. Accessed August 5, 2020: https://vlast.kz/gorod/40094-novoe-staroe-zdanie-so-stalaktitami.html

Figure 13 ASK-2 reconstruction public discussion ArchCode (Anel Moldahmetova). Source: "Ситуация с АСК-2: плохая реконструкция, мнение автора и маленькая победа ArchCode [The situation with ASK-2: bad reconstruction, author's opinion and a small victory for ArchCode]," Buro247.kz, M

The efforts paid off when the preliminary results of restoration of the Kazakh TV Complex were revealed in June 2020. Architect and representative of the creative collective FeDa, Adilzhan Psyaev said in an interview to Vlast.kz that until further changes "the result leaves a pretty good impression" and "this case is an example of the path that the reconstruction of buildings should take".[232] This was a great victory and an important precedent for the public interested in preserving urban architecture of Almaty.

This case illustrates that ultimately, shared discussion and decision-making have the capacity to produce better heritage practices, empower citizens and foster cooperation between diverse stakeholders. According to Anel Moldakhmetova from ArchCode "This precedent makes other initiatives understand that this is possible, that it is necessary to cooperate, that it is necessary to influence, that it is necessary to write. And these kinds of initiatives can be many more".[233]

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[232] "Новое старое «здание со сталактитами» [New old "building with stalactites]," *Vlast,* June 10, 2020. Accessed August 5, 2020: https://vlast.kz/gorod/40094-novoe-staroe-zdanie-so-stalaktitami.html

[233] Urban Forum Kazakhstan, "Critical Mass", May 24, 2021, Youtube Video, 38:38, https://urbanforum.kz/critical-mass

Despite some success stories, there has not been a real change at the policy level in the paradigm towards participatory heritage and urban governance. Both on paper and in practice ordinary citizens have no leverage in decision-making. In many cases a poorly designed participatory mechanism and projects can have a detrimental effect on people's trust and willingness to affect change.[234] Occasional, limited, and authorised top-down consultations are entrusted only to "experts" in the field in accordance with the legislation: To prepare a statement on the recognition of objects of historical and cultural heritage monuments of history and culture, as well as the deprivation of their status by the authorised body a special commission is created, which includes scholars, specialists, and figures of culture and art, representatives of creative unions and other public associations.[235]

In line with conventional heritage practice, built heritage, mostly regarded as something tangible, usually belongs to the domain of the state and experts. Even then, the formal recognition of expert actors leaves their involvement nominal. The task of choosing who exactly can become a part of such a commission is fully in the hands of local authorities.[236] Whether or not these commissions take place systematically is also a big question. On many occasions the commissions were said to have happened post-factum to legitimize a decision from the top.[237]

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[234] Perkin, Corinne. 2010. "Beyond the rhetoric: negotiating the politics and realising the potential of community-driven heritage engagement." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16, no. 1-2 (2010): 107-122. Accessed October 5, 2020:
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/248992573_Beyond_the_rhetoric_Negotiating_the_politics_and_realising_the_potential_of_community-driven_heritage_engagement
[235] *Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated December 26, 2019 No. 288-VI On the protection and use of historical and cultural heritage sites.* Zakon.kz: https://online.zakon.kz/m/document/?doc_id=34894354
[236] *Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated December 26, 2019 No. 288-VI On the protection and use of historical and cultural heritage sites.* Zakon.kz: https://online.zakon.kz/m/document/?doc_id=34894354
[237] Adil Nurmakov, interview by the author. April 12, 2020.

Additionally, from the side of experts there is still a low level of self-organization, a lot of fragmentation and occasionally a lack of competence. Urban communities frequently experience a collective action problem: the inability to partake in urban decision-making. There is an exclusiveness and exceptionality to the circles of heritage professionals, where some events turn into a "competition for who has more experience, who has greater professionalism, who is more talented, and so on".[238]

An occasion when the collective action problem played out in real life was one of the few crowdsourcing initiatives from the *Upravlenie Urbanistiki*. The event to some extent was disrupted. Because it turned into a discussion between a narrow layer of specialists, about who among them understands more, who among them knows more. Therefore, the problem is probably that we are all fighting for one thing, but not all people are ready to listen to each other… We would be able to make some obvious impact on official policy if we all forgot our competition, some of the disputes and rallied for a common cause, but so far this does not happen.[239]

There is also a generational gap in the community of experts, especially when it comes to cooperation between younger and older experts, which can be a part of miscommunication between older generations of public servants and young citizens in general.

Let's divide it into two camps: young people and our older colleagues. I don't want to be a gossiper, but I'll say that the latter have worse cooperation than the younger ones… They (senior colleagues) could have their authority, especially considering that now in the government, relatively speaking, people there are not young, and they could influence them with their authority and indeed they are talented, intelligent, educated, experienced people, but due to the fact that they do not interact, do not agree with each other, and do not interact with young people willingly, looking at them from top-down. We cannot achieve the effect that we could achieve by working as a united front.[240]

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[238] Adil Nurmakov, interview by the author. April 12, 2020.
[239] David Kaminski, interview by the author. August 8, 2020.
[240] David Kaminski, interview by the author. August 8, 2020.

Another challenge is transferring the ideas of community engagement and participation into post-Soviet contexts. The obstacles of transfer of participatory principles might lie in the neo-liberal, ambiguous, and conditional nature of the concepts, which tend to result in tensions between imported global notions and local contexts. There is still a lot of skepticism around using various definitions and manifestations of community engagement, which were borrowed from foreign contexts, which also contributes to the dichotomy of approaches between the public and the third sectors.

The aforementioned negative pre-conditions are slowly changing. The new documentary movie "Critical Mass" by Urban Forum Kazakhstan makes an argument that in the past five years there has been evidence of a growing number of active, interested and dedicated citizens, who participate or initiate urban projects in many cities and towns in Kazakhstan.[241] Such developments will also eventually push other stakeholders, including the authorities and developers towards incorporating public opinion in urban decision-making processes and heritage projects.

An early example of this tendency is the neighbourhood project *Adamdarga Alandar* organized by Anel Moldakhmetova and Adil Azhiev, with other activists and supported by the US Consulate General.[242] It took place in September 2019 in four non-central districts of Almaty: *Shanyrak*, *Sayaly*, *Zerdel* and *Duman*. Each district's festival took two weekends. The key approach of the project was to cooperate with local citizens. Extensive research was done in each district, with at least two or three meetings with residents. Children took an especially active part by suggesting specific ideas for what they want to do during the festival, thus becoming co-organizers. Adults

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[241] Urban Forum Kazakhstan, "Critical Mass", May 24, 2021, Youtube Video, 38:38, https://urbanforum.kz/critical-mass
[242] Project organizers: Anel Moldakhmetova and Adil Azhiev.

were more willing to talk about the issues in the districts and did not fully understand how the festival can address their troubles.[243]

The festival in each district included various activities: open library, shadow theater, workshops, board games, open microphone, crafting of tennis tables, cinema show and so on. The results of the project showed the lack of socialization among the residents, a need for local leisure programming and facilities and issues that are connected to the constant under-budgeting of the off-central districts in the city. More importantly it showed how well-researched and -designed projects can increase social capital and encourage participation even in and around places, where the citizens do not show any willingness to engage.

Figure 14 Workshops at the festival. Source: Korostelyova, Yuna. 2019. "В Шаныраке дети рисуют Акорду и Астану, но не знают, что такое комиксы [Children in Shanyrak draw Akorda and Astana, but they do not even know what comics are]," Vlast, October 7, 2019. Acces

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[243] Korostelyova, Yuna. 2019. "В Шаныраке дети рисуют Акорду и Астану, но не знают, что такое комиксы [Children in Shanyrak draw Akorda and Astana, but they do not even know what comics are]," Vlast, October 7, 2019. Accessed December 23, 2020: https://vlast.kz/gorod/35541-v-sanyrake-deti-risuut-akordu-i-astanu-no-ne-znaut-cto-takoe-komiksy.html

Figure 15 Ibid.

Community heritage discourses can form an alternative to the authorised heritage discourse and will serve as valuable input for the municipalities, NGOs and grassroots alike. Such insights may also tell something about what characterizes heritage communities. As Fairclough et al. (2004) state "people not only act and organize in particular ways, they also represent their ways of acting and organizing, and produce imaginary projections of new or alternative ways, in particular discourses".[244] How language captures the actions of people is therefore of key interest.

Adil Nurmakov from his experience at Urban Forum Kazakhstan argues that the vast majority of citizens who are interested and occasionally contribute to the development of urban projects, are young people. There is not much difference in the age group of people following the organization in different cities.[245] Temirtas Iskakov, working in Astana also identifies a vast pool of interested community members.

Many young educated people have begun to address the topic of this heritage as part of an awareness… of interest in urban studies and planning. This is trendy. In Astana, due to the fact that, in principle, urban culture is just forming, there is no such interest and there is no school (education). Almaty, as the capital, in Soviet times managed to nurture several generations of

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[244]Fairclough et al. (2004) (p. 2). Cited in Jacobs, Keith. "Discourse analysis and its utility for urban policy research." *Urban policy and research* 24, no. 1 (2006): 39-52.
[245] Adil Nurmakov, interview by author. April 12, 2020.

citizens who love their city, who are interested, accordingly there are many (urban) identity projects and for example ArchCode. [246]

According to Iskakov there are many people who support the idea of preserving the outlook of old buildings. However, the ways they express their support is limited to the Instagram page comments section. Among professionals he identifies a group of scholars that he says are "the first wave of post-colonialists", who have a skeptical attitude towards the value of urban heritage like Soviet modernist architecture in Kazakhstan, as a remnant of the communist regime and its atrocities. They are quite supportive of the idea of completely replacing or redeveloping this heritage with new constructions.[247]

It is good that this is being discussed, because I believe that such an opinion also has a right to exist, and here we, as a society, must decide what to do with these buildings. But I am against demolition and against reconstruction, that is, I am for the positive reconstruction, which will retain some spirit and appearance of the building, but taking into account the new function, which will benefit most from this.[248]

In contrast to this group, a lot of people exhibit nostalgic feelings for modernist constructions.

People clearly perceive (Soviet buildings) positively because it is their past, it is their youth, it is their childhood. If we are talking about people who were born, studied and lived in the Soviet Union, who are let's say over 45 years old, they certainly love these places, remember and complain that these buildings were cladded, disfigured and other things.[249]

Another way to identify and research heritage communities is discourse analysis and digital ethnography. I will utilize these methods to explore heritage discourses in Kazakhstan on Facebook. I will use the case of the Tselinny modernist cinema reuse project to illustrate the key critical discourse aspects. In line with the participatory principles, the main goal of this method is also to enlarge the pool of local stakeholders' viewpoints and map possible communities, their issues and concerns. These observations can contribute to creating better models of engagement

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[246] Temirtas Iskakov, interview by author. May 07, 2020.
[247] Temirtas Iskakov, interview by author. May 07, 2020.
[248]Temirtas Iskakov, interview by author. May 07, 2020.
[249] Temirtas Iskakov, interview by author. May 07, 2020.

and participation, involving more bottom-up decision-makers and less decision-takers. Moreover, *akimats* and the representatives of the city administration are increasingly present in social media, indicating that to an extent, social media based discourses shape city politics and practices.

3.2 Case study: Cinemas, Tselinny and adaptive reuse

As mentioned before, there are no clearly defined adaptive heritage reuse cases in Kazakhstan. However, the project of Tselinny Cinema is one of the few cases that involved many strategies generally characteristic for adaptive heritage reuse and has provoked a critical discourse around the ideas of 'proper' reuse. Its historical and public value is one of the factors that made it a point of debate in the public. Tselinny belonged to the group of buildings that are no longer valuable and viable under the emerging 'turbo capitalist' economy.[250] Purpose-built cinemas, which were among the most prominent points of attraction in Soviet cities, are increasingly experiencing the effects of economic market changes. [251] In other words, after the collapse of the USSR, former republics and newly independent states started to undergo transition from a state-controlled economy to a capitalist one. They became an especially 'at risk' part of late modernist heritage, and the reason for this is explained by Denis Romodin, senior researcher at the Museum of Moscow as follows:

In Moscow and other cities, cinemas and houses of culture are being demolished *en masse*, under the guise that these are *tipoviye* [typified][252] projects, but in reality, most of them are typical only

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[250] Adil Nurmakov. "Right to the city" presentation.

[251] Bronovitskaya, Anna, and Nikolay Malinin. *Алма-Ата: архитектура советского модернизма 1955-1991 [Alma-Ata: soviet modernism architecture 1955-1991].* (Moscow, Russia: Garage, 2018.) Accessed December 19, 2019.

[252] In the context of strictly controlled, standardised and state-owned construction industry and centralized planning, typified buildings were projects adjusted to multiple use and with utilitarian approach to planning. As analyzed in Riaubienė, Edita, and Liutauras Nekrošius. "Standardisation and architectural ideas for school buildings in Soviet Lithuania." *Oxford Review of Education* 47, no. 5 (2021): 638-658.: "Architectural typification as 'the use of a

in their essence. In such buildings, as a rule, a standard *korona* and original *vinyry* (architectural elements) were developed by local architects using local materials and taking into account the local cultural context. It is no coincidence that the facades of such buildings are often decorated with unique panels, mosaics, which are works of art in themselves…[253]

Although local origins and symbolism in Soviet architecture is a separate debate in itself, cinemas do exemplify essentially public places, accumulating the power of memory and nostalgia. Cinemas were built everywhere, and especially in the modernist period. While in the Soviet Union cinema was officially considered the most important art form, after *perestroika* the cinema as art and as a place was no longer under state control. Across the post-Soviet space and in Kazakhstan cinemas were converted into "business centers" or car dealerships, furniture stores, offices, markets, and other places of commerce.[254] For example, the *Yubileyniy* [Anniversary] cinema in Aktau (former Shevchenko) was demolished to make space for a new hotel.[255] In Shymkent, a modernist cinema named *Kazakhstan* became the new building for the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan, with significant interventions concerning the architectural style.[256] The cinemas themselves moved to emerging malls and shopping centres.

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limited number of building designs according to programmatic types' (Zarecor, 2011, p. 54) and industrialised construction (prefabricated constructional components assembled on the site) had become a dominant feature in the entire Soviet bloc" from 1950s onwards.

[253] Olga Mamayeva,"Позднесоветский модернизм остается самым незащищенным [Late Soviet Modernism remains the most vulnerable]." *The Art Newspaper Russia,* April 7, 2020. Accessed January 27, 2021, http://www.theartnewspaper.ru/posts/7985/?fbclid=IwAR0g93uSRpeJxFO9Z9ehc68FuYKOWDylDukuyeVxbcdv4tskgHNY-xx-51M

[254] Nina Ratova. "Новая жизнь советских кинотеатров [The New Life of the Soviet Cinamas]." *Tatlin*, March 14, 2017. Accessed January 5, 2020: https://tatlin.ru/articles/novaya_zhizn_sovetskix_kinoteatrov

[255] Doroshenko, Evgeny. 2017. "Как создавался архитектурный облик Актау: интервью с Михаилом Левиным. Часть 2 [How the architectural appearance of Aktau was created]." *Tumba.kz*, September 21, 2017. Accessed August 7, 2020: https://tumba.kz/vse-o-mangistau/57-vse-o-mangistau/29607-Kak_sozdavalsja_arhitekturnyj_oblik_Aktau_intervju_s_Mihailom_Levinym_Chast_2.html

[256] "Бывший кинотеатр «Казахстан» в Шымкенте на пороге открытия [Former cinema "Kazakhstan" in Shymkent on the eve of opening]." *Otyrar, April 26,* 2017. Accessed August 7, 2020: https://otyrar.kz/2017/04/byvshij-kinoteatr-kazaxstan-v-shymkente-na-poroge-otkrytiya/

Figure 16 "Yubileyniy" cinema in Aktau then and now. Source: "Shevchenko. Aktau. Myngyshlak," Odnoklassniki. 2020. Accessed on December 1, 2020: https://ok.ru/shevche/topics

Figure 17 : "Kazakhstan" cinema in Shymkent - then. Source: Antonov, Svyatoslav. 2017. "Шымкент: Прошлое, Настоящее, Будущее [Shymkent: The Past, The Present, The Future]." Vox Populi, March 25, 2017. Accessed May 6, 2020: https://www.voxpopuli.kz/main/sh

Figure 18 : "Kazakhstan" cinema in Shymkent - now. Source: Antonov, Svyatoslav. 2017. "Шымкент: Прошлое, Настоящее, Будущее [Shymkent: The Past, The Present, The Future]." Vox Populi, March 25, 2017. Accessed May 6, 2020: https://www.voxpopuli.kz/main/sh

The last functioning purpose-built cinema in Almaty is *Arman.* It has undergone many transformations and especially in the interior, yet, it has survived and still operates. Urban Forum Kazakhstan created a special research project that addressed the architectural concepts, functions,

96

and audiences of the cinema over time. For example, during the *perestroika* the cinema would also function as a nightclub called *Fakir*, which was a way of maintaining the financial sustainability of the building that time with a temporary use.[257] Despite some volatile times and threats of demolition, the cinema is still there, however, it is still at risk of losing its original purpose in face of the huge cinema complexes established in shopping malls and taking over the market.

The cultural nucleus *Tselinny* [former Virgin Lands Cinema] in Almaty has been devoid of its original function for a long time. It was the most popular cinema in the city, with halls for one and a half thousand seats, which, however, were never enough to accommodate everyone wishing to attend a cinema session. In 1982 the estimation was that almost two million spectators were able to attend the cinema. While it was a humble project in its form, its open glass front facade made it particularly unique and inviting for the growing audience of Almaty.[258] Today the modernist cinema is being redeveloped to accommodate the first Center of Contemporary Culture in the country. The reconstruction of the cinema began in late 2018 under the direction of Jamilya Nurkaliyeva and the British architect Asif Khan, who will transform the building into a multifunctional space.[259] The center was founded and is funded by a businessman Kairat Boranbayev and approved by the town planning council of Almaty.

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[257] "Araman – Perestroika".UFK. Accessed May 20, 2021: https://urbanforum.kz/arman-perestroika-ru

[258] Bronovitskaya, Anna, and Nikolay Malinin. *Алма-Ата: архитектура советского модернизма 1955-1991 [Alma-Ata: soviet modernism architecture 1955-1991].* (Moscow, Russia: Garage, 2018.) Accessed December 19, 2019.

[259] Bruce Sterling, "The Tselinny, Kazakhstan's First Center Of Contemporary Culture." 2018. Wired. Accessed October 30, 2019: https://www.wired.com/beyond-the-beyond/2018/10/tselinny-kazakhstans-first-center-contemporary-culture/

Figure 19 Tselinny during the Soviet period. Source: "Кинотеатр "Целинный" станет центром современной культуры," Buro247.kz, July, 19, 2018. Accessed July 9, 2021:https://www.buro247.kz/culture/art/kinoteatr-tcelinnyy-stanet-tcentrom-sovremennoy-kultury.html

Figure 20 Tselinny reconstruction of 2000s, photo by the author. Source: Location: Masanchi street 59, in Almaty, Kazakhstan - a collaborative work of architects S. Rosenblum (author of a model project), V. Katsev, B. Tyutin (geotagging), engineer V. Semenov and artist E. Sidorkin.

Although the concept fits into the idea of adaptive reuse, the project had two very different redevelopment plans and the treatment of the tangible heritage aspect of the building has been ambiguous. The initial architectural plan, although controversial, was to create a center that retains the main innovative aspects of the original project and to highlight the open glass front facade with a shading frame. However, on June 3, 2020, the team of Tselinny presented a completely different concept that was met with mixed reviews. Some of the discourse will be addressed later in the Chapter Three, covering participation, community and decision-making in the city.

David Kaminski, expert in architecture and journalist, says that the myth of this building being *tipovoy* [typical] became one of the justifications in creating a second, more drastic reconstruction plan. However, the myth was never confirmed, yet shapes many discourse points, as I will discuss in Chapter Three.
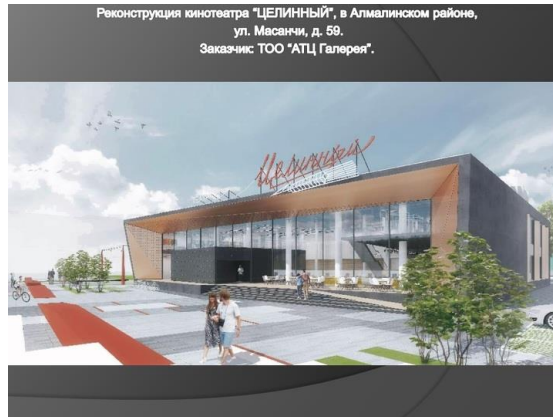
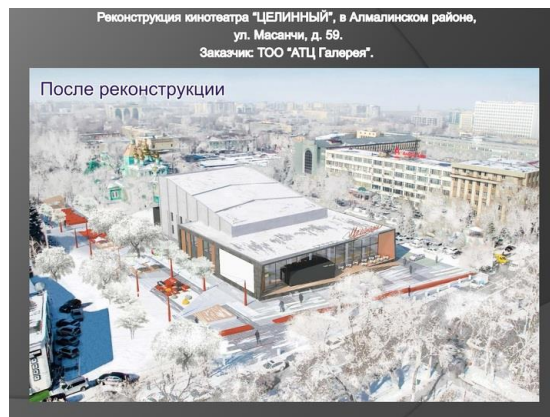*Figure 21 Reconstruction of Tselinny cinema first concept. Source:Facebook*

Figure 22 Ibid.

Figure 23 Reconstruction of Tselinny cinema second concept. Source: Romashkina, Svetlana. 2020. "Небо на земле" Vlast. Accessed September 2, 2020: <https://vlast.kz/gorod/39978-nebo-na-zemle.html>

Figure 24 Ibid.

99

Although the initiative virtually saved the place from eventual degradation and demolition, it also represents the perspective of private development that is ethically ambiguous, or provocatively speaking corrupt. Boranbayev is the owner of the McDonald's restaurant chain franchise in the country, but also the Almaty asset management company. The company assets are concentrated in the oil industry, hotel business, pharmaceuticals, trade, and the service sector providing Boranbayev with a net worth of $391 million, just from what is known through the publicly available sources.[260]

As discussed in Chapter Two in theory and on the example of the cases of the GosPlan and Museum of Respression, private owners of buildings of heritage value, do not have enough legal responsibilities or accountability, when it comes to building transformations, access and in some cases demolition. In this case, due to the interconnection of political and business elites and the widespread kleptocracy, Kairat Boranbayev is more influential than any bottom-up initiative in the sphere. Tselinny also became a point of scrutiny due to Boranbayev's ownership of the other two cinemas (*Alatau* and *Baikonur*) that were purchased via the Almaty asset management company, and did not get a similar treatment as Tselinny. After the transfer of ownership to Boranbayev, both the *Alatau* and *Baikonur* cinemas were replaced by McDonald's fast-food restaurants.[261] In fact, as of March 17, 2022, the Financial Monitoring Agency confirmed the information about an

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[260] "Как будет выглядеть «Целинный» Кайрата Боранбаева," Forbes Kazakhstan, June 3, 2020. Accessed October 6, 2020: https://forbes.kz/process/urbanity/fasad_tselinnogo_stanet_steklyannyim

[261] Temirtas Iskakov, interview by the author. May 7, 2020.
Gaifutdinova, Venera. "Боранбаев Прояснил Ситуацию с 'Целинным' и 'Байконуром' [Boranbayev Clarified the Situation with 'Tselinny' and 'Baikonur']." www.forbes.kz, March 5, 2016. https://forbes.kz/process/urbanity/boranbaev_proyasnil_situatsiyu_s_kinoteatrami_tselinnyiy_i_baykonur?utm_source=forbes&utm_medium=incut&utm_campaign=107524.

open investigation and two months arrest of Boranbayev on the suspicion of embezzlement of funds on an especially large scale in the quasi-public sector.[262]

Even though the project was surrounded by much controversy, it presents a unique opportunity to see different individuals, groups of people and experts discussing the reuse of Soviet modernist buildings, as well as the policies and development surrounding it. For example, on June 3, 2020, with a 2-day notice, the community council of Almaty held a Zoom discussion about the new architectural redevelopment project plan.[263] Due to the short notice and the general novelty of this type of discussion, people who joined were predominantly urban heritage or architecture professionals, and not many of the interested citizens have joined. Such professionals of different age groups and backgrounds represent a very strong community that has been actively promoting urban agendas.

The representatives of the Tselinny team stated that "in the work on the reconstruction of Tselinny, special attention was paid to the study of collective memory formed around the old building, its cultural and regional context, and, at the same time, the search for a new identity that is in line with the spirit of modern times."[264] However, it is not clear what ordinary residents think about the site and how that memory was studied specifically. Due to the limited time frame of this thesis,

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[262] Vaal, Tamara. 2022. "Кайрат Боранбаев арестован на два месяца – АФМ
 [Kairat Boranbaev arrested for two months - AFM]," Vlast, March 17, 2022. Accessed March 23, 2022: https://vlast.kz/novosti/49209-kajrat-boranbaev-arestovan-na-dva-mesaca-afm.html
[263] Общественный Совет Алматы [Public Council of Almaty]. 2020. "Общественный совет Алматы провел Онлайн обсуждение проекта по реконструкции кинотеатар "Целинный" [The Public Council of Almaty held an Online discussion of the project for the reconstruction of the "Tselinny" movie theater]". Facebook, June 3, 2020 posted. https://www.facebook.com/almatykenes/posts/2696813523896804
[264]"Как будет выглядеть «Целинный» Кайрата Боранбаева," Forbes Kazakhstan, accessed October 6, 2020: https://forbes.kz/process/urbanity/fasad_tselinnogo_stanet_steklyannyim

the only accessible source to understand these aspects was the comment section on that Facebook post. It revealed that many people were quite upset about the decisions.

3.3 Online public discourse on the Tsellinny Cinema

One user, whose page indicates that they are a lecturer at Eurasian National University of L.N. Gumilev in Astana and expert in architectural history, writes: "I don't know how to explain to you that gray is gray, that colonial is colonial (and not independent and dependent), that bold is bold (and not warmed up old and wretched)... that familiar is not always the best."

Another user, who describes herself as a student and architect raises another central issue of the new project when addressing the Tselinny official Facebook page in her own post on reconstruction plan: "It would be very nice to have an engagement of the urban communities, because reconstruction is always a very sensitive thing which is not about 'playing with facades' but mostly about the memory and the contextual continuity." This post also raises the problem of the Orthodox Christian church located behind the cinema, which was always an issue for the urban landscape of the area: "… hope so, since they said so, that the main interior volumes will stay the same. But I'm very much worried about the main facade. I would like to see something 'less ego, more contextually sensitive'.[265]

The discussion in the "GRADBLOG ALMATY" Facebook group[266] was one of the longest and most heated ones. Many users who advocated for the preservation of the old facade also referred to the issue of hiring foreign architects for the project. Many said that this influences the

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[265] Issakhankyzy, Aida. 2020."Мне жаль, что фасад не оставили". Facebook, June 4, 2020.
[266] "Gradblog Almaty." https://www.facebook.com/groups/GradoBlog.ala/

102

misunderstanding of the local context and the historic importance of Soviet modernist architecture in Almaty.

Another discussion in the group "Central Asian Pavilion of Contemporary Art"[267] aimed to understand the architectural decisions and less so the "ideology". One of the Kazakhstani users who commented asked her colleagues from Central Asia, who are following the group, to give their own perspective to the project. In many responses there was still a recurring idea that a local professional could understand the contextual specificities better than a foreign one, including the climate and the surrounding area. One of the comments was directly pointing at one of the main omissions of the Tselinny Centre team:

Tselinny specifically conducted a study on social modernism, on the architectural layer of Almaty from the 1960s to the 1980s, and of course the expectation was that this aspect of the building would be better preserved, and not turned into some kind of pyramidal officialdom – that is, the disappointment that all these studies and a large-scale exhibition on social modernism in Almaty – as it turned out, had little to do with the specific result.

Indeed, there was a large emphasis on the study of the history of the place and the study of the memory associated with it. The project was called "The Beginning". According to the website, the exposition consisted of three parts - architectural, artistic and cinematic. The emphasis was put on "the history of the building in particular, and the architectural context of Almaty and reflected the program and objectives of the future center". Additionally, the exhibition also presented the book *Alma-Ata: The Architecture of Soviet Modernism 1955–1991. Reference Guide*, compiled by Anna Bronovitskaya and Nikolai Malinin and published by the Moscow's Garage Museum.[268]

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[267]Japarov, Ulan. 2020. "Состоялось заседание общественного совета, на котором мы презентовали проект реконструкции Центра современной культуры «Целинный»." Facebook, June 4, 2020. https://www.facebook.com/groups/1691061144503039/permalink/2663552397253904/?comment_id=26650529071 03853&notif_id=1591444379018834&ref=notif&notif_t=group_comment_mention
[268]"About Us: What Is Tselinny Online?" tselinny.org. Accessed March 1, 2021. https://www.tselinny.org/en/aboutus.

Some people, expressed admiration for the bold, modern and revisionary style of the project. The original building was frequently labeled ideologically irrelevant, typical, and unable to perform modern functions. Some people took the opposite stance and were describing the architects of the project as foreigners who did not know the local context and the values of modernism. Both groups were dominated by heritage or architecture professionals.

There are several conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis of the social media posts:

- Such discussions take place mostly in specialized expert groups, between professionals in the field and mainly post-factum. There are no platforms for the broader public to consolidate such a dialog. It appears that ordinary residents have little to say about the new urban projects. The project team and private investor failed to engage these people and communities in advance before presenting the final project.

- A widespread use of jargon and theory keeps the conversation limited to the people with expert knowledge.

- A lot of positive, supportive comments to the newest plan of reconstruction do not present any argument or justification, whereas negative comments have more substantial references to heritage, the age and memory values of the building. Overall, in many instances, the comment thread took the forms of debate with lengthy, structured texts and argumentation.

- Many people demonstrate their knowledge of local architecture and history through personal connection to these sites and nostalgia.

- There is a recurrent idea of the *tipovoy* [typical] character of the building of Tselinny, which according to David Kaminski is a myth, [269] yet seems to have a critical role to the question of the reconstruction

- The concepts of "colonial" and "post-colonial", "local" and "foreign" regularly appear with respect to urban heritage, such as Soviet Modernism. As discussed before, there is an understanding of Soviet architecture is imposed, the 'architecture of other'. Hence many arguments point out that there is not so much value and potentially even some harm in keeping this heritage intact.

It is essential for the future adaptive heritage reuse initiatives to investigate and understand such discourse in more detail. While it is a widely emerging discussion for many Kazakhstani scholars, heritage can be an interesting point of insight into public perceptions and ideas about political legitimacy.[270]

Conclusion

This Chapter aimed to uncover the aspects that influence the potential for inclusion of different groups, opinion, perspectives and expertise in Adaptive Heritage Reuse in Kazakhstan. Many adaptive heritage reuse initiatives also recognized communities as both users of heritage and its decision-makers. Inclusion of diverse actors and communities as stakeholders can contribute to the overall design of AHR project, creating redevelopment, financing, management and governance mechanisms which ensure long-term resilience and sustainability. In this chapter, the actors

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[269]David Kaminski, interview by the author. August 8, 2020.
[270] Laurajane Smith. 2007) *Empty Gestures? Heritage and the Politics of Recognition. Cultural Heritage and Human Rights, 159–171*. doi:10.1007/978-0-387-71313-7_9

defined and discussed were presented on the spectrum of 'decision-takers' to 'decision-makers', where the latter, in the majority of cases are the government and private actors, both possessing a high degree of power in urban heritage decision-making. 'Decision-takers', in the majority of cases are non-governmental actors (NGOs, non-profit, media and experts) as well as grassroots.

The findings demonstrate that in Kazakhstan, the state and local authorities tend to discourage participation and cooperation, unless there is an exceptional overlap of interests or in cases of significant leverage from organized bottom-up actors - NGOs and the civil society.

There is also a need to further engage and study diverse stakeholders, communities, and discourses to create a holistic scheme of participation and in the long-term to engage the broader public. The opposing sentiments of the public in relation to the redevelopment of the Soviet modernist building of Tselinny illustrate that the post-colonialist discourse needs more research and engagement to understand this alternative process of heritagization.

As far as cooperation with the authorities is concerned, currently more emphasis is given to expertise and professionalism, rather than civic engagement. Creating win-win situations and mutually beneficial projects is a way to establishing cooperation between municipalities, heritage authorities and commercial partners. Additionally, engaging citizens and activists can create leverage for the project or intervention and set precedents for further opportunities. It can empower the citizens and increase their trust and influence in the decision-making process.

Chapter 4 - Creating and maintaining access to funding in AHR: future perspectives

In Chapter One, the theoretical foundations of AHR and the ideas relevant to this research were discussed in order to further provide analysis of different success factors and their significance. Chapter Two and Three focused on the chosen success factors of heritage environment (policy, urban development, scholarly discourse, and heritagization) and inclusion (participation, stakeholder integration, cooperation and engagement in urban governance) to create a preliminary understanding of the potentials of the Adaptive Heritage Reuse approach and the benefits it can offer concerning the urban heritage in Almaty. In Chapter Four, I will focus on the next success factor and challenge of adaptive heritage reuse, which is financial sustainability, specifically viewed through access to funding. Securing reliable and flexible funding schemes is especially difficult for grassroots, civic cultural and cultural heritage actors in Kazakhstan. These actors tend to operate in risky, precarious, and unstable environments. As the number of bottom-up projects and NGOs grows and they become more active, they also face more competition for funding. Additionally, the big picture of economic policies has a significant influence on grassroots projects. This chapter will summarize the different types of funding based on international practices and best practices, which are argued to be specifically relevant to Kazakhstani non-governmental and bottom-up projects. I will propose long-term and short-term funding solutions and discuss big-picture policies and concepts.

4.1 Economic Context and Opportunities

Funding AHR projects in Kazakhstan will require a thorough understanding of the economic realities, country priorities and opportunities, which shape access and success of the different types

of funding. Almaty as a city that undergoes aggressive sealing development and "modernization" in the economic context of "Post-Soviet turbo capitalism" fosters discussion of the ideas of circularity and circular economy, as was mentioned in Chapter One. According to the Urban Policy Review of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) of 2017[271], Almaty was one of the cities that was a subject to extensive uncontrolled population and urban growth, with the city expanding by two times since independence in 1991.[272] Several consequences followed. One of those is defined as centralization of Almaty, where the historical city center became the primary area attracting business and sealing development, while some other areas of the city have rather limited infrastructure and public spaces. As another consequence, this dynamic challenged the existing building stock. Many areas of historic cityscapes were built over without proper consideration for aesthetic coordination.

Adaptive reuse combined with circular economy principles can be a promising and comprehensive method of real estate development for an emerging economy and can promote business interests along with innovation in heritage agenda. Circular economy concept which is viewed as an alternative to linear (GDP-based) understanding of economic success is aligned with adaptive heritage reuse as in optimizing "flows of raw-materials, energy, cultural capital as well as social capital". Circular economy tries to rationalize, recycle and otherwise keep "products, components, and materials at their highest utility and value at all times", where one kind of product becomes a part of another in a circular process.[273]

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[271] OECD (2017), *OECD Urban Policy Reviews: Kazakhstan*, OECD Urban Policy Reviews, OECD Publishing, Paris, https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264268852-en.
[272] Project of the Strategy "Almaty 2050" (4): https://almaty-2050.kz/ru/document/1/
[273] "Circular Economy". Accessed December 21, 2019: https://sustainabilityguide.eu/sustainability/circular-economy/

Lastly*,* economic benefits of adaptive reuse also depend on urban-planning policies, where coinciding the funding approaches with the agenda of the city is one of the ways to foster AHR. The economy of the future and improvement in the standards of living for Kazakhstan in many ways depend on the success of its cities. Today major investments and attempts to form concise urbanization strategies were made just for the republican cities, i.e. Almaty and Astana, despite common legal frameworks. According to the Order "On the approval of the Methodology for developing strategies for the development of cities of republican and regional significance" of the Minister of National Economy of the Republic of Kazakhstan adopted on 14th of January 2019, co-creation, transparency and international experience with relevant conclusions to Kazakhstani cities should be some of the key principles of the process. In reality, cities have a different approach to urban planning, depending on the socio-economic factors of the region. In many cases existing architectural heritage is not considered as an important aspect of successful urbanization, which however has a great potential to solve another issue of the deficiency of quality public spaces.

Further, the new masterplan for the city of Almaty – "Almaty 2050" was one of the attempts to address the accumulation of urban-development issues.[274] The new master plan mentions architectural heritage defining it as one of the key tourist attractions of the city. There are also a few mentions of establishing more control over construction in the historical parts of the city and restoration of important monuments of architecture, where these have no extensive definition or reference to specific practices.[275] Experts interviewed for this thesis evaluate the plan with a high level of skepticism. Indeed, the masterplan sets overly ambitious vague goals for an overly

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[274] Асаутай, Маншук. "Превратит Ли Стратегия "алматы-2050" Мегаполис В "умный Город"?" [Will the "almaty-2050" strategy turn a metropolis into a "smart city"]. Azattyk.kz. 2019. Accessed December 6, 2019: https://rus.azattyq.org/a/kazakhstan-almaty-development-strategy-opinions/30310440.html
[275] Project of the Strategy "Almaty 2050" (31,43,49): https://almaty-2050.kz/ru/document/1/

extended period of time, which are unlikely to translate into coordinated and structured policy. Nevertheless, it is yet another argument to attract more partners and funding opportunities that match the local policies and ambition.[276]

4.2 Funding diversification

The challenges manifest in the discourse and interpretation of social and cultural values of heritage buildings go hand in hand with polemics around the use-value, commercial value and economic feasibility of the AHR projects. Scholars observing the reactivation and reuse of heritage buildings and sites increasingly note the fact that public and commercial financing are not reliable when it comes to ensuring the long-term independence of reuse project from the external changes in terms of political and economic circumstances. Based on the interviews with activists, literature review and online resource analysis, it can be concluded that urban activism pursues diversified funding; however, most of it is ad hoc or project-based and realistic options are rather limited. Funding diversification is a more complex way to sustain grassroots and non-profit organizations than traditional funding, such as public money or philanthropy. This approach can help sustain and expand the organization on the long-run without the dependence on a single source of funding. It can also help to spread the influence and impact through finding new and diverse partners.[277] Funding diversification can be approached by categorizing different types of funding sources, as attempted in the following sections.

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[276] Асаутай, Маншук. "Превратит Ли Стратегия "алматы-2050" Мегаполис В "умный Город"?" [Will the "almaty-2050" strategy turn a metropolis into a "smart city"]. Azattyk.kz. 2019. Accessed December 6, 2019: https://rus.azattyq.org/a/kazakhstan-almaty-development-strategy-opinions/30310440.html

[277] Benson, John. "Best Practice Trends for Nonprofits: Diversify Your Funding," Sage Intacct. Accessed April 30, 2021: https://www.sageintacct.com/blog/best-practice-trends-nonprofits-diversify-your-funding

4.3 Funding AHR projects: Instruments and approaches

The first large category of funding is external funding that includes public money, bank loans, and donations. It is a relatively commonly used model of funding; however, due to the reliance on a single entity as a resource, it has more risk when it comes to precarious situations and the conflicts of interest are more likely. For example, bank loans, although they are more easily accessible under certain circumstances, are less flexible, and require a more business-oriented approach and collateral guarantees. Donations are beneficial for long-term partnerships, but are less certain.[278] Internal Funding, in turn, refers to the fundraising options that exist within the organization or initiative itself. It can also include investments made by the team or through peer-to-peer lending.[279]

A third type is pooled funding, which is commonly understood as aggregated investments from many investors in one portfolio or, in the world of social projects, multi-donor financing mechanisms. This category includes crowdfunding, cooperative investment, impactful investment, and hedge funds.[280] Pooled funding is associated with less risk and a higher level of diversification.[281] As opposed to traditional external funding sources, however, it can cause more

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[278] "Financing the Adaptive Reuse of Cultural Heritage: Strategies & Tools". May 20, 2021. Open Heritage Dialogs. Presentation by Andrea Tonko, Metropolitan Research Institute. Accessed May 20, 2021: https://openheritage.eu/openheritage-dialogues/

[279] GoCardless. "Internal vs. External Financing." GoCardless. Accessed May 10, 2021. https://gocardless.com/guides/posts/internal-external-sources-of-finance/.

[280] Chen, James. "Why Pooled Funds Make Such a Splash With Investors." Investopedia, May 19, 2021. https://www.investopedia.com/terms/p/pooledfunds.asp#:~:text=Pooled%20funds%20are%20funds%20in,of%20professionally%20managed%20pooled%20funds; "Pooled Funds - How Can NGOs Engage? ." ReliefWeb. Accessed May 18, 2020. https://reliefweb.int/report/world/pooled-funds-how-can-ngos-engage.

[281] Chen, James. "Why Pooled Funds Make Such a Splash With Investors." Investopedia, May 19, 2021. https://www.investopedia.com/terms/p/pooledfunds.asp#:~:text=Pooled%20funds%20are%20funds%20in,of%20professionally%20managed%20pooled%20funds; "Pooled Funds - How Can NGOs Engage? ." ReliefWeb. Accessed May 18, 2020. https://reliefweb.int/report/world/pooled-funds-how-can-ngos-engage.

issues associated with donor relationships due to the higher number of investors. Proper due diligence mechanisms and communication are necessary.

Due to the limits of this thesis, I will not discuss each type of funding in detail, but I will present some of the funding mechanisms, which on their own, or in combination with other kinds of funding can be effective in adaptive heritage reuse projects and initiatives in Kazakhstan. These choices were made based on the cases that are available in the existing literature or were collected as part of the interview process. It is crucial for the sustainability of a project to identify the combination of funding that best suits the short-term and long-term goals, project mission and vision, project type and the types of costs that it will produce.

Public funding

One of the most common and secure ways of funding AHR projects is by accessing public money dedicated to various sectors of the state's economy. In European context, public money can come from various levels: local, national, international (EU and donor organizations.) Public funding can be a reliable source of funding, it is "cheap" or requires little to no return, and it is less affected by the business cycles and the market, which can be detrimental to not specifically commercial initiatives of AHR. Yet, there is less flexibility in allocation, it requires a higher degree of transparency, and it is extremely dependent on the relevant policy frameworks and the mutual trust between the parties.[282]

In practice, there are different beneficial and constricting conditions that public finding bring about and it is crucial to understand, which parts of the project can benefit from this resource. The

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[282] "Financing the Adaptive Reuse of Cultural Heritage: Strategies & Tools". May 20, 2021. Open Heritage Dialogs. Presentation by Andrea Tonko, Metropolitan Research Institute. Accessed May 20, 2021: https://openheritage.eu/openheritage-dialogues/

funding story of a building on Währinger Straße 59 in Vienna is a great example of this contradiction, ethical and managerial dilemmas of state support in heritage reuse project. The building in question was originally built in 1855 as a locomotive factory, later (1884–1980) became the "Technological Trades Museum" (TGM), which was eventually closed and the building was abandoned up until 1980s. In 1978, the empty complex was almost on the verge of demolition as different political parties competed for the space with different ambitions: Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) was lobbying for green space, while the Social Democratic Party (SPÖ) suggested building a residential complex. However, a large grassroots campaign "Save the TGM" helped the preservation of the building and formed a squat in the 1980s by diverse groups, such as social workers, creatives, educators, feminist activists, students and pensioners.

Figure 25 WUK between abandonment and squat 1980s. Source: "History." WUK. Accessed March 2, 2020.
https://www.wuk.at/en/history/.

Over the years, two separate tenant organizations have stayed in the former TGM building – WUK (*Werkstätten- und Kulturhaus)* and FZ Autonomes feminisches FrauenLesbenMigranÿnnenZentrum Wien[283] [Autonomous Feminist Women's Lesbian Migrant center in Vienna]. WUK is a prime example of a municipally funded institute originating in a squat. Public money was a crucial factor to the work of WUK and has helped providing building

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[283] https://frauenlesbenzentrum-wien.at/

renovation for its various cultural spaces. In spring 2020, at the time of the interview with Astrid Exner (head of communications) and Vincent Abbrederis (the general manager responsible for culture, finances and maintenance at WUK), WUK still held a semi-legal status of a squat, which allows the center to waive rental payment for the building, that is specified as *Prekariumsverträgen* [precarious contract] in the Austrian law.

Figure 26 WUK exterior. Source: "Magazin." WUK. Accessed March 2, 2020. https://www.wuk.at/magazin/

WUK gained the support of the Social Democratic Party (SPÖ)considered now as a trusted collaborator of WUK. The entity was almost entirely subsidized by public money untill 2020. In the internal structure of WUK, different pillars are financed in different ways. The Cultural Department of the City of Vienna contributes up to 60% of funding a year, whereas 20% comes from the Austrian Ministry of Culture and around 20% is earned commercial activities (tickets sales, event space rental, sponsorship and fundraising). Educational activities and counseling are almost 100% financed by different ministries of the government.[284] Public money was important part of WUK's continued existence and development and helped creating a collaboration with the city.

But public money also posed some degree of threat to its independence in operations, which was recognized by the WUK community and by Spring 2020, they already began negotiations with the

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[284] Astrid Exner and Vincent Abbrederis, interview by author, Vienna, March 10, 2020.

City of Vienna to enter a new lease for the building, to have more independency from the municipality and the fluctuating political preferences of the government. One of the reasons is that due to its present precarious contracting and squat status, WUK could be evicted from the property by a political decision at any moment when the governmental priorities change and the programming of the organization can be restricted for similar reasons. However, what is exceptional in this case, is that the existing political support is also backed up by a large community of the citizens of Vienna, since WUK's communications and visibility endeavors proved fruitful.

When, in 2019, there was a danger of such expulsion with the possible victory of the Freedom Party of Austria at the elections, WUK held a "very successful, award winning fundraising campaign that showed us among other things that we can absolutely trust that there are people who want WUK to remain".[285] So, if faced with another existential challenge from FPÖ – a right-wing nationalist party that is outspokenly opposed to WUK and its activities –, the WUK management team expects that the expulsion would not happen in silence.[286] In addition to the lack of political stability, city municipalities can simply run out of money and would not be very motivated to provide spaces and support for grassroots and cultural groups.

Another big dilemma, however, comes from the need to account to the second separate tenant that is FZ [287] [FZ - Autonomous Feminist Women's Lesbian Migrant center in Vienna]. FZ had a so called *Konkludenten Vertrag* (Implied Contract)[288] with the city of Vienna for almost 40 years,

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[285] Exner and Abbrederis. 2020.
[286] Exner and Abbrederis. 2020.
[287] https://frauenlesbenzentrum-wien.at/
[288] Implied contract presumes a legally-binding obligation, which comes from "actions, conduct, or circumstances of one or more parties in an agreement". This type of contract possesses the same legal force as an express contract (promise declared orally or in writing, or both, voluntarily and by both parties). No written or verbal confirmation of the contract are required; the contract is assumed. Source: Kenton, Will. "Reading into Implied Contracts." Investopedia. Investopedia, May 19, 2021. https://www.investopedia.com/terms/i/implied_contract.asp.

where they maintained much more autonomy and have a strong stance against the possibly corrupting nature of accepting public money. For example, FZ self-funded the renovation of their side of the building, and had an autonomous ad hoc fundraising for various needs.[289] The new initiative of WUK to enter into a lease agreement with the city of Vienna, therefore contradict to the principles of FZ and is a risk to its very existence, since the new lease agreement would rent out the whole building to WUK as practically the only legal tenant. As FZ underlines in their Open Letters in resistance to the lease change: "The (new lease) contract contains conditions that give the City of Vienna specific opportunities to exert direct influence on the inner courtyard and rooms and to enforce commercial interests"[290], which is in contradiction with the principles of autonomy and self-governance instilled far in the 1980s squat. In fact, the independence expected by WUK from the new lease might switch from a politics-related one to also include that of the capitalist market, with the need and encouragement for commercialization. As FZ states in an Open Letter to WUK "For us, the current disputes are part of a struggle that is common with the autonomous, anti-capitalist groups in the WUK to oppose the neoliberal and patriarchal course of the WUK (-board) and the city of Vienna".[291] Indeed, in its origins, WUK too was an urban social movements space - *Political Counter Publics*, where anti-fascist and anti-imperialist movements have an essential effect on the creation of autonomous subculture in Vienna during the 1980s.[292]

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[289] Offener Brief ans WUK [Open Letter to WUK]. 2020. FZ. Accessed May 15 2022: https://frauenlesbenzentrum-wien.at/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/2.-Offener-Brief-ans-WUK.pdf
[290] Offener Brief ans WUK [Open Letter to WUK]. 2020. FZ. Accessed May 15 2022: https://frauenlesbenzentrum-wien.at/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/2.-Offener-Brief-ans-WUK.pdf
[291] Offener Brief ans WUK [Open Letter to WUK]. 2020. FZ. Accessed May 15 2022: https://frauenlesbenzentrum-wien.at/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/2.-Offener-Brief-ans-WUK.pdf
[292] Edthofer, Julia. "The struggle to belong Dealing with diversity in 21st century urban settings. Amsterdam, 7-9 July 2011."

Figure 27 FZ protest. Source: Das FZ. Accessed May 15, 2021. https://frauenlesbenzentrum-wien.at/

In short, public money can be one of the solutions to AHR in Kazakhstan, however, it comes at a cost of dependency and the need to satisfy the current political agenda and realities. As in case of WUK, public money was instrumental to building renovation and setting up of the activities, however, on the long run it created more "strings" and challenged the squat heritage of the space. As in the case of FZ, the lack of public money allowed authenticity and autonomy for the FZ movement and activities, but has kept it at a high risk of losing all the rights to their space to both political and market forces.

As of now, public money in Kazakhstan can be a risky resource to seek for many projects, the lack of trust and participatory culture is a real obstacle to access the state funds. Open budget advocacy remains one of the main instruments of influence on the state authorities and municipalities. In the future it is a way to exercise some control over how this budget is used and also identify the priorities when it comes to the budgets of the heritage sector. One of the projects dedicated to this cause in Almaty and other cities of Kazakhstan is called "Participatory Budgeting", a campaign

117

initiated by the Urban Forum Kazakhstan.[293] The initiative is in a pilot phase, where each Almaty neighborhood receives a certain amount of the budget to learn to address their own needs. The project has manifold aims: building social capital, establishing cooperation between the citizens and the authorities and ultimately giving people access to resources to build their own initiatives. Currently, the work on this project continues with the involvement of Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Kazakhstan and other public institutes. In the future, in order to mobilize public money in support of adaptive heritage reuse, such advocacy will be crucial to ensure the effectiveness and transparency of this type of funding.

Social finance

Another way to classify financing types is along the division between commercial funding and social finance. At international level, actors that operate within the new Social Finance (SF) paradigm in the financing and banking industries have been in the focus of discourse for a while now. Social Finance is composed of investment alternatives, which aim to finance projects and businesses that engage in ethical considerations and intend to generate both "positive impacts on society, the environment, or sustainable development, along with financial returns".[294] There are many types of financing that fall under this umbrella. Some of these include alternative currencies,

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[293] "Бюджет Участия." Urban Forum Kazakhstan. Accessed February 10, 2021. https://urbanforum.kz/participatory-budget.

[294] Rizzi, Francesco, Chiara Pellegrini, and Massimo Battaglia. "The structuring of social finance: Emerging approaches for supporting environmentally and socially impactful projects." *Journal of Cleaner Production* 170 (2018): 805-817.; Périlleux, Anaïs. "When social enterprises engage in finance: agents of change in lending relationships, a Belgian typology." *Strategic change* 24, no. 3 (2015): 285-300. Accessed April 28, 2021: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0959652617321650

community investment, crowdfunding, ethical banking, microfinance, social impact bonds, social impact investing, socially responsible investment, venture philanthropy.[295]
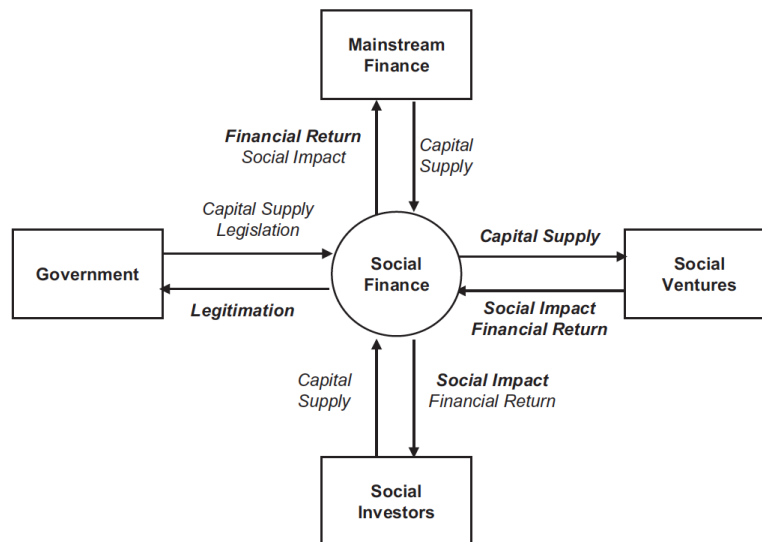

Figure 28 Main categories of actors in social. Source: Rizzi, Francesco, Chiara Pellegrini, and Massimo Battaglia. "The structuring of social finance: Emerging approaches for supporting environmentally and socially impactful projects." Journal of Clean

Ethical banking or cooperative banks and anti-speculation institutions

There are ways of going around the traditional loan system that is more pervasive in the business environment, which include ethical or cooperative banks and anti-speculation foundations. Some prominent examples for this are GLS Bank, Banca Etica and Triodos Bank. The latter is one of the first sustainable banks operating in the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, United Kingdom and Spain. As opposed to traditional banking, where money frequently goes to finance the

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[295] Allison et al., 2015; Howard, 2012 cited in Rizzi, Francesco, Chiara Pellegrini, and Massimo Battaglia. "The structuring of social finance: Emerging approaches for supporting environmentally and socially impactful projects." *Journal of Cleaner Production* 170 (2018): 805-817.; Périlleux, Anaïs. "When social enterprises engage in finance: agents of change in lending relationships, a Belgian typology." *Strategic change* 24, no. 3 (2015): 285-300. Accessed April 28, 2021: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0959652617321650

unsustainable and corporate world, ethical banks like Ttiodos are using 'real money' to finance organisations involved in the environmental sector, social business, culture and welfare.[296] "Such investments are important for cooperative and community initiatives as their business models cannot guarantee high returns, which traditional investment would require." [297]

One of the project types that commonly use anti-speculation foundations is social housing.[298] ExRotaprint in Berlin's Wedding district is an adaptive heritage reuse project created on a similar financial model. The non-profit project was launched to revive the Rotaprint building, which used to be occupied by a company manufacturing offset litho printing presses. The plant was closed in 1980. In 2014, two visual artists, Daniela Brahm and Les Schliesser outlined a new concept for the building. The project specifies that ExRotaprint is for people of "different occupations, different backgrounds, and histories." Their ongoing aim is to balance the interests of the community groups, with a focus of involving organizations that provide social services to the people living in the neighborhood, to address the privatization of properties and new market conditions.[299]

The innovation for which ExRotaprint is usually credited is the way the enterprise is funded and how money inflows are managed. The initiators established a scheme where the land of the compound is bought by the anti-speculation foundation Stiftug trias.[300] Stiftung trias was created in 2002 and its aim is to preserve properties for the public good and to help community and co-

[296] "Triodos Bank". Accessed May 17, 2021: https://www.triodos.com/
[297] Patti, Daniela, and Levente Polyák. *Funding the cooperative city*. Cooperative City Books, 2017: p. 46. Accessed February 23, 2021: https://cooperativecity.org/product/funding-the-cooperative-city/
[298] "The leading community shapers announced! Meet the 25 finalists of the 2019 European Responsible Housing Awards". *Housing Europe.* April 11, 2019. Accessed March 22, 2021: http://www.housingeurope.eu/resource-1260/the-leading-community-shapers-announced
[299] "Work, Art, Community". ExRotaprint. Accessed May 15, 2019. https://www.exrotaprint.de/en/.
[300] "Exrotaprint - Observatory Case". Open Heritage. 2020. Accessed May 1, 2021: https://openheritage.eu/2018/11/22/exrotaprint/

housing projects in accessing capital and sustaining the projects in the long run. The foundation purchases land to separate the ownership of land and constructions. Land lease contract, the legal instrument applied here, is based on the idea that land is common, as opposed to private or cooperative ownership. Lease fee in its turn is a way of reinvesting the financial capital in society. Community projects rent the land from trias in the form of a long-term Heritable Building Right (Erbbaurecht). Stiftung trias utilizes both its assets and its revenues to support like-minded initiatives.[301]

Having such funding support, Exrotaprint is a non-profit, limited liability company with a 99-year heritable building rights contract. The building's multi-year renovation is funded from the surplus earnings from renting out spaces to commercial organizations. The partners do not profit financially from the earnings generated by the property and cannot realize monetary gains if selling their stake. "This creates a location that can be developed over an extended period of time and on its own terms. This is the de facto profit of ExRotaprint."[302] ExRotaprint was realized due to a rare "combination of low real estate prices, relatively transparent public real estate management, stable and suitable legal environment and high purchasing power." [303]

Although ExRotaprint sets a standard for other civic initiatives in Europe, who started to cooperate with anti-speculation foundations and ethical finance organisations, this is not an easily

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[301] Novy-Huy, Rolf. 2016. "When we buy properties, our goal is to secure spaces of freedom," Stiftung trias: Taking properties out of the speculation market. Accessed May 3, 2021:
 https://www.stiftung-trias.de/english/
[302] "Non-profit Status". ExRotaprint. Accessed May 15, 2019: https://www.exrotaprint.de/en/.
[303] Patti, Daniela, and Levente Polyak. 2018. "Funding the Cooperative City From knowledge network to local action." *Tracce Urbane. Rivista Italiana Transdisciplinare di Studi Urbani* 2, no. 3. Accessed February 7, 2021: https://rosa.uniroma1.it/rosa03/tracce_urbane/article/view/14279

121

transferable practice.[304] As mentioned at the beginning, there are no ethical banks in Kazakhstan operating on such scale; however, this is something to consider for future advocacy and long-term development along with the changes in the legislature on property and land ownership rights. Availability of Ethical banking can expand the opportunities and alternatives to financing AHR in Kazakhstan with a flexibility to fund both building renovations and the project's operations.

Impact investing

Impact investing can be defined as "Investments made into companies, organizations, and funds – with the intention to generate measurable social and environmental impact alongside a financial return. Impact investing are made with an expected return of capital as well as a return on capital, and most importantly, a commitment to measure and report the social and environmental performance and progress of the underlying investments."[305] According to the Global Impact Investing Network: "Impact investing has the potential to unlock significant sums of private investment capital to complement public resources and philanthropy in addressing pressing global challenges."[306]

As an example, that is relatively close to the Kazakhstani reality due to the shared post-Soviet context, Promprylad Renovation in Ukraine is an interesting initiative in terms of impact investing scheme that is open, innovative and sustainable. The project was initiated in Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine, under a team of professional architects and managers from MetaLab[307] within a

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[304] Patti, Daniela, and Levente Polyak. 2018. "Funding the Cooperative City From knowledge network to local action." *Tracce Urbane. Rivista Italiana Transdisciplinare di Studi Urbani* 2, no. 3. Accessed February 7, 2021: https://rosa.uniroma1.it/rosa03/tracce_urbane/article/view/14279
[305] Benson, John. "Best Practice Trends for Nonprofits: Diversify Your Funding," Sage Intacct. Accessed April 27, 2021: https://www.sageintacct.com/blog/best-practice-trends-nonprofits-diversify-your-funding
[306] Abdelhamid, Aisha. "5 Impact Investing Ops For Savvy 9-To-5ers," CleanTechnica, June 3, 2017. Accessed January 18, 2020: http://www.thegiin.org/cgi-bin/iowa/home/index.html
[307] https://www.metalab.space/

consortium of strategic partners: Teple Misto[308], Insha Osvita[309], MitOst[310], Pact Ukraine and LvBS[311]. The project has the ambitious aim to 'decentralize' the city, as well as to develop the neighbourhood by activating the community in the area of Promprylad.

Figure 29 Promprylad Rennovation. Photographs by the author.

Figure 30 Ibid.

Figure 31 Ibid.

The new multifunctional commercial property occupies the complex of the old plant in a challenged industrial neighborhood of the city. The building has 113 years of history and 38,000 m² of territory. Today the territory is unequally redeveloped, however, it has already collected various organizations that represent different values in the project and specifically its dedication to create an inclusive, open and welcoming space for the public. The project is planning to focus on four core aspects: development of a new and circular economy, urban planning, contemporary art, and informal education in the region. During my site visit in the summer of 2019, Anna Pashynska, who is co-founder and a curator of the MetaLab Urban Development Laboratory and the City Scanning Session, and works at the Promprylad Renovation told me that since the early

CEU eTD Collection

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[308] https://warm.if.ua/
[309] https://insha-osvita.org/
[310] https://www.mitost.org/
[311] https://lvbs.com.ua/en/

conceptualization the project the biggest challenge and most important aim has been to create an environment that is attractive for developers, investors and plays a part in the larger idea of circular economy.[312] The initiators – the Ivano-Frankivsk's platform Warm City[313] – had implemented more than 400 projects by that time, including the public restaurant Urban Space 100. By that time, the team had a solid understanding of how to operate in the given context but wanted to take it to the next level.

They also had the ambitious task of creating a democratic investment model, where the project does not have a single investor, who Anna Pashynska refers to as "oligarch", which gives a negative connotation to such investment schemes in the post-Soviet context.[314] As of 31 January 2020, the enterprise has 409 investors, and has attracted $5,022,074 since December 2019.[315] The investment scheme is based on an impact investing model. By investing in Promprylad, an investor becomes a co-owner of the project with the right to receive dividend payouts. The value of each share is expected to grow over the years of revitalization. The expected impact of investment is social contribution to the development of the city and the community. "Every dollar invested into the project will make 5 dollars' worth of social impact according to the Social Return of Investment (SROI) calculations by PACT Ukraine."[316]

Anna Pashynska said it was particularly important for the sustainability and concept of the project that there is no single individual that can monopolize the control over the factory, and it also gave more power to the management team itself. Today, anyone can join the implementation and

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[312] Anna Pashynska, interview by author, Ivano-Frankivsk, July 26, 2019.
[313] Teple Misto. https://warm.if.ua/
[314] Anna Pashynska, interview by author, Ivano-Frankivsk, July 26, 2019.
[315] "Promprylad Renovation: About Project". Accessed February 1, 2020: https://promprylad.ua/en/
[316] "For investors". Promprylad. Accessed April 10, 2020: https://promprylad.ua/en/

become a co-owner and co-creator of the "territory of the future". The minimum investment stands at $1000.[317] Additionally, such an investment scheme allows for influencing what kind of tenants can occupy the space. It is specifically done by keeping 30% of rental area's prices lower than average and by prioritizing tenants from creative industries, education and social enterprises.[318] The factory now hosts tenants such as a media lab, a small kindergarten with alternative curriculum, artisan shops, a cafe, a bar, artists' studios and an office for a member of the municipality, who became personally interested in joining the project, which is a sign of a possibility of creating mutually beneficial projects for actors at all levels of power. [319] Since "Creative industries create the conditions for economic growth and diversification, providing solutions for single-industry towns and rural settlements, expanding the inclusion of small and medium-sized businesses" these are crucial in contributing to a transformation of economies of countries in transition, such as Ukraine and Kazakhstan.[320] And while abandoned and unused spaces are frequently used "to materialize the vision of an alternative space, where ideas flourish, socio-political debates take place, and culture is jointly created"[321], the access to such spaces for the creative initiatives and projects needs to be expanded by creating convenient funding opportunities, such as impact investing in Promprylad.

Impact investing stands out as one of the promising types of funding for the projects that want to work with and reuse heritage buildings in Kazakhstan. It can help to address urban development

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[317] Anna Pashynska, interview by author, Ivano-Frankivsk, July 26, 2019.
[318] "For investors". Promprylad. Accessed April 10, 2020: https://promprylad.ua/en/
[319] Anna Pashynska, interview by the author, Ivano-Frankivsk, July 26, 2019.
[320] Bilan, Yuriy, Tetyana Vasilyeva, Olena Kryklii, and Gulbarshyn Shilimbetova. "The creative industry as a factor in the development of the economy: dissemination of European experience in the countries with economies in transition." *Creativity Studies* 12, no. 1 (2019): 75-101.
[321] Kim, Soheon, and Sanila Pradhan. "Understanding the Politics of Institutionalization in the Alternative Cultural Centers: from Bottom up to Where?," 2019. https://www.4cities.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/C10_MAthesis_4CITIES_KIM_PRADHANok.pdf.

issues through the principles of circular economy and by giving space to marginalized industries and projects. Available research identifies that there are gaps in practical implications of circular economy solutions and adaptive reuse due to the lack of understanding what circular economy is and how it works, in general, and how it can be applied to the buildings sector.[322] Although it is also the case in Kazakhstan, where circular economy is yet to be integrated into the national policies, the principles of circular economy, creative industries and innovative business are widely discussed agendas of Kazakhstan's development.

According to the strategy "Almaty 2050", the city is in leading positions in the national economy. It is the capital of small and medium business, which occupies 75% of employers and creates up to 63% of tax payments. As a result of constantly working on enhancing its business climate, today Kazakhstan is among the top 30 countries according to the World Bank's Doing Business ranking.[323] This allows to suggest the potential of creative industries in conjunction with heritage spaces to amplify the community building, grassroots, creative economy and diversification effects that are a part of a wider adaptive heritage reuse approach. In Kazakhstan, creative industries are still fields that are struggling and do not get enough say and support in governmental institutions, though they have a particular importance for the countries going through rapid economic transition, as many post-Soviet states. Kazakhstan has an established agenda of diversifying the economy and tackling oil and gas resource dependence [324], which is a favorable agenda to create

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[322] Foster, Gillian. "Circular economy strategies for adaptive reuse of cultural heritage buildings to reduce environmental impacts." *Resources, Conservation and Recycling* 152 (2020): 104507.

[323] Fast-paced Reforms Lead To Improvements in Ease Of Doing Business Across Kazakhstan. World Bank. 2019. Accessed December 13, 2019:
https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2019/06/17/doing-business-in-kazakhstan-2019

324 The oil and gas sector accounted for 24.6% of GDP and 65% of exports, but only employs 2.5% of the working population, as of 2011 - Стратегия "Алматы 2050" [Strategy "Almaty 2050"]. Accessed January 4, 2020:
https://almaty-2050.kz/ru/document/1/

a momentum and uplift cultural industries and heritage reuse. Finally, eliminating the 'monopoly of one oligarch', which is partially the case at the Tselinny project, can be beneficial to developing wider stakeholder cooperation and co-creation when it comes to heritage management.

Community crowdfunding (CC)

Crowdfunding is defined as a process of raising capital from a big and diverse pool of donors through online platforms.[325] Crowdfunding campaigns have been an increasingly widespread way of funding projects. A report by the Massolution research firm analyzing crowdfunding market trends shows that global fundraising volume through crowdfunding was estimated to be 34 billion USD in 2015, a more than tenfold increase from 2.7 billion USD in 2012.[326] In the broader sense, crowdfunding includes investment-based crowdfunding (lending and equity crowdfunding) and donation-based crowdfunding.

In Kazakhstan, crowdfunding is at its early stages, but has proven to be an effective mechanism of raising money for civic causes, including humanitarian support, judicial assistance in cases of politically motivated prosecution, such as to protestors or activists.[327] In such cases people tend to raise money by linking the information of their bank account or card numbers. There are not many dedicated crowdfunding platforms operating at the moment, therefore the potential of this type of funding remains a promising development, which should be further explored for AHR projects.

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[325] Davies, Rodrigo. 2014. "Civic crowdfunding: participatory communities, entrepreneurs and the political economy of place." *SSRN Electronic Journal. Accessed January 5, 2020: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2434615*

[326] Hong, Sounman, and Jungmin Ryu. 2019. "Crowdfunding public projects: Collaborative governance for achieving citizen co-funding of public goods." *Government Information Quarterly* 36, no. 1: 145-153. Accessed September 24, 2020: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0740624X1830265X

[327] "'От Правды Не Убежишь': Суд Оштрафовал Сулейменову и Нурболатовых [Can't run away from the thruth: The court fined Suleymenova and Nurbolatovs]" Factcheck.kz, April 22, 2019. https://factcheck.kz/glavnoe-en/ot-pravdy-ne-ubezhish-sud-oshtrafoval-nurbolatovu/.

One of the benefits of engaging with special platforms is that anyone can launch a project without accumulating online followers or being well-known. According to their website, the Start-time.kz platform specifically has completed around 152 projects. However, the service has a condition. It deducts a commission from the project in the amount of 2-8% of the collected funds in case of successful completion. When a project is launched by an individual, then the tax on the income of an individual is transferred to the budget of the Republic of Kazakhstan, in accordance with the national tax legislation.[328] So the downside of such platforms can be the indirect and complicated transfer of money and the issue of how to adapt the emerging platforms to the Tax Code and other legislations.[329] According to the initiators of crowdfunding platforms, people in Kazakhstan are still skeptical of this kind of funding. On average, a contribution is about 500 or 1000 KZT (1-2 EUR). Depending on the number of people reached, it can be enough to help promote a small-scale project or make crowdfunding a part of an initiative's budget.[330] Nevertheless, additional legislative changes to accommodate crowdfunding initiatives are necessary to give space for more democratic and transparent platforms.

Private foundations, investments, donations, and philanthropy

Private investment in various forms can be one of the funding mechanisms that is more easily accessible, given the intersection of private and grassroots needs. Although, as discussed in the previous chapters, business and politics in Kazakhstan go hand in hand and can result in ethically ambiguous and politically unsustainable projects, given good financial prospects, comprehensive

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[328] "Charity Foundation,", Starttime, Accessed February 20, 2021: https://start-time.kz/

[329] Buryanov, Vladimir. "Краудфандинг гарантирует безопасность инвестиций," Капитал Центр деловой Информации, May 20, 2019. Accessed July 2, 2019: https://kapital.kz/business/78234/kraudfanding-garantiruyet-bezopasnost-investitsiy.html

[330] "Краудфандинг набирает популярность в Казахстане," *MKRU Kazakhstan,* March 13, 2019. Accessed January 20, 2020: https://mk-kz.kz/economics/2019/03/13/kraudfanding-nabiraet-populyarnost-v-kazakhstane.html

business models, and sustainable management models private funding in its current form can present a short-term solution for AHR projects in Kazakhstan.

According to the available online resources, financing that comes from private foundations and international organizations is one of the most frequent basis of cultural and urban projects. One of them is Soros Foundation Kazakhstan, which over the last 5 years sponsored over 20 urban social projects in about 12 Kazakhstani cities.[331] Specifically, Soros Foundation is a general partner of Urban Forum Kazakhstan, Archcode Almaty and many projects that aim at reforming legislative frameworks, capacity building and other civil initiatives. Foreign cultural institutes and embassies such as Goethe Institute, British Council, Alliance Française, the US consulate and many others also have recurrent funding allocated for city-related initiatives. Nevertheless, most of these take place in Almaty.

One of the issues associated with using private funds for adaptive heritage reuse can be the challenge of profitability estimates.[332] These funds can also come with a significant dependence on the private or political interest attached. Local foundations are typically not involved in projects concerning heritage and urban development. Most of the existing Kazakhstan-based foundations work in the field of charity. For example, Utemuratov Foundation,[333] is engaged in humanitarian causes, with a single urban project: the Almaty Botanical garden reconstruction.[334] There is also some evidence that such foundations serve as extensions of the government or private interests,

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[331] Urban Forum Kazakhstan, "Critical Mass", May 24, 2021, Youtube Video, 38:38, https://urbanforum.kz/critical-mass

[332] Dyson, Kristy, Jane Matthews, and Peter E.D. Love. 2016. "Critical Success Factors Of Adapting Heritage Buildings: An Exploratory Study". *Built Environment Project And Asset Management* 6 (1): 44-57. Accessed January 20, 2020: https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/BEPAM-01-2015-0002/full/html

[333] "Utemuratov Foundation," Accessed 12 June, 2020: https://utemuratovfund.org/

[334] Reconstruction of Botanical Garden. Accessed 12 June, 2020: https://utemuratovfund.org/projects/rekonstruktsii-glavnogo-botanicheskogo-sada

which might suggest their limited capacities in meeting the needs of AHR project funding, since the latter tend to promote bottom-up causes, transparency and participation.[335] Therefore, currently it might indeed be a better strategy to use the more flexible and risk-free resources of the foreign foundations.

Future perspectives of private foundations can draw lessons from one of the successful examples for this approach in the post-Soviet context: Jam Factory project in Lviv, Ukraine. The property was purchased by the Harald Binder Cultural Enterprises (HBCE) in 2015 and they started the redevelopment into the Jam Factory Art Center, which combines spaces for contemporary art, theatre, music, cinema and studio-based workshop.[336] The project is set to "become a catalyst of area revitalization" and "community activation and cultural impact are to become the ultimate criteria of the cultural project success".[337] The founder, Harald Binder is a businessman, historian and philanthropist who is very active in developing culture in Lviv. He provides grants also for other projects that take place in the Jam Factory. According to Binder, "it is some kind of a mixed model between private non-profit investment, without expectation of return, some kind of generated income through the complex itself, and external funds from other institutions."[338] Although this arrangement was successful for the launch of the project, it is critical to develop other sources of income and make the organization self-sustaining. The plans of the Jam Factory

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[335] The founder of the Utemuratov Foundation is known as affiliated with the ex-president Nazarbayev. Lillian, Joanna. "Kazakhstan: Nazarbayev-linked billionaire sucked into UK court battle," December 2, 2020. Accessed March 13,2021: https://eurasianet.org/kazakhstan-nazarbayev-linked-billionaire-sucked-into-uk-court-battle
[336] "JAM FACTORY ART CENTER." HBCE. Accessed May 29, 2019. http://hbce.com.ua/jam-factory/.
[337] "ФАБРИКА ПОВИДЛА / JAM FACTORY." Urbancurators. Accessed May 19, 2019. https://urbancurators.com.ua/FABRIKA-POVIDLA-JAM-FACTORY.
[338] "Jam Factory - Observatory Case". Open Heritage (p.27). Accessed 10 June, 2020. https://openheritage.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/13_Open-Heritage-_Lviv_observatory-case.pdf

project include funds generated through the center's restaurant and a small bar and through space rental, tickets, books, and other sales.

Figure 32 Jam Factory before reconstruction, Lviv 2019. Photographs by the author.

Figure 33 Ibid.

Figure 34 Jam Factory Current Architectural project. Source: https://jamfactory.ua/space/architecture/#/

Highlighting the importance of funding diversification, the team also plans to apply for grants and perform fundraising via crowdfunding platforms. However, limited access to international grants and programmes is a barrier for Jam Factory, similarly to initiatives in Kazakhstan. Neither Kazakhstan nor Ukraine is part of the EU and they are considered third countries in many European programmes. Nevertheless, there is still an opportunity to apply in partnership with organizations

131

based in the EU member-states. The Jam Factory team, for example, connected with the Swedish Institute (European Commission) and Visegrad Fund for such arrangements.[339] Another option would be to apply for funding within the Creative Europe Programme. There has been an increase in the allocated budget of €2.4 billion, which is more than in the programme's first iteration. The programme will offer both grants as non-repayable forms of support and loans as repayable forms of support. Although these programmes target EU countries, there is flexibility in accessing these funds as partner or associate partner countries with a cross-border focus.[340]

Bottom-up organizations in Kazakhstan can benefit from close collaboration and partnerships with EU countries, as well as through regional programmes and events. Getting access to such opportunities will, however, depend on networks and thematic connections. Adaptive heritage reuse as an increasingly popular topic and practice promoted by the EU can be a good stepping stone in finding the connections, areas for mutual exchange, knowledge transfer and co-creation.

Conclusion

Funding and fundraising present a critical challenge for adaptive reuse initiatives. In Kazakhstan, local NGOs have developed funding schemes, which work, but which are not flexible enough in comparison to the international cases and best practices. This can create problems in terms of the projects' long-term financial viability and sustainability. While developing and advocating for the diversity of funding resources and their accessibility is key to achieving the necessary flexibility for AHR projects, in reality two options seem to have short-term promise.

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[339] "Jam Factory - Observatory Case". Open Heritage (p.27). Accessed 10 June, 2020. https://openheritage.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/13_Open-Heritage-_Lviv_observatory-case.pdf
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One of the short-term options that seems to be the most applicable for AHR in Kazakhstan is private funding through individual businessmen, entities or donors. As, however the case of the Center for Contemporary Culture Tselinny demonstrated, private funding can present challenges of incompatibility between the project's values and sustainability considering the political nature of successful business in Kazakhstan. However, as in the case of Jam Factory, with proper management, flexible business model, long-term diversification of funding sources, such as combinations of non-profit investment and independently generated funds through commercial activities, private funding can definitely help kick start bottom-up projects, which would otherwise be overlooked by the official public authorities.

Another viable solution is Impact Investing, which also holds space for diversity of stakeholders and actors engaged, preventing monopolized influence over the business model and operations of the project. It also fosters circular economy principles and can favor businesses, social and creative initiatives that would not fit classic business models and are not fit for capitalist market competition.

Considering the issues of heritage management and cooperation with different stakeholders, funding diversification encompassing less risky and more flexible solutions can be critical. One of the promising long-term funding types can be crowdfunding. The availability of functional, transparent and accessible crowdfunding platforms combined with less disincentives (coming from law, income tax or third-party commissions), can increasingly encourage creation of grassroots urban heritage initiatives and give marginalized communities, outside expert heritage discourse, more freedom in launching their own initiatives. Further developing international connections with like-minded communities, projects of compelling value and AHR experience, can also open the door to establishing partnerships financed by the international grants and development

programmes, such as Creative Europe. Another long-term solution is in increasing the access and decision-making power in the allocation of the public money. Open Budget initiatives and transparency can show new ways of mobilizing state funding in support of AHR.

Finally, anyone interested in creating a bottom-up AHR project can also benefit from encouraging the government and heritage authorities to acknowledge and utilize the potential all Social Finance types in assisting creation of ethical banking and social ventures, through direct or indirect investment. There seems to be little evidence that Social Finance has been a policy direction in Kazakhstan's financial markets, However, increasing the number of funding mechanisms in the future can be a promising way to help unique, creative and participatory AHR initiatives stay sustainable and agile in face of changing political, economic and social realities.

Conclusions & Suggestions

I have used interviews, analysis of secondary literature, case studies and discourse to evaluate the existing conditions for Adaptive Heritage Reuse in Kazakhstan, based on several success factors, classified under three categories: heritage environment, inclusion, and financial sustainability. Chapter One provided a theoretical basis of AHR and its historical and conceptual development. It also laid out the practical impacts of AHR and success factors associated with well managed and organized AHR projects. Chapter Two focused on the urban **heritage environment** in Almaty Kazakhstan, as expressed via policy, urban development, scholarly discourse, and heritagization. Chapter Three focused on **inclusion** through participation, stakeholder integration, cooperation and engagement in urban governance. It discussed challenges towards participation, partially on the example of Tselinny Centre in Almaty and the analysis of online discourse about its redevelopment strategies. I also presented some other participatory initiatives in the city, their successes, the lessons learned and directions for future development. Finally, Chapter Four explored the topic of **financial sustainability** through access to funding and the potentially promising tools and strategies of securing and maintaining funding for the bottom-up organizations.

One of the key findings of the research is that issues around urban architecture lead to some overarching challenges related to heritage, urban planning and citizen participation in Kazakhstan. Method of heritage management known as AHR can embody forward-looking solutions to several urban heritage and urban development challenges. The analysis pinpointed the existing barriers and potentials for the implementation of this approach in Kazakhstan based on the identification of bottlenecks in the overall heritage protection and management system and practices and the three categories of success factors defined in Chapter One.

135

As discussed in Chapter Two, Heritage Environment remains a vast field for improvement in Kazakhstan when it comes to policy and bottlenecks associated with it. The local and national government as well as the active city communities should continue working towards the following broad goals:

Government

- Creating laws and strategies that explicitly support adaptive heritage reuse. AHR should be integrated into both the Almaty city Masterplan 2050 and Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the Protection and Use of Historical and Cultural Heritage Sites

- Creating a database of potential vacant heritage buildings for reuse, which is easily accessible and user-friendly

- Creating legal conditions for the temporary use of vacant heritage spaces (event based or short term rent 1-10 years), where cultural and creative initiatives that can benefit from the heritage space can find favorable lease conditions

- Making local institutions electable and promoting healthy competition in urban planning and heritage agendas, eventually giving the municipalities a larger degree of autonomy

- Municipality as an enforcement mechanism and an encouraging and guiding stakeholder should step up to make sure that private owners of heritage buildings do not avoid public discussion, when it comes to redevelopment of properties

Grassroots

- Promoting temporary use of spaces of heritage value

- Continuing the legal and managerial education of different citizen groups, to help them understand and participate in the policy formation

- Continuing the inspection and investigation of the work of public heritage institutions as well as the governance bodies

- Further researching and studying best practices and international cooperation

Social empowerment and participation based on Chapter Three through and around heritage is an essential factor for a successful heritage reuse in Kazakhstan. Based on the case of Tselinny and the discussion of participatory practices in urban decision-making, several suggestions and areas of future inquiry are drawn:

Government

- Creating win-win situations and mutually beneficial projects is a key to establishing cooperation with citizens, heritage experts and commercial partners, while empowering the participants of the dialog and providing consistency in the process of decision-making

- Including the heritage communities and the public into the research stage is crucial in understanding what are the needs, capacities and participatory potential of these groups of people

- Creating more coherent legislative guarantees to the right to participate in urban decision-making

- Openly advertising participation opportunities via accessible and popular channels of communication

- Embracing scrutiny and flexibility

Grassroots

- Educating citizens about participation by engaging them in bottom-up, small scale projects building capacity for large-scale participation

- Engaging citizens and activists to create leverage for the project or intervention and set precedents for further opportunities

- Mapping diverse communities that can benefit from AHR initiatives, including creative industry workers, social service associations and other citizen groups, who are linguistically diverse and can expand current heritage discourse

- Mapping up 'leaders of opinion' and community leaders (in neighborhoods, organizations, professional unions) to amplify their potential

- Communicate and share participation opportunities effectively, especially with diverse social media channels and in creative and engaging forms

Funding, as discussed in Chapter Four remains one of the cornerstones to successful grassroots AHR. Diverse and easily accessible funds can be a game changer for long-term development of an AHR project. As a holistic approach, AHR implies that certain types of funding will be more beneficial to certain components of the project. While renovation and construction costs can be covered by the state- or city-level budget allocation, when it comes to maintaining independence, autonomy and non-commercial values, other, less top-down types of funding can come into play.

Funding suggestions:

Government

- Creating state- and city-level support of Private Investment and Impact Investment business initiatives for adaptive heritage reuse, which is transparent and open

- Introducing tax incentives or tax cuts, to foster AHR as a preferred approach to building redevelopment

- Help use public funds and educate the citizens about accessing the available resources

Grassroots

- Lead by example, in showing transparency in funding of bottom-up projects and initiatives

- Understand and identify diverse types of funding and their benefits to a specific AHR project (conservation, reconstruction, redevelopment, launching, operations, programming and other)

- Educate citizens on public funding mechanisms and opportunities

- Build access to international funds via cross-border cooperation and programmes in culture, arts and heritage

- Creating dialog with innovative business sector, to showcase the opportunities for meaningful and profitable reuse

Overarching recommendation to grassroots would be to continue challenging the 'status quo' and continue finding opportunities to foster AHR agenda, to the benefit of the city development. With the rapidly changing economies and infrastructure of the post-socialist cities, we need to engage with the opportunity to study and reinterpret the existing urban landscape. The present building stock is a challenge for the experts, authorities, urban planners, users and ordinary citizens who attempt to find ways to maintain and use these constructions.

With confident political leverage and thorough management, some of the most obsolete constructions can help the city to regain its links to the past, reinterpret history, regenerate, innovate and sustain for the future and take a moment to appreciate what we have in the present. Urban architecture has the potential to empower and engage citizens in ways that fulfil meaningful heritage reinterpretation, integration, and reuse processes and therefore should be utilized to inform the best adaptive reuse practices in accordance with local needs and values.

Further multidisciplinary research should look more in depth at other success factors of adaptive heritage reuse, providing comprehensive sociological studies of urban heritage perceptions (as well as Soviet heritage perceptions), heritage communities and their structures, postcolonial perspectives and collection of data on possible business models in AHR development, which are also specifically applicable in the existing heritage environment. It can also geographically expand to look at other examples and practical implementation of AHR in the region of Central Asia and beyond. As a constantly fluid and developing field, up to date knowledge of recent developments can further inform anyone and any community that seeks to implement the project of reuse of heritage building in their city.

Appendices

1. Interviewees short biographies

Adi Kuneva is a researcher of culture and urban decision-making in Bulgaria at the time of the interview and a former associate of a bottom-up organization "Act Association for independent theater" (founded in 2009), association of freelance professionals working in the performing arts, which includes Bulgarian NGOs, creative teams, individual artists and other professionals in the field.

Adil Nurmakov is a co-founder of Urban Forum Kazakhstan (UFK), which is a public fund that appeared two years ago, and until 2015 it was an initiative group of people, without any specific legal status. Since 2015, this initiative group has set the goal of promoting the development of urban dialogue between the population, the expert community and city administration in Almaty. Since 2018 it is covering many other cities of Kazakhstan. In the first years the group was primarily organizing annual forums - Urban Forum Almaty. Adil Nurmakov joined the team two years after its establishment, and the team decided to create a permanent organization - UFK. The team utilizes several methods applied to various topics, including research, expert consultations, then in accordance with the preliminary research data they form recommendations, organize large open dialogue events, with the involvement of interested parties, during which the data obtained during the study is actually presented, recommendations are offered, and discussed. After the recommendations are finally formulated and formalized in some analytical form, like brief, these are forwarded to the responsible parties, including local and state authorities of various levels.

Anna Pashynska is a co-founder and a curator of the MetaLab Urban Development Laboratory and the City Scanning Session, working at the Promprylad Renovation told me that from the early conceptualization the project.

Anel Moldakhmetova is a creative producer of urban projects, activist, researcher and communicator. Organizer of multiple projects and platforms such a Citizen Space bureau, Urban Talks, ArchCode Almaty.

Astrid Exner is the head of Communications (with external and internal stakeholders, audiences) at Werkstätten - und Kulturhaus House for Workshops and Culture (WUK). WUK is a multifunctional socio-cultural center includes a stage, a concert hall, an exhibition hall, photo gallery, workshops and studios, work space for socio-political groups, a space for education and counselling, a senior citizens' centre and school, rehearsal studios for music and dance, a party space and more. WUK is located in a historical monument building of locomotive factory; from 1884 to 1980 it was "Technological Trades Museum" (TGM) and a squat for grassroots. Astrid previously worked in Public Relations for the music events at WUK and Sony Music.

David Kaminski is a journalist, researcher and an architect by training, who is a frequent contributor to multiple media outlets on the topic of urban planning and heritage preservation, such as Vlast.kz, where Kaminski is a columnist. He is also in the pool of partners and experts of the Urban forum Kazakhstan public fund.

Temirtas Iskakov is a professional architect, urban researcher and founder of the project 'Fading TSE' - an online, Instagram based platform and a grass-root research project which is described as an "Ode to the Vanishing City, researching and documenting architecture and history of the capital, old courtyards, city outskirts and monumental art" among other things. He organizes exhibitions and smaller advocacy projects within Astana and in collaboration with other urban activists.

Vincent Abbrederis is the general manager responsible for culture, finances and maintenance at

Werkstätten - und Kulturhaus House for Workshops and Culture (WUK) Vienna, Austria.

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