

## **THE (SELF-)PERCEPTION OF HISTORIC CITY**

### **Case study of the Finnish World Heritage City Old Rauma**

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#### ***Introduction***

UNESCO's role in the "identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations" of cultural and natural heritage of "outstanding universal value" was established at the 1972 UNESCO General Conference, which adopted the World Heritage Convention and created the basis for a World Heritage List of internationally important heritage sites.<sup>1</sup> Since the first 12 designations on the List in 1978, the number of selected cultural, natural and 'mixed' sites has gradually increased to 788 in 2004. In December 1991 Old Rauma, an old town with medieval street pattern and wooden houses, which still today forms a major part of the centre of city of Rauma<sup>2</sup>, was selected on the World Heritage List as a representative of "Nordic wooden town".

In many European historic cities the practical consequences of the World Heritage designation have been limited: the conservation practices and funding of these sites are often relatively well-established already prior to the designation, and their long-term fame, not World Heritage, is the basis for a high level of tourism.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, we may suggest that in European historic cities the significance of World Heritage has

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<sup>1</sup> *Convention concerning the protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*. Paris: UNESCO 1972.

<sup>2</sup> Rauma, situated on the west coast of Finland, is one of the six medieval cities in the country. Traditionally a port and a mercantile town, it industrialized rapidly after the Second World War. Today it is a city with approximately 37,000 inhabitants.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. M. Smith, 'A critical evaluation of the global accolade: the significance of World Heritage site status for Maritime Greenwich', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 8:2 (2002), 137–152; M. Shackely (ed.), *Visitor Management: Case Studies from World Heritage Sites*. London: Butterworth-Heinemann 1998.

been greatly symbolic, contributing especially to the perceptions of the nominated area.<sup>4</sup>

In this paper I will draw on the case of Old Rauma in the context of the city of Rauma to examine the significance and influence of the external process of World Heritage designation on the (self-)perception of a historic city. The concept historic city is understood as an idea and a creation composed of multitude of meanings, attitudes and values held about it, as well as of practices and cultures related to its planning, management and every day life.<sup>5</sup> It is a ‘stage’ on which various groups, actors and forces inscribe intertwined histories and meanings.<sup>6</sup>

Contemporary categorizations of urban spaces and their histories also participate in the formation of historic cities: the classifying of cities helps to establish “legal, physical, or symbolic ownership”, and “serves to stabilize, even naturalize, the definitions to be used as points of departure”.<sup>7</sup> As with all heritage<sup>8</sup>, a historic city is ultimately a contemporarily created phenomenon, not a totality of its preserved urban forms. In today’s context of international tourism, historic cities become all the more intensely rearticulated – Ashworth and Tunbridge have used the term ‘tourist-historic city’ to underline this close relationship.<sup>9</sup>

The first part of the paper briefly summarizes the evolution in local perceptions of Old Rauma as a historic city. The second part, then, introduces five dimensions of continuity and change after the World Heritage designation in 1991. My aim here is to

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<sup>4</sup> See also Vahtikari, Tanja, ‘Urban Interpretations of World Heritage: Re-defining the City’, in *Reclaiming the City: Innovation, Culture, Experience*, Marjaana Niemi & Ville Vuolanto. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2003, 63-79.

<sup>5</sup> See G. J. Ashworth, & J. E. Tunbridge, *The tourist-historic city*. Belhaven Press, London / New York 1990, 8, 35.

<sup>6</sup> K. M. Adams, ‘The politics of becoming a World Heritage village: trajectories of globalization in Tana Toraja, Indonesia’. Paper presented in *Politics of World Heritage* conference, London 2.-4 September 2002.

<sup>7</sup> A. Kervanto Nevanlinna, ‘Classified urban spaces: who owns history of Helsinki South Harbour?’. *Identities in Space. Contested Terrains in the Western City since 1850*. Ed. S. Gunn & R. J. Morris. London: Ashgate 2001, 19-37. See also A. Kervanto Nevanlinna, *Kadonneen kaupungin jäljillä. Teollisuusyhteiskunnan muutoksia Helsingin historiallisessa ytimessä*. Helsinki: SKS, 2002.

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion see for example B. Graham, G. Ashworth & J. Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy*. London: Arnold 2000; R. Koshar, *Germany’s Transient Pasts. Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century*. Chapel Hill / London: University of North Carolina Press 1998, 289-302; D. Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1998.

<sup>9</sup> G. J. Ashworth & J. E. Tunbridge, *The tourist-historic city*, 8–50.

show how the external process of World Heritage designation not only labels ‘fixed’ heritage sites but also participates in their ‘making’. In the local context World Heritage further naturalizes some representations of urban space and identity, in particular the conserved historic city, while reshaping and challenging others.

The research is based on literary sources and interviews of different urban actor groups.<sup>10</sup>

### ***Perceiving Old Rauma prior to the World Heritage designation***

The earliest definitions and representations of Old Rauma as a historic city date back to the early-1900s. Then the old town of Rauma, together with few other urban areas in the country, was considered an important national monument by the artist and architect members of the Finnish National Romantic Movement, mainly due to its medieval street pattern.<sup>11</sup> Like in many other countries, these early ‘producers’ of a historic city were members of a small élite that came from outside the city.<sup>12</sup>

The 1950s and 1960s brought about an oblivion and marginalization of the historic city. At the time there was a change in the population structure of the old town: characteristic of it became small households, relatively low income level, unmarried women and widowers forming a majority of the population, and high turnover of the inhabitants.<sup>13</sup> In the context of modernist goals and discourse the established perceptions of what constituted the ‘old town’ were challenged, and the historic city was reduced to an intangible idea with the slogan “cherishing of the spirit of the old town”.<sup>14</sup> The most radical modernization plans for Old Rauma, construction of high-rise apartment blocks, were rather short-lived, however, in Rauma.

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<sup>10</sup> Interviews (together 26) were conducted between 2001 and 2003 with different urban actor groups in Rauma. The tapes are in the author’s possession. Urban actor groups include e.g. Old Rauma inhabitants, Old Rauma shopkeepers, Rauma conservation authorities, Rauma politicians etc.

<sup>11</sup> R. Nikula, ‘Finland’s built cultural heritage’, in *Monuments and Sites: Finland*. Helsinki: ICOMOS 1999, 14; see also H. Lilius, ‘Att bevara staden. Ett drag I finskt stadsbyggande kring sekelskiftet’, in R. Zeitler (ed.), *Det moderna Skandinaviens framväxt. Bidrag till de nordiska ländernas moderna historia*. Uppsala: University of Uppsala 1978, 165–183.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. G. J. Ashworth, ‘The conserved European city as cultural symbol: the meaning of the text’, in B. Graham (ed.), *Modern Europe: Place, Culture and Identity*. Arnold, London 1998, 267.

<sup>13</sup> Housing Conditions. *Rauma General Plan* 1969, passim.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Old Rauma Draft Plan* 31.12.1972.

Since the 1970s the appreciation of wooden towns increased in Rauma and in Finland in general, and their repair and protection became a more widely shared societal goal.<sup>15</sup> Ever more detailed conservation ensued. In 1981 a town plan for Old Rauma, based on a broad preservation of existing buildings across the entire ‘traditional’ old town area, gained legal status.<sup>16</sup> This consolidated the protection of Old Rauma; yet, differing views on the details and extent of conservation, and the stereo-typical images related to a historic city – stagnation, backwardness, museumfication, all familiar themes already from the 1950s and 1960s – still existed in the public discourse.<sup>17</sup>

The urban spaces can be reorganized to coincide with the chosen images and narratives of the city.<sup>18</sup> In Rauma too some measures were taken to make parts of the built city better fit the historic city image of the 1980s. An illustrative example of this is a modernist style commercial building built around the Old Rauma market place in 1969, which still at the time of its construction was considered as part of the iconic view of the city.<sup>19</sup> In the early-1980s the owner of the house suggested its covering with a look-alike façade of the adjoining building from the 1920s. Despite criticism at the national level towards the measure’s lack of authenticity,<sup>20</sup> there was strong local consensus among planning authorities and the public on the positive effects of the project on the townscape.<sup>21</sup>

Old Rauma also had a strong commercial and city centre identity, which, in part, always constituted a challenge to the conservationist interpretations of a historic city. Until the Second World War for people in Rauma it was *the town*, rather than *an old town*, as the area embodied many functions of public life, the centre of commerce, a substantial part of dwellings in the city, some small-scale industrial production, and

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<sup>15</sup> E.g. M. Mattinen, *Puukaupunkien suojelu*. Helsinki: Ympäristöministeriön kaavoitus- ja rakennusosasto 1985.

<sup>16</sup> J. Koivula et al. (eds), *Old Rauma*. Rauma: Rauman museo 1992.

<sup>17</sup> Illustratively, the local newspaper’s cartoon pictured a conversation between two women on the street of Old Rauma: “Oh dear, they are making museum pieces of us”, says the other. “Yes, and soon they want us to wear long gowns too”, replies the other. *Länsi-Suomi* newspaper 28.5.1981.

<sup>18</sup> See A. Kervanto Nevanlinna, *Kadonneen kaupungin jäljillä. Teollisuusyhteiskunnan muutoksia Helsingin historiallisessa ytimessä*, 283.

<sup>19</sup> *Rauma tourist brochure* 1972.

<sup>20</sup> M. Mattinen, *Puukaupunkien suojelu*, 126.

<sup>21</sup> See for example *Länsi-Suomi* newspaper 6.8.1983 and 7.11.1987.

even urban food production. When the city started to expand more rapidly due to industrialization after the Second World War, the old town became more distinctively considered only one part in the entity of the urban structure. Still, unlike in many other conserved urban areas in Europe, the every-day commercial centre of Rauma largely remained inside the old town area. Especially in the 1960s and 1970s, many shopkeepers associated permission for vehicular traffic, more parking space and larger permitted building volumes with commercial Old Rauma. The articulated aim was to “keep Old Rauma alive”.<sup>22</sup>

Between 1960s and 1980s Old Rauma identity included some reference to international and Nordic heritage values<sup>23</sup>, but it was primarily promoted as national heritage. First the members of the Finnish National Romantic Movement and later, in the 1960s and 1970s, the National Board of Antiquities played a key role in defining Old Rauma’s national heritage value. Yet, another Finnish medieval town, Old Porvoo rather than Old Rauma, was always regarded as the flagship of Finnish wooden town building protection at the national level.<sup>24</sup>

### ***The influence of World Heritage designation on local perceptions of Old Rauma***

#### *World Heritage – legitimizing and naturalizing the conserved historic city*

The designation of World Heritage status after the early-1990s has strengthened the conservation and heritage-oriented discourse concerning Old Rauma, which suggest further naturalization of the historic city perception of the area, and an increase in the local conservation authorities’ “symbolic ownership” of Old Rauma. Protected Old Rauma is nowadays a broadly shared narrative – the discussions with local actor groups in Old Rauma reveal that World Heritage has positively shaped general attitudes towards the area and its protection, also for many who originally opposed

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<sup>22</sup> Interviews, see note 10 above; e.g. *Länsi-Suomi* newspaper 14.4.1978.

<sup>23</sup> Between 1969 and 1972 Nordic countries together with ICOMOS organized the Nordic Wooden Town Project, which gave lot of publicity to wooden town issues. Old Rauma was one of the towns presented in and studied by the project.

<sup>24</sup> See also O.-P. Koponen, *Arkkitehtuurin keinoja kaupunkien rakennussuojelussa. Vaihtoehtoisia lähestymistapoja pirstaloituneiden kaupunkien täydennysrakentamiseksi*. Unpublished Licentiate Thesis, Tampere University of Technology 2000, 53.

these ideas. The protected Old Rauma has become such a shared narrative that some interviewees who strongly favoured modernization of the old town in the 1960s, now tend to ‘forget’ all about their ‘old-fashioned’ modernism.<sup>25</sup>

The means of conservation in Old Rauma have remained basically unchanged; the discourse has moved, however, towards more detailed aspects of preservation. This development reflects both World Heritage influence and a widening of a positive mentality throughout Finland towards conservation of wooden towns. Analysis of the decisions by the Old Rauma Committee, an organ which issues the necessary building and other permits for the area, reveals that reference to World Heritage value has made it relatively easy to reject some proposals regarded contrary to conservation, e.g. reconstructing a part of the old customs fence to Old Rauma.<sup>26</sup> It is worth noting that World Heritage has also served as an argument in preservation debates concerning historic areas and buildings elsewhere in the city.<sup>27</sup> In the 1980s Old Rauma’s widely protected status was occasionally used as an argument for demolition in other parts of the city.<sup>28</sup> This strategy disappeared from the public discourse in the 1990s.

Furthermore, both symbolically and practically, the World Heritage designation may reshape historic cities through the defining of so-called buffer zones around the sites, a measure that is required by the World Heritage Committee in order to provide the necessary protection in their nearby surroundings. This measure may slightly alter the traditional delineating of a historic city by tending to broaden it. This has been true in the case of Old Rauma, for which the buffer zone was first defined in the context of compiling the Rauma master plan and the city centre disposition plan in 2002-2003. Importantly, these documents viewed the surrounding areas of Old Rauma not only in terms of conservationist measures but also in terms of “corrective measures” for the buildings in the area.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Interviews, see note 10 above.

<sup>26</sup> *Old Rauma Committee meeting 7/99*, 25.08.1999. Old Rauma Committee archives, Rauma.

<sup>27</sup> *Länsi-Suomi* newspaper 5.10.1994.

<sup>28</sup> E.g. *Uusi Aika* newspaper 2.8.1983.

<sup>29</sup> City of Rauma, *Master plan*, 2.7.2003; City of Rauma, *City centre disposition plan, preliminary draft*, 1.2.2003.

*World Heritage – strengthening the residential and tourist space interpretations of the historic city*

The ‘naturalizing’ of the conservation dimension of the historic city tends to support also two other perceptions of the area: residential and tourist. Even though the local conservation and planning authorities are committed to maintaining the functional diversity of Old Rauma, the predominant conservation discourse tends, at least implicitly, to support the residential use of the area. This use is rather problem-free – the residents, especially the latecomers in the area are nowadays very committed to the conservationist goals. The local conservation authorities also maintain that Old Rauma was historically, and still is primarily a residential area with business activities, not vice versa, and that Old Rauma would be World Heritage even without its commercial activities.<sup>30</sup> Compared to the declined importance of Old Rauma inhabitants in the context of the 1960s’ changes in the population structure of the area, their voice has been reasserted due to the later conservation processes, and ultimately due to World Heritage.

Old Rauma was always considered a part of tourist-Rauma<sup>31</sup>; yet, it did not stand out as unique among other Rauma sites even in the 1980s. Business travel was more important than leisure tourism for the industrial city of Rauma. It can be argued that within the World Heritage framework Old Rauma has been transformed into a more established space of tourist consumption, especially in terms of international tourism. In the public discourse the gaining of the new status was closely linked to tourism development expectations, which, in part, were connected to larger processes of economic recession and structural change of the early-1990s.<sup>32</sup> Particularly the amount of daily visitors to Old Rauma has increased since the World Heritage designation.<sup>33</sup> The balance between business travel and leisure tourism has shifted in favour of the latter, and Old Rauma has become the almost sole focus of Rauma tourism promotion. Still most interviewees associate tourism closely with the idea of a

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<sup>30</sup> Interviews, see note 10 above.

<sup>31</sup> For an early description of Rauma and Old Rauma as tourist destinations see A. B. Tammivaara, ‘Rauma – piirteitä sen kehityksestä ja uusista suunnitteluista’, in *Rauma. Retkeilijä*. No. 5. 1938. SKS: Helsinki 1938, 76.

<sup>32</sup> E.g. *Länsi-Suomi* newspaper 14.12.1991, 19.12.1991, 31.12.1991, 4.9.1992.

<sup>33</sup> Interviews, see note 10 above. In contrast to many other sites, World Heritage has not caused, however, a major increase in tourism to Old Rauma, probably largely due to the geographical location and prior absence of international reputation.

historic city as defined by the local conservation authorities. No mass tourism, please; ‘informed expert visitors’ are encouraged to find their way to Old Rauma.<sup>34</sup>

*World Heritage – challenging the central business district interpretation*

Closely connected to the two previous points, some shopkeeper interviewees imply that the World Heritage conservation and heritage-oriented way of speaking about Old Rauma has, in fact, become the only possible, even the only acceptable way. Consequently, they feel that the long-in-the-making role of Old Rauma as a central business district has been challenged, even marginalized. Old Rauma is still an exceptionally lively business area with almost 200 shops, a fact also acknowledged in the Finnish nomination documentation to the World Heritage Committee.<sup>35</sup> Notably, in comparison to the commerciality and turistification of “great World Heritage cities” many interviewees consider the every-day life of Old Rauma more authentic. Yet, one line of critique against Old Rauma’s World Heritage designation on the part of some Old Rauma shopkeepers relates to the understanding of the designation as one factor decreasing the liveliness and authenticity of the area, and transforming commercial activities from being every-day life oriented. The identity of commercial Old Rauma is changing.

Indeed the formation of the “tourist-historic city” may involve a contradiction with the traditional commercial activities. Even if the total number of shops located in Old Rauma has remained relatively unchanged, the structure of commercial services is becoming more tourist-oriented, even if slowly when compared to many other historic cities. Consequently, there are more restaurants, cafes, and gift, craft and art shops in Old Rauma now than thirty, or even ten years ago, and fewer shops selling groceries or domestic appliances. For example, there were ten grocery shops in the old town area in 1975 compared to three in 1991<sup>36</sup> and none today.

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<sup>34</sup> Interviews, see note 10 above.

<sup>35</sup> *WHC Nomination Documentation 582*. World Heritage Centre Archives, Paris. In the nomination document Old Rauma was described as “a lively community with various services, residential buildings and shops”.

<sup>36</sup> J. Koivula et al., *Old Rauma*, 1992, 33–34.



Some Old Rauma shopkeepers go as far as stating that they do not want to use the World Heritage emblem in their marketing, because by doing so, they might reinforce the conservation-oriented image of Old Rauma.<sup>37</sup> This attitude still reflects the earlier pro-modernization and pro-change tendencies, and the previous negative experiences of shopkeepers towards conservation, but can also be seen as a functional rather than an aesthetic attitude towards heritage: for many shopkeepers Old Rauma heritage is primarily bound to the history of their own family business. One shopkeeper questions the architectural emphasis of UNESCO's World Heritage idea: "the buildings are valuable but people who live and work in them are forgotten", and the commercialization of heritage through World Heritage is criticized by others: "It [World Heritage] even has its own trademark, which is interesting... if your everyday life is turned into a product, it transforms into something completely different".<sup>38</sup> World Heritage value can interfere with individual or group identity legitimate in every-day life.

#### *World Heritage – international and national identity*

In the context of Old Rauma the World Heritage status has served to support all different heritage identity 'scales' from national and supra-national to global. In line with the World Heritage idea, the majority of the interviewees believe that Old Rauma is of "outstanding universal value", even though some of them feel somewhat overawed by the magnitude of the global "community based on heritage"<sup>39</sup> as a reference group for Old Rauma.<sup>40</sup> In the supra-national scale, the designation strengthened the definition of Old Rauma as Nordic heritage, as its nomination on the World Heritage List was argued in reference to being a representative of Nordic wooden town. Mostly, and in line with the earlier perception, the new status is interpreted to mean a national identity. Almost all interviewees remember to mention Old Rauma 'defeating' Old Porvoo, the other Finnish wooden town of medieval origin, in the World Heritage 'competition'.<sup>41</sup> They see that the status of Old Rauma in

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<sup>37</sup> Interviews, see note 10 above.

<sup>38</sup> Interviews, see note 10 above.

<sup>39</sup> M. Hitchcock, 'Zanzibar Stone Town joins the imagined community of World Heritage sites', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 8:2 (2002), 153–166.

<sup>40</sup> Interviews, see note 10 above.

<sup>41</sup> Interviews, see note 10 above.

the national 'heritage hierarchy' has improved due to the World Heritage nomination, even if economic support from the national government has failed to live up to their expectations.<sup>42</sup>

*The translation of World Heritage city self-image into the built city*

In what ways has the World Heritage city self-image been translated into the built structures in the area? In general, there has been very little facadism, even though the aspiration of the 1980s to correct the mistakes of the earlier decades has continued. Certain built structures in the area are clearly rejected as part of the World Heritage city by the interviewees, especially the former bank building of 1960, which in the public opinion is considered a necessary object for either demolition or decoration.<sup>43</sup>

From the early-1990s there has also been a tendency to restore the over-large shop-windows from the 1950s and 1960s to their earlier, usually early-twentieth century appearance. So far, these measures have been welcomed by the local conservation authorities and the Old Rauma Committee as clear improvements in terms of the townscape, which they undoubtedly are, especially when connected to the overall restoration of the buildings. Replacing all the 1950s and 1960s shop windows would mean, however, the disappearance of one historic layer, the expansion of commerce in the old town after the Second World War, even if this phase appears architecturally unattractive from today's perspective.

The ways in which World Heritage cities are described may legitimize certain interpretations. For example, in the Finnish World Heritage nomination documentation on Old Rauma Neo-Renaissance is the only architectural style mentioned. With the exception of the reference to the unbroken merchant and residential tradition in Old Rauma, the twentieth century developments surface only through the conservation history of the area. Moreover, the industrial past of the area – Old Rauma as the centre of the industrial Rauma and a few former small-scale

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<sup>42</sup> In 2004 the Finnish government reserved for the first time a special budgetary grant for the five World Heritage sites in the country.

<sup>43</sup> Interviews, see note 10 above.

industrial establishments (wool-spinning mill and dye house, sausage factory) that were located inside the Old Rauma area – remain invisible.<sup>44</sup>

Two-thirds of the houses in Old Rauma were furnished with the Neo-Renaissance lining at the end of the nineteenth century. It is natural that this style which is related to the end of the ‘great’ sailing-ship era in Rauma, has a prominent role as part of the presentation of the World Heritage site Old Rauma. Yet, some interviewees see a danger in over-emphasizing of the 1890s’ Neo-Renaissance in restorations and interpretations of Old Rauma at the expense of other periods and styles, such as the early-twentieth century Jugend.<sup>45</sup> For example, a Jugend style lining of an Old Rauma building was converted into an earlier Neo-Renaissance appearance at the end of 1990s,<sup>46</sup> a rare but powerful symbolic example of attempting to make the built urban structure better fit the World Heritage city image. World Heritage, like all conservation, is faced with and contributes to the problem of what is considered authentic.<sup>47</sup> In UNESCO stylistic restoration and reconstruction have usually been rejected as part of World Heritage value, except when the stylistic restoration or reconstruction itself has been the object of nomination as in case of the nominations of Town of Carcassonne (1997) and Historic Centre of Warsaw (1980), respectively. In a local context World Heritage may lead, however, to an over-emphasized focus on those ‘Golden Ages’ that formed the basis of the site’s selection on the World Heritage List.

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<sup>44</sup> *WHC Nomination Documentation 582*. World Heritage Centre Archives, Paris.

<sup>45</sup> Interviews, see note 10 above.

<sup>46</sup> *Toiveet ja todellisuus. Satakunnan rakennusperinnön hoito –projekti 1998-2000*, 82.

<sup>47</sup> To be included in the World Heritage List cultural heritage sites must meet, together with meeting one or more of the criteria defining “outstanding universal value”, the test of authenticity “in design, material, workmanship or setting”, and since 1992 in case of cultural landscapes “their distinctive character and components”. In practice, this condition has proved rather problematic to apply both for ICOMOS, which is the international and non-governmental organization advising the World Heritage Committee on the selection of cultural heritage sites, and the State Parties that prepare applications for World Heritage listing. During the past decade the authenticity concept in relation to World Heritage cities has become more flexibly articulated by UNESCO. There has been a move from the sole emphasis on material authenticity towards reflecting on ‘other authenticities’ e.g. functional authenticity as well, even though the material part of authenticity still ‘dominates’. Recent stylistic restorations have never been encouraged. This assessment is based on an examination of evaluations on urban sites by ICOMOS, and of nomination dossiers presented by state parties over the years. World Heritage Centre Archives, Paris.

### ***Concluding remarks***

As the case study of Old Rauma illustrates, World Heritage not only labels ‘fixed’ heritage sites but also participates in their ‘making’ as historic cities. In the local context the external process of World Heritage participates in the ongoing discourses on conservation, urban planning, tourism and other commercial activities. While doing so, it can challenge, reshape, or further naturalize some representations of urban space and identity, even in such a problem-free and stable environment as Old Rauma. The multiple meanings, values and practices associated with a World Heritage city reflect a never-ending evolution in multiple competitive concepts of conservation and heritage.