

Difficult governance of modern heritage:  
Four case studies of the Architectural Work of  
Le Corbusier (France, Switzerland)

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The inscription of the Architectural Work of Le Corbusier on the UNESCO World Heritage List was the result of a long nomination process that corresponded to a very particular governance. The system of governance was organized around a wide range of stakeholders at multiple levels (municipal, inter-municipal, regional, national and international). The governance appears to be complicated for some of these Le Corbusier's heritage buildings. In fact, the relationship quality between stakeholders, especially between private owners and the local public authorities, concerning the management of certain heritage sites, has evolved since the inscription on the World Heritage List.

During the nomination process (between 2003 and 2016), the different stakeholders collaborated to prepare the nomination file, as they were in consensus. At that time, they wanted to make this nomination process a success. Their goal was to benefit from the several advantages of the UNESCO labelling. However, after the inscription on the World Heritage List, the management issues of these heritage sites have changed.

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Thereby, the cooperation between stakeholders has been weakened and tensions have emerged between the owners and the municipality.

Among these Le Corbusier heritage sites, two French sites (the '*Couvent de la Tourette*' in Éveux and the '*Unité d'Habitation*' in Firminy) and two Swiss sites (the '*Immeuble Clarté*' in Geneva and the '*Petite Villa Le Lac*' in Corseaux) are particularly interesting, as they illustrate a variety of problems related to financial and technical weaknesses on the one hand, and coordination difficulties between stakeholders on the other. In each of these cases, tensions between the private owners and the municipality seem to be incessant.

For the '*Convent de la Tourette*' and the '*Petite Villa Le Lac*', the owners are looking to enhance their heritage and develop its notoriety and attractiveness on an international scale. So, they develop cultural and artistic partnerships with private and public stakeholders on an international scale. In contrast to the owners' vision, the municipality intends to integrate this heritage in its touristic and cultural projects on a local scale. This will allow the municipality to benefit from the economic spin-offs derived of the heritage's tourist attractiveness. The local authority aims to create a network connecting this heritage with the other historical monuments and tourist attractions in the territory, in the purpose of making the territory more attractive for visitors and tourists.

The tendency is different concerning the '*Immeuble Clarté*' and the '*Unité d'Habitation*' in Firminy. Certainly, these two cases are different because the '*Immeuble Clarté*' is a standing apartment building, whereas the '*Unité d'Habitation*' is, in part, a social habitat building. However, in both cases, the majority of the inhabitants and the owners are against the touristic development and the cultural animation led by the municipality. In both cases, the inhabitants' lives and needs make their priorities and positions opposed to those led by the local

authorities. As a result, the owners' attitude has an important impact on the coordination between the stakeholders regarding this heritage's governance.

In these four cases, the governance is constrained by the divergence of strategies and interests between the owners and the municipality. After the inscription on the World Heritage List, the municipalities are in charge of the application of the World Heritage management plan in order to keep the World Heritage label. For this, the objective of the municipalities is to enhance the connection between the heritage and territory in order to the World Heritage management plan. They also intend to take advantage of its notoriety after the UNESCO labelling with the aim of promoting tourism on these sites and then benefiting of its economic outcomes.

The governance of these sites is complicated, considering that it is a modern and living heritage. It is affected by numerous financial and technical weaknesses, particularly in relation to restoration and compliance with safety and accessibility standards. Moreover, as a World Heritage designated by UNESCO, the governance is then ensured by several stakeholders who are at several levels, whose objective is to preserve the heritage and enhance it through tourism and cultural activities.

The objective of this communication is to analyze the character and the intensity of the issues and problematics related to the governance of these sites, which are part of a modern and living heritage. I aim to explain the impact of the ownership status and the type of uses of these heritage sites on the governance system. Furthermore, I would like to highlight how the relationships between stakeholders have changed following the inscription on the World Heritage List. Also, the consequences of these transformations over stakeholders' relationships on the governance system will be examined. The methodology is based on a comparative analysis between these four case studies. For

this purpose, I exploit the results of several field surveys conducted between 2018 and 2019.