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A Scoping Review of the Literature on Market Failure in Heritage

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background

1.1.1. Strategic Investment Board 2020 report

The Strategic Investment Board (SIB) was engaged by the Historic Environment Division (HED) in 2020 to undertake a strategic review of the need for government intervention to support heritage in Northern Ireland, with a particular focus on the financial subvention provided by HED through the Historic Environment Fund (HEF). Detailing the findings of the review, SIB produced the report 'Strategic Review of State Subvention and Support for Heritage in Northern Ireland'.

The review found that while there is a wealth of evidence to demonstrate that heritage has a critical role to play for cultural, economic and social wellbeing, the historic environment in Northern Ireland is increasingly at risk of loss due to a lack of requisite protection works. SIB concluded that there is evidence that market failure in heritage exists in Northern Ireland, however, they could not find evidence regarding the precise nature and extent of this market failure and whether the private market does not sufficiently protect heritage because it is:

- Unaware of the importance of the historic environment; and/or
- Lacking suitably skilled conservation workers to undertake works; and/or
- Aware of the importance but unwilling to incur private financial loss for societal gain.

SIB recommended that a bank of pertinent evidence be gathered regarding the current historic landscape and challenges associated with the heritage sector in Northern Ireland.

1.1.2. Historic Environment Division

Department for Communities (DfC) has a statutory remit to compile and maintain a schedule of monuments and buildings which are deemed to be of special interest. Various pieces of legislation also ensure that consent is required before work can be undertaken to demolish, alter or extend scheduled monuments and listed buildings. In addition, councils must consult HED prior to determining an application for planning permission where the development proposal involves material alteration/demolition of a listed building, a historic monument or a historic park, garden or demesne, or impact to their setting.

SIB states that although HED has historically supported each category of intervention (education, advocacy, and capacity building; direct investment; transfer of assets; the 'carrot and stick' tools of financial and fiscal incentives, and regulation and enforcement), the primary focus of HED's resources has historically related to regulation, through maintenance of protected lists and schedules, and distribution of grant assistance, and to a lesser extent advice and enforcement.

SIB informs that the annual budget for HED is approximately £8m per annum, representing less than 0.1% of the total annual budget of DfC. They also report that statutory obligations which fall to HED can be in opposition, with the need to protect state care monuments potentially directly conflicting with the need to provide public access to those monuments.

1.1.3. Heritage in Northern Ireland

Heritage can be understood in a number of ways. The United Nations Scientific Organisation (UNESCO) identifies two categories, natural and cultural:

- Natural heritage refers to natural features, geological and physiographical formations and delineated areas that constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants and natural sites of value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty¹.
- Meanwhile, cultural heritage includes artefacts, monuments, buildings and sites that have a diversity of values including symbolic, historic, artistic, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological, scientific and social significance. It includes both tangible heritage (movable, immobile and underwater) and intangible cultural heritage embedded into cultural, and natural heritage artefacts, sites or monuments².

While there may be intangible associations with historic buildings and places, the focus of HED is on Northern Ireland's fixed tangible cultural and natural heritage.

As of 31 March 2023, the Northern Ireland historic environment included the following statutorily designated heritage assets:

- 186 monuments in state care
- 2,035 scheduled historic monuments
- 9,072 listed buildings
- 60 conservation areas
- 4 protected wrecks

A number of assets were recorded as being at risk of loss. This included listed buildings and unlisted buildings of significance and scheduled historic monuments. On 31 March 2023, there were 1,037 buildings or monuments recorded on the Heritage at Risk register for Northern Ireland (HARNI).

SIB discloses that the number of structures at risk as recorded on the HARNI register has been steadily increasing, with condition surveys completed by HED showing a clear decline in condition of listed buildings between 2005 and 2013 despite the issuance of grant aid of £23.6m across the same period. Similarly, SIB state that a 2007 condition survey indicated an overall demise in the condition of historic monuments, with only a small proportion (6.9%) being in a 'complete' condition. The condition survey of listed buildings in 2013 estimated that 30.8% of all listed buildings in Northern Ireland were at some form of risk. An update to that research has been completed in parallel to this work.

1.1.4. Market Failure in Heritage

SIB (2020) notes that in economics, heritage can be seen as a cultural capital asset, which can give rise to both economic and cultural value simultaneously, contributing to the production of further cultural goods and services, job creation and wellbeing of local communities. Cultural value is multi-dimensional and can be reflected in a number of

¹ [Natural heritage | UNESCO UIS](#)

² [Cultural heritage | UNESCO UIS](#)

different dimensions including aesthetic, historic, symbolic, spiritual, social, authenticity and/or scientific values.

Linked to this, heritage delivers a range of tangible and intangible economic and social benefits beyond the market values derived by asset owners. There is evidence that the protection of the historic environment delivers a range of wider benefits including:

- Promotion of tourism
- Regeneration and breathing new life into culturally important old buildings
- Valuing authenticity
- Creating cities, towns and villages with unique character to attract outside investment
- Social cohesion and volunteering opportunities
- Improving health and wellbeing, and
- Contributing to addressing shortages in the housing stock.

SIB concludes that it is evident that market failure exists with respect to the protection and preservation of the historic environment in Northern Ireland, as some owners or custodians of heritage assets do not conserve the historic environment to a level that is optimal to society. They explain that the private market (whether individuals or companies) will only invest in a project if the private returns outweigh the private costs. Therefore, since use values represent only a portion of the wider economic benefits derived from the historic environment, a market failure exists whereby heritage is undervalued by the private market.

1.2. Study on Market Failure in the Heritage Sector in Northern Ireland

In response to the recommendations in the SIB (2020) report 'Strategic Review of State Subvention and Support for Heritage in Northern Ireland', HED commissioned Analytics Division (AD) to undertake a study on market failure in the heritage sector in Northern Ireland. This study is comprised of four individual reports: a literature review, survey of listed building owners, survey of scheduled monument owners, and a market failure analysis of the heritage sector in Northern Ireland. All four reports are published on the DfC website.

1.3. A Scoping Review of the Literature on Market Failure in Heritage

To help inform the development of suitable survey questions as well as to build on top of already completed research, a scoping review of the literature on maintaining historic assets was conducted. In particular, the review aims to answer the following questions:

1. What are the barriers and constraints to maintaining historic assets for private owners?
2. What factors enable private owners to maintain historic assets?
3. What are the benefits of maintenance to private owners of historic assets?
4. What are the views of private owners on owning and maintaining historic assets?

2. Methodology

2.1. Rapid Evidence Assessment

A Rapid Evidence Assessment (REA) is based on the principles of a systematic review. The functions of a REA are to:

- Search the electronic and print literature as comprehensively as possible within the constraints of a policy or practice timetable
- Collate descriptive outlines of the available evidence on a topic
- Critically appraise the evidence
- Sift out studies of poor quality, and
- Provide an overview of what the evidence is saying

(Davies, 2003)

All REAs carry the caveat that their conclusions may be subject to revision once more systematic and comprehensive reviews of the evidence base have been completed. This is consistent with the important principle that systematic reviews are only as good as their most recent updating and revision allows (Davies, 2003).

There are a number of aspects of the systematic review process that can be limited to shorten the timescale. In this study, the REA was restricted in a number of ways:

- The REA questions were limited to focus on the maintenance of historic assets by private owner
- The search was limited to 2 research databases, and
- The review was limited to approximately 12 papers

The REA was completed using the Rapid Evidence Assessment Toolkit index developed by the Government Social Research Service (2009).

While the application of the REA has helped in identifying relevant papers on the subject matter, it is not without limitation. For example, potentially relevant papers that fall outside of the parameters of the REA (databases searched, search terms and inclusion criteria) may be overlooked. To mitigate this, the REA was augmented by seeking suggestions from the project steering group on additional research papers to include within this review.

2.2. Research Questions

The REA was undertaken to address the following questions:

1. What are the barriers and constraints to maintaining historic assets for private owners?
2. What factors enable private owners to maintain historic assets?
3. What are the benefits of maintenance to private owners of historic assets?
4. What are the views of private owners on owning and maintaining historic assets?

2.3. Research Databases

The REA search was limited to the papers included within the following research databases:

- IDOX Knowledge Exchange – providing a source of information on UK public and social policy and practice, and
- EBSCO – providing articles licensed from publishers recognised by library professionals, chosen to meet the specific needs of researchers worldwide
- Reference list of relevant papers obtained from the research databases

Officials from HED identified three additional papers for inclusion within the literature review. The papers were not within these databases and mainly included research previously commissioned by the Department for Communities.

2.4. Search Criteria

Given the subject of the research questions, it was anticipated that there may be limited literature pertaining to Northern Ireland or even the UK, therefore the initial search criteria was not restricted geographically or to papers published within a defined time period. The research databases were explored using relevant search terms. For example, search terms such as 'repair', 'maintain', 'fix' and 'preserve' were used for maintenance.

Papers were reviewed initially on the basis of their abstracts and, if deemed pertinent, the content was examined for relevant chapter headings and search terms. The searches were undertaken as a one-off exercise and confined to a pre-agreed deadline. However, as major gaps in literature pertaining to monuments and climate change were noted, a few additional papers to address those gaps were suggested by HED.

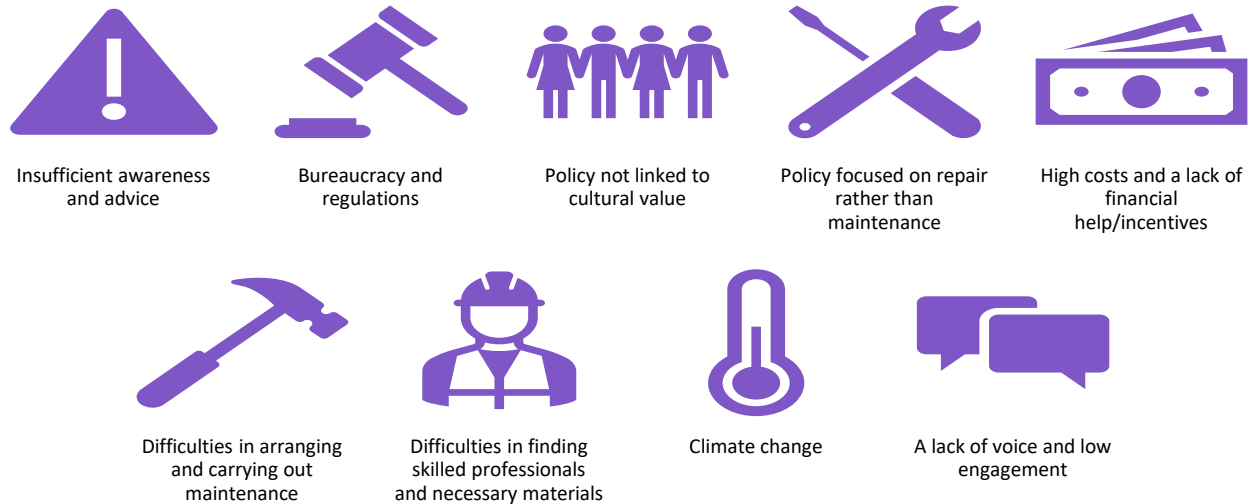
2.5. Selection of Papers

In total, 24 papers were found to address one or more of the research questions in the REA. These covered a range of geographic areas beyond the UK, including Malaysia and Australia. This was then complemented by two further papers from HED.

Each of the papers were appraised by three researchers based on their quality, strength of evidence and relevance to the review. More recent papers and those focusing on the UK were also prioritised. In total, 16 papers were selected, 13 papers were selected for inclusion from the REA and three additional papers were selected via recommendations from HED.

The 16 papers were read and summarised under a number of key headings related to the relevant research questions. A synthesis was then completed to combine and evaluate the emerging findings from the individual papers.

3. What are the barriers and constraints to maintaining historic assets for private owners?



3.1. Insufficient awareness and advice

One of the key barriers to maintaining historic assets for private owners identified in the literature is general unawareness of what it means to own a historic asset, its maintenance requirements and the benefits of maintenance. Smith (2014), through a consultation involving 130 private listed building owners in England, found that the great majority of owners were unaware of what will be expected of them if they wish to make changes to their building. In addition, a fifth did not know when or whether listed building consent is required, and most owners also had a poor understanding of the principles and practice of historic building conservation. Therefore, as Rahman et al. (2012) suggests, although maintenance is the best approach in protecting historic assets, it is often not implemented correctly due to owners waiting until damage has already occurred before any maintenance action is taken, which is likely due to owners' lack of awareness of the importance of historic asset maintenance. This is significant as Historic England (2020) states that the preservation and renovation of the majority of historic buildings is often in the hands of property owners themselves who often lack historical and architectural expertise.

Forster and Kayan (2009) cite that in the UK there is no clearly established policy to advise listed building owners, with the majority of the maintenance guidance and inspection work being led by non-governmental organisations. In addition, they state that when an owner attempts to implement maintenance, the advice given is often incorrect, misguided or scant, giving the owners the feeling that they are left on their own, or calls for unnecessary and/or inappropriate repairs. Likewise, Smith (2014) reports that the majority of listed building owners find conservation officers unable or unwilling to give them advice or ideas to help them to come up with feasible, affordable solutions. Maintain Our Heritage (2004), through interviews, found that at the point of purchase, information on the responsibilities of owning a listed building and the implications of those responsibilities is inconsistent at best and non-

existent at worst. Furthermore, information concerning maintenance management processes and procedures, including how to keep a historical record of works is hard to find. Also, although advice about suppliers, materials and techniques of maintenance can be sourced from heritage websites, statutory bodies, local authorities and others, there is no co-ordinated, one-stop source of information (Maintain Our Heritage, 2004).

Forster and Kayan (2009) note that information intended to keep the public informed about maintenance services is not well developed and is not readily accessible, with no automatic mechanism to ensure owners are briefed on the importance of maintenance for their building. Similarly, Maintain Our Heritage (2004) states that their research describes a gaping hole in information provision and support for listed building owners. They report that during the interviews, virtually everyone said that advice to owners in terms of both clarity about legal obligations and how and where to seek advice on maintenance and repair was very poor. As a result, Maintain Our Heritage (2004) found that only 34% of owners seek advice from national and local conservation bodies as opposed to 42% who instead use magazines as a source of guidance.

Historic England (2015), through a survey of 1,002 private owners of heritage buildings in England, reports that amongst those that had a very good overall experience with the listed building consent process, 59% reported always being clear about the kind of work that requires consent and 51% found it easy to find helpful information. Whereas, amongst those that had a very poor experience, only 26% agreed that they were always clear about the kind of work that requires listed building consent and only 12% found it easy to find helpful information. In addition, in a more recent survey commissioned by Historic England, Murray (2017) found that a significant proportion of private owners of listed buildings did not know where to go for advice on issues relating to repair and maintenance.

In regard to archaeological sites and monuments, Gormley et al. (2009) state that there is no single threat that results in their destruction, however, almost half of the factors leading to it are related to agriculture, with the vast majority of cases not being intentional damage by those involved. They argue that in some cases landowners genuinely do not know they have important sites or monuments on their land³, while in other cases the importance of them is not always appreciated nor do they understand how best to manage them.

3.2. Bureaucracy and regulations

Another barrier identified in literature to maintaining historic assets for private owners is the bureaucracy of the listed building consent process as well as the restrictive regulations on what work can be carried out on a historic asset. Historic England (2015) found that a significant proportion (34%) of listed building owners described their experience with the listed building consent process as 'poor' or 'very poor'. In addition, when asked 'Why didn't you proceed with your listed building consent application?', out of a sample size of 120, 21% said application process was too complex and 17% said that they had difficulty in supplying

³ The CAMSAR report analyzed both scheduled and non-scheduled monuments and sites, therefore, the issue of not being aware of having an important monument or site on their land is likely to be mainly pertaining to non-scheduled monuments and sites.

supporting information. Likewise, Smith (2014) reports that many listed building owners in England struggle with the bureaucracy of the listed building consent system.

Moreover, Smith (2014) states that most owners believe that heritage policy prevents them from developing listed buildings in ways that would make them environmentally sustainable, adaptable to individual requirements, and economically viable for the future. She discloses that owners report considerable resistance to replacing damaged, rotten or otherwise failed fabric in the property. This is because a major conservation principle is the requirement to repair rather than replace, which is not always justifiable or affordable. Furthermore, Smith (2014) reports that owners are routinely prevented from reinstating features as they would originally have appeared, as this can be seen as 'reproduction' and are discouraged from using compatible modern materials to resolve structural problems, even if they will be invisible when the work is complete. Similarly, Lynch and Culliford (2018), through a Listed Building Business Occupiers Survey commissioned by Historic England, report that many respondents made comments related to the inherent difficulties in making changes to their historic building. Therefore, Smith (2014) discloses that private listed building owners feel that excessive controls may possess as many dangers as a more relaxed regime. She suggests that if the system is too restrictive, a listed property becomes a liability and the procedure puts people off caring for their listed buildings at all, which creates a risk of disrepair, decay and possible loss of heritage.

SIB Findings

- It is recognised that owners may perceive that regulation presents barriers to their autonomy and/or carries additional maintenance costs.
- The grant funding application process in Northern Ireland (NI) does not take account of the varying market failures that exist and the criteria do not clearly assess how the funding will contribute to achieving public good and cultural capital benefits.
- Although the HEF assessment approach sought to introduce a level of consistency, there remains potential for clearer communication with applicants in regards to how applications are assessed and prioritised.

3.3. Policy not linked to cultural value

Maintain Our Heritage (2004) proclaims that policies not linked to the aim of preserving historic assets' cultural value, but rather on retaining the functionality and appearance of the building are a barrier to maintaining historic assets for private owners. Zolkafli et al. (2018) who carried out research on heritage buildings in Malaysia, cites that the reason many heritage buildings have been left in decayed conditions without any appropriate maintenance works is due to the lack of awareness and recognition of the significant value of the buildings. Therefore, policy that is linked to the cultural value of heritage buildings may help remedy this problem.

However, Maintain Our Heritage (2004) research also found that the first priority of most owners is to protect the function and appearance of their building rather than to conserve the historic fabric. They report that only 45% and 35% of those owners surveyed said the

building's historic nature and the listed status, respectively, were very important factors in the standards of maintenance that they decided to adopt. This is in contrast to 82% who said that the fact that the building was their home was a very important factor in this respect. Overall, they found that both private owners and heritage organisations maintain their buildings primarily to avoid the inconvenience of faults occurring that would adversely affect their use and enjoyment of the building, rather than to fulfil conservation objectives. Therefore, it is unknown whether this may be due to policy not being linked to cultural value of heritage buildings or could signify that such policies could be potentially ineffective.

3.4. Policy focused on repair rather than maintenance

Apart from policy not being linked to the cultural value of historic buildings, it has been identified in the literature that a much bigger barrier to maintaining historic assets for private owners is heritage policies that primarily focus on repair rather than maintenance. Maintain Our Heritage (2004) states that conservation principles are clear that maintenance is fundamental to good conservation but this is often not reflected in policy. They elaborate that conservation policy that is largely reactive rather than proactive, deals with the consequences of a failure to maintain a building but does not bring about appropriate maintenance. Similarly, Dann and Cantell (2005) state that policy that does not provide a positive framework for encouraging maintenance is a major barrier for private owners in maintaining their historic assets. These include financial and economic short-termism that encourage owners to defer cyclical maintenance in favour of breakdown repairs, the sense that maintenance provides nothing new for owners, view that maintenance is entirely the responsibility of the building owner, and generally a low level of training in maintenance management.

Gormley et al. (2009) state that this problem is particularly true to earthworks which are more vulnerable to destructive forces than masonry structures. They explain that although this vulnerability has been recognised, conservation and management of earthwork monuments received less attention and financial resources than masonry monuments, with conservation practises in Britain regarding earthworks being generally reactive rather than proactive.

3.5. High costs and a lack of financial help/incentives

According to literature, even when a private owner is aware of the importance of the maintenance of historic assets, high costs and often a lack of financial help and incentives from the government provides a great barrier to do so. Through the 2018 Listed Building Business Occupiers Survey, Lynch and Culliford (2018) found that despite respondents being generally positive about their historic premises there was the occasional undercurrent of unease and concern about the future of their building. This is because of the perceived high costs and inherent difficulties of getting their building maintained and fixed if things go wrong. Smith (2014) states that many private owners of listed buildings were explicit about the financial disadvantages of owning a listed building, with some owners who have been through the experience of owning or renovating a listed building, expressing they would never do so again. Reasons given for holding this view included additional costs of carrying out maintenance and repairs, the difficulty in being able to keep bills at a reasonable level, the high insurance premiums and the lack of VAT relief or any other financial concession to offset these additional expenses.

Likewise, *Maintain Our Heritage* (2004) express that there is an anomaly at the heart of heritage policy, in that listing proclaims the public's interest in a building's conservation but there is no support (practical or financial) for the owner to serve the public interest by maintaining the building. They elaborate that the focus of grants and public awareness on repairs of listed buildings, rather than on their maintenance, results in private owners of heritage buildings taking a short-term approach to maintenance as they do not see the benefit of small maintenance tasks that would prevent bigger faults happening later. They explain that although it is recognised that there will always be some need for repairs grants (for unexpected damage to buildings), the higher VAT rate that is imposed on maintenance and repairs (compared to alterations and newbuild) contradicts the philosophy of the need for the maintenance of the historic fabric. Forster and Kayan (2009) cite that the UK is the only European country that does not offer tax relief for maintaining heritage properties⁴, and makes comparisons with The Netherlands which has a range of incentives, such as low interest loans and tax breaks.

Furthermore, Historic England (2015) found that 33% of listed building owners reported the main barrier in relation to repair and maintenance is finding affordable building materials. Out of the 120 owners who started but did not proceed with the listed building consent, 23% said skilled professionals were too expensive. In addition, Historic England (2015) states that an analysis of trends in listed building consent over a three-year period 2011 – 2014, which involved a sample of 936 applications, found that fewer applicants seek pre-application advice in authorities which charge for it. The report also found that charities, private individuals and institutions applied for listed building consent less frequently after legislation came into effect to reintroduce VAT at 20% on approved works to listed buildings.

High costs and a lack of financial help and incentives for maintaining historic assets has been identified to be present in other countries too. For example, Rahman et al. (2012) notes financial problems associated with the budgeting control that aims to plan and control the use of resources affecting the implementation of maintenance work of Malaysians' heritage buildings. Likewise, Productivity Commission (2006), found that in Australia one of the most significant pressures noted regarding the conservation of historic heritage was the high and increasing cost of maintaining these properties. They state this pressure was particularly evident for private individuals and was said to be exacerbated by the inability of many (mainly older) private owners to fund such work, as well as the inadequacy of public funding for this purpose. They explain that a system that places the cost of conserving places (for the benefit of the community) primarily onto individual property owners does not result in effective, efficient or equitable conservation outcomes. This is because there is little incentive for the owner to be positively engaged in conservation, unless they individually place a high value on such characteristics, and because the rest of community is essentially obtaining their desired heritage values for 'free'.

This problem is further compounded for archaeological sites and monuments, which often have no financially viable use but prevent the owners from using the land for alternative uses such as agriculture. Gormley et al. (2009) state that archaeological sites, along with a surrounding 10-metre zone, must not to be ploughed, planted with trees, crossed by vehicles

⁴ This is not completely accurate as HRMC operate a 'conditional exemption' programme for 'outstanding' heritage features that allows tax on death duties to be reduced. This, however, only applies to a small number of properties in contrast to systems used in other countries.

or used as an access route. They explain that some other restrictions include not being permitted to overgraze, install new drainage system or have supplementary feeding sites, water troughs and silage storage in the surrounding exclusion zone. This means that owners of archaeological sites and monuments not only may incur high costs to maintain their heritage asset but are also prevented from using the land in an otherwise economically viable way.

SIB Findings

- HED has provided financial incentives for private owners to conserve, repair and restore protected buildings and monuments in their care for many years; historically through the Listed Building Grant Scheme and management agreements for scheduled monuments, and since 2016/17 through the Historic Environment Fund (HEF). In 2015/16, there was a significant reduction in HED's available grant funding (reducing from c. £4m per annum to c. £300k per annum) due to wider Government budget reductions.

- The HEF has focused on utilising the limited funding available to support as many projects within the historic environment as possible, rather than focusing on a few large projects. Also, single year funding has resulted in high levels of withdrawals, which has the risk of negatively impacting on public relations and represents inefficiency for HED's limited staffing resources.

- Whilst some buildings are capable of a beneficial and sustainable use (e.g. visitor attractions) many historic monuments such as bridges, statues, mounds, forts etc. will never have the potential to generate direct use values. Therefore, the challenge for owners to close the conservation deficit is even greater.

- There are a few limited fiscal incentives for heritage owners in the UK and NI. Owners of historic assets in NI and the wider UK are largely subject to the same taxes as owners of any other assets. In particular, the treatment of VAT represents a key issue for the heritage sector.

- Although there is an evidenced market failure, the grant rate and value are not always sufficient to encourage the market to appropriately address deficiencies. This is particularly pertinent for private individuals who, without charitable status, are unable to avail of the majority of other public heritage funding.

- There is likely a considerable relationship between regional wealth and property prices, and the extent to which the private market is willing to invest financial resources in protecting the historic environment. In regions (such as NI) where there is less opportunity for private gain by investors, there is potentially a greater need for government intervention to overcome market failures.

- NI property prices are not as high as in some other parts of the UK, but construction prices are typically relatively similar. This means that there is a higher risk of a conservation deficit occurring in NI.

- Entities in government responsible for the historic environment can leverage additional support and resources by making strategic investment and intervention in collaboration

and partnership across central and local government and its agencies, as well as public-funded bodies in the charitable sector.

- There may be a need to focus efforts on building capacity amongst community and voluntary organisations to adopt heritage assets and make strong funding applications to prevent further decline and loss in the historic environment.
- Where structures are not capable of viable economic use that can directly fund their long-term maintenance, their historical and archaeological significance may justify investment in their care and maintenance. Such assets provide cultural benefits and should be recognised and supported by the NI Government to prevent loss of NI's ancient cultural heritage via neglect.

3.6. Difficulties in arranging and carrying out maintenance

Maintain Our Heritage (2004) states that another barrier to maintaining historic assets for private owners is the practical issues of arranging and managing maintenance itself. They explain that there is no clear steer from the conservation sector for owners on how to deal with the practical issues of insurance, health and safety, and access. Likewise, Forster and Kayan (2009) suggest that the importance of maintenance does not appear to be sufficiently prevalent or given enough emphasis in mortgage and house insurance policies, and if these clauses were highlighted with greater effect, a higher uptake of maintenance would potentially be achieved. Furthermore, Rahman et al. (2012) found that in Malaysia, technical, management and administration problems provide a significant barrier for private owners to maintain their historic assets.

Zolkafli et al. (2018) argues that this barrier is exacerbated by the absence of standard guidelines for the owners to refer to in maintaining their heritage buildings and is one of the reasons why the right maintenance principles are not applied. Similarly, Maintain Our Heritage (2004) states that in the UK there is no integrated best practice model for the maintenance management of listed buildings. They argue that heritage bodies are not leading by example as they are failing themselves to ensure that maintenance is integral to their conservation strategy for their own listed building portfolios. Furthermore, Maintain Our Heritage (2004) suggests that the lack of clear maintenance strategies is exacerbated by regionalism in national organisations.

SIB Findings

- Governments can also play a key strategic role in building capacity and collaboration for a more coherent and resilient heritage sector. A strong culture of committed and informed volunteer groups, community organisations, preservation societies and Building Preservation Trusts (BPTs) enables a region to overcome a degree of market failure through human resources to undertake maintenance and management works directly and a greater ability to secure funding to commission and deliver heritage projects.

3.7. Difficulties in finding skilled professionals and necessary materials

Maintain Our Heritage (2004) notes that there is a shortage of properly trained and qualified builders able to undertake maintenance on historic properties. Likewise, Forster and Kayan (2009) cite that in the UK there was a shortage of properly trained and qualified builders able to undertake maintenance on historic properties and that when maintenance was carried out it was often undertaken with unsuitable materials. Heritage England (2015) reports that when asked 'Why didn't you proceed with your listed building consent application?', 11% of the 120 respondents said that it was due to difficulties in finding professionals. Zolkfali et al. (2018), through research based in Malaysia, note that the fact that new or modern materials cannot be used on heritage buildings complicates maintenance work for heritage buildings as some of the original materials are no longer being manufactured.

However, Murray (2017), through a 2017 survey for Historic England, found that property owners in the UK generally did not have difficulties in finding professionals to advise or undertake work, or to find suitable building materials. Although he did state that a minority did find it difficult to locate professional expertise and materials, which may indicate a supply problem locally or nationally. Furthermore, he reports that Listed Building owners found it more difficult to source affordable building materials than Conservation Area property owners – most likely due to the specific needs of their property. Maintain Our Heritage (2004) suggests that there may be a lack of skilled professionals in the systematic maintenance services for historic buildings due to an apparent lack of demand for maintenance services, and the low income, administratively intensive nature of systematic maintenance work.

3.8. Climate change

Ulster Architectural Heritage (2021) note that it is now widely accepted that our climate is changing. The study points to the UK Climate Projections in 2018 reporting that further climate changes are inevitable, and that the UK will need to manage the growing risks arising from it. Ulster Architectural Heritage (2021) assert that although NI's historical buildings, sites and landscapes have already experienced and often survived hundreds of years of climate changes, it places additional and some unforeseen strains on historical buildings, sites and monuments. They explain that climate change increases the magnitude and frequency of extreme weather events, which has considerable implications for the upkeep, maintenance and long-term protection of heritage assets.

Furthermore, Gormley et al. (2009) report that climate change is likely to directly impact the monuments themselves and also result in changing land use practices in NI, which will in turn affect the ways in which agricultural activities might impact archaeological sites and monuments. Overall, they note that it has been suggested that NI will become warmer and have increased rainfall, which may present increased risk to the structural stability of sites and the impacts of vegetation, livestock or machinery on them. Gormley et al. (2009) state that potential effects of climate change include greater saturation of the ground increasing instability of earthwork monuments; greater penetration by water eroding the mortar of masonry monuments; wetter summers leading to growth spurts of vegetation on walls

resulting in ivy and tree growth which threatens stability; increasing sea levels and levels of flooding.

3.9. A lack of voice and low engagement

Lastly, Smith (2014) found that private listed building owners are, on the whole, a silent majority in the heritage policy arena, and go largely unheard when government makes top-down decisions that affect what they may or may not do to their properties. This results in the great majority of individual, private listed building owners being effectively disenfranchised when government consults with the sector on changes to heritage protection policy or law. Murray (2017) reports that although respondents to the listed building survey did not engage with Historic England's social media, they did appear ready to engage with Historic England, with two-thirds being interested in participating in the 'Enrich the List' initiative. Therefore, he suggests that there is some scope to develop positive engagement and communications with property owners and to introduce them to technical information about property repair and maintenance.

SIB Findings

- There is a role for government in more general public awareness-raising of the cultural benefits associated with the historic environment to encourage greater appreciation and engagement with our historic environment.

4. What factors enable private owners to maintain historic assets?



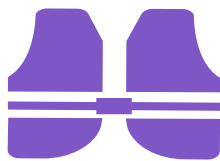
Advice and information



Financial support



Maintenance plans and management systems



Insurance and health & safety



Upskilling in maintenance



Duty of care

4.1. Advice and information

Maintain Our Heritage (2004) proposes that lead heritage bodies define what useful and practical information should be provided at the point of listing and attached to the listing information, so that whenever a building is sold, information is passed onto the next owner. Similarly, Forster and Kayan (2009) suggest that information packs for newly listed buildings as well as all existing listed building owners are provided to encourage owners to be proud of their assets and therefore take responsibility. Smith (2014) proclaims that this will be welcomed by private owners of listed buildings as she found that when faced with the reality of owning and maintaining a historic building, owners develop a considerable appetite to learn. Smith (2014) also reports that over three-quarters of respondents in her research said that a short introductory owners' course would be helpful, with most willing to pay £50 or more for it.

Furthermore, Maintain Our Heritage (2004) states that when it comes to maintenance, private owners of listed buildings need advice on issues such as sourcing appropriate materials, including modern alternatives where appropriate traditional materials are not available, and finding suitable suppliers, consultants and contractors. Therefore, they suggest that relevant heritage bodies should work together to set up a one-stop information shop providing practical information for the owners of listed buildings, with regional sub-sections that would respond to local differences in materials and sources. The one-stop shop would collate existing information sources, advisory information and contacts from organisations already providing such information. Likewise, Forster and Kayan (2009) report that listed building owners wishing to employ a contractor or professional to undertake work would benefit from a one-stop shop that could disseminate details of certified and accredited operatives. In addition, Smith (2014) found that private owners of listed buildings would like online information on specific materials and techniques delivered with practical examples

and case studies of how things can be done, and a range of solutions to their problems, presented in layman's language and modern formats.

Moreover, Gormley et al. (2009) recommend promoting awareness and continuing to develop good relations with the owners of historic sites and monuments via field wardens. They explain that through their research project, it was clear that many landowners and farmers were interested in the archaeological sites and monuments located on their land, and by highlighting the vulnerability of this finite resource, much of the unintentional damage could be avoided. Gormley et al. (2009) elaborate that owners of archaeological sites and monuments need help and guidance to make good decisions that will conserve sites and prevent inadvertent damage.

4.2. Financial support

Pickard and Pickerill (2002) cite that to enable private owners to maintain historic assets, it is generally considered necessary for the public sector to provide some form of financial support to induce the owners and potential investors to undertake works on older properties in preference to new development activity. This is supported by the Historic England (2015) survey where many respondents believed that their listed property is expensive to maintain and would appreciate financial support either in the form of VAT exemption or through other sources. Likewise, Maintain Our Heritage (2004) reports that research provides evidence that maintenance services will not succeed without significant support at government level. They note this support could be a zero VAT rate on maintenance works and repairs to listed buildings, or owners being offered reduced interest rates on mortgages or insurance premiums if they signed up to a maintenance service.

In addition, Maintain Our Heritage (2004) argues that more financial and practical support should be made available by public agencies to owners of listed buildings to help them maintain their historic assets in recognition of their vital role in conserving the historic environment for the public good. They elaborate that grant-giving bodies should change the emphasis of listed buildings grants criteria to reward and incentivise maintenance rather than only repair and conservation. This is because repair grants may seem to reward neglect and penalise prudent owners who have maintained their property in good condition at their own expense. However, Maintain Our Heritage (2004) does not disregard that in some cases repair will be needed as disrepair can result from unforeseen events or the eventual expiry of materials, even when regular maintenance has been undertaken. Nevertheless, they state that a genuine shift towards encouraging and supporting planned maintenance will help reduce the demand on repairs which could reduce the repair grant budgets dramatically. Maintain Our Heritage (2004) states that Britain is the only European country that does not allow taxation relief for maintaining heritage property. Whereas in The Netherlands, for example, there is a system of subsidy, low interest loans and tax breaks where homeowners may deduct maintenance costs from the property tax they pay. They elaborate that State's involvement in financing conservation, such as by fiscal incentives, means the State has a long-term interest in encouraging maintenance to reduce the amount of subsidy provided.

Furthermore, the literature identified various examples of public fiscal support present outside the UK that help enable private owners to maintain historic assets. Forster and Kayan (2009) report that a considerable number of European countries have a maintenance-focused grants system, rate rebates, as well as standardised and subsidised building

inspections. In addition, Productivity Commission (2006) states that in Australia all State and Territory governments provide financial assistance for the conservation and restoration of historic heritage places. This includes explicit grant programs to private or not-for-profit owners of listed historic heritage places and incentives to offset the costs imposed on owners of listed properties.

SIB Findings

- Financial incentives are required to overcome/reduce the conservation deficit for private owners and encourage them to realise the true potential of their assets, safeguarding them for future generations.
- Direct financial assistance is particularly beneficial in incentivising heritage owners who cannot access funding elsewhere and/or to match fund alongside other sources of funding.
- The usefulness of the Heritage at Risk register would be strengthened if it were also used to inform direct investment.

4.3. Maintenance plans and management systems

Zolkafli et al. (2018) cite that developing an effective maintenance plan can provide a better outline and procedures on how maintenance can be managed and carried out accordingly, which would help overcome the maintenance work weaknesses in conserving heritage buildings. Similarly, Akasah, Abdul and Zuraidi (2011) note that effective management systems are a critical success factor for maintaining heritage buildings. Maintain Our Heritage (2004) states that lead heritage bodies and local authorities need to develop best practice processes and procedures in conservation maintenance management to pass on the experience of good practice to owners. They report that their research has found that the best practice for the maintenance management of listed buildings requires the development of a plan for maintenance that is integrated with the wider strategy for the management of the built assets, and which recognises cultural significance and vulnerability of heritage assets. In addition, these best practice processes and procedures require an accurate information management system that is used as a continuous monitoring and strategic tool, not just as a record. Maintain Our Heritage (2004) also recommends that regional and national organisations need to ensure proper co-ordination, within the context of each organisation's overall objectives and strategy, of their maintenance philosophy, policies, programmes and practice for individual buildings, estates and regions.

In regard to architectural sites and monuments, Gormley et al. (2009) recommend that resources should be targeted to enhance and continuously maintain the NI Sites and Monuments Record. This record was recognised as a vital resource in the management of NI's archaeological sites and monuments, as well as a vital resource for environmental education and outreach. Gormley et al. (2009) also recommend augmenting the schedule of historic monuments in NI as they recognised that statutorily protected archaeological sites and monuments are generally in better condition and have substantial surviving remains. They identified that another benefit of a monument being scheduled is the very important

interface provided by field monument wardens in providing practical, hands-on advice to owners. They also note that the established management agreements to address erosion and collapse issues, should continue. Likewise, the literature has found that statutory listing historical buildings is beneficial to historical building survival, with Department for Communities (2022) reporting that listing introduced in 1973 in NI coupled with grant aid has stemmed the loss of thatched buildings. They state that today in NI there is currently 180 listed thatched buildings with many having been restored and rescued from the brink of ruin as well as some successfully conserved, extended, and changed to meet new uses thanks to regular monitoring by the Department and grants brought upon by statutory listing. In a similar fashion, Rahman et al. (2012) note that in Malaysia the enforcement of National Heritage Act 2005 has helped preservation and conservation of buildings, with increasing number of old buildings being restored as they got listed.

Furthermore, Forster and Kayan (2009) cite that fundamental to a systematic and preventative maintenance programme are regular inspections, with the frequency of inspections being tailored to the significance and vulnerability of the heritage assets. Similarly, Ulster Architectural Heritage (2021) recommend that an effective monitoring and maintenance program will require regular planned inspections undertaken by owners and, where appropriate, by a professional as well as an ongoing understanding of the condition of the building via consistent management and timely intervention. Maintain Our Heritage (2004) reports that owners expressed an interest in inspections being undertaken by independent bodies outside the policing role, however, take-up of pilot services has not been high even when subsidised.

SIB Findings

- HED and other heritage stakeholders such as Councils have a role to play in sharing best practice with private owners of heritage assets and advocating.
- A sector-based strategy for the historic environment in NI is required. Any such strategy could assist HED and the wider sector to optimise its resources, build improved sectoral capacity, strengthen collaboration and serve to raise the profile of the sector both on an NI and the wider UK context thereby supporting efforts to lobby for fiscal levers.

4.4. Insurance and health & safety

Maintain Our Heritage (2004) identifies possible changes to insurance and health & safety guidance that would aid private owners in maintaining their historic assets. They argue that lead heritage bodies need to discuss with the insurance industry possible solutions to the various issues raised by their research such as the question of insuring non-professional suppliers to provide inspection services. As for the health & safety guidance, it should address issues connected to difficult access and working with historic materials. This is because access can be a deterrent to owners undertaking maintenance either because they are unaware of access solutions, they think it will be too costly or they fear it will generate too much disruption.

4.5. Upskilling in maintenance

Maintain Our Heritage (2004) proclaims that research points to three issues relating to skills that need to be addressed in order to enable private owners to maintain historic assets. These are the need to encourage and support the demand from both non-historic and historic building owners for maintenance work; the need to promote basic maintenance skills for owners and builders, including safe access techniques; and the need to nurture in general builders understanding of, and ability to deal with, historic fabric so that they are sympathetic to its conservation when undertaking maintenance tasks. Likewise, Akasah, Abdul and Zuraidi (2011) conclude that training and development is one of the critical success factors for maintaining heritage buildings.

4.6. Duty of care

Lastly, the literature has identified the introduction of duty of care as a potential enabler for private owners to maintain historic assets. Maintain Our Heritage (2004) states that research suggests that where there is a duty of care then owners will undertake maintenance. Forster and Kayan (2009) report that in the UK there is no specific duty on owners to keep their buildings in a good state of repair, even if it is in their interest to do so. They elaborate that in the UK, local authorities have powers to take action where historic buildings have deteriorated to the extent that their preservation may be at risk, however, this sends out a wrong message that systematic and preventative maintenance is not very important and rewards deterioration. Maintain Our Heritage (2004) suggests that a statutory duty of care on owners to maintain listed buildings or provision for local alternatives such as US-style minimum maintenance codes is introduced, however, only if accompanied by measures to help owners meet their new responsibilities. Forster and Kayan (2009) report that in Europe, and more specifically in The Netherlands, Belgium and Denmark, there is a clear duty of care imposed upon the owner which is legally enforced. This is also accompanied by compulsory use of inspection services, which enables a higher degree of planned maintenance to be established.

SIB Findings

- There is no statutory requirement for owners of listed buildings or scheduled monuments in Northern Ireland to maintain their heritage assets in a good condition. While owners can be prosecuted for deliberately damaging or destroying a listed building or scheduled monument, they cannot be prosecuted for allowing them to fall into disrepair.
- Consultation with HED and a number of staff responsible for Planning Enforcement in NI Councils indicated that enforcement in NI is currently sub-optimal and there is an opportunity to further examine how the statute, processes and procedures relating to enforcement might be evolved over time to ensure better heritage outcomes.

5. What are the benefits of maintenance to private owners of historic assets?

5.1. Benefits of maintenance

Dann and Cantell (2005) proclaim that minimal intervention is the key to retaining the value embodied in the fabric of historic buildings, and regular maintenance and repair are the key to achieve this. They explain that there is a common misunderstanding that historic buildings have a fixed lifespan and that gradual decay of their fabric is inevitable. Instead, they argue that unless there are intrinsic defects of design or materials, the lifespan of a historic building may be indefinite provided that timely maintenance, and occasional major repairs are regularly undertaken, with major problems often stemming from neglect. Therefore, they state that modest expenditure on repairs keeps a building weather tight, and routine maintenance can prevent much more expensive work becoming necessary at a later date. Similarly, Maintain Our Heritage (2004) reports that regular inspections and systematic maintenance are cost effective methods of preserving heritage buildings that avoids disruption and minimises risk and uncertainty.

Moreover, Akasah, Abdul and Zuraidi (2011) explain that lack of maintenance can lead to major problems which can disturb the condition, functions, operation and performance of a building as well allow the building to become dilapidated, visually unattractive, unsafe, and endanger not only the occupants but also any nearby people. They state that maintenance is not only important for restoration and repair but also required towards preservation that maintains harmony and sustainability of the environment due to not using new substances. In addition, Akasah, Abdul and Zuraidi (2011) highlight that the importance of maintaining heritage buildings is not only to ensure that all the elements of the building are functioning but that it can benefit the owner too. This is because maintenance increases the performance and life span of the building which can help avoid any major and expensive issues from developing. Likewise, Zolkafli et al. (2018), through a survey of owners of heritage buildings located in Peninsular Malaysia, found that maintenance helps enhance heritage building's value, provides safety for occupants and protects heritage buildings from decay.

Ulster Architectural Heritage (2021) report that another benefit of maintenance is that it helps in coping with climate change. They state that it is recommended that owners adopt a 'maintenance first' approach in responding to the impacts of climate change as according to the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, 'Every £1 saved by not carrying out preventative maintenance could cost £20 in repairs within 5 years'. Ulster Architectural Heritage (2021) elaborate that the objective of regular maintenance is to eliminate or minimise decay of building fabric in the most cost-effective way and ensures resilience in the face of climate change related threats.

SIB Findings

- The best way to keep heritage assets is to maintain them. Regular maintenance can prevent costly renovations in the future and increase the lifespan of historic materials; it is both sustainable and cost effective.
- Through institutional strengthening, capacity building and promoting an enabling environment, central government can encourage the creation of heritage employment and local economic development alongside the protection of the historic environment.

6. What are the views of private owners on owning and maintaining historic assets?

6.1. Views on owning historic assets

Smith (2014), through a consultation involving 130 listed building owners, reports that the participants for the most part regarded owning a listed building as a source of pride, privilege or joy. She states that some listed building owners enjoyed living in historic houses, whereas some hated the inadequate bathroom or kitchen facilities, or the impossibility of heating them effectively. Smith (2014) concludes that in general listed building owners want policy to be strong on protecting important buildings and features for the community and future generations, however, they want it to be applied in a reasonable way so heritage can be safeguarded whilst making it functionally valuable to society.

Likewise, Historic England (2015) found that listed building owners recognised the importance of conserving heritage for future generations and appreciated how conserving a listed building enhances and brings benefits to the local area. They report that out of 1,002 respondents to their survey of listed building owners, 93% consider their property to be important or very important to the character of the local area, and 88% recognise the importance of listed building consent when it comes to protecting the special architectural and historic character of their property. In general, Historic England (2015) reports that listed building owners felt privileged to own it and demonstrated a real sense of pride as they see themselves as custodians of their property and enjoy being part of history. Therefore, when asked to provide a response to the open-ended survey question "Please can you describe in your own words what owning a listed building means to you?", 82% of respondents were motivated to provide a response which is indicative of the interest and passion people feel about being a listed building owner. Similarly, Murray (2017), through a survey involving 1,345 listed building owners, found that most respondents felt that their listed buildings are historically important locally or nationally, with a feeling of intrinsic social or cultural value also reflected in perception of the value of listed building consent and the benefits of Conservation Area Designation.

In addition, Lynch and Culliford (2018), through a telephone survey involving 509 respondents and 15 in-depth interviews of listed building business occupiers, found that nearly two-thirds of respondents felt the historic nature of their building enhanced their business. They note that many of the interviewees readily and happily talked about their

buildings and a genuine affection and a degree of pride for their building was shown despite the challenges and issues they may have faced. Some of the intangible benefits regularly mentioned included the atmosphere, feel, charm, character and soul of the historic premises, with the exterior appearance and collective impact of historic buildings in a historic area seen as a key benefit to occupying a historic building. Lynch and Culliford (2018) elaborate that commercially occupying a historic building was reported to bring status, extra visibility and competitive advantage, but that it can also bring additional pressure especially on keeping the building aesthetics. However, despite some of the downsides to occupying a historic building, they found that most owners still felt the positives clearly outweighed the negatives, with most issues generally seen as 'nuisances' rather than 'deal-breakers' and many owners feeling it is a privilege running their businesses in historic buildings and fortunate to have such a business asset.

As for views of private owners on owning historic monuments and archaeological sites, no information has emerged through the rapid evidence assessment process, noting a potential evidence gap in the literature.

6.2. Views on maintaining historic assets

Dann and Cantell (2005), through interviewing listed building owners, proclaim that whilst the participants considered the historical/cultural significance of their buildings to be important, owners felt that such significance could be conserved by repair and replacement, rather than through regular 'preventative' maintenance, which impacted their views as to the value of regular inspections for maintenance purposes. They explain that owners often associated cultural value with aesthetics rather than historic significance and that the majority of interviewees saw maintenance and repair as interchangeable concepts.

Furthermore, Smith (2014) states that although listed building owners recognise and appreciate the individual appeal and group value of historic buildings as well as the importance of conserving them for future generations, even those participants who are committed to their listed properties felt that the system imposes too many costs, delays and restrictions. She reports that several owners expressed strong views that protecting built heritage through listing is more beneficial to the public than it is to owners themselves and that although conserving historic buildings 'for everyone' was important, this should not be at the price of imposing unreasonable demands on individual owners. However, Smith (2014) also notes that some committed owners felt that listed building ownership is a choice and that if the owners find the regime too burdensome, they can opt out, reducing the pool of people willing to become custodians of historic buildings.

In addition, Lynch and Culliford (2018) found that many listed building business occupiers were concerned about the amount and cost of maintenance of their historic building, especially as repairs and replacements have to be like for like. However, they note that most of these maintenance issues were not unexpected and were seen as part of occupying a historical building, with many happy to put up with some of the on-going issues and often work around them or wait until they can afford fixing them.

Similar to the views of owning historic monuments and archaeological sites, no information has emerged on the views on maintaining them through the rapid evidence assessment process.

SIB Findings

- Governments can play a role in persuading owners to take positive actions. This may involve development of non-compulsory directives promoting certain behaviour or more generally advocating the benefits of owning a heritage asset and regularly maintaining it and protecting its unique heritage features.

7. Conclusion

7.1. Key findings

Building on the SIB (2020) report, this literature review sets out what is known about market failure in heritage from a range of existing sources.

As set out in section 2.2, the literature review focused on addressing the following research questions:

1. What are the barriers and constraints to maintaining historic assets for private owners?
2. What factors enable private owners to maintain historic assets?
3. What are the benefits of maintenance to private owners of historic assets?
4. What are the views of private owners on owning and maintaining historic assets?

A number of barriers and constraints to private owners maintaining listed buildings were identified in the literature. The evidence base on the issues pertaining to the owners of historic monuments was more limited. For listed buildings the literature points to issues around awareness of the implications of owning a historic asset as a key barrier alongside the availability of quality, timely and accessible advice to inform and support owners to repair and maintain their asset. Awareness was also identified as an issue for the owners of monuments including owners sometimes not knowing that they have an important monument on their site, not aware of the importance of the monument or not understanding how best to maintain them. The literature also highlights the bureaucracy of the listed building consent process as well as restrictive regulations on what work can be carried out on a historic asset as key barriers. Policy related barriers were identified in the literature for both listed buildings and monuments including insufficient focus on preserving cultural value and a strong focus on repair rather than maintenance. Other barriers identified included cost, difficulties arranging and carrying out works and accessing skilled professionals and necessary materials as well as climate change and a perception of low levels of engagement with government.

Linked to the barriers identified above, factors that enable owners to maintain historic assets include the provision of practical information and advice on owning a historic asset at the point of sale or to new owners as well as the provision of information packs. Developing best practice processes and procedures in conservation management and sharing good practice was also identified as a factor that would enable owners to put in place effective maintenance plans. Other factors identified in the literature that might enable owners to maintain historic assets include addressing skills gap, potential changes to insurance and

health & safety guidance, the provision of financial support and the introduction of a duty of care on owners to maintain their heritage assets in good condition.

There was considerable evidence available within the literature reviewed on the benefits of maintenance to owners. Some of the benefits identified included increasing the performance and lifespan of the asset, especially in the context of climate change related threats, avoiding major and expensive issues from arising and ensuring safety.

The literature provides some evidence that the owners of historic assets appreciate the historical and cultural significance of their assets and the importance of conservation, but some owners think that conservation can be achieved through repair and replacement rather than preventative maintenance. The literature also highlights a perception that the public benefits more from the maintenance and repair of heritage assets than the private owner.

7.2. Recommendations for primary evidence gathering

The literature review was undertaken to ensure that primary evidence gathering on market failure in the heritage sector in Northern Ireland (NI) is informed by and takes account of existing evidence on the issue. While none of the papers reviewed as part of this literature review focus on NI, they provide useful insight on the issues experienced by the owners of historic assets more broadly.

As part of the primary evidence gathering, it might be useful to:

- Explore the extent to which the barriers to maintaining historic assets identified as part of this literature review are encountered by owners in NI and if there are any additional barriers experienced by local owners.
- Examine whether the barriers encountered by owners vary by type of historic asset.
- Examine the views of owners on how the barriers to maintaining historic assets might be addressed.
- Consider owner perceptions on the benefits and drawbacks of owning a historic asset.

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