







2011 Volume 15(4): 393–415 http://dx.doi.org/10.3846/1648715X.2011.638159

CONTINGENT VALUATION OF BUILT HERITAGE PROPERTIES IN A TRANSITION COUNTRY: A CASE OF LITHUANIA

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Received 7 July 2010; accepted 17 October 2011

ABSTRACT. The built heritage began to be seen not only as a real estate property and an object of cultural value but also as a multifaceted and multidimensional cultural good in the second half of the 20th century. It has increasingly attracted the interests of economists, who attempted to measure not only its economic impact, but also the total economic value. The spectrum of the categories of the economic value of the built heritage and the valuation methods applied has expanded in the course of time. Currently it encompasses market and nonmarket economic values and numerous valuation techniques based on the stated and revealed data, including the Contingent Valuation Method (CVM). The number of contingent valuation (CV) studies aimed at valuing the non-market benefits of the built heritage in developed and developing countries is growing. However, the post-communist transition countries are quite an exception. The applications of the CVM in the developing countries have demonstrated that the sociocultural context must be taken into account and the special measures must be applied in order to get the reliable results. This sensitivity of the CVM to the sociocultural context encourages analyzing the peculiarities of its application in the post-communist transition countries. The main aim of the article is to determine the peculiarities of the social environment of the post-communist transition countries and their possible influence on the CV results. The findings of the research can be useful not only to the fields of CV survey design and benefit transfer, but also to the broad and rapidly developing field of the post-communist studies, for the better understanding the hidden values and potential of the built heritage properties, and the sustainable management of the built environment.

KEYWORDS: Built heritage; Manor residence; Contingent valuation method (CVM); Kaunas region; Lithuania; Post-communist transition country

1. INTRODUCTION

It is known that the strong local cultures and other cultural phenomena, including the built heritage properties, can generate numerous direct and indirect social (McDonald et al., 2009) and economic benefits and can be valued not only form the cultural, but also from the economic points of view (Throsby, 2002; Bowitz and Ibenholt, 2009). Greffe (2004) points out that the economic analysis of the built heritage properties cannot be limited with their use values and must also take into account the non-use benefits. He proposes an ecosystemlike approach towards the management of the cultural heritage which clearly demonstrates the crucial role of the society and its interests in this process. The analysis of literature has demonstrated that the non-market valuation methods, which enable determining the nonmarket values and integrating the society into the valuation process, are being increasingly applied to value built the heritage properties in the recent decades. These techniques allow assessing the built heritage object not only as a private real estate property, but also as the non-rival and non-excludible public good. This article focuses on the Contingent Valuation Method (CVM), which belongs to the abovementioned group. This method is based on the statements of the individuals about their maximum willingness to pay (WTP) for the public or mixed goods related with built heritage, which mainly include the improvements or preservation efforts of the built heritage property.

The nature of the CVM determines its flexibility concerning the object under valuation and the potential to measure the much wider spectrum of the non-market values, including the non-use values. Carson has recorded more than 5000 cases of the application of the CVM (Noonan, 2003) and the number of its applications is constantly growing in the recent years. The fields of the built heritage valuation and

real estate appraisal are not the exceptions as well. For example, Simons et al. (2008) used the CVM to determine the effect that radon and airborne mine dust would have on the residential property values in Johannesburg, South Africa. The results demonstrated that residential property discounts for potentially contaminated housing sites varied from -24% to -50%. Lipscomb (2011) used the CVM to measure the impact of a proposed biomass facility on prospective property values. Mattia et al. (2010) used the CV survey with dichotomous choice valuation question in order to estimate the market value of a sample of residential properties in the city of Milan. The experience of the applications of this method to the built heritage ranges from valuation of the single historic buildings to the urban complexes and archeological sites and includes the applications by Mourato et al. (2002), Dutta et al. (2007), Del Saz Salazar and Marques (2005), Kinghorn and Willis (2008) and many others. The geographical dispersion of the CV studies of the built heritage is also very wide including Europe, the United States and the Asian countries, the developed and developing states.

However, the flexibility and universality also evoke the criticisms of the reliability of the CVM results in the fields of valuation of the public environmental goods (Venkatachalam, 2004) and the real estate appraisal (Roddewig and Papke, 1993; Roddewig and Frey, 2006). For example, Roddewig and Frey (2006) express the serious doubts if the CVM can be applied in the field of the real estate appraisal. According to them, the testing had revealed that CV did not accurately predict real-world prices paid by actual buyers and sellers. According to Roddewig and Papke (1993), it is impossible to estimate accurately either form of public value. They suggest that traditional market value concepts remain an essential touchstone for efficient and equitable transactions between private parties as well as

between private and public parties. Whitehead and Blomquist (2006) also partially agree with the problems of biases and reliability of the CV estimates: "Researchers who adopt the CVM for their benefit-cost analysis should be aware of some of the methodological challenges. These include the potential for hypothetical bias, temporal bias, sensitivity of willingness to pay estimates to multi-part policy (i.e., sequencing), and the bias of a reliance on willingness to pay, relative to willingness to accept questions, when the appropriate property rights are held by the respondent." However, contemporary trends of creative and cultural industries demonstrate that a broad sociocultural and socioeconomic thinking based more on communication and collaboration than on competition and reaching further than a short term profit goals is needed for both the economic and sociocultural success. The field of the built heritage management, when heritage object under consideration can be simultaneously considered as the public and private good and providing cultural and economic benefits, presents a particular challenge. Built heritage undoubtedly has a hidden sociocultural and socioeconomic dimension that would be unwise to ignore. Understanding the non-market economic values of the built heritage properties would allow considering the wider spectrum of the potential uses of the good and the alternative unexpected financing possibilities and could result in significant social benefits. The relevance of this article, thus, is determined by the need to integrate the measurements of the non-market values of the built heritage in the processes of the decision-making and property management. This need can be explained by the following aspects:

Patrimonialization of the historic real estate properties. The process of patrimonialization is the attribution of the certain values and significances to the object and consequent its acknowledgement as heritage worthy to preserve (Vaitkuvienė, 2010). The CV of the building or

other built object with supposed heritage values can reveal its social significance and the non-market economic values generated by its cultural significance;

Understanding the hidden economic dimension of the built heritage properties. Knowledge of the significant non-market benefits of the heritage property may encourage development of the creative and heritage industries and additional financing through donations and funds. This also provides the economic justification for the built heritage preservation;

Understanding the wider economic impacts of the built heritage properties. The CVM together with other valuation techniques, such as the Hedonic Pricing Method, can be used in analyzing the influence of the built historic environment or the proximity of the historic buildings on the market values of the real estate properties;

Making information based decisions concerning the built heritage properties. One of the main issues in the management of the properties with heritage values is finding the balance between the use and preservation and between the innovation and conservation of the authentic fabric in order to get the optimal economic benefits simultaneously maintaining the cultural value and social significance of the property. The knowledge of non-market use and non-use values can be significant in this regard. The CVM also can be helpful in modeling how the preservation actions and highlighting of authentic heritage features may increase the market value of the property;

Socially responsible management of the built heritage properties. The CVM reveals the public good dimension and the related social benefits of the built heritage object; moreover, this method is based on the sociological surveys, thus it integrates the society and its attitudes in the process of the built heritage management.

The criticisms and the empirical tests encourage continuous development and improve-

ments of the method from classical dichotomous questions to the sophisticated questionnaires with a wide array of value elicitation methods. It is necessary to note that for the meantime the CVM and similar stated preference techniques are the only ones enabling to capture the non-use values (Epstein, 2003). Whitehead and Blomquist (2006) argue that the CVM could be applied in the cost-benefit analyses, but with caution. They note, that valuing the public goods "some number can be better than no number". According to them, "Relative to revealed preference methods, the CVM is more flexible, it can be used to estimate non-use values, and ex ante willingness to pay under demand and supply uncertainty. In many applications, the CVM is the only methodology that can be used due to the nonexistence of related markets, large non-use values, or a significant amount of uncertainty about the outcome of the policy." Moreover, the researchers note, that often the failure of the CVM to capture certain economic values is caused by the inappropriate survey design (Venkatachalam, 2004).

In order to design the surveys appropriately and benefit from the CV of the built heritage, the understanding of the local sociocultural and socioeconomic contexts is of crucial importance. The analysis of literature has demonstrated the lack of the experience of the use of the CVM for the built heritage valuation in the post-communist transition countries. The only application case of the CVM to the Bulgarian monasteries by Mourato et al. (2002) was recorded. Vaitkuvienė (2010), for instance, highlights the general lack of the tradition of the systematic heritage valuation in the post communist Lithuania. Meanwhile, the theory and practice are rapidly developing in field of property and services valuation of the postcommunist transition countries. For example, Marčinskas and Galinienė (2005), Galinienė and Marčinskas (2007) had analyzed the peculiarities of the property and services valuation

systems in Lithuania in the context of postcommunist sociocultural and socioeconomic transformations.

The nature of the CVM determines that its successful application depends on numerous social, psychological, cultural and economic factors. For example, the empirical evidences demonstrate that applying the CVM in the developing countries special measures must be taken in order to secure the reliability of the valuation results (Dutta et al., 2007; Alberini and Cooper, 2000). The evidence also exists that people in the transition countries and in the developed countries differ in their attitudes, perceptions (Čiegis et al., 2008), cultural and economic stereotypes (Marčinskas and Galinienė, 2005), and preferences towards the natural and cultural resources (Stone, 2005; Čepaitienė, 2002, 2005). For example, Marčinskas and Galinienė (2005) had identified the inherited socio-cultural stereotypes in the Lithuanian property valuation system in the post-communist transition period. However, no trials to analyze how the sociocultural and socioeconomic peculiarities of the post-communist countries can influence the results of the CV of built heritage were recorded. The nature of the CVM, as well as the volatile but essential interdependence between heritage and society from the cultural (Čepaitienė, 2002, 2005), as well as from the economic (Greffe, 2004) points of view allow making a presumption that the peculiarities of the social environment of the post-communist transition countries may influence the possibilities and results of the CV of the built heritage.

This research, aimed at identifying the sociocultural factors that may influence the CV estimates of the built heritage in the post-communist countries, to our knowledge is the first or one of the first such attempts. It merges the insights from the *desktop study* and the *empirical evidence* from the experimental study. In order to make the presumptions concerning the external factors influencing the individual's WTP and their congruities with the economic, socio-cultural, and political aspects affected by the processes of post-communist transition, the analysis of literature and case studies in the fields of cultural economics, sociology, history, and historic preservation was accomplished. In order to verify a part of these presumptions, the survey aimed at determining the prevailing attitudes towards the Lithuanian built heritage and the pilot CV study of the non-market benefits of the preservation of Lithuanian manor residencies were carried out. The experimental CV survey was not aimed at producing the reliable not-market estimates suitable for making practical preservation decisions, but at identifying the future research directions.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Context-sensitivity of the CVM

Throsby (2002) makes a clear distinction between the economic and cultural impulses and behaviors of the individuals: the economic impulse is individualistic and reflects the individual goals; meanwhile, the cultural impulse is collective and reflects the collective goals deriving from the nature of culture as the beliefs, aspirations, and the identification of a group. The analysis of the interactions between these

two impulses or behaviors is especially relevant in the field of the economic valuation of the built cultural heritage. The insights from the social theory of value can be useful in this field. It states that the economic value is a socially constructed phenomenon and its analysis cannot be isolated from the social context (Throsby, 2002). Considering that, it is possible to presume that the hypothetical WTP for the preservation of the built heritage object as an individualistic impulse can be influenced by the social environment i.e. by the collective impulse (Figure 1).

The evidence of the sensitivity of the hypothetical WTP to the social environment can be found. The analysis of literature demonstrates that the CVM is sensitive not only to such obvious socioeconomic factors as the economic situation of the country or the tax policy (Ruijgrok, 2006), but also to the wider sociocultural and political context. For example, Alberini and Cooper (2000) have analyzed the experience of the applications of the CVM in the developing countries such as Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Philippines, India, and Pakistan. Their study has demonstrated that WTP can be influenced by the distrust in the corrupted governmental institutions. Personal face-to-face interviews are usually used as a survey method in the developing countries because of the low level of literacy (Dutta et al., 2007; Alberini and Cooper, 2000).

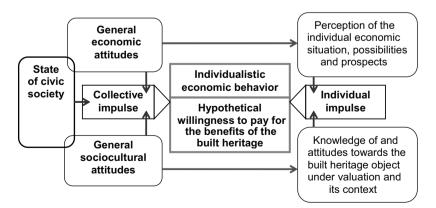


Figure 1. Potential determinants of the individual's WTP for the benefits of the built heritage

The series of valuation questions so-called "bidding games" are well accepted by the respondents in the developing countries as people there are used to negotiate over the price of any item they purchase on a regular market (Alberini and Cooper, 2000). The knowledge about the good under valuation is also of crucial importance for the successful application of the CVM. Alberini and Cooper (2000) indicate that it may be challenging to describe the unfamiliar good under valuation, such as technological improvements, to the respondents of the developing countries.

2.2. Post-communist transition countries and their social environment

After the collapse of the Soviet bloc a new group of countries often referred to as the postcommunist transition countries has emerged. Very soon these countries have differentiated one from another according to their progress towards the free market and the degree of democratization. The part of this group, which was referred to as the competitive democracies in the report of the World Bank (2002) and has already made a considerable progress towards the economic liberalization and democratization, is the focus of this article. It encompasses such countries as Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the Czech Republic etc. The main attention is devoted to Lithuania, where the experimental surveys were carried out. The term transition is commonly used to define the passage from the centralized planned economy to the free market. However, it is possible to distinguish the alternative multidimensional approach, where the economic transition is perceived only as a part of the complex postcommunist transition process, which also encompasses political, ideological, social, and cultural dimensions as well (Čepaitienė, 2002, 2005; Marčinskas and Galinienė, 2005; Čiegis et al., 2008; Samalavičius, 2008). In the article the term "post-communist transition" is treated in this broader sense.

The post-communist societies and economies are being increasingly analyzed not only by the researchers from the outside (Stone, 2005; Sapsford and Abbott, 2006; Berend, 2007), but also by the "insiders" (Čepaitienė, 2002, 2005; Marčinskas and Galinienė, 2005; Čiegis et al., 2008; Samalavičius, 2008; Brauers and Zavadskas, 2010; Vaitkuvienė, 2010; Žvirblis and Buračas, 2010) i.e. those living in and making a part of these societies. With the reference to Berend (2007) and Vaitkuvienė (2010) it can be stated that the main feature characterizing the societies in the post-communist transition is the sharp collision of traditional values and the values introduced by the communist regime with new values and social behavior requirements such as the entrepreneurship, risk taking, efficiency, and pluralism. After the analysis of literature the other features of the postcommunist societies, mainly deriving from this collision of values, such as weak civic society and the consequent corruption (Berend, 2007; Čiegis et al., 2008; Marčinskas and Galinienė, 2005), climate of mistrust (Marčinskas and Galinienė, 2005; Sapsford and Abbott, 2006; Čiegis et al., 2008), low level of participation and personal initiative (Samalavičius, 2008) can be distinguished. Uncertainty, caused by the increasingly globalizing world, pessimism about the current and future situation and the culture of complain are also attributed to the post-communist societies of Central and Eastern Europe (Berend, 2007; Samalavičius, 2008). These peculiarities of the social environment can certainly affect the image of the built heritage in the post-communist societies and the attitudes towards it.

2.3. The model

The analysis of the peculiarities of the social environment of the post-communist transition countries and of the external features, which may influence the CV results, has demonstrated the congruencies between these two fields: the state of the civic society, general sociocultural and socioeconomic perceptions are important in the both fields. These observations allowed constructing the theoretical model of the possible influences of the social environment of the post-communist transition countries on the CV estimates (Figure 2).

The model can be described by three hypothetical statements:

- Undervaluation of the built heritage. The attitude that the CV estimates are upward biased is widespread. This bias is explained by the strategic behavior of the respondents, their inability to form the adequate preferences, by the shortcomings of the survey design and many other issues (Venkatachalam, 2004).

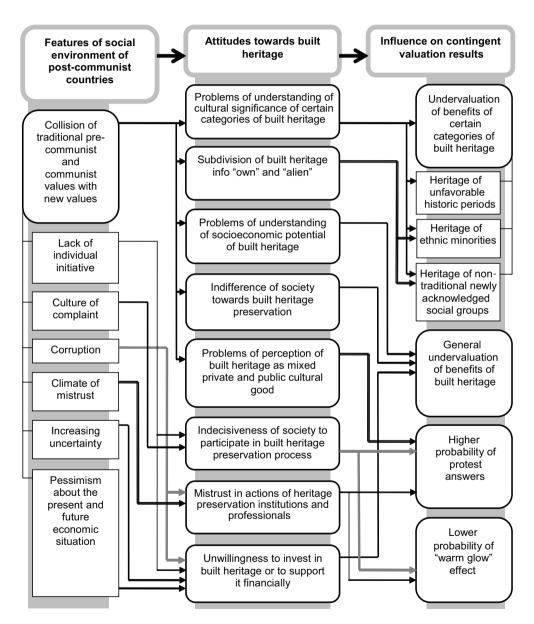


Figure 2. The theoretical model of the influence of the social environment of the post-communist countries on the individual willingness to pay for the benefits of the built heritage

The NOAA panel (Arrow et al., 1993) also points out to this potential bias and proposes the "conservative" survey design in order to minimize it: "Generally, when aspects of the survey design and the analysis of the responses are ambiguous, the option that tends to underestimate WTP is preferred. A conservative design increases the reliability of the estimate by eliminating extreme responses that can enlarge estimated values wildly and implausibly". The importance of the quality and conservativeness of the survey design cannot be underestimated. However the lower CV estimates are not always the more reliable. The analysis of literature allows making a presumption that some attitudes inherent to the post-communist societies may cause the lower willingness or disagreement to pay for the heritage goods. Consequently, the WTP in the post-communist countries may mean not the same as the WTP in the western countries. This issue would be essential to the field of the benefit transfer. For example, the lack of the comprehensive view of the country's built heritage in the post-communist society caused by the conflicting social and cultural values imposed by the changing regimes and governments may result in the lower willingness or the unwillingness to pay for the benefits of certain categories of the built heritage. Considering the sociocultural peculiarities of the Central and Eastern European post-communist countries, three main categories of such potentially undervalued heritage can be distinguished. First of all the tendency of undervaluation may regard the built heritage of the historical periods unfavorable to the nation (Cepaitiene, 2002, 2005; Vaitkuvienė, 2010), such as the Soviet occupation. The individual living in the post-communist transitional societies may also be unwilling to pay for the preservation of the built heritage of some ethnic or confessional minorities, which are generally considered as "alien" in the society. Such tendency can be seen as both the result of the experience of the occupation and the inability to accept the new values and social behavior requirements, such as the tolerance and pluralism. The overdue acceptance of new values may also result in the undervaluation of the built heritage of the nontraditional or newly acknowledged social groups. The industrial heritage is very important in this regard. The efforts to preserve the material evidence of the industrial era can be seen throughout the western countries. Meanwhile, in some post-communist countries, where the industrialization was late and mainly driven by the Soviet regime, the built industrial heritage may still be associated only with the communist rule, shortages, unhealthy working conditions, and environmental degradation.

There can be other sociocultural and socioeconomic reasons of the undervaluation of the built heritage in the post-communist countries. For instance, the socioeconomic dimension of the built heritage was ignored by the communist regimes (Čepaitienė, 2002; Vaitkuvienė, 2010) and this is still evident in the present actions of the built heritage owners and heritage preservation institutions. The ignorance of the economic potential lying in the built heritage and the related lack of the economic and cultural creativity was clearly revealed by the recent research of in the Kaunas District in Lithuania carried out by Jurenienė (2010). It came out that only two neighborhoods of the total 19 analyzed had developed the creative industries with interconnected heritage, media, and art segments. In the rest of the analyzed neighborhoods the development and maintenance of ethnic culture were financed by the state. This allows making the presumption that the

misunderstanding of the social and economic benefits of the built heritage and its present use possibilities rooted in the society may cause the lower individual WTP for the heritage preservation. The general climate of dissatisfaction with the current economic situation, the sense of social insecurity, and the pessimism about the future characteristic to the post-communist societies (Berend, 2007) may also discourage the individuals from the financial contribution to the heritage preservation. The repeated manipulations with the historical facts carried out by the changing governments and regimes may also cause the indifference towards the destiny of the built heritage in the society. For example, the heritage of the Central and Eastern European manors may be sensitive in this regard. The manor residencies i.e. the material heritage of the noble societies typical to the Central and Eastern European postcommunist countries was the subject to the ideological manipulations of the communist era. The manors were depicted as the entirely negative phenomenon because of the exploitation of serfs without any attention to their cultural merits.

- Higher probability of the protest answers. Researchers, including the experts of the NOAA panel, address the issue of the "protest zeroes" i.e. the cases when a respondent actually willing to pay might answer negatively because of some extraneous reasons such as the generalized aversion to taxes, a view that someone else should pay, a doubt that his contribution can be wasted and etc. (Arrow et al., 1993; Venkatachalam, 2004). The disregard of these "protest zeroes" may significantly bias the WTP estimates. It is necessary to pay attention at the possible causes of protests valuing the built heritage in the post-communist societies. The importance of this issue was already highlighted in Poland in the field of environmental valuation (Dziegielewska and Mendelsohn, 2007). The sociocultural aspects, such as the widespread indifference, the lack of personal initiative, and the climate of mistrust might matter in this case. For example, the general mistrust in the governmental institutions and professionals may result in the individual opinion that his or her contribution will be wasted and distract from the essence of the valuation question. The other reason for the higher probability of the protest answers also exists: Marčinskas and Galinienė (2005) note that the political repressions of the Soviet time had planted the distrust and suspiciousness in the activities related to the collection and accumulation of any kind of information. The indifference and low level of participation and personal initiative in the post-communist societies may cause the individual attitudes that the others are responsible for the heritage of the country and these responsible, such as the governmental institutions, users, and owners, should pay for its preservation. The problems of the perception of the built heritage as the mixed private and public cultural good may also cause the different types of protest answers. According to Čepaitienė (2002), the postcommunist societies tend to place the private interests and the free market above the public interest. In such case the individuals may be unwilling to pay for the preservation of private built heritage objects, as the question, whether to preserve the private historic building would be viewed as the concern of the owner and the involvement of the governmental or public institutions would be seen as unacceptable. The nostalgia for the total accessibility and the disrespect to the private property, which might also be characteristic to the post-communist societies, may cause the unwillingness to pay for the preservation of the privately

- owned built heritage, as the proposal to support financially the private property may be regarded even as an offence. Marčinskas and Galinienė (2005) note, that the society of the transition period often identifies the businessmen with the Soviet era profiteers and representatives of the shadow economy.
- Lower probability of the "warm glow" effect. The charitable donations for the heritage preservation purposes are still rare in the post-communist countries due to the lack of the personal initiative and the consequent weak nongovernmental sector. Consequently it is possible to presume that the satisfaction of giving to the public needs may be relatively unknown to such societies. This hypothetical feature of the post-communist societies might lower the risk of the "warm glow" effect, when the individual is actually willing to pay not for the good under valuation, but for the moral satisfaction of giving (Venkatachalam, 2004), which may bias the CV results.

3. THE SUMMARY OF THE EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

3.1. The case study and survey instrument

Objects of the study. The main target of the attitudinal survey was to determine the attitudes of the respondents towards the Lithuanian built heritage: its significance and values, use, management, and preservation. The Lithuanian manor residencies, subjected to the ideological manipulations during the communist rule and newly rediscovered only after the restoration of the Lithuanian independence, were selected as the object for the pilot CV survey. This allowed expecting that valuation of their non-market benefits would reveal the influence of the post-communist social environment on the CV results. The other reason, why the Lithuanian manor residencies

were selected for the experimental valuation, was the familiarity of the society with them as this category of built heritage has received the considerable public and professional attention during the past decade. The Kaunas region with the population of 685 766 inhabitants situated in central Lithuania was selected for the survey. 133 private and public residencies of the manors and their fragments can be found in the territory of the region. It was decided to value the benefits of the residencies of the region in general and of one particular residence in order to compare the valuation results and to test their reliability. The state-owned residence of Raudondvaris manor, which is well known in the region and is opened to the public, was selected for this purpose (Figure 3).

Survey method. Written questionnaire was chosen as a survey method. Such choice was motivated not only by the possibility to survey the larger number of respondents with lower financial costs and time expenditure, but also by the possibilities to give time to the respondents to get acknowledged with the presented information and to form the adequate answers and to avoid the interviewer bias. The latter issue is very important in the CV studies of cultural heritage as the heritage preservation is generally viewed as the positive activity and during the personal interview the respondent may feel the social pressure to indicate the positive WTP. Such presumption was proved by the built heritage valuation survey carried out by Leggett et al. (2003). The written questionnaire presented to the respondents constituted of two main sections: the attitudinal survey consisting of ten questions and the CV survey (Figure 4).

CV scenarios. Two hypothetical scenarios were presented to the respondents: the program intended to preserve the manor residencies of the Kaunas region and the program intended to preserve the residence of Raudondvaris manor. The first program (I program) encom-



Figure 3. The residence of Raudondvaris manor: the Renaissance style palace surrounded by the landscape style park of the 19th century (photograph by Gražulevičiūtė-Vileniškė)

passes the survey of the manor residencies and their fragments of Kaunas region, the selection of the fifty most valuable objects and their conservation in order to preserve them for the future generations. The scenario also encompasses opening to the public of all the stateowned and private residencies selected for the conservation. The respondents were presented with two versions of the second scenario and had to choose between the conservation and preservation for the future generations of the Raudondvaris manor residence (II A program) or its renovation and adaptation to the current needs of the society (II B program). The possibility of choice was intended to determine if the respondents comprehend the present use possibility and the socioeconomic potential of the built heritage. In both scenarios the recommendations for the presentation of the comprehensive information about the objects under valuation and for the "conservative" design were kept. Both preservation programs were anticipated with a description of the present state and significance of the manor residencies to be valued, the preservation programs currently applied and their financing. This information was presented in a wider context of Lithuanian heritage preservation in order to illustrate better the scale and scope of the programs under valuation to the respondents. The descriptions of the both programs consist of the information on the proposed preservation means and methods, duration and possibilities of the continuity of the programs, positive and negative consequences and the possible consequences if the programs would not be realized. The independence and transparency of the institutions responsible for the programs were assured and the process of their accountability to the society was described.

Value elicitation and payment vehicles. The pretesting of the questionnaire demonstrated the negative reactions of some respondents towards the obligatory payment methods such as the tax increase. In order to verify this, the voluntary donation was used as the payment vehicle in the first scenario; meanwhile the obligatory one-time payment was used in the second. The type of the valuation question in CV surveys is the subject of continuous discussions.

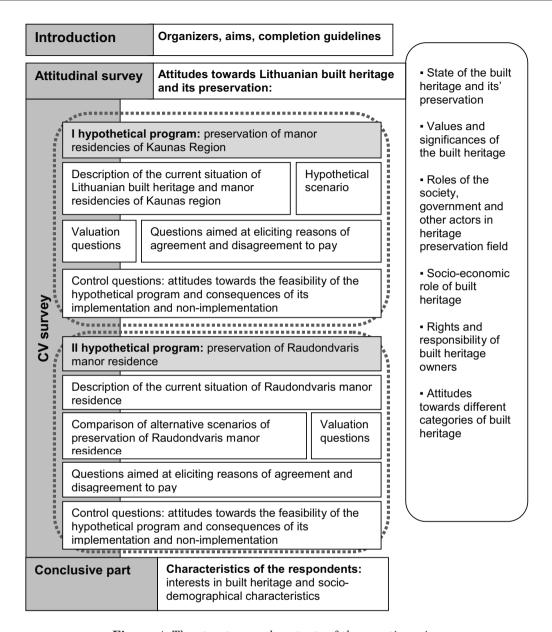


Figure 4. The structure and contents of the questionnaire

Arrow et al. (1993) recommend referendum format; dichotomous choice questions and various choice experiments are often used in this field. These surveys are usually anticipated with the extensive pretesting or use the existing valuation results of similar goods in order to determine the appropriate bids. This experi-

mental built heritage survey is one of the first in the region and can provide significant data for the future researches. Consequently, the combination of the dichotomous choice question and the open-ended question was used: the respondents were first asked if they would agree to support financially the implementation of the program and then asked to indicate the maximum sum they would be willing to contribute. Such value elicitation format enabled to avoid the starting point bias and to determine the exact sums of hypothetical WTP. In both scenarios, following the recommendation of the "conservative" design, respondents were reminded about the budget constraints and the alternative expenditure possibilities before presenting the valuation question.

3.2. The results and discussion

The process of survey and processing of the results. The survey was carried out during the months of February and March in the year 2008. Respondents were selected on the random selection basis from the Kaunas region. 232 written questionnaires were distributed to the residents of the Kaunas region. 19 respondents refused to participate in the survey, mainly motivating their refusal by the lack of time. 179 completed questionnaires were returned. The quality of the completion ranged from satisfactory to good; the main questions were answered in all the questionnaires. All statistical analyses were performed using statistics software SPSS ver.15.0 (SPSS Ltd., Chicago, USA). P-values of less than 0.05 were considered to be statistically significant.

Significance and values of the built heritage. The hypotheses of the indifference towards and the undervaluation of the built heritage in the post-communist societies were mainly denied by the results of the attitudinal survey. It was determined that many respondents use the benefits of the built heritage directly and indirectly. For example, 90.5% of the surveyed individuals visit the built heritage objects mainly for the purposes of knowledge and recreation and 39.7% of them visit built heritage objects from one to three times per year. Moreover, the respondents watch the television broadcastings (59.2%) and read the publications (49.2%) concerning the built

heritage. The survey has also demonstrated that the respondents comprehend the non-use benefits of the built heritage. 77.1% of the surveyed individuals share the view that the built heritage should be preserved in order the future generations could visit it and 44.1% of the respondents agree that the mere existence of the built heritage object is valuable. 30.2% of the respondents declared the moral responsibility towards the preservation of the country's built heritage. 91.6% of the respondents indicated that the opinion of the society should be considered as important or very important making the decisions concerning the built heritage.

The answers to other attitudinal questions as well as the CV survey, however, have revealed the other side of the issue. The majority of the respondents (84%) have indicated that the Department of Cultural Heritage is responsible for the preservation of the built heritage of the country; whereas, only 11% of the surveyed persons attributed this responsibility to the local communities. Moreover, the statistical analysis of the responses has demonstrated that the positive (including moral responsibility, willingness to participate in decision making, and the comprehension of the existence value) as well as relatively negative attitudes towards the built heritage and its preservation do not significantly differ between those who agree or disagree to pay in the CV study (Table 1). We used the Mann-Whitney test to test, whether the evaluations of the attitudinal statements and the characteristics and interests significantly differ between these two groups of respondents. All observed two-tailed significance levels are large (p-value>0.05) and lead to conclude that distributions are the same for the two groups. Pearson Chi-Square test with Yates' correction demonstrates that the spare-time interests in the built heritage (reading publications or watching TV broadcastings about the built heritage) also seem

not to influence the decision to contribute to the heritage preservation (Table 2). The only aspect significantly correlating with the agreement to pay is the profession of the respondents: those specializing in architecture, planning or history are likely to contribute more often than the others. This ambiguous incongruence between the expressed interests, the moral responsibility and the real actions of the respondents cannot be explained by the indifference of the post-communist society towards the built heritage considering the revealed concern about the future of the built heritage and the willingness to influence the decisions.

Table 1. Results of Mann-Whitney test for I and II B program

	Agreement or disagreement			Agreement or disagreement to			
	to pay for I program			pay for	pay for II B program		
		Mean rank	P value		Mean rank	P value	
Age	No	65.11	0.168	No	49.25	0.419	
	Yes	56.12	0.100	Yes	44.56	0.419	
Number of household members (including	No	64.73	0.204	No	50.36	0.179	
the respondent)	Yes	56.69	0.204	Yes	42.67	0.173	
Number of members under 18 years old in	No	64.74	0.126	No 49	49.69	0.219	
the household	Yes	56.67	0.120	Yes	43.81	0.219	
Individual monthly income	No	56.68	0.062	No	41.22	0.003	
	Yes	68.68	0.062	Yes	58.09	0.005	
Importance of heritage preservation in	No	58.60	0.410	No	45.13	0.227	
comparison to other areas of public policy	Yes	63.26	0.419	Yes	51.50		
Opinion about the general state of built	No	61.12	0.050	No	49.26	0.379	
heritage of the country	Yes	62.06	0.876	Yes	44.53		
Attitudes towards the need to preserve built	No	57.22		No	46.22		
neritage objects of favorable and unfavorable nistoric periods			0.600	Yes	44.37	0.717	
Attitudes towards built heritage as an	No	53.05	0.983	No 41.33	41.33	0.738	
obstacle for the economic development	Yes	52.94	0.965	Yes	42.97		
Attitudes towards possible economic benefits	No	59.27	0.541	No	47.04	0.740	
of built heritage	Yes	56.29	0.541	Yes	45.61		
Attitudes towards the opening to the public	No	58.67	0.785	No	46.86	0.492	
of private heritage objects	Yes 57.10 0.785	0.765	Yes	43.36	0.492		
Attitudes towards the rights and freedoms	No	55.33	0.079	No	45.26	0.237	
of built heritage owners	Yes	65.38		Yes	51.27		
Attitudes towards the adaptation of built	No	60.33		No	48.46		
heritage objects and their environment to the needs of visitors	Yes	61.99	0.716	Yes	45.89	0.526	
Opinion about the personal moral	No	56.11		No	42.90		
responsibility for the preservation of county's built heritage	Yes	54.58	0.792	Yes	45.89	0.568	
Opinion about the existence values of built	No	59.39	0.800	No	47.47	0,990	
heritage	Yes	60.87	0.000	Yes	47.54		
Significance of manor residencies in	No	62.86	0.200	No	46.70	0,659	
sustaining the identity of the country	Yes	58.27	0.388	Yes	48.84	0,000	
Opinion about the role of society in decision-	No	62.94	0.000	No	49.07	0,277	
making concerning heritage preservation	Yes	56.96	0.292	Yes	43.57		

Table 2. Response percentages and results of test for independence*

		Agreement or disagreement to pay for I program			Agreement or disagreement to pay for II B program		
		No,%	Yes,%	P value	No,%	Yes,%	P value
Visits at built heritage objects during last 12 months	No	11.0	5.1	0.585	6.7	4.4	1.000
	Yes	49.2	34.7	0.585	54.4	34.4	1.000
Watches TV broadcastings concerning built heritage	No	21.3	14.8	1 000	26.6	14.9	0.993
	Yes	38.5	25.4	1.000	36.2	22.3	
Reads publications concerning built heritage.	No	25.6	20.7	0.400	29.8	18.1	1.000
	Yes	33.9	19.8	0.499	33.0	19.1	
Participates in the activities of heritage preservation organizations	No	57.9	39.7		60.6	37.2	0.528
	Yes	1.7	0.8	1.000	2.1	0	
Donates to charitable purposes	No	56.6	37.7	1.000	59.6	34.0	0.816
	Yes	3.3	2.5	1.000	3.2	3.2	
Visits manor residencies of Kaunas region	No	23.1	8.5	0.050	22.8	6.5	0.075
	Yes	35.9	32.5	0.059	39.1	31.5	
Gender	No	45.1	28.7	0,001	47.9	23.4	0,249
	Yes	14.8	11.5		14.9	13.8	
Education (higher education / other)	No	25.4	17.2	1 000	28.7	14.9	0.742
	Yes	34.4	23.0	1.000	34.0	22.3	
Profession (related to heritage preservation or not)	No	59.8	34.4	0.001	60.6	31.9	0,098
	Yes	0	5.7	0.001	2.1	5.3	
Nationality (Lithuanian / non- Lithuanian)	No	57.4	36.9	0.405	60.6	35.1	0.005
	Yes	2.5	3.3	0.437	2.1	2.1	0.627

^{*} Pearson Chi-Square test with Yates' correction. The test is an arbitrary, conservative adjustment to chi-square when applied to 2×2 tables and gives a better approximation to the binomial distribution. Yates' correction is conservative in the sense of making it more difficult to establish significance.

Rather it can be explained by the lack of personal initiative and responsibility and the consequent low level of participation. The research has actually confirmed very low degree of participation: only 7 of the surveyed individuals are involved into the public heritage preservation activities. The climate of mistrust in the institutions, reflected in the protest answers discussed in the following subsection, can also explain this situation.

The attitudinal survey has also revealed some peculiarities of the post-communist society concerning certain groups of the built heritage. For example, more than a half of the respondents (61.5%) consider that the prominent industrial buildings are not very important or are not important at all to the identity

of the country. 53.1% of the respondents share the view that the significant buildings of the Soviet era are not important sustaining the identity of the country. 38% of surveyed individuals do not acknowledge the significance of the heritage of the ethnic minorities for the country's identity as well. Meanwhile, the medieval castles and artificial mounds are considered to be significant or very significant to the identity of the country by the majority of the surveyed individuals (respectively 98.3% and 96.1%). This confirms the tendency to subdivide the heritage into the "own" and "alien" identified by Čepatienė (2002, 2005). The individual attitudes towards the heritage of the Lithuanian manors were also considered to be sensitive to the social environment. However,

the undervaluation of the manor residencies was approved neither by attitudinal survey, nor by CV study. The attitudinal survey has demonstrated that the respondents do not consider the residencies of the manors as alien or insignificant. 98.3% of the respondents acknowledge their importance to the identity of the country. 78.2% of the surveyed persons consider them as the integral part of the country's history. The positive attitudes of the respondents towards the heritage of the Lithuanian manors are also reflected by the positive non-market values revealed by the CV results. The other potentially undervalued categories of the built heritage (the industrial heritage, the heritage of the Soviet period, the heritage of the national minorities) were not considered in the CV survey and indicate the directions for the future research.

The positive non-market benefits of the manor residencies were confirmed by the CV survey. 49 respondents agreed to contribute to the preservation of the manor residencies of the Kaunas region. Valuing the second hypothetical scenario, 139 respondents have selected the renovation of the Raudondvaris manor residence and its adaptation to the present needs and 35 of them agreed to support this program, whereas only 24 of the surveyed individuals gave the priority to the conservation of the residence and only 3 of them agreed to support it. The mean WTP for all the three programs was estimated after the excluding of the "protest zeroes". It was determined that the mean WTP per capita for the benefits of the preservation of the manor residencies of the Kaunas region was 47.5 Litas (13.8 Euros); for the benefits of the renovation and the present use of the Raudondvaris manor residence - 26.6 Litas (7.7 Euros); for the benefits of the conservation of this residence - 6.1 Litas (1.8 Euros). This is approximately 0.4–2.8% of the average monthly income in Lithuania, a reasonable percentage for the one-time payment and comparable to the results from the

other CV studies. The difference between the WTP for the preservation of the residencies of the region in general and the renovation and the present use of the Raudondvaris residence is rather small. However, such small difference can be explained not only by the presumption that the respondents did not understand the scale and scope of the programs under valuation, but also by the fact that the different goods, i.e. the conservation and the present use of the built heritage, were valued. The respondents have deliberately selected the present use possibility of the Raudondvaris manor residence, meanwhile, such choice was impossible valuing the residencies of the region in general. Besides that, the Raudondvaris manor residence is well known in the region, whereas, the respondents might be less familiar with the overall heritage of the region's manor residencies.

The results of the surveys have denied the hypothesis that the misunderstanding of the socioeconomic potential of the built heritage may lower the WTP for its benefits. 68.2% of the respondents agreed with the statement that well maintained and used built heritage objects can be economically beneficial. Only 8 respondents strongly agreed with the statement that the built heritage is an obstacle to the economic development of the country. The attitudes towards the socioeconomic role of the built heritage do not significantly differ between those who agree or disagree to pay (Table 1). The understanding of the socioeconomic potential was also confirmed by the choices of the respondents in the second hypothetical scenario: the majority has selected the renovation and the present use of the Raudondvaris manor residence. Such attitudes of the respondents can be explained by the substantial progress of the transition process and the adoption of the capitalist values.

The unwillingness to support financially the preservation of the built heritage because of the pessimism about the economic situation

was traced in the survey results and partially confirmed the first hypothetical statement. The most frequent motivation of the disagreement to pay was the financial situation. 41 respondents have indicated difficult financial situation as the main reason of the disagreement to pay for the implementation of the I program. 24 other respondents indicated their financial situation as the secondary reason of disagreement to pay. 29 respondents have indicated the financial situation as the main reason of the disagreement to pay for the implementation of the II B program and 26 respondents have mentioned this as the secondary reason. It is necessary to note that the survey was conducted during the peak of the economic growth in the Baltic region. Moreover, the statistical analysis has demonstrated no difference between the income levels of the individuals and their agreement or disagreement to pay (Table 1, I program).

Table 3 presents the logistic regression estimates for I and IIB programs. The percent of right prediction that gives the overall percent of cases that are correctly predicted by the model is 71.5% for the I program and 77.7% for the II B program. Parameters having pvalues less that 0.05 are statistically significant. The income level is significant only for the II B program. This allows presuming that not the actual financial situation but the attitude towards it matters. The Cox & Snell R Square and Nagelkerke R Square in Table 3 are relatively low and the fitness of the logistic regression is not so good. This finding may suggest the existence of the unknown variables affecting the WTP.

The protest answers. The analysis of the protest answers has confirmed the hypothesis of the higher probability of the certain "protest zeroes" using the CV technique in the post-communist countries. The protest answers were identified based on the answers to the questions aimed at eliciting the reasons of the disagreement to pay (Table 4).

The analysis of the results has confirmed two protest reasons presupposed in the hypothesis: indecisiveness of the society to participate in the processes of built heritage preservation and the mistrust in institutions. For example, 33 respondents have indicated the belief that the others (government, municipalities, owners, and users) should pay for the implementation of the I program as the main reason of the disagreement to pay. 45 other respondents have indicated this issue as the secondary reason of the disagreement. The mistrust in institutions is also evident: 13 respondents indicated the fear that their contribution will be wasted as the main reason of the disagreement to pay for the implementation of the I program; 32 respondents indicated this issue as the secondary reason. Similar tendencies can be seen in the valuation results of the II B program. The dissatisfaction with the obligatory payment method was also identified: 8 respondents have indicated the fact that they are already paying too much taxes as the main reason of the disagreement to pay for the renovation of the Raudondvaris manor residence; 23 respondents indicated this issue as the secondary reason.

The analysis of the protest answers has denied the hypothesis of the misunderstanding of the public benefits of the private built heritage objects. Only 4 respondents indicated the reluctance to pay for the preservation of the private built heritage objects as the main reasons of their unwillingness to pay for the implementation of the I program. The attitudinal survey also demonstrates that the respondents seem to understand that the private built heritage objects can be beneficial to the public: 47% of the respondents strongly disagreed with the statement, that the owner of the built heritage object can make any alterations of it based only on his own needs and only 2 respondents completely agreed with this statement. However, the survey did not reveal the full extent of this problem, because the private and state-owned residencies were not considered separately in the CV study.

Table 3. Results of logistic regression analysis

Variables	I program				II B program			
	Parame- ter (B)	Standard error	Wald statistic	P-value	Parameter (B)	Standard error	Wald statistic	P-value
Visits at built heritage objects during last 12 months (No/Yes)	-0.499	1.007	0.245	0.620	-2.645	1.622	2.658	0.103
Watching TV broadcastings concerning built heritage (No/Yes)	0.266	0.764	0.121	0.727	-0.985	0.817	1.452	0.228
Reading publications concerning built heritage (No/Yes)	-0.310	0.751	0.171	0.680	0.400	0.968	0.171	0.680
Participation in the activities of heritage preservation organizations (No/Yes)	0.357	1.400	0.065	0.799	-19.112	26759	0.000	0.999
Donations to charitable purposes (No/Yes)	0.327	1.333	0.060	0.806	2.176	2.273	0.916	0.339
Number of visits in manor residencies of Kaunas region per year	-0.255	0.473	0.290	0.590	0.444	0.561	0.626	0.429
Age	-0.026	0.021	1.534	0.216	-0.085	0.032	6.946	0.008
Gender	0.076	0.725	0.011	0.917	0.578	0.772	0.559	0.455
Number of household members (including the respondent)	-0.204	0.322	0.401	0.527	-0.346	0.487	0.503	0.478
Number of members under 18 years old in the household	0.339	0.538	0.398	0.528	0.423	0.718	0.347	0.556
Education (higher education / other)	-0.795	0.764	1.084	0.298	0.806	0.958	0.708	0.400
Profession (related to heritage preservation or not) (No/Yes)	21.746	15714	0.000	0.999	10.543	1.420	1.181	0.277
Nationality (Lithuanian / non- Lithuanian)	2.213	1.419	2.433	0.119	3.496	1.976	3.130	0.077
Individual monthly income	0.001	0.001	2.952	0.086	0.001	0.001	5.605	0.018
Constant	-1.088	2.016	0.291	0.590	-1.343	3.273	0.168	0.681
	Model sun	nmary			Model summary			
	Percent of right prediction	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square	Percent of right prediction	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerk R Square
	71.5	78.710	0.230	0.306	77.7	50.570	0.396	0.529

Reasons of the disagreement to pay	I program Ranking			II B program		
				Ranking		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
I fear that my contribution will be wasted	13	12	20	7	13	27
I fear that the responsible institution will not be able to implement the program	0	7	8	-	_	-
I think that the program is not realistic	2	_	_	2	_	_
I think that the costs of the program are distributed unfairly	2	8	5	2	12	3
I think that the others should pay	33	26	19	21	15	16
I already pay too much taxes	_	_	_	8	7	16
I do not want to contribute to the preservation of private manor residencies	4	7	5	_	-	-

Table 4. The protest answers ranked by the respondents $(1 - \text{the most significant reason of the disagreement to pay*; <math>3 - \text{less significant reason})$

Low probability of the "warm glow" effect. The hypothesis of the lower probability of the "warm glow" effect valuing the built heritage in the post-communist society was confirmed by the survey. Very low involvement in the charitable activities was recorded: only 6.7% of the surveyed individuals reported that they are donating to the charitable purposes. This can be mainly explained by the confirmed tendencies of mistrust in institutions and the lack of the individual initiative. No significant correlation between the charitable activities and the WTP for the preservation of the manor residencies was recorded as well (Table 2).

4. CONCLUSIONS

1. The analysis of the peculiarities of the post-communist countries and their possible influences on the CV results is encouraged by the findings of the social theory of the economic value and the evidences of the context-sensitivity of the CVM found in the literature. The

hypothesis of the research consists of three statements: 1) the problems of understanding the cultural significance of certain categories of the built heritage, misunderstanding of its socioeconomic potential, the general indifference of the society towards the heritage preservation, and the prevailing pessimism about the present and future economic situation may cause the undervaluation of the built heritage; 2) the indecisiveness of the society to participate in the built heritage preservation processes, the mistrust in heritage preservation institutions, and the problems of perception of the public benefits of the private built heritage objects may cause the higher probability of the protest answers; 3) the lack of personal initiative, the absence of the charity tradition, the climate of mistrust may result in the lower probability of the "warm glow" effect.

2. The results of the attitudinal survey and the pilot CV survey of the benefits of the Lithuanian residencies of former manors have confirmed the trends of the indecisive-

^{*} Only those respondents who have ranked the protest answers as the main reason of the disagreement to pay were excluded for the mean WTP estimates

ness to participate in the heritage preservation processes and the mistrust in heritage preservation institutions and the consequent protest answers. 33 respondents have indicated the belief that the others (government, municipalities, owners, and users) should pay for the preservation of the manor residencies of the Kaunas region as the primary reason of their disagreement to pay. 13 respondents indicated the fear that their contribution will be wasted as the main reason of the disagreement to pay for the preservation of the manor residencies of the Kaunas region; 32 respondents indicated this issue as the secondary reason. Low probability of the "warm glow" effect was confirmed. Very low involvement in the charitable activities was recorded. Only 6.7% of the surveyed individuals reported that they are donating to the charitable purposes. The misunderstanding of the public benefits of the private heritage goods was not confirmed by the empirical findings. Only 4 respondents indicated the reluctance to pay for the preservation of the private built heritage objects as the main reasons of their unwillingness to pay for the preservation of the manor residencies of the Kaunas region.

3. The presupposed undervaluation of the built heritage because of the specific features of the post-communist society was mainly denied by the attitudinal survey and the CV study. The considerable interest in the country's built heritage and its preservation, understanding of its socioeconomic potential, as well as positive non-market values of the preservation of the manor residencies were recorded. The mean willingness to pay per capita for the benefits of the preservation of the manor residencies of the Kaunas region was 47.5 Litas (13.8 Euros), for the benefits of the renovation and the present use of the Raudondvaris manor residence -26.6 Litas (7.7 Euros), for the benefits of the conservation of this residence – 6.1 Litas (1.8 Euros).

- 4. No significant correlations between the interests in built heritage revealed by the respondents and their willingness or disagreement to pay for the preservation of the manor residencies were recorded. The attitudes towards the built heritage also do not significantly differ between those who agree or disagree to pay in the CV study. The Mann-Whitney test demonstrates that all observed two-tailed significance levels are large and leading to conclude that distributions are the same for the two groups. Pearson Chi-Square test with Yates' correction demonstrates that the reading publications or watching TV broadcastings about the built heritage also seem not to influence the decision to contribute to heritage preservation. However, it was confirmed that the pessimistic perceptions about the socioeconomic situation can lower the WTP estimates, as the prevailing motivation of the disagreement to pay was the unsatisfactory financial situation of the respondent. 41 respondents have indicated the difficult financial situation as the main reason of the disagreement to pay for the preservation of the manor residencies of the Kaunas region.
- 5. The results of the survey suggest two directions for the future research: 1) the skepticism towards the cultural significance of the certain categories of the built heritage (the industrial heritage, the heritage of the ethnic minorities, and the buildings of the Soviet era) was identified in the attitudinal survey. The CV studies of these categories of heritage would be useful for further eliciting the influence of the social environment of the post-communist countries on the WTP estimates; 2) the issue of the perception of the public benefits of the private built heritage objects also should be further addressed in the CV studies of the culturally significant private heritage objects, for in this study the private and public manor residencies were not addressed separately.

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SANTRAUKA

NEKILNOJAMOJO KULTŪROS PAVELDO VERTINIMAS TAIKANT NUMATOMOJO VERTINIMO METODA PEREINAMOJO LAIKOTARPIO VALSTYBĖJE: LIETUVOS ATVEJIS

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Antrojoje XX a. pusėje nekilnojamasis kultūros paveldas patraukė ekonomikos srityje dirbančių mokslininku dėmesį. Bandoma įvertinti ne tik ekonominę paveldo įtaką, bet ir bendrąją jo ekonominę vertę. Laiku bėgant buvo nustatytas platus nekilnojamojo kultūros paveldo teikiamų ekonominių verčių spektras ir plėtojami vertinimo metodai joms nustatyti. Šiuo metu pripažistama, kad nekilnojamasis kultūros paveldas gali teikti ne tik rinkos, bet ir ne rinkos ekonomines vertes, kurioms nustatyti taikoma nemažai vertinimo metodu, grindžiamu tiek egzistuojančiais rinkų duomenimis, tiek sociologinių apklausu teikiamais duomenimis. Vienas tokių metodų – numatomojo vertinimo metodas. Šis metodas vis plačiau taikomas nekilnojamojo kultūros paveldo ne rinkos vertėms nustatyti tiek išsivysčiusiose, tiek besivystančiose šalyse. Visgi pereinamąjį laikotarpį išgyvenančios postkomunistinės valstybės šiuo požiūriu yra išimtis. Numatomojo vertinimo metodo taikymo besivystančiose valstybėse patirtis parodė, kad, taikant šį metoda, būtina įvertinti sociokultūrinį vietos kontekstą ir imtis papildomų priemonių siekiant vertinimo rezultatų patikimumo ir tikslumo. Sociokultūrinio konteksto įtaka numatomojo vertinimo metodo taikymo galimybėms skatina paanalizuoti šio metodo taikymo ypatumus postkomunistinėse valstybėse. Straipsnio tikslas – išskirti pereinamojo laikotarpio postkomunistinių valstybių socialinės aplinkos ypatumus ir nustatyti galimą jų įtaką numatomojo vertinimo metodo taikymo galimybėms. Tyrimo rezultatai gali būti naudingi ne tik toliau tobulinant numatomojo vertinimo metodą, bet ir sparčiai plėtojamai postkomunistinių studijų sričiai ir siekiant darnaus užstatytos aplinkos vystymosi.