

World Heritage

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Community development through World Heritage

Community Development through World Heritage

Edited by M.-T. Albert, M. Richon, M. J. Viñals and A. Witcomb

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Interpreting Aboriginal Rock Art at Kakadu National Park (Australia) © UNESCO Marielle Richon

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Contents

	Foreword <i>Kishore Rao</i>	■ Page 5
	Introduction <i>The editors</i>	■ Page 6
Impact of international designation on local communities		1 Page 9
	World Heritage and globalization: UNESCO's contribution to the development of global ethics <i>Bernd von Droste</i>	— Page 11
	World Heritage sites and indigenous communities: the importance of adopting a human rights-based approach <i>Stefan Disko</i>	— Page 16
	Partners in site management. A shift in focus: heritage and community involvement <i>Mechtild Rössler</i>	— Page 27
	Perspectives of World Heritage: towards future-oriented strategies with the five 'Cs' <i>Marie-Theres Albert</i>	— Page 32
	Challenges of tourism for communities	2 Page 39
	Heritage, tourism and local community interactions within the framework of site management <i>María José Viñals and Maryland Morant</i>	— Page 40
	Tourism and the perceptions of local communities: case study of the World Heritage site of the Historic City of Ayutthaya (Thailand) <i>Russell Staiff and Somyot Ongkhuap</i>	— Page 48
	Internet applications for strategic communication, tourism and local communities in relation to heritage <i>Lola Teruel and María José Viñals</i>	— Page 54

Appropriation of World Heritage values by communities

3 Page 61

**Tensions between World Heritage and local values:
the case of Fremantle Prison (Australia)**

Page 62

Andrea Witcomb

Kakadu and Edenic idealization

Page 69

Jennifer Harris

**The local-global nexus in the politics of World Heritage:
space for community development?**

Page 77

Naomi Deegan

Models of best practice for communities

4 Page 85

**Protected areas and rural livelihoods:
the case of a World Heritage site in Western Uganda**

Page 86

James Ilukol Okware and Claire Cave

**Managing World Heritage sites as a tool for development
in Ethiopia: the need for sustainable tourism in Lalibela**

Page 93

Elene Negussie and Getu Assefa Wondimu

**Poverty alleviation through World Heritage conservation:
encouraging corporate partnerships at Temple of Preah Khan, Angkor**

Page 100

Fiona Starr

Epilogue

Page 107

Marielle Richon

Author biodata

Page 111

Foreword

Sharing Our Heritages (SOH) was a unique experience made possible thanks to the Government of Australia and the European Union. It was not only exceptional for the faculty and students who participated in this 3-year programme (2006-2008), but also for the World Heritage sites where it was implemented (Kakadu National Park in Australia, and Paris, Banks of the Seine and The Loire Valley between Sully-sur-Loire and Chalonnes in France) and for the UNESCO World Heritage Centre (WHC) itself.

Indeed, the concept of Master Class which was the added value of the SOH programme allowed a number of WHC colleagues to deliver first-hand experience to 90 motivated young talented students who are now involved in World Heritage sites management in their respective countries in the European Union and Australia.

The interaction of WHC specialists with the students proved to be a stimulating and challenging environment. It allowed specialists to explain details of the World Heritage machinery through their own everyday experience and perception while also allowing students to raise questions directly to specialists, thus lifting ambiguities and doubts and building a clear vision of how to use the World Heritage mechanisms in their future careers.

SOH participants realized through this experience that the fifth "C", for Community, adopted by the World Heritage Committee in 2007 at its 31st session in Christchurch, New Zealand, is a crucial and complementary element to the "Four Cs", Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-Building and Communication adopted as strategic objectives of the World Heritage Convention in the Budapest Declaration in 2002. Community is an overarching element of the strategy, which every World Heritage site manager should bear in mind when interacting with the various stakeholders living or working in or around sites. This is also the reason for selecting the theme 'World Heritage and Sustainable Development: The Role of Local Communities' for the celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the World Heritage Convention (1972-2012).

This publication dedicated to Community Development through World Heritage will help the SOH programme results to be shared more widely in the World Heritage global community for the benefit of the World Heritage sites themselves. It offers an illustration of how local communities can make a positive difference in the sustainable management of World Heritage properties.



Kishore Rao

Director of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre

Introduction

Community Development through World Heritage is a direct outcome of the international student exchange programme Sharing Our Heritages, which was sponsored by the Australian Government and the European Union. The programme involved students and lecturers in 2005–2008 from Charles Darwin University (CDU), Curtin University of Technology (CUT), Deakin University (DU), Melbourne, and the University of Western Sydney (UWS), in Australia; Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Raymond Lemaire International Centre for Conservation (RLICC), Belgium; University College Dublin (UCD), Ireland; Universitat Politècnica de València (UPV), Spain; and Brandenburgische Technische Universität Cottbus (BTU), Germany. The project concluded with a major conference on the theme of 'Sharing Our Heritages (SOH): New Challenges for Conserving and Protecting Sites and for Managing Tourism', which took place at the UPV in February 2008. All in all, the programme's goal was to make the heritage of humanity, particularly its identity-building significance and its potential for community development, relevant and usable especially to young university students.

This publication has the same aim, although insights are offered into more detailed findings. As expressed in the title, heritage plays an important role in community development, and here it is understood as a cultural construct, which – if it is to be used to create identity – needs to be more than simply conserved. Its relevance needs to be communicated in the present so that it may continue into the future. An important aspect of this is the use of heritage and its preservation for socio-economic development worldwide, an aim that is explicitly part of the World Heritage Convention. To achieve this however, the Convention has to be interpreted as an instrument of development policy, and its implementation in this direction needs to be accelerated. It is to this end that the World Heritage Committee has developed a set of five Strategic Objectives, the five 'Cs' (Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-building, Communication and Communities) to support the Convention. These objectives make it clear that heritage is not simply something handed down from the past, but is a process that must be actively constructed and maintained in the present if it is to have any sustainable future. The structure and content of this publication reflect these intentions.

The first part – Impact of international designation on local communities – offers a general introduction to the political background operating behind World Heritage designation by looking at some of the issues posed by globalization, the development of a human rights discourse, the implementation of the Operational Guidelines and the new Strategic Objectives. Taken together, these chapters set the frame for those that follow.

In the second part – Challenges of tourism for communities – the topic of tourism as one of the most important resources for development is debated in the context of the World Heritage Convention. Note however that tourism as a resource is not discussed generally but in the context of certain situations and places; be it in the context of a management concept; as a resource presented through the internet; or as applied to Thailand. Unlike other publications that broadly debate tourism, this selection provides the opportunity to focus on the problematic impacts of tourism on heritage developments.

The aim in the third part – Appropriation of World Heritage values by communities – is similar in direction. The three chapters here focus on heritage values from different perspectives. While two contributions discuss the complexities posed by Fremantle Prison and Kakadu National Park and its inhabitants to site management and interpretation, the third looks at impacts of using World Heritage nomination in ways that close rather than open up the range of heritage values ascribed to a site.

Case studies are also the basis of the fourth and final part – Models of best practice for communities. Taking their cue from the aims of the five Strategic Objectives developed by the World Heritage Committee, the three chapters identify and analyse the specific goals that underpin World Heritage in terms of social and economic development. Once again, the value of these analyses is in their case study approach, which contextualizes the issues identified by the World Heritage Committee as needing specific attention. The value of these analyses is also the fact that the case studies they deal with come from countries where socio-economic development is crucial to survival – Uganda, Ethiopia and Cambodia.

It is our sincere hope that the range of issues discussed by the contributing authors, as well as the geographical reach of their case studies, will provide those involved with World Heritage with a useful conceptual and practical map with which to look at their own sites and the issues they face. They will find parallels to their own situations and potential answers to their problems, as well as encouragement to continue their efforts to safeguard, interpret and sustain the relevance of World Heritage to their communities and to the world.

The editors

Impact of
international
designation on
local communities

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World Heritage and globalization: UNESCO's contribution to the development of global ethics

Bernd von Droste

Introduction

In the past, the interactions between human development and the environment have been simple local affairs. But the complexity and scale of these interactions are rapidly increasing. What were once acute episodes of relatively reversible damage now affect future generations, witness the concerns about human-caused climate change, or the debates over disposal of radioactive wastes.

How we human beings should relate to the Earth and what our responsibility towards unborn generations should be, are two of the most challenging questions. Perhaps, modern civilization might have something to learn from local cultures that view individuals and generations as members in a chain of familial lineages.

UNESCO's *World Heritage Convention* undoubtedly marks an important step forward in the awareness of the moral obligation of humanity as a whole to respect and safeguard natural and cultural properties which are of outstanding universal value. Case studies in this book clearly demonstrate that World Heritage is not a luxury item but important to the welfare of the people of every nation and in particular to the local community where it is located.

World Heritage properties play an integral part in the intelligent use of natural and cultural resources. It is wise to protect well-selected sites in their integrity as World Heritage, thus ensuring that future generations may enjoy the majesty and diversity of Earth as we know it today.

As rising globalization pressures tend to emphasize conversion of irreplaceable World Heritage resources into commodities, we must be careful to safeguard these treasures, where people may reflect, study, enjoy the benefits of the Earth and appreciate the diversity of culture and nature.

Such places must exist where we find release from the tensions of an increasingly changing industrialized, urbanized and globalized world, where we can have contact with the natural environment which sustains us and the cultural sites which inspire human creativity. To this end, permanent protection, sustainable use and development in line with the preservation of World Heritage values is imperative.

How this challenge can be met by responsible local communities as World Heritage Trust Holders, and how they can contribute to sustainable development is shown in more detail in the following chapters.

However, development and conservation constraints are no longer limited to where and how people conduct their lives. We must deal with global issues as well. This is where the book starts: What does globalization mean and how does this moving up in scale affect World Heritage?

Context

Explained most succinctly, globalization means increasing interconnection of people and places as a consequence of advances in transport, communication, and information technologies which in turn results in political, economic and cultural convergence. Roughly, globalization encompasses above all: the international flow of ideas and knowledge, and that of goods and services; the sharing of cultures; the global civic society, and the global environmental movement.

The globalization process has a long history as will be described later. This process accelerated in the 1990s when globalization was greeted with euphoria. Capital flows to developing countries increased six fold in just six years between 1990 and 1996. The establishment of the World Trade Organization in 1995, a goal that had been sought for half a century, was to bring the semblance of a rule of law to international commerce. Everyone was supposed to be a winner – those in the developed countries as well as those in the so-called developing world. Globalization was expected to bring unprecedented prosperity to all.

However, the environmentalists soon felt that globalization undermined their more than a decade-long struggle to establish regulations by which to preserve our natural heritage. In a similar vein those who wanted to protect and develop their own cultural heritage also saw globalization as an intrusion. The protesters did not accept the argument that economically at least globalization would ultimately leave everyone better off.

The core of the problem is not globalization itself but rather the way globalization has been managed so far. Two facts stand out in this regard. The first is that economics – especially through the decrease of communication and

transportation costs – has been the main driving force of globalization. And secondly, politics – largely set by the advanced industrial countries – has so far failed to create a fair set of rules. More precisely, they have failed so far to consider even minimal standards of a global ethic which humanity urgently needs for its own survival.

In view of the above, what follows is meant to highlight UNESCO's contribution to establishing global ethics.

UNESCO's contribution to global ethics

Within the United Nations system – as a whole geared towards ensuring lasting peace – UNESCO's mandate focuses on intergenerational domains such as education, science and culture. Its basic mission is to promote a global ethic of justice and fairness particularly in the mentioned domains. Universalism is the fundamental principle of global ethics. The ethos of universal human rights proclaims that all human beings are born equal and that they enjoy these rights irrespective of class, gender, race, or generation. Universalism requires the protection of World Heritage as part of our intergenerational responsibility. The basic principle of intergenerational equity says that the present generation must take care of humanity's irreplaceable heritage for the benefit of all members of present and future generations. Each generation is a user, a custodian and a potential enhancer of humanity's common natural and cultural heritage and must therefore leave for future generations at least the same opportunities that it enjoyed.

The principles and basic ideas of global ethics in the field of culture are encompassed in the minimal standards of six UNESCO conventions in the cultural domain, notably:

- The Hague Convention of 1954 which safeguards cultural properties in times of international armed conflicts and civil war, which is the oldest international legal instrument in this regard;
- The 1970 UNESCO Convention to prohibit illicit traffic of cultural properties;
- The 1972 *World Heritage Convention* which protects cultural and natural properties of outstanding universal value. This chapter focuses a little further on its contribution to global ethics and the positive and negative impact of globalization on World Heritage sites.
- The Underwater Convention, launched in 2001, which protects the archaeological heritage in the oceans.
- The Intangible Heritage Convention of 2003 which conserves traditional cultural manifestations such as music, dance, languages, and festivals. It constitutes an important supplement to the *World Heritage Convention*, the latter being limited to material heritage conservation such as sites and monuments of outstanding universal value.

Finally, the 2005 instrument for protecting cultural diversity, which sets basic principles concerning the cultural exception in international tariffs and trades (GATT) within the framework of the World Trade Organization (WTO) should also be mentioned.

Although briefly presented, the above leads to the conclusion that the preservation and promotion of humanity's common heritage is by itself an ethical imperative reflected in the normative instruments that constitute the foundation and the final goal of UNESCO's mission in the field of cultural and natural heritage. Indeed, all UNESCO conventions described above help build a global civic culture.

The five 'Es' and the World Heritage Convention

What could be called 'the five Es of globalization' deserve to be examined particularly in the context of World Heritage preservation.

The first 'E' stands for *ethical globalization*. As already indicated, the *World Heritage Convention* and, indeed, other UNESCO conventions in the cultural domain are instruments which may be considered as building blocks for a new global ethic. Moreover, quite a number of World Heritage sites protected under this Convention are highly symbolic in terms of main values pertaining to a global ethic, notably the respect of human rights, of democracy, and of tolerance towards other cultures.

The second 'E' stands for the *evolutionary process* of globalization considering that globalization is not a new phenomenon. Again, several sites on UNESCO's World Heritage List illustrate the history of globalization, particularly properties along the Silk Roads, pilgrim routes such as that of Santiago de Compostela, or sites along the Limes, Frontiers of the Roman Empire.

The third 'E' deals with the key issue of *economic globalization*. Within the World Heritage context the impact of international mass tourism on World Heritage sites such as the Galápagos Islands should be stressed. Another case of considerable importance is the mining activity of international companies which are planned or take place within or close to World Heritage sites such as Kakadu National Park (Australia), Yellowstone National Park (United States) or Mount Nimba Strict Nature Reserve (Côte d'Ivoire/Guinea).

The fourth 'E' makes headlines in the media, but offers little so far in terms of appropriate solutions, i.e. *environmental globalization*. Potentially all World Heritage sites, whether located in developing or developed countries, will become increasingly affected by global climate change. We already have some rather alarming reports from a number of

World Heritage sites such as the melting of glaciers of the Swiss Alps Jungfrau-Aletsch (Switzerland) or the bleaching of the coral reefs of the Great Barrier Reef (Australia).

Last but not least, the fifth 'E' stands for *electronic globalization*. Powerful new communication tools offer hitherto unknown opportunities for sharing knowledge, but at the same time we are faced with possible manipulation of information and lack of quality control.

I warmly recommend in this regard UNESCO's official websites, including those of its national commissions, and of its World Heritage Advisory Bodies, notably the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) for natural heritage, the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) for cultural properties and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) for training in the field of restoration of cultural properties.

World Heritage sites relevant to global ethics

Let me give a few examples of World Heritage sites which are closely associated with the main elements of a global ethic.

Democracy is today seen as a central element of a global civic culture in the making. Democracy embodies the ideas of political autonomy and of human empowerment. It is no longer some self-appointed elite but the people themselves who decide how to organize their collective life.

The Althing or parliament of Iceland, established at Thingvellir (which means assembly fields) in AD 930 is probably the oldest parliament in the world. In the past people from all over the country gathered every year at Thingvellir to discuss and solve societal and legal questions. The assembly consisted of several institutions such as the law council, five courts and the law speaker. Throughout the centuries the Icelandic people continued to meet annually until 1789, when an earthquake damaged the assembly site and the parliament had to move to Reykjavik. Because of its significance as predecessor of parliamentary democracy, Thingvellir was recognized as a World Heritage site.

Human rights are widely regarded as an indispensable standard of international conduct. Protecting individual physical and emotional integrity against intrusions from society, providing minimum social and economic conditions for a decent life, fair treatment and equal access to mechanisms that help remedy various forms of injustice are key concerns that a global ethic must address. The Auschwitz Birkenau, German Nazi

Concentration and Extermination Camp (1940-1945) on UNESCO's World Heritage List reminds us of the martyrdom of millions of people whose basic human rights, culture and beliefs were brutally disregarded.

Another moving World Heritage monument is the Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Japan) or Genbaku Dome which is the only structure left standing in the area where the first atomic bomb exploded on 6 August 1945. This monument reminds us of our responsibility to handle the achievements of modern technology with the greatest care. It is an urgent call to use atomic energy not for destruction but for peaceful purposes.

Robben Island (South Africa) is not only a World Heritage site symbolizing the right of self-determination of the South African people but also stands for tolerance and human dignity.

The Statue of Liberty, made in Paris by the French sculptor Bartholdi in collaboration with Gustave Eiffel as a gift from France on the centenary of American independence in 1886, has welcomed millions of immigrants to the United States ever since.

World Heritage sites illustrating the evolutionary history of globalization

The Silk Roads are routes of integration, exchange and dialogue between East and West that have contributed greatly to the common prosperity of human civilizations over more than two millennia.

The generally recognized starting time of the Silk Roads is 138 BC when the Chinese emperor Wudi of the Western Han dynasty dispatched Zhang Qian to the Western region. Based on historical facts, it is generally recognized that the original starting place of the Silk Roads in the East was Chang'an (present-day Xi'an). An extraordinary discovery was made in 1974 at the centre of this former capital: the Mausoleum of the first Qin emperor with its famous terracotta army.

Another World Heritage site along the Silk Roads and a melting pot of the ancient world's cultures is the historic town of Samarkand, Crossroad of Cultures (Uzbekistan).

For twenty years UNESCO has been working on the concept of a serial and transnational World Heritage nomination of the Silk Roads that would include existing World Heritage sites, but also add other properties to represent a more complete picture of the rich cultural heritage of Central Asia.

Trading of silk also played an important role in the Mediterranean. An outstanding example is La Lonja de la Seda de Valencia (Spain). This building was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1996 as a perfect illustration of the power and wealth of a major Mediterranean mercantile city in the 15th and 16th centuries.

The expansion of the Roman Empire to the fringe of the African desert and to the 'barbaric' frontier with the Scottish in the North and the Teutonic tribes in the East can still be retraced by the archaeological remains of the Limes and the splendour of capital cities of the Roman Empire.

The Archaeological Site of Volubilis (Morocco), the Mauritanian capital, founded in the 3rd century BC, became an important outpost of the Roman Empire. Another World Heritage site is the 118 km long Hadrian's Wall which protected the Roman Empire from the Scots, whereas the Roman monuments in Trier remind us of the Roman capitals of the tetrarchy at the end of the 3rd century AD.

Other examples of the increased scale of cultural exchanges in Europe are the routes of Santiago de Compostela (Spain). Santiago de Compostela was a supreme goal for countless thousands of pilgrims who converged from all over Europe throughout the Middle Ages.

The colonial city of Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic) celebrates the memory of Christopher Columbus' arrival on the island in 1492.

A whole series of Hanseatic towns figure on the World Heritage List such as the Hanseatic town of Visby (Sweden) and the Hanseatic city of Lübeck (Germany). They were major trading centres for Northern Europe and as such illustrate the early beginnings of a globalization process.

World Heritage sites under the impact of economic globalization

Globalization is particularly visible in the worldwide phenomenon of tourism which constitutes, next to energy supply and arms trade, the largest sector of the global economy with an estimated annual revenue of US\$3 trillion.

The emergence of intercontinental mass tourism was spurred by the rapid development and cost reduction in transportation technology, improved standards of living and more paid vacation and leisure time. In 1950 the World Tourism Organization estimated that tourism worldwide involved some 25 million people compared with 528 million in 1995, and according to the forecast 1 billion in 2010.

World Heritage sites such as Rapa Nui National Park (Easter Island, Chile) or the famous Borobudur Temple Compounds (Indonesia) are some of the most unique sites on Earth that attract large numbers of visitors. The more than 850 World Heritage properties* act like a magnet for tourists. The economic and employment implications are enormous. So are the nuisances.

Tourism has many obvious advantages. For the host countries, towns and heritage sites tourism provides jobs, brings in foreign currency, and sometimes leads to an improvement in local infrastructure. The travellers can admire the wonders of the world and learn more about other countries, their environment, cultures, values and ways of life and hence promote international understanding.

Tourism can, however, also have many negative effects:

- Physical and environmental impacts such as accelerated erosion of soil, floor surfaces, walls; destruction of ecosystems or disturbance of wildlife.
- Social impacts such as the destruction of local cultures.
- Impacts by the development of tourism-related facilities such as large parking lots, shopping malls, hotels, roads and airports.
- Inappropriate reconstruction.

Here is another striking illustration of how the rapidly increasing globalization affects some World Heritage sites.

When the Galápagos Islands became a World Heritage property in 1978, the archipelago counted 9,000 tourists, 50,000 in 1996 and 150,000 in 2007. Directly correlated with the growth of tourism is the increasing traffic between the islands and the mainland (the islands are more than 1,000 km distant from the Latin American continent) leading to a breakdown of the natural evolutionary processes shaped by the isolation of this famous Darwinian evolutionary laboratory. There were practically no aircraft landings on the archipelago in 1978. In 2007 – mainly due to increased tourism – there were close to 2,500 aircraft landings on the island. The number of artificially introduced species alien to the islands increased proportionally with the number of tourists. There were about 200 alien vascular plants on the island in 1978, 400 in 1996 and 800 in 2007. The native flora and fauna have been largely replaced by organisms travelling from all over the world as blind passengers of aircrafts and ships. Due to the alarming loss of biodiversity and unsustainable exploitation the World Heritage Committee had no other choice but to place the Galápagos Islands on the World Heritage in Danger List in 2007.

* In this book all figures about World Heritage are from 2008

Environmental globalization: conserving World Heritage in a time of climate change

No issue is more global than global warming: all people on the planet share the same atmosphere. There are seven facts concerning global warming:

- The Earth has warmed by about 0.6 degrees Celsius during the last century.
- Even small changes in temperature can have large effects.
- The threat of warming is unprecedented, even going back millions of years.
- Sea levels have risen 10 cm to 20 cm during the last century.
- Even small changes in sea level can have large effects – for example a 1 m rise would inundate low-lying areas around the world from Florida to Bangladesh.
- There have been huge increases in greenhouse gases in our atmosphere; these have been increasing at the most rapid rate seen for at least the past 20,000 years.
- It is possible that the pace of change in temperature could accelerate.

The world is currently engaged in a grand experiment studying what happens when you release carbon dioxide into the atmosphere in larger and larger amounts. The scientific community is fairly sure of the outcome: glaciers and the polar ice cap will melt, ocean currents will change and ocean levels will rise. Unlike the other problems of globalization, global environmental problems affect developed and developing countries alike.

Many World Heritage sites already show serious effects of global warming. In particular, the world's most magnificent glaciers which figure on the World Heritage List such as the Swiss Alps Jungfrau-Aletsch complex (Switzerland) or the magnificent glacier of St Elias in Alaska (part of the Kluane/Wrangell-St Elias/Glacier Bay/Tatshenshini-Alsek national parks and protected areas along the boundary of Canada and the United States). We also had alarming news about the disappearance or bleaching of coral reefs at the Great Barrier Reef in Australia, the Moon Reef in Belize and the Galápagos Islands (Ecuador).

Electronic globalization: conserving World Heritage in the new era of web wisdom

In the economic sense, globalization is now impacting every nation and so is the Web 2.0 generation of internet communication which is transforming human relations and cross-cultural communication in previously unimaginable ways. It is impossible to isolate any national culture from its impacts, although clearly not everyone participates equally.

As we all know, the way of presenting the significance/values of a World Heritage site is a key element in the World Heritage conservation process. In the past World

Heritage interpretation and presentation were the exclusive role of conservation specialists and scholars. However, in the increasingly interdependent age of web wisdom we observe an entirely different approach to heritage site presentation, and it may well differ from any official or agreed understanding of heritage significance of the site.

Here is a particularly striking example. In 2007 a commercial campaign to identify the New Seven Wonders of the World was sponsored by a Swiss-based foundation. It established an international system of phone or electronic voting with an associated publicity campaign. 20 per cent of the votes were placed via SMS and 80 per cent via e-mail. A total of 100 million votes were recorded, collected in a decidedly unscientific manner, whoever dialled in, however many times they chose to vote.

It is interesting to note that 14 million people in Jordan successfully voted for Petra, in a country with a population of 7 million, and that 10 million Brazilian votes were recorded for the Statue of Christ in Rio de Janeiro. Not everyone was happy with the latter result, nor with the open voting method used. The Vatican was reported to be unhappy that the Sistine Chapel was omitted, and the government of Cambodia felt that Angkor Wat should have been included.

It appears that nations such as China, India and Peru voted heavily, while Europe and America were disinterested, so the results were not solely related to internet accessibility. Understandably, UNESCO was dismissive of this commercial campaign, regretting that the initiative cannot in any significant manner contribute to the preservation of the sites selected.

The reality of Web 2.0 must be faced and factored into heritage site management and interpretation. As a communication tool its power seems almost limitless. Ultimately democratic, the future use of these media in heritage perception and presentation demands swift and responsible action.

Final remarks

In conclusion, economic globalization is at the heart of the world's most pressing problem, which is global climate change. This unfortunate development calls for political globalization to overcome chaotic economic expansion without due regard to future generations' concerns such as conserving the infrastructure of our planet, which notably comprises the more than 250,000 plant species which are the only organisms producing oxygen on which all life depends.

But also the world's cultural diversity constitutes an indispensable asset of humanity, considering that culture is the fountain of our progress and creativity.

In order to protect the natural and cultural heritage of humanity for the benefit of present and future generations,

UNESCO – as part of the UN system – tries to promote a global ethic. The adoption of six international standard-setting legal instruments by UNESCO has to be seen as an effort to counterbalance economic globalization, notably to protect the diversity of cultural expressions. In other words, countries should have the right to subsidize their own cultural industries and to take measures to conserve and promote their cultural identity.

The *World Heritage Convention*, in emphasizing our intergenerational responsibility in heritage conservation, constitutes an important ethical instrument within the concert of other UNESCO Conventions. Moreover, its World Heritage properties testify to the history of globalization. Some of the World Heritage sites are directly associated with fundamental values of a global ethic that is cruelly missing in our time.

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World Heritage sites and indigenous communities: the importance of adopting a human rights-based approach

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Introduction

In June 2007, the World Heritage Committee decided to add another objective to the four Strategic Objectives adopted in the 2002 Budapest Declaration on World Heritage: 'To enhance the role of communities in the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention*.' The underlying reason was the recognition of the 'critical importance of involving indigenous, traditional and local communities in the implementation of the *Convention*' (World Heritage Committee Decisions 31.COM/13A and 31.COM/13B, 2007). All interested parties were encouraged to promote and implement this fifth Strategic Objective. However, no further guidelines were given as to the terms of community participation.

This chapter discusses the proper framework and terms for the involvement of indigenous communities in the implementation of the Convention, and in the identification, nomination, management and protection of World Heritage sites. Many World Heritage sites are of great economic, cultural or spiritual significance to indigenous peoples, and are situated in areas over which indigenous peoples have rights of ownership, access or use.¹ The number of 'indigenous sites' on the World Heritage List is likely to increase in the future, considering that the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the Convention* now allow for cultural landscapes to be nominated on the basis of the continuing economic, social, cultural or spiritual value of those places to indigenous peoples.²

In accordance with international human rights law, the involvement of and engagement with indigenous communities in the implementation of the Convention and in managing World Heritage sites requires a fundamentally different framework and must be based on different principles from the engagement with other local communities. Indigenous communities belong to, or constitute, distinct indigenous peoples, who as 'peoples' enjoy collective rights under international law which 'local communities' do not enjoy, in particular the right of self-determination.³ These distinct rights of indigenous peoples were recently affirmed in the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, adopted by the UN General Assembly in September 2007. As an organization committed to human rights, UNESCO has a special duty and responsibility to ensure that these rights are respected, protected and fulfilled within World Heritage sites and in the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention*. This is essential for the credibility of the Organization, and the World Heritage Committee should not give its 'stamp of approval' to sites in which the human rights of indigenous peoples are undermined or violated.

This chapter therefore argues that in the application of the fifth Strategic Objective to indigenous communities a human rights-based approach must be followed, for which the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* should provide the basic normative framework.⁴ This would not only be in accordance with UNESCO's obligation to further

1 Some examples are Tongariro National Park (New Zealand); Kakadu National Park (Australia); Pueblo de Taos (United States); Hawaii Volcanoes National Park (United States); Manú National Park (Peru); the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (United Republic of Tanzania); Sukur (Nigeria); the Rice Terraces of the Cordilleras (Philippines); and the Laponian Area (Sweden).

2 Moreover, the UN General Assembly has recommended that UNESCO intensify its efforts to recognize indigenous heritage as heritage of humanity under the *World Heritage Convention* and the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (UN General Assembly, 2005, para. 15).

3 According to common Article 1 of the two international human rights Covenants of 1966, 'All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development'. In relation to indigenous peoples, this right is also affirmed in Article 3 of the 2007 *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*.

4 As UNESCO Director-General Koichiro Matsuura (2008, pp. 1–2) has remarked, 'the new Declaration echoes the principles of the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001) and related Conventions – notably the 1972 *World Heritage Convention*, the 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, and the 2005 *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*.

universal respect for human rights, but also with the character and function of World Heritage sites as ‘spaces for sustainable development’ and ‘tools for reconciliation.’⁵ As recognized and emphasized by UNESCO, sustainable development and respect for human rights, as well as the protection of cultural diversity, are indivisible and profoundly interrelated objectives. The adoption of a human rights-based approach would also be in line with the exemplary function of World Heritage sites as conservation models. As stated by Koïchiro Matsuura (2002): ‘World Heritage sites should serve as an example, and become conservation models for all sites, including those of more local interest’.

There are World Heritage sites which can in some aspects already be said to serve as best practice models with regard to the involvement of the local indigenous population in the site-management process. However, as UNESCO is aware, there are also World Heritage areas in which indigenous peoples have been, and in some cases continue to be, subjected to various kinds of discrimination and excluded from important decision-making processes in violation of their rights (see Titchen, 2002).

For example, there are cases in which indigenous peoples were not consulted when parts of their territory were nominated for World Heritage listing, or in the preparation of management plans for World Heritage sites. In other cases, decisions about developments on indigenous peoples’ communal lands within World Heritage areas were taken without obtaining the consent of the communities concerned or even consulting them. There are also examples of indigenous peoples being restricted in

carrying out traditional hunting, gathering or land use practices within natural World Heritage sites. In some instances indigenous communities have even been forcibly removed from natural protected areas which are now listed as World Heritage (see e.g. Poole, 2003).⁶ Other problems include: inadequate frameworks for effective indigenous participation in management processes; disrespect for traditional knowledge and indigenous institutions; and the promotion of World Heritage sites as major tourist destinations to the detriment of the region’s indigenous inhabitants.

When World Heritage sites are maintained on the territory of indigenous peoples, it must be with the consent and ongoing approval of the respective indigenous communities. Management and protection of such sites must take place according to the rules, laws and customs of the indigenous peoples concerned. It is *their* ancestral land, *their* heritage, *their* culture, *their* way of life and the future of *their* children that are primarily affected by the existence of the World Heritage site, and the tourism, infrastructure and other developments that go along with it. In the management of sites it must be ensured that the indigenous people may continue living their traditional way of life, and that their distinct cultural identity, social structure, economic system, customs, beliefs, and traditions are respected, guaranteed and protected. Appropriate measures must be taken to ensure the continuance of their special relationship with the land and their social, cultural, and economic survival as distinct communities and peoples. These should be the central considerations when the fifth Strategic Objective is applied to indigenous communities.

5 According to its *Medium-Term Strategy for 2008–2013*, UNESCO seeks to ensure ‘that the conservation of [World Heritage] sites contributes to social cohesion as loci of reconciliation and sustainable development’ (para. 106). The Strategy also states that heritage has a ‘triple role, – as a foundation of identity and a vector for development and as a tool for reconciliation. UNESCO will endeavour to promote participatory and inclusive policies and measures that concomitantly address the requirements of conservation and development ...’ (para. 105). For example, UNESCO ‘promote[s] sustainable tourism at World Heritage sites with a view to contributing to the economic and social development of local communities and their active participation in the management and conservation of sites’ (UNESCO General Conference, 2007, para. 1(a)(i)). In any case, it is evident that the inscription of a site on the World Heritage List often brings with it various sorts of development (tourism, infrastructure, etc.) and has various impacts on the regional economy and way of life. Clearly World Heritage sites also need to be considered in a development context.

6 According to Titchen (2002), there are even cases in which indigenous peoples have been removed from protected areas in order to justify their inscription on the World Heritage List.

The formal adoption and consistent application of a human rights-based approach would be a way of ensuring this.

The application of a human rights-based approach would help indigenous peoples living in or near World Heritage areas to exercise their right to maintain and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and cultural expressions, and their right to development in accordance with their own aspirations and needs.⁷ It would help to ensure that the designation of sites as World Heritage does not contribute to or legitimize the misappropriation of indigenous heritage, and would thereby strengthen the credibility of the World Heritage List. Without a doubt, it would also help to build indigenous community support for and identification with the *World Heritage Convention* and its purposes, and in this way contribute to the long-term conservation of the 'outstanding universal values' of World Heritage sites situated in indigenous territories. In case there should nevertheless be differences between World Heritage conservation interests and the collective interests of the indigenous owners or custodians of a site, the application of a human rights-based approach would ensure that such differences are resolved in a fair, balanced, and non-discriminatory way. The same applies to scenarios in which conservation interests and indigenous interests correspond, but run counter to development interests of the State Party emerging after ratification of the *World Heritage Convention*.

UNESCO's commitment to human rights

The furthering of universal respect for human rights is one of the fundamental purposes of UNESCO. According to UNESCO's Constitution, the purpose of the Organization is

to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world... (Art. 1).

International cultural cooperation, therefore, is seen as a means to the end of fostering peace, respect for justice, the rule of law and human rights, rather than an end in itself (Lee, 1965).⁸

UNESCO's commitment to human rights was renewed in the 2003 UNESCO Strategy on Human Rights. The

overall goal of the Strategy is to '... increase UNESCO's contribution to the advancement of human rights in an era of globalization and to reaffirm UNESCO's specific role in promoting all human rights' (para. 11). This is based on the following observation:

While globalization has created unprecedented wealth and well-being, it has been accompanied by increasing poverty, inequality and exclusion for many countries, groups and individuals. Activities to respect, protect and fulfill human rights require urgent strengthening, in order to bring about 'globalization with a human face' (para. 17).

First and foremost, the Strategy '...is aimed at integrating a human rights-based approach into all of UNESCO's programmes' (para. 10). This means in practice '...that all activities should contribute to the realization of human rights. It implies that basic human rights principles... [and] standards should guide the elaboration, implementation and evaluation of all programmes' (UNESCO General Conference, 2006).

UNESCO's Medium-Term Strategy for 2008-2013 underlines that the Organization's actions '...continue to be guided and shaped by a set of commonly shared values that include justice, solidarity, tolerance, sharing, equity, respect for human rights... and cultural diversity, pluralism and democratic principles' (para. 2). It reaffirms that 'the Organization will pursue in all its fields of competence a human rights-based approach to programming' (para. 6). Moreover, the Strategy declares that the Organization will, inspired by its ethical mandate, '...respond with priority to the needs of disadvantaged and excluded groups, as well as the most vulnerable segments of society, including indigenous peoples' (para. 5).

A duty to promote human rights can also be derived from UNESCO's specific mandate within the UN system to ensure the preservation and promotion of the fruitful diversity of cultures. According to the 2001 *UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*, 'The defence of cultural diversity is an ethical imperative, inseparable from respect for human dignity. It implies a commitment to human rights and fundamental freedoms, in particular the rights of... indigenous peoples' (Art. 4). Similarly, the 2005 *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* emphasizes that 'Cultural diversity can be protected and promoted only if human rights... are guaranteed...' (Art. 2.1) and that the protection and promotion of cultural diversity 'presuppose the recognition of equal dignity of and respect for all cultures, including the cultures of... indigenous peoples' (Art. 2.3). Most importantly, of course, the protection of cultural diversity presupposes respect for the right

⁷ See the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, Preamble and Arts 23 and 31.

⁸ Also see the 1966 *Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Co-operation*, Arts 4, 11.

of indigenous peoples to continue to exist as culturally distinct peoples. Indigenous peoples account for most of the world's cultural diversity; of an estimated 6,000 cultures in the world, some 4,000-5,000 are indigenous, and approximately three-quarters of the world's 6,000 languages are spoken by indigenous peoples (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2001).

Last but not least, the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* specifically calls on UN specialized agencies and other intergovernmental organizations to 'contribute to the full realization of the provisions of this Declaration' and to 'promote respect for and full application of the provisions of this Declaration and follow up the effectiveness of this Declaration' (Arts. 41 and 42). UNESCO's Director-General Koichiro Matsuura stated (2007):

UNESCO welcomes the General Assembly's approval of the [Declaration] as a milestone for indigenous peoples and all those who are committed to the protection and promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue. The Declaration acknowledges the significant place that indigenous cultures occupy in the world's cultural landscape and their vital contribution to our rich cultural diversity, which constitutes, as the text's preamble reminds us, the common heritage of humankind...

[The] Declaration emphasizes the rights of indigenous peoples to maintain and strengthen their own institutions, cultures and traditions and to pursue their development in keeping with their own needs and aspirations... These issues are central to UNESCO's mandate, and the Declaration will undoubtedly provide the foremost reference point in designing and implementing programmes with and for indigenous peoples...

The interrelationship between development, human rights and cultural diversity

From the World Summits of the 1990s and early 2000s, an international consensus emerged on the close interdependence between development and human rights.⁹ According to this consensus, 'democracy, development and respect for all human rights and fundamental freedoms are interdependent and mutually reinforcing', as stated in the 2005 World Summit Outcome (para. 135).¹⁰ Moreover, 'the promotion and protection of the full enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all is considered as essential to advance development and peace and security, and good governance at the national and international levels

is considered as essential for sustainable development' (ibid., paras. 11-12, 24, 39). Good governance, in turn, is generally understood to require respect for human rights, particularly those of minorities and the most vulnerable and disadvantaged sectors of society (UNESCO General Conference, 2005).¹¹ UNESCO's Medium-Term Strategy for 2008-2013 reflects this consensus in stressing that in carrying out its mandate, the Organization '...will persistently seek to strengthen the mutually supporting pillars of peace, sustainable development and human rights...' (Mission statement, para. 3).

The recognition of the close interdependence of human rights and development has given rise to the so-called human rights-based approach to development, which is widely promoted within the United Nations system (see Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2006). UNESCO's Medium-Term Strategy declares that the Organization will contribute to the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals '...through a human rights-based approach in all its fields of competence' (para. 69). According to this approach, the realization of human rights is seen as the end goal of development, and development is perceived as a relationship between rights-holders and duty-bearers. The impact of development projects and programmes is monitored and assessed on the basis of human rights indicators which are explicitly linked to human rights norms and principles. Importance is attached both to results and to the development process itself. In 2003, at a UN inter-agency workshop, a common understanding of a human rights-based approach to development was agreed to by the UN Agencies (see Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2006, Annex II). This common understanding consists of three points or principles:

1. All development programmes and policies should further the realization of human rights;
2. Human rights standards and principles guide all development cooperation and programming in all sectors and phases of the programming process;
3. Development programmes contribute to the strengthening of the capacities of 'rights-holders' (individuals and groups with valid claims) to claim their rights, and of state and non-state 'duty-bearers' to meet their obligations.

It is important to note, also, that development is a human right in itself, as reaffirmed in both the 2000 United Nations Millennium Declaration and the 2005 World Summit Outcome.¹² According to the UN General Assembly's 1986 Declaration on the Right to Development, '...development is a comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process,

9 See the outcome documents of the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights; 1995 World Summit for Social Development; 2000 Millennium Summit; 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development; 2005 World Summit.

10 Democracy is seen as 'a universal value based on the freely expressed will of people to determine their own political, economic, social and cultural systems and their full participation in all aspects of their lives'.

11 Also see the 2000 *United Nations Millennium Declaration*, Part V. Human rights, democracy and good governance.

which aims at the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population (Preamble).

The right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized (Art. 1, para. 1).

The human right to development also implies the full realization of the right of peoples to self-determination, which includes... the exercise of their inalienable right to full sovereignty over all their natural wealth and resources (Art. 1, para. 2).

Therefore, the General Assembly considers the realization of human rights – including individual and collective rights, seen as an interrelated and indivisible whole – not only as an essential prerequisite to achieve development, but also as the underlying objective of development.

The *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* reaffirms indigenous peoples' '...right to development in accordance with their own needs and interests' (Preamble). Art. 23 states that indigenous peoples

...have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for exercising their right to development', and that they 'have the right to be actively involved in developing and determining... programmes affecting them and, as far as possible, to administer such programmes through their own institutions.

Indigenous peoples have consistently challenged development strategies that aim for '...the incessant pursuit of economic growth without the integration of cultural development, social justice and environmental sustainability' (Tebtebba, 2008). They call for a model which starts from the local indigenous concepts of economic, social, political, cultural and spiritual well-being and is based on respect for indigenous peoples' collective rights (including land and resource rights), their distinct institutions, cultures and traditions, and their legal systems and customary laws. They also stress that a 'one size fits all' approach must be avoided and that '...only local control can really fit development to local realities' (ibid). Among the terms used by indigenous peoples to differentiate their paradigm of development from the mainstream model are 'development with identity' and 'self-determined development' (Tauli-Corpuz, 2008).

Accordingly, a main objective of the United Nations' Second International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (2005-2014) is redefining development policies so that they are based on a vision of equity, are culturally appropriate, and respect the cultural and linguistic diversity of indigenous peoples (see UN General Assembly, 2005, para. 9 (iii)).

Paragraph 12 of the Decade's Programme of Action recommends that:

...culture should be integrated as a prerequisite and a basis for development project design in order to build 'development with identity', respecting people's way of life and building sustainable human development.

This mirrors the policy objectives of UNESCO, which takes a broad and holistic view of development, emphasizing the indivisibility of culture and development. According to Article 3 of the *UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*, cultural diversity is one of the roots of development, which should be '...understood not simply in terms of economic growth, but also as a means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence.' The *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* sees the protection and promotion of cultural diversity as '...an essential requirement for sustainable development' and calls on states to '...integrate culture in their development policies at all levels for the creation of conditions conducive to sustainable development' (Art. 2, para. 6 and Art. 13).¹² Moreover, within the context of the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005-2014), for which UNESCO is the lead agency, the Organization stresses that '...the three pillars of sustainable development – economic, social, and environmental – are all underpinned by culture and in particular cultural diversity' (UNESCO General Conference, 2005, para. 08106).

This is in line with the conclusions of the World Commission on Culture and Development (WCCD), which emphasized that in a human-centred development paradigm, culture should not be treated as merely a means to the end of promoting economic growth, but as a desirable end in itself. Development, it maintained, '...has to be seen in terms that include cultural growth, the fostering of respect for all cultures and for the principle of cultural freedom' (WCCD, 1996b). The Commission underlined the importance of recognizing group rights in such a development paradigm: 'Cultural freedom... is a collective freedom. It refers to the right of a group of people to follow or adopt a way of

12 The UN General Assembly has also mandated the Human Rights Council to consider the 'Right to development' and the 'Rights of peoples' under the agenda item 'Promotion and protection of all human rights ...' in all its future work (see Human Rights Council, 2007b, Annex, Part V; and UN General Assembly, 2007).

13 Similarly, according to para. 5 of the *Plan of Implementation of the World Summit on Sustainable Development* (2002), 'Peace, security, stability and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to development, as well as respect for cultural diversity, are essential for achieving sustainable development and ensuring that sustainable development benefits all'.

life of their choice.’ The Commission added that cultural freedom is also a precondition for individual freedom to flourish: ‘It protects not only the collectivity but also the rights of every individual within it. Individual rights can exist independently of collective rights, but the existence of collective rights, of cultural freedom, provides additional protection for individual freedom’ (WCCD, 1996b).

Regarding indigenous peoples, the Commission noted that all over the world Indigenous peoples have been, and continue to be, forced off their lands by the processes of planned development, and denied adequate political representation in matters which concern them directly. They continue to be in danger of losing their identity as culturally distinct peoples as their land and resource base is eroded, and as the use of their languages and social and political institutions, as well as their traditions, art forms, religious practices and cultural values is restricted (WCCD, 1996b, pp. 68-71). The Commission concluded:

The challenge today, for nations committed to cultural pluralism and political democracy, is to develop a setting that ensures that development is integrative and that there are best practice institutions built on genuine commitment to being inclusive. This means respect for value systems, for the traditional knowledge that indigenous people have of their society and environment, and for their institutions in which culture is grounded... and the right of these communities to decide their own priorities in peaceful co-operation with others (ibid).

Basic elements of a human rights-based approach to indigenous peoples’ development

The basic elements of a human rights-based and culturally sensitive approach to indigenous peoples’ development can be found in the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, the most comprehensive and universal international human rights instrument explicitly addressing the rights of indigenous peoples.¹⁴ The Declaration, a non-binding instrument which does not create any rights in itself, elaborates upon existing international human rights standards as they apply to indigenous peoples.¹⁵ It affirms a wide range of inherent rights of indigenous peoples, including political, economic, social, cultural, spiritual and environmental rights.

According to Article 43 of the Declaration, the rights recognized therein ‘...constitute the minimum standards for the survival, dignity and well-being of the indigenous peoples of the world’. The Declaration provides States, international agencies and civil society organizations with a clear-cut frame of reference for the formulation, implementation and evaluation of development projects and policies targeted at indigenous peoples or otherwise impacting on them. The United Nations Development Group (UNDG) has elaborated *Guidelines on Indigenous Peoples’ Issues* on the basis of the Declaration and other international instruments, which ‘...set out the broad normative, policy and operational framework for implementing a human rights-based and culturally sensitive approach to development for and with indigenous peoples’ (UNDG, 2008; see also UNDESA, 2008, pp. 13–38). In addition, one of the reports of the former UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people, Rodolfo Stavenhagen, focuses on the application of the human rights-based approach to indigenous peoples (Human Rights Council, 2007a).

Such an approach to indigenous development treats indigenous peoples as subjects of rights (rather than objects of policies designed by others), and sets the realization of their rights as the primary objective of development. Indigenous peoples are identified as holders of collective rights that complement the rights of their individual members, in accordance with the UN Declaration, which sees indigenous peoples’ collective rights as ‘...indispensable for their existence, well-being and integral development as peoples’ (Preamble). All projects and programmes are based on the free, prior and informed consent of the respective indigenous communities, who are involved in all stages of the development cycle, including planning, implementation and monitoring. They respond to the aspirations and needs identified collectively by the indigenous communities themselves, and should bolster their own development initiatives. No project is imposed from the outside.

The principle of free, prior and informed consent is a key principle in the UN Declaration, and an integral part of a human rights-based approach. Article 19 of the Declaration stipulates that states ‘...shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their

¹⁴ The principles set out in the Declaration complement and expand those in other international instruments such as the International Labour Organization’s *Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention*, 1989, and the general comments of the human rights treaty bodies (e.g. the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) *General Recommendation XXIII on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*).

¹⁵ As remarked by the UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people, James Anaya, the Declaration ‘takes basic human rights principles that are applicable to all and elaborates upon them in the specific historic, cultural, political and social context of indigenous peoples’ (UN News Centre, 2008).

free, prior and informed consent before adopting and implementing legislative or administrative measures that may affect them'.¹⁶ Relatedly, Article 18 recognizes Indigenous peoples' right to '...participate in decision-making in matters which would affect their rights, through representatives chosen by themselves in accordance with their own procedures'. Article 41 specifically calls on UN specialized agencies and other intergovernmental organizations to establish ways and means of '...ensuring participation of indigenous peoples on issues affecting them'.

Also notable in this context is that one main objective of the Second International Decade of the World's Indigenous People is:

Promoting full and effective participation of indigenous peoples in decisions which directly or indirectly affect their lifestyles, traditional lands and territories, their cultural integrity as indigenous peoples with collective rights or any other aspect of their lives, considering the principle of free, prior and informed consent (UN General Assembly, 2005, para. 9(ii)).

In the Programme of Action for the Decade, the General Assembly adds that 'Particular caution should be exercised when elaborating tourism and national park projects in indigenous territories' (para. 19).

The UN Declaration further affirms the right of indigenous peoples to '... determine and develop priorities and strategies for exercising their right to development', and, '... as far as possible, to administer [development] programmes through their own institutions' (Art. 23). Accordingly, in a human rights-based approach to Indigenous development, Indigenous peoples are treated as main actors and decision-makers. Application of these principles in development programmes and projects affecting indigenous communities is a basic prerequisite for ensuring respect for the right of indigenous peoples to self-determination, and for ensuring that development is culturally appropriate and reflects the visions and interests of the indigenous peoples concerned.

Of special importance in the context of development programmes affecting indigenous peoples are their collective rights to ownership, use and control of their lands, territories and natural resources. Article 26, para. 2 of the UN Declaration affirms that indigenous peoples '... have the right to own, use, develop and control the lands, territories and resources that they possess by reason

of traditional ownership or other traditional occupation or use, as well as those which they have otherwise acquired.'¹⁷ The Declaration also affirms indigenous peoples' right to '... maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual relationship' with their lands and resources, and to '... uphold their responsibilities to future generations in this regard' (Art. 25).

The lands and resources of Indigenous peoples are of critical importance for their subsistence and survival, their cultures, their spiritual, economic, social and cultural well-being, and the effective exercise of their right to self-determination.¹⁸ On the other hand, they are frequently the focus of external development activities (such as logging, mining or tourism) with potentially adverse impacts. As stated in the Preamble of the UN Declaration, '... control by indigenous peoples over developments affecting them and their lands, territories and resources will enable them to maintain and strengthen their institutions, cultures and traditions, and to promote their development in accordance with their aspirations and needs'. Moreover, respect for indigenous peoples' land and resource rights '... is a precondition for the enjoyment of other rights such as the rights to food, health, adequate housing, culture and free exercise of religion', as UN Special Rapporteur Rodolfo Stavenhagen notes (Human Rights Council, 2007a).

The UN Inter-Agency Support Group on Indigenous Issues, of which UNESCO is a member, has '... pledge[d] to advance the spirit and letter of the Declaration within our agencies' mandates and to ensure that the Declaration becomes a living document throughout our work' (IASG, 2008a).¹⁹ It has also agreed that its members should review their policies and other instruments regarding indigenous peoples from the perspective of the framework of the Declaration, '...so that all policies, programmes, projects, other instruments and activities, including the application of the human rights-based approach to development, are consistent with the Declaration' (IASG, 2007, para. 9).

Moreover, while discussing the theme of Development with identity in the context of the Declaration, '...all members of the Support Group strongly acknowledged that culture must be the driving force of a development approach that is meaningful to indigenous peoples', and therefore agreed to:

(a) Sensitize [their staff to the] application of the principles of cultural diversity, as agreed upon in the UNESCO *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (2001) and the related conventions, in their work with indigenous peoples;

16 On the main elements of the principle of free, prior and informed consent, and recommendations on the application, see the report of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues 2005 international workshop on methodologies regarding free, prior and informed consent of indigenous peoples (PFII, 2005, paras 44–49).

17 Similarly, CERD's *General Recommendation XXIII on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (see note 14), para. 5.

18 See note 3.

19 Also see the report of the IASG's special meeting in February 2008 on how organizations of the UN system can integrate the Declaration into their policies and programmes (IASG, 2008b).

(b) Explore the possibility of using existing tools, approaches and instruments developed by different agencies (including UNESCO) to mainstream cultural diversity principles in policy and programming, articulating the linkages with the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples ...* (IASG, 2007, paras. 9-12).

Conclusion and recommendations

As shown, the adoption of a human rights-based approach in the application of the World Heritage Committee's fifth Strategic Objective to indigenous communities would be consistent with UNESCO's mission and stated policy objectives, as well as the concerted efforts of UN development agencies and programmes to advance the human rights situation of indigenous peoples and duly integrate the principles of cultural diversity in development policy and programming. Clearly, the World Heritage Committee should be at the forefront of these endeavours.

Other UN agencies, international conservation and development organizations and Convention bodies, have for years had specific policies and procedures aimed at ensuring the full and effective participation of indigenous peoples, and full respect for their rights, in their respective fields of competence, for instance, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP),²⁰ the World Conservation Union (IUCN),²¹ and the Convention on Biological Diversity.²²

Respect for indigenous peoples' collective human rights is essential for their cultural integrity and continued existence as distinct societies and cultures. Considering that an underlying purpose of the *World Heritage Convention* is to contribute to the protection of the world's cultural heritage, it is surprising – to say the least – that the World Heritage Committee has not been more proactive in ensuring respect for indigenous peoples' rights in World Heritage areas and the effective participation of Indigenous communities in the implementation of the Convention. On the contrary, it has resisted efforts by indigenous peoples to become more formally and meaningfully involved in its work relating to World Heritage areas significant to them.²³ The UN General Assembly has therefore '... urged [UNESCO] to establish mechanisms to enable indigenous peoples to participate effectively in its work relating to them, such as the programmes on ... nomination of indigenous sites in the World Heritage List ...' (UN General Assembly, 2005, para. 16).²⁴

In 2005, UNESCO Director-General Koïchiro Matsuura remarked that it is essential for UNESCO '... to strengthen the partnership with indigenous peoples by improving the mechanisms for the consultation of communities and arranging their participation in projects undertaken in UNESCO's fields of competence. A central plank of our work', he said, '... will be to give greater thought to an issue of overriding importance for Indigenous peoples –

20 UNDP has adopted a policy on indigenous peoples which is grounded in international human rights law and unequivocally states that UNDP 'promotes and supports the right of indigenous peoples to free, prior informed consent with regard to development planning and programming that may affect them'; 'promotes the recognition of indigenous rights to lands, territories and resources'; and 'recognizes the rights of distinct peoples living in distinct regions to self-determined development and control of ancestral lands' (UNDP, 2001, paras 7, 25–30).

21 The World Conservation Congress has adopted a series of resolutions endorsing the principles in the (then draft) UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and other international instruments promoting respect for indigenous peoples' rights (including their right to self-determination and rights over lands, territories and resources that fall within protected areas), and their full and effective participation in conservation initiatives and protected area management. It has called on its members to 'comply with the spirit' of the Declaration, and support the goals of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (e.g. Resolutions 1.49 to 1.56 (1996), and 3.055 (2004)).

22 For example, in Decision VII/28 (2004) the Conference of Parties (CoP) notes that 'the establishment, management and monitoring of protected areas should take place with the full and effective participation of, and full respect for the rights of, indigenous and local communities' (para. 22). Parties are called on to ensure that 'any resettlement of indigenous communities as a consequence of the establishment or management of protected areas will only take place with their prior informed consent ...' (Annex, Goal 2.2.5). Similarly, Decision IX/18.A (2008), which specifically refers to the UN *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (Preamble and para. 6.a). The latter Decision further encourages states to 'ensure that conservation and development activities in the context of protected areas contribute to the eradication of poverty and sustainable development and ensure that benefits arising from the establishment and management of protected areas are fairly and equitably shared ... with the full and effective participation of indigenous and local communities ...' (para. 19).

According to goal 4.3 of the 2002 *Strategic Plan for the Convention*, indigenous communities 'are effectively involved in implementation and in the processes of the Convention, at national, regional and international levels', and the CoP has established various mechanisms so that indigenous communities can participate in its work. In 2002 it formally recognized the International Indigenous Forum on Biodiversity as an advisory body.

23 See the discussions around the 2000 proposal by indigenous peoples to establish a World Heritage Indigenous Peoples Council of Experts (WHIPCOE) as a consultative body to the Committee. The proposal was made because of concern about the 'lack of involvement of indigenous peoples in the development and implementation of laws, policies and plans, for the protection of their holistic knowledge, traditions and cultural values, which apply to their ancestral lands within or comprising sites now designated as World Heritage Areas' (World Heritage Committee, 2001a, p. 4). However, at its 2001 session, the Committee did not approve the establishment of WHIPCOE as a consultative body (World Heritage Committee, 2001b, p. 57).

namely their informed, free and prior consent – and its application in the processes of project formulation and execution’ (Matsuura, 2005, p. 24).

The 2007 adoption of the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* provides both a reason and an opportunity for the World Heritage Committee to review its engagement with indigenous communities and to establish procedures for ensuring that activities related to the protection of World Heritage sites significant to indigenous peoples contribute to the realization of their human rights and strengthen – not undermine – their capacities as rights-holders. It provides an opportunity to establish mechanisms to support the ability of indigenous communities living in or near World Heritage areas to maintain and strengthen their institutions, cultures and traditions, and to ensure that the conservation of World Heritage sites does not occur at the expense of indigenous peoples’ ability to maintain and develop their intangible cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and cultural expressions. As Koichiro Matsuura has emphasized, ‘the preservation of the world’s cultural heritage must mean contributing to the protection of cultural diversity in all its forms. Cultural heritage, in fact, is an open notion evoking the universal nature of human creativity. It encompasses not only magnificent temples but also living culture ...’ (Matsuura, 2004).²⁵

Therefore, the Committee should formally adopt and promote a human rights-based approach to development, and revise the *Operational Guidelines* accordingly. With regard to the involvement of indigenous communities in the implementation of the Convention, and all activities in World Heritage areas which affect indigenous communities, the main frame of reference should be the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* and the concluding observations and general comments of the human rights treaty monitoring bodies. In accordance with UNESCO’s Constitution, international cultural cooperation should further universal respect for human rights. Obviously, this also applies to the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention* and the protection of World Heritage sites.

The Committee should ensure that all nomination documents, management plans and periodic reports related to ‘indigenous sites’ on the World Heritage List are prepared with the full and effective participation of the respective indigenous communities based on the principle of free, prior and informed consent. Before a site is inscribed on the World Heritage List, and before related development projects are undertaken, environmental and social impact assessments (ESIAs) should be carried out,²⁶ in conformity with relevant international standards and best practices.²⁷ Nomination documents and periodic reports should contain detailed information on the realization of indigenous rights and the implementation of human rights strategies, including measures taken to guarantee the equitable sharing of benefits derived from the World Heritage properties. Site-specific human rights indicators should be developed, in conjunction with the indigenous communities concerned, to measure the effectiveness of strategies and programmes and monitor the impact of development projects. It is further essential that indigenous communities, government agencies, World Heritage site staff and relevant stakeholders are sensitized to human rights principles and the human rights-based approach. The World Heritage Committee should reconsider establishing an Indigenous Peoples Council of Experts to provide advice and assistance in the implementation of the human rights-based approach, and to enable indigenous peoples to participate effectively in its work relating to them.²⁸ On a more theoretical note, with regard to sites listed specifically because of their indigenous cultural values, the Committee should reflect on the relationship between indigenous peoples’ collective rights and the fundamental concepts of integrity and authenticity.

Due to its high visibility and international recognition, the World Heritage programme is often referred to as a flagship programme for UNESCO as well as global conservation strategies and approaches. UNESCO seeks to ensure that the protection and management of World Heritage sites ‘...contributes to social cohesion’ and that World Heritage sites are ‘spaces for sustainable

24 Similarly, the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (PFII, 2006, p. 5, para. 16) has recommended that UNESCO ‘establish an institutional partnership with indigenous peoples so that they can fully participate in the monitoring and other mechanisms of UNESCO conventions ... that are relevant to indigenous peoples’, and ‘that UNESCO establish an advisory group of indigenous experts to provide advice’.

25 In the *Yamato Declaration*, the experts assembled at the Conference called upon national authorities and international organizations engaging in safeguarding cultural heritage ‘to explore and support investigations of strategies and procedures to integrate the safeguarding of tangible and intangible heritage, and to always do so in close collaboration and agreement with the communities and groups concerned’ (para. 12); and on UNESCO ‘to adopt and implement in its programmes and projects, where appropriate, an inclusive and integrated vision of heritage’ (para. 13).

26 The purpose of such ESIAs should be not only to have some objective measure of the possible impact on the land and the people, but also to ensure that the local population is aware of possible risks, so that the proposed developments are accepted knowingly and voluntarily.

27 One of the most comprehensive and used standards for ESIAs in the context of indigenous peoples are the Akwé: Kon voluntary guidelines for the conduct of cultural, environmental and social impact assessments regarding developments proposed to take place on, or which are likely to impact on, sacred sites and on lands and waters traditionally occupied or used by indigenous and local communities (adopted by the Conference of Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity in 2004). <http://www.cbd.int/doc/ref/tk-akwe-en.pdf>

development and reconciliation'. At the same time, UNESCO emphasizes the close interdependence between sustainable development, human rights and cultural diversity. It is then crucial to ensure that World Heritage sites situated in indigenous territories are exemplary with regard to respecting indigenous peoples' rights, and in supporting indigenous communities in exercising their right to development according to their own needs, pace, perspectives, visions and interests.

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Partners in site management. A shift in focus: heritage and community involvement

Mechtild Rössler

Introduction

The *World Heritage Convention (1972)* is today a globally recognized legal instrument in heritage conservation, ratified by 186 countries and covering 890 sites protected under this mechanism. While people are living in and around World Heritage sites, their role in heritage processes and management has changed considerably.

This chapter presents and illustrates a major shift in World Heritage concepts and approaches which occurred during the 1990s and concluded with the addition of 'Communities' to the Strategic Objectives under the 1972 *World Heritage Convention*. Although community involvement and stakeholder participation would seem to be a mainstream approach for heritage management today, it was not the case ten or twenty years ago.

One of the key principles under the 1972 *Convention* is the protection of the heritage of humankind for 'transmission to future generations', as defined in Article 4. Article 5 asks for 'effective and active measures' to be taken by States Parties, and in particular 'to adopt a general policy which aims to give the heritage a function in the life of the community'.

The 1972 *Convention*, one of the early conservation instruments prior to the series of instruments stemming from the Rio Earth Summit in 1992, has therefore already included the notion of common patrimony and has linked people and places. However, the practice of the first decade (Rössler, 2005; 2007) was different, as most World Heritage nominations were prepared and processed by central institutions and ministries and inscribed on the World Heritage List without any consultation with local communities and stakeholders.

A shift in focus: partners in site management

When in 1992 the World Heritage cultural landscape categories were adopted by the World Heritage Committee, a major problem occurred with one paragraph of the *Operational Guidelines*: Paragraph 14 was intended to prevent unnecessary publicity during nomination processes among communities and not to raise (potentially unfulfilled) hopes of obtaining the World Heritage status. The experts of the Meeting on Cultural Landscapes held in La Petite Pierre in France in 1992 and the subsequent meeting in Schorfheide (Germany) in 1993 were however

of the opinion that particularly for cultural landscapes, but also for many other living sites, consultations with the local communities were not only useful, but crucial in the nomination process, as these communities were as a matter of fact managing the land. These considerations marked a turning point in the evolution of the *World Heritage Convention*: from a policy of not involving local people in the nomination of properties to the opposite, i.e. to consider them as partners in site management. They are today more and more considered as crucial stakeholders in all heritage processes starting from Tentative Lists to nominations and monitoring efforts. This changed the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention* considerably and the World Heritage Committee made the necessary changes to the *Operational Guidelines* in 1995.

Extract from the Report of the Rapporteur of the 19th session of the World Heritage Committee (Berlin, 1995, WHC-95/CONF.203/16)

A.1 The role of the local people in the nomination process (para. 14)

Following the recommendation of the Bureau, the Committee adopted the following revised text to replace the existing paragraph 14:

14. Participation of local people in the nomination process is essential to make them feel a shared responsibility with the State Party in the maintenance of the site.

Extract from the *Operational Guidelines (1992, see <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide92.pdf>)*

14. In all cases, so as to maintain the objectivity of the evaluation process and to avoid possible embarrassment to those concerned, States Parties should refrain from giving undue publicity to the fact that a property has been nominated for inscription pending the final decision of the Committee on the nomination in question.

From 1992 to 2005, when the *Operational Guidelines* first used the term 'partners in World Heritage', many on-site experiences, in-depth reflections and paradigmatic changes occurred. In retrospect, the World Heritage cultural landscapes evolution since 1992 already reflected the turning points and key stages of the Global

Strategy for a balanced and representative World Heritage List of 1994, the switch in natural heritage management from 'Parks without People' to 'Linkages in the Landscape' documented in particular through the World Parks Congress in 2003 (Durban, South Africa) and the evolution from strict conservation in protected areas towards sustainable development as a fundamental principle of World Heritage strategies.

The introduction of a fifth 'C' – that of 'Communities' – among the four 'Cs' of the World Heritage Strategic Objectives was the logical consequence of this emerging new thinking both at national level and in international discourse. In fact it was long overdue, as many World Heritage sites have been effectively managed by communities over centuries.

The World Heritage Committee is increasingly recognizing sites which are managed by local communities and indigenous people, and some sites are now officially under joint management, or local people are included in the management system.

One case is the Kayas, a series of eleven forest areas along 200 km of the Kenyan coast: the property is only in existence because the communities have protected these forests. National legislation, the gazetting of these sites only followed quite recently prior to the including of the property on the World Heritage List in July 2008: The Sacred Mijikenda Kaya Forests contain remains of numerous fortified villages, so-called Kayas, of the Mijikenda people (Photo 1).

The Kayas, created in the 16th century, were abandoned by the mid-20th century. They are regarded as the places of ancestors, as sacred sites and managed by councils of elders. The World Heritage Committee in July 2008 adopted the following Statement of Outstanding Universal Value of the site:

Spread out along around 200 km of the coast province of Kenya are ten separate forested sites, mostly on low hills, ranging in size from 30 hectares to around 300 hectares, in which are the remains of fortified villages, Kayas, of the Mijikenda people. They represent more than thirty surviving Kayas. The Kayas began to fall out of use in the early 20th century and are now revered as the repositories of spiritual beliefs of the Mijikenda people and are seen as the sacred abode of their ancestors.

The forests around the Kayas have been nurtured by the Mijikenda community to protect the sacred graves and groves and are now almost the only remains of the once extensive coastal lowland forest.

Criterion (iii): The Kayas provide focal points for Mijikenda religious beliefs and practices, are regarded as the ancestral homes of the different Mijikenda peoples, and are held to be sacred places. As such they have metonymic significance to Mijikenda and are a fundamental source of Mijikenda's sense of 'being-in-the-world' and of place

within the cultural landscape of contemporary Kenya. They are seen as a defining characteristic of Mijikenda identity.

Criterion (v): Since their abandonment as preferred places of settlement, Kayas have been transferred from the domestic aspect of the Mijikenda landscape to its spiritual sphere.



Photo 1: Sacred Mijikenda Kaya Forests (Kenya): Rabai Kaya elders in procession – an example of continuous maintenance of a World Heritage site by local communities.

As part of this process, certain restrictions were placed on access and the utilization of natural forest resources. As a direct consequence of this, the biodiversity of the Kayas and forests surrounding them has been sustained. The Kayas are under threat both externally and from within Mijikenda society through the decline of traditional knowledge and respect for practices.

Criterion (vi): The Kayas are now the repositories of spiritual beliefs of the Mijikenda and are seen as the sacred abode of their ancestors. As a collection of sites spread over a large area, they are associated with beliefs of local and national significance, and possibly regional significance as the sites extend beyond the boundaries of Kenya.

The Kayas demonstrate authenticity but aspects associated with traditional practices are highly vulnerable. The integrity of the Kayas relates to the intactness of their forest surroundings which has been compromised for Kaya Kinondo.

Management needs to respect the needs of individual Kayas and to integrate the conservation of natural and cultural resources and traditional and non-traditional management practices; the authority of the Kaya elders should be established (WHC-32.COM/24).

The statement demonstrates clearly the long evolution since the 1992 decision to include cultural landscapes on the World Heritage List and the 1995 change to the *Operational Guidelines* to include people in the nomination process. It illustrates the fundamental recognition of customary law and traditional management practice by the living communities.

Assessment of values by local communities

Crucial for the process of identifying such heritage in the first place is a clear assessment of the values of these sites. The South African Heritage Resource Agency for example provides specific guidelines for the preparation of management plans. These include the identification of cultural and social values in addition to historic, scientific or aesthetic ones: 'The cultural significance or value of a site is the cultural value it holds for the community or for sections of the community' (see South African Heritage Resources Agency).

Extract from the Burra Charter (ICOMOS Australia 1999)

Article 12 Participation

Conservation, interpretation and management of a place should provide for the participation of people for whom the place has special *associations* and *meanings*, or who have social, spiritual or other cultural responsibilities for the place.

The identification of the cultural significance of sites whether for a national register, Tentative Lists or World Heritage nominations requires the careful assessment of the different values of the site. In addition to scientific research, review of historical records and artefacts, this normally calls for stakeholder meetings and discussions, and cultural mapping. Various charters, global such as the Venice Charter (1994) or the Nara Declaration on Authenticity in 2005 integrated into the *Operational Guidelines* as an Annex, or regional such as the Burra Charter (ICOMOS Australia, 1999) provided guidance for the assessment of cultural significance.

The processes for World Heritage assessments are however different in comparison with other registers (such as national registers) or listing processes. There is a close interaction between the appreciation of local values and the outstanding universal value recognized by the World Heritage Committee. There is also a continuous reflection process back to local communities, which then feel their heritage recognized by the global community. This was specifically the focus of the 2003 Amsterdam Conference on local and universal values (World Heritage Papers 13).

In 2007 at the inscription ceremony of the Kvarken Archipelago (Finland), part of the transboundary World Heritage property of the Swedish High Coast and the Finnish Kvarken area, local communities prepared not only a World Heritage song *The Bothnian Bay* (see Kvarken Archipelago, n.d.) but also a theatre play on the outstanding universal value of the area. People were aware throughout time of the geological uplift processes following the last glaciation period for which the site was recognized under

criterion (viii) as this was part of their lives: in their lifetime their homelands moved upwards and their houses were left further from the sea. Such geological processes, which are based on scientific understanding, encompass their global significance and identify those unique areas shared by local people, in their stories and their lives.

Communities and management

The decision by the World Heritage Committee to also change paragraph 14 was fundamental for the involvement of indigenous people and local communities in site management. It was the recognition of 'shared responsibilities between them and the State Party regarding site maintenance' (World Heritage Committee, 18th session, 1994).

Today this paragraph has been further extended and illustrates the move forward towards partners in site management:

States Parties to the *Convention* are encouraged to ensure the participation of a wide variety of stakeholders, including site managers, local and regional governments, local communities, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other interested parties and partners in the identification, nomination and protection of World Heritage properties (*Operational Guidelines*, WHC, 2008, para. 12).

With the nominations of the first cultural landscapes the question of the involvement of local people became more and more evident in evaluations and inscriptions. Management practices also changed: at Uluru-Kata Tjuṯa National Park (Australia), the renomination of the site as a cultural landscape changed its management plan: Aboriginal people, the owners of the land, are now part of site management and they tell their stories to visitors and tourists at the cultural resources centre created on the occasion of the recognition of the site as a living and associative cultural landscape. The web page of the World Heritage site demonstrates this approach: 'We, the traditional land owners of Uluru-Kata Tjuṯa National Park, are direct descendants of the beings who created our lands during the *Tjukurpa* (Creation Time). We have always been here. We call ourselves *Anangu*, and would like you to use that term for us'.

Pukulngalya Yanama, Ananguku Ngurakutu (welcome greeting in Yankunytjatjara) *Pukulpa Pitjama, Ananguku Ngurakutu* (welcome greeting in Pitjantjatjara) - 'This is Aboriginal land and you are welcome. Look around and learn, in order to understand Aboriginal people and also understand that Aboriginal culture is strong and alive' (Nellie Patterson, Traditional Owner). Uluru-Kata Tjuṯa National Park is not only a mixed World Heritage site linking natural and cultural values, it is a 'living cultural landscape ... the physical and metaphoric heart of Australia, and was one of the first areas to be identified as a National Landscape' (see Australian Government website).

Although many natural sites are uninhabited, people in and around the sites use these places, such as the indigenous groups around the Central Suriname Nature Reserve, who travel along the rivers and have demonstrated their uses through cultural mapping, or Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (Uganda), where a WWF project revealed the use of non-timber forest products by local communities. A global expert meeting on buffer zones and World Heritage held in Davos (Switzerland), in March 2008, specifically noted that the zones and areas around World Heritage sites should provide benefits for local communities.

Sustainable use and sustainable management

Another major shift could be noted in the notion of sustainable use, first introduced in 1992 with the cultural landscapes as sustainable land-use. This was directly influenced by debates from the Rio Earth Summit in 1992 and acknowledged the important contribution of local communities to the protection of biodiversity, specifically agrodiversity through sustainable land use. Only in 2005 a paragraph on sustainable development was included in the *Operational Guidelines*, again reflecting debates in the World Heritage community and in the sessions of the World Heritage Committee. Over time the World Heritage Sustainable Tourism Programme addressed issues of sustainable use in numerous projects.

The inclusion of local people in heritage management came through other, broader contexts, including discussions at the UN Forum on Indigenous People. The sixth session of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, held at UN Headquarters from 14 to 25 May 2007, focused for the first time on 'Territory, land and natural resources'. More than a thousand indigenous participants from all regions of the world came together with government representatives, UN agencies, including UNESCO and civil society, to discuss a broad range of topics which also included heritage issues. Another global context is the major work by the World Commission on Protected Areas (WCPA) of IUCN which through its network promoted the shared management approach to better protect sites and advance in conservation approaches. It was made clear over time that people need to benefit from protected areas and cultural properties while ensuring their future and best practice conservation.

Conclusion

It is evident that the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention* and its interpretation has changed considerably over time. One facet illustrating the paradigmatic shift from strict nature reserves and single monuments to the truly shared heritage of humanity is the involvement of local communities and indigenous people.

This shift was not easily achieved, as the *World Heritage Convention* is an international legal instrument ratified by States Parties. Nominations cannot be processed by communities but only submitted by government authorities. However a globally growing awareness that our common heritage is being preserved by local people over centuries and they are truly maintaining and managing this heritage, whether natural or cultural, provided a new recognition of the role of communities in heritage preservation. This was then reflected in gradual changes in the relevant documents under the *World Heritage Convention*, such as the *Operational Guidelines*, in standard-setting guidance, such as the Burra Charter, and in best practice examples of community involvement at World Heritage sites, such as Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park (Australia), the Sacred Mijikenda Kaya Forests (Kenya) or the High Coast / Kvarken Archipelago (Finland).

The outstanding universal value of World Heritage sites is based on local values, local experiences and most importantly on local conservation efforts. World Heritage is not only the success story of heritage conservation efforts on a global scale, it is also a success story of local people and communities who make this global heritage possible.

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Perspectives of World Heritage: towards future-oriented strategies with the five 'Cs'

Marie-Theres Albert

Introduction

Since the *Budapest Declaration on World Heritage* was adopted by the World Heritage Committee in 2002, a new Global Strategy for recognizing the universality of the 1972 *Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* has been implemented (WHC, 2005a). Heritage 'in all its diversity, as an instrument for the sustainable development of all societies through dialogue and mutual understanding' (ibid.) is clearly being promoted. Even though the *Budapest Declaration* included measures for how diversity, sustainable development or mutual understanding through World Heritage nominations could be achieved, the implementation of this new strategy was not successful.

This is clearly evident, for example, by the fact that to this day the same type of countries with a stock of largely similar properties continue to nominate sites on an ongoing basis. At the time of printing, these stand at 911. How can diversity be achieved under this scenario? Furthermore, how can sustainable development, particularly in developing countries, be achieved if more than 60 per cent of all nominated sites belong to industrialized countries? Or how can mutual understanding be achieved if there has been no adaptation to the very formal and general concept of outstanding universal value which frequently tends to exclude the interests of the local or regional population in defining the values of a site? A critical evaluation of both the goals and measures taken so far seems to be necessary, to which tasks this chapter is devoted.

The *Budapest Declaration* was itself a recognition that not all was not well. Aware that there were enormous differences between developed and developing countries in the ways in which the potential and the limitations produced by nominating, conserving and protecting World Heritage in the 187 States Parties that have ratified the 1972 *Convention* were realized, the Budapest meeting developed four Strategic Objectives (WHC, 2005a, p. 6)

The realization of these objectives was evaluated in the 31st session of the World Heritage Committee in New Zealand in 2007 and a fifth objective was added. In the face of the global challenges confronting World Heritage it was decided to

agree upon the Strategic Objective to strengthen 'Community Involvement' in the coming years. Thus:

The New Zealand thesis is that the identification, management and successful conservation of heritage must be done, where possible, with the meaningful involvement of human communities, and the reconciliation of conflicting interests where necessary. It should not be done against the interests, or with the exclusion or omission of local communities (WHC, 2007).

With this understanding and interpretation of 'Community Involvement', this objective became a key concept for the future of World Heritage. Together with the other four objectives, 'Community Involvement' was intended to minimize the problems caused by different stakeholder interests and to support the development of the community. It is for this reason that I start with the 'fifth C'.

Community Involvement

Looking back at more than thirty years of implementing the *World Heritage Convention* we can see that major conflicts always emerged in the context of local, national or international interests and duties of different stakeholders involved in the whole process of World Heritage. The case of the Dresden Elbe Valley in Germany in which a plan to build a bridge over the Elbe River in a protected landscape affects its World Heritage status, inducing the World Heritage Committee to delete the valley from the World Heritage List, is the most recent and striking example of these kinds of conflicts. The status of this and any other site with or without problems is in general the following: heritage sites are created through the cooperation of multiple groups. The protection and use of the site inevitably involve just as many stakeholders. Different stakeholders pursue different interests, and when different people or groups with different interests meet each other, conflicts are inevitable.

In the context of World Heritage, conflicts usually arise on different levels between all the different stakeholders, i.e. between local actors, consultants, the respective communities and the respective governments. For example it is often the case that a local community is forced to initiate a nomination procedure in response to a decision by the government. A significant number of States Parties still hope that their international reputation might increase by constantly nominating World Heritage sites. It is also

possible, however, that a national government is not interested in nominating a site but the local community is because it hopes to increase the number of tourists visiting the site. One of the problems of the decision-making process is that both interests are usually justified by expert surveys.

Independently of the specific interest of a local or national group which intends to nominate a World Heritage site, the long-lasting activity of the nomination procedure begins in general with a specific political interest and sufficient know-how at the local level of the community. It ends successfully with a nomination by the World Heritage Committee. Each nomination process thus requires community involvement as a clearly defined concept right from the beginning. It also requires a clear communication strategy and sufficient conservation knowledge. The community has to provide sufficient technical and human resources for the whole nomination procedure. Therefore, the second Strategic Objective, 'Conservation', the third, 'Capacity-building' and the fourth, 'Communication' are constituent components of the fifth objective, 'Community Involvement'.

'Community Involvement' is not only needed in the nomination process; it is also needed because conflicts usually arise when the diverse interests of the different stakeholders clash. The concept of stakeholders underlying this chapter is a holistic one which includes individuals, institutions and organizations on different levels and with different backgrounds. For example, stakeholders often reside in a World Heritage site. They may feel that the spaces of their daily lives are being taken over or even stolen by the many visiting tourists. However, stakeholders are also business people, who make their living from the tourists and who probably feel limited in their businesses by regulations for the conservation and protection of monuments. There are countless examples of such conflicts and we could continue to list them almost indefinitely. By announcing its goal of Community involvement, the World Heritage Committee hoped that from the beginning, conflicts of interest would be recognized and resolved early.

However, the goal of stakeholder involvement, as it was formulated by the Committee in New Zealand in 2007, is not new. It goes back to the 1980s, when participative approaches with a focus on regional development emerged. Since the 1980s stakeholder involvement has been declared as the most effective strategy to ensure a balanced socio-economic and political-cultural development for structurally weak regions (Harrison, 1980).

Furthermore community involvement has been used in development policies. The justification here goes back to approaches and theories of the *Dependencia*, developed in Latin America (Frank, 1969). The Latin American *Dependencia* can be defined as 'an approach dealing with ideas for solving the problem of underdevelopment'. The main strategy of these approaches was cutting the economic dominance of the world market in order to achieve local development

initiated by the local population. Today these approaches have been transformed into strategies of education and capacity-building on different levels and can be used easily for implementing capacity-building as a strategic goal of UNESCO (Schimpf-Herken and Jung, 2002).

Even today we use planning approaches which were developed in the 1980s and 1990s and based on community involvement. These are, for example, objectives-oriented project planning strategies, project cycle management or logical framework approaches.

Within UNESCO, these ideas have been discussed in *Our Creative Diversity*, a report by the World Commission on Culture and Development edited by Pérez de Cuellar (WCCD, 1996). The report argued that the nomination and implementation of World Heritage sites can be seen in the context of social, cultural, political and economic development, processes which should involve a variety of stakeholders. Therefore, it is quite logical that the initiation of development processes becomes an integral part of the new strategy of the World Heritage Committee.

The current challenges we face with our heritage do not only result from not involving local communities in processes of nomination and protection but from a variety of other reasons. They result from a disparity between cultural and economic development interests, even though stakeholders have been involved. They can also result from the fact that the official UNESCO criteria of outstanding universal value, the authenticity and integrity of a World Heritage site are far from what people at local level identify as their heritage. The local community and their experts, such as administrative or private partners, business people or consultants, frequently do not know what the previously mentioned categories are about. If they know, they need to break this knowledge down to their own perception of heritage and this is a process which needs to be communicated. Usually, this does not happen.

For Germans or other nationals living in Germany, the Dresden Elbe Valley which was on the List of World Heritage in Danger and then deleted from the World Heritage List in 2009, is a striking example. How could the people of Dresden know that their votes for the bridge would damage the integrity of the landscape? They did not even know that integrity is an important category for defining 'outstanding universal values'. Only when the World Heritage landscape was put on the Danger List were they adequately informed and involved. Prior to that, this heritage value of integrity was foreign to them, despite a survey designed to find out people's opinions about the plan to build a bridge. The survey clearly demonstrated that most people were in favour of building the bridge.

Many of the problems raised deal with the ambivalence between protection and the potential uses of World Heritage, as different stakeholders will have different approaches to the value of the site. The conflict is between the representatives who regard the sites

only as a cultural good, and those who see them as commodities, as a product to be sold. In the first case, the cultural good will be conserved and restored within the context of social responsibility for our collective cultural identity. In the second case, it will be obtained and restored so it can be marketed better, for example, for tourism (Albert, 2006; Albert and Gauer-Lietz, 2006).

Heritage aims – by definition – at the transmission and dissemination of material and immaterial goods from one generation to the next. Community involvement is in this context understood as a constituent component of heritage. Heritage presents and represents the human being with its historical, actual and future-oriented dimensions. So far heritage is constructed through stakeholders and this again includes different perceptions. In order to prevent conflicts between stakeholders, to moderate and to communicate between them with the aim of finding problem-solving strategies, two things must be done at the same time.

First of all, all stakeholders, with their different interests have to be responsibly and adequately informed and involved in the nomination process from the very beginning. This includes, secondly, communication with all the stakeholders within the other Strategic Objectives. In the brochure about the Masters Programme *World Heritage at Work* the authors have summarized these interconnecting goals as: ‘... either they stand together or they fail as a whole’ (University of Turin, 2008).

Credibility

Credibility stands for the objective to: ‘strengthen the credibility of the World Heritage List, as a representative and geographically balanced testimony of cultural and natural properties of outstanding universal value’ (WHC, 2005a). The main aim of this Strategic Objective is to achieve a more balanced World Heritage List than exists so far and therefore achieve more international acceptance. That means the existing inequality of geographical, typological and content in heritage places. Inequality has existed since nomination for World Heritage sites began in 1978 due to the dominance of European nominations. The European heritage mainly consists of cultural heritage resulting in a most striking imbalance between cultural and natural heritage sites.

From the 911 sites currently on the World Heritage List, there are 704 cultural and only 180 natural sites. From these, again more than 60 per cent are in Europe and the United States of America. Another calculation is that in 2007 four countries had approximately 20 per cent of all sites listed: China with 37 sites, 26 of which are cultural, 4 mixed cultural and natural and 7 natural; Germany with 33, 32 cultural and 1 natural; Italy with 43, 42 cultural and 1 natural; and Spain with 40, 35 cultural, 2 mixed and 3 natural sites (WHC, 2008).

The unbalanced distribution of cultural and natural sites around the world is mirrored in an inequality of sites according to the categories for defining outstanding

universal value. From the 704 cultural sites on the List, the greatest number are classified as monuments and historic buildings. In 2005 almost 350 properties were nominated as monuments or historic buildings. Of these nearly 200 properties are located in Europe and North America (WHC, 2007). They were followed with approximately 190 World Heritage cities worldwide and out of these about 100 properties are located in Europe and North America (WHC, 2007). Rock Art, however, counts for only about thirty entries (ICOMOS, 2005) and archaeological places are represented with only approximately 170 properties (ibid.). Although the distribution of archaeological sites is relatively balanced around the world, the dominance of Europe is maintained, as both monuments and groups of buildings represent an intensely populated Europe whereas rock art or natural heritage sites are to be found in rather less-settled regions such as in Africa, Australia or Latin America (all figures from WHC, 2007).

In order to manufacture the desired balance, the 30th session of the World Heritage Committee decided in 2006, in Vilnius, to undertake a new set of management measures. These included:

- annual limit for new inscriptions,
- encouragement to States Parties to nominate natural sites,
- strategy to nominate places as bi- or more national cultural landscapes, and especially
- preferentially nominate heritage sites from underrepresented types of heritage (WHC, 2007).

The Committee also confirmed its 1999 appeal to the industrialized countries to refrain from nominating new sites in favour of developing countries. Despite these measures, it should be stated that the heritage of the Western industrialized world still dominates the List. There are many reasons for this. One of the reasons is perhaps that the whole concept of World Heritage is eurocentric. Other substantial reasons are due to the fact that the categories for nominating and protecting sites are eurocentric in their discursive frameworks (compare Said, 2003).

An example of this eurocentrism is the complexity of the nominating procedure, which requires human resources in terms of qualitative and quantitative capacities which are not available worldwide. Instead they are concentrated in Europe or North America. Despite the Strategic Objective of Capacity-building, this problem cannot be resolved in the short term. The only effective concept for achieving credibility is reducing poverty and this is more a socio-economic than a cultural issue.

Other reasons for this unequal spreading are the guidelines for conservation strategies for World Heritage sites. Here again the unbalanced distribution of economic power in the world can be demonstrated. The level of conservation and preservation of sites according to the criteria of World Heritage can only be maintained with a huge financial effort by the developing countries,

an effort which is normally unachievable. This means balancing the List between developing and developed countries, needing more than the five 'Cs'. It definitely needs a balanced development policy, including situation-oriented strategies and tools for implementation, but it also needs a process of awareness-raising of the situation of all the countries involved (developed and developing).

One of the tools that have been created in response to these problems is the programme Partnership for Conservation Initiative (PACT). It has developed concepts which are specifically targeted towards:

- development of a dialogue, exchange and interaction between all stakeholders;
- raising awareness about World Heritage;
- mobilizing sustainable resources for long-term conservation;
- international cooperation system between different institutions, organizations and companies (WHC, 2005b, 2007).

But, despite new strategic alliances at short notice neither the required capacity nor the expertise needed for all stages of the nomination can be built in developing countries; neither can the economic potential for convenient conservation strategies be developed. But both are indispensable for the preservation of World Heritage sites.

So far, attempts to improve the credibility of World Heritage solutions for solving the lack of power and capacity in developing countries still need more reflexive forms of development. In the short term, both the nomination and the restoration criteria must be adapted to local conditions. This requires attention to the identification of those sites that are worth protecting from a local point of view, adapting the categories of outstanding universal value to the possibilities and limitations of developing countries and consequently changing the paradigm as a whole. Attention also needs to be paid to the mobilization, education and capacity-building of the local populations. Here again, the interface of the fifth 'C' with the other four Strategic Objectives, Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-building and Communication is evident.

However, a geographically, typologically and equitable distribution of cultural and natural sites throughout the World Heritage List is only attainable by pruning the entire system. I would argue that countries that have more than twenty heritage sites on the List, should not be able to nominate more properties for a defined period, rather they should be encouraged to support the nomination procedures of those countries with outstanding examples of heritage but lacking the resources for the nomination procedure. With such a measure in place, automatically the dominance of similar types of heritage which are always nominated from these countries, i.e. sacred buildings and monuments, historic old towns or parts of them, mainly from categories III and IV, would decrease. This would result in an automatic relative

adjustment to the number of natural heritage sites and more diversity on the World Heritage List as a whole.

Conservation

A further Strategic Objective, adopted in Budapest in 2002, is Conservation. In the Budapest Declaration the aim was to: 'ensure the effective conservation of World Heritage properties' (WHC, 2005a). What is understood by effectiveness and how it is supposed to be implemented is not apparent from the definition of this Strategic Objective. In the context of past experiences, however, sustainability has to be particularly considered. Conservation which aims at sustainability should use proven technologies as well as be application-oriented and suited to the local conditions. (ICCRUM, 2005).

As many examples show, the preservation of heritage, the preservation of culture and of natural heritage is always a political and participative process that needs a diverse body of experts. Preservation of heritage is therefore only possible with interdisciplinary cooperation. In this regard, it has the same requirements that are embedded in the concept of the five strategic 'Cs'.

Interdisciplinary cooperation needs communication and participation for identifying the specific sets of knowledge and skills which are needed for resolving specific conservation and preservation challenges. In many countries authentic know-how can be provided on a local basis with local strategies for conservation. I refer here to a very striking example: the traditional knowledge of Australian Aborigines for managing landscapes by the use of fire. Without their fire regime of slash-and-burn the Kakadu National Park could not be sustainably and lastingly protected (Kakadu National Park Board of Management, 2006). Nevertheless, in view of global climate change, we have to ask whether this traditional knowledge can still be used responsibly. Adaptive conservation means in this respect to join traditional and modern knowledge and to develop both further in the interest of the global community.

Apart from such positive aspects of conservation strategies for the adequate protection of World Heritage, there are also less-encouraging developments. Let me recall some examples in which such conflicts have become evident. The first example, the Old Town of Quedlinburg in the middle of Germany, describes a typical situation for most of our World Heritage listed historic cities.

Quedlinburg was inscribed in 1994 under criterion iv: In the Master Plan, a framework of measures for conserving and protecting the site was elaborated.

All protection measures had to consider conservation criteria due to the site's World Heritage status. They were thus expensive and not necessarily suited to attract private investors. The quality of life offered by the houses restored according to UNESCO standards did not meet the expectations of private investors. As a result, the

number of residents in the city centre is expected to decrease from 76,812 in 2002 to 60,934 in 2020. As a consequence, the city not only has to initiate development with less tax income, but it is also losing its attractiveness for tourism (Landesportal Sachsen-Anhalt website).

In many cities nominated as historic, the same trend can be observed. People move away from the city centres because the houses do not meet the modern requirements expected by most people. Houses renovated according to the standards of World Heritage conservation are either no longer attractive or too expensive. The people move away and the historic town centre loses its vital function.

It is therefore not surprising that many historic town centres went through a change of function. 'Inhabited' World Heritage cities were turned into visited or rather 'invaded' cities by tourists. The most striking example is the World Heritage site of Venice and its Lagoon. World Heritage status turned the cultural asset of the city into a commodity which is exploited by tour operators at bargain prices – resulting in cities being visited by hundreds of thousands of visitors per year. How is a historic old part of town, which had in its time a few hundred inhabitants, supposed to deal with 100,000 visitors annually? Not at all, is the answer. To that extent, it is reconstructed as a Disneyland.

Countless further examples illustrate that the third 'C', Conservation, is still far from reaching its desired goal. In order to interpret this strategic goal in more detail, I would like to mention that World Heritage conservation needs to be aware of the conflicts between the suitability of cultural assets, the compatibility of museality on one hand and modernity on the other. These considerations would have to be formulated – if possible – as an addition to the Strategic Objective of Conservation. Only out of these considerations can adequate strategies for World Heritage conservation emerge.

Capacity-building

A further Strategic Objective is Capacity-building. According to the Budapest Declaration, capacity-building aims 'to promote the development of effective capacity-building measures, including assistance for preparing the nomination of properties to the World Heritage List, for the understanding and implementation of the *World Heritage Convention* and related instruments' (WHC, 2005a). The United Nations Development Programme recognizes that capacity-building is a long-term, continuing process, in which all stakeholders participate (ministries, local authorities, non-governmental organizations and water user groups, professional associations, academics and others) (Global Development Research Center, 2008).

With the goal of stakeholder involvement, capacity-building and communication is not only targeted to improve the *World Heritage Convention* (WHC, 2007), but to implement UNESCO's objectives in general. With its larger objectives UNESCO aims at creating peace in

the world. Therefore, in addition to the *World Heritage Convention* the international community has created other legal instruments, most recently the *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* (German Commission for UNESCO, 2007).

Peace in the world is based on a common agreement upon the diversity of cultures and therefore on raising awareness about this. The diversity of cultures on the other hand is based on the recognition of the heritage of mankind as a resource which creates identities. That is why the heritage of mankind is to be opened to as many parts of the population of the world as possible, and be used as a lasting resource. In addition, it requires comprehensive education, training and capacity-building programmes, identified here at three different levels in the fields of education and capacity-building.

In order to be able to interpret this Strategic Objective, we need to be aware that capacity-building includes education on different levels and for different target groups. Education furthermore requires the consideration of historical, philosophical and political educational contexts. Capacity-building is therefore quite a complex goal which needs to be successfully implemented in the short term.

At the first level, education and capacity-building deal with future-oriented approaches in World Heritage studies in general and in heritage management and conservation strategies specifically (Albert et al., 2007; WHC, 2007). There is still a worldwide lack of local experts in these fields; therefore there is an urgent need for training at institutions of higher education. Teaching staff from universities around the globe dealing with heritage management training and conservation training, and practitioners in the field should cooperate in developing heritage management training concepts (Logan, 2007).

These concepts should include either development of management skills or standards of teaching and learning methods, either multidisciplinary conservation concepts of heritage sites or their implementation in the demanding field of tourism development.

At the second level, education and capacity-building deal with different target groups in a more practical sense. This level refers to the everyday work of heritage site management and related problems. It has already been mentioned that many sites have become important factors for socio-economic development with increased conflicts between protection and use. Potential stakeholders of heritage sites need to learn how to explore the possibilities and limitations of the involvement of different target groups (Richon, 2007).

Those concepts have to consider the current economic downturn all over the world, which has led to decreasing public funding for education and professional training as well as cultural programmes in a narrow sense. For that reason, new forms of participation, cooperation

and financial support have to be found. Concepts like public-private partnerships, corporate social responsibility and entrepreneurship become important against the background of economic recession. Also the responsible involvement of children and teenagers in the development of sustainable concepts of heritage use is needed and they should be trained (Horn, 2007; Hutchings, 2006).

Cooperation with the private sector is a further means. Concepts of such relations and their implementation have to be analysed and conveyed in academic research and teaching. It is thus necessary to define and develop forms of participation necessary for a sustainable balance of 'give and take'. The task of universities is the transfer of science, technology, knowledge and creativity into those concepts.

At the third level, education and capacity-building deal with future-oriented approaches in heritage education in schools. Teaching staff and educational planners from national and international educational institutions need to be prepared to implement heritage education into school curricula. Conceptually, this has to be done together with pupils and experts in educational studies and curriculum development. Teaching and learning concepts of heritage need to be developed and implemented. Furthermore, in this field multidisciplinary and sustainable heritage education strategies for creating awareness and consciousness of future generations have to be developed (ICCRUM, 2000; WHC, 2005; Deleplanque, 2007; Ströter-Bender, 2007).

Communication

So far, the Strategic Objectives have been Community involvement, Credibility, Conservation and Capacity-building, with all their strengths and weaknesses. Now, we look more closely at the fourth 'C' – Communication. In the Budapest Declaration, Communication means: 'increase public awareness, involvement and support for World Heritage through communication' (WHC, 2005).

In the World Heritage PACT (Partnerships Initiative), aspects of communication and education were emphasized, in particular computer-based communication strategies. Beyond this, the implementation of the strategic goal of communication was reinforced by heritage communication in museums, as well as by means of the production of photographs and their archiving in databases. Not least, these endeavours succeeded in establishing 'heritage days' in schools. They succeeded in expanding all these activities to communities and municipalities and improving overall heritage presentation strategies in different media.

Heritage – which we have set ourselves to protect – resulted from the combination of human know-how and its communication. It can be seen as the material and technological application of this knowledge. Therefore it depends on complex communication and negotiation

processes – in terms of support and resistance – of the different stakeholders and pressure groups. And only by considering these various processes and interests, can the protection of World Heritage turn into a living and lived reality. This again presupposes communication on the different processes of protection and use.

How can such processes be organized? In addition to my previous recommendations regarding community involvement, I would like to refer here to some fundamentally new ideas which were developed by Britta Rudolph, an alumna of the World Heritage studies programme in Cottbus, in her outstanding doctoral work.

Using the example of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, she proves that the value of a heritage site cannot be assigned only by classifications such as architectural quality, artistic, historical and technological, or as an outstanding example or unique representation. Heritage always contains immaterial values – meanings or functions – which are ascribed to heritage in communicative processes. Only by these processes does heritage become attractive for a local population. Rudolph (2007) writes:

Other themes approach the Umayyad Mosque in the role of an assistant of religious duties or the search or proximity to Allah ... further roles are those of a social platform, ... with the character of a facilitator of social exchange, social encounters or social practices; and last but not least it (the Mosque) constitutes a symbol, home, power, government legitimation or religious identity.

How could we express better that heritage always has a personal dimension and that in the discovery of this dimension the actual and lasting goal of heritage protection becomes a reality? For the strategic goals of community involvement and communication the population living near the heritage site must participate actively. The local community must ascribe its respective values or functions to the site. Only in doing so will people accept and value their heritage sites. Only in doing so will lasting protection and sustainable use become possible.

The five Strategic Objectives are therefore, on the one hand, steps in the right direction. On the other hand, they must be supported by and founded in subjective factors and experiences. Only if the individual is enabled to understand, interpret and appropriate the heritage of mankind as personal heritage and inheritance, can protection and use of heritage become sustainable. Only in doing so does the individual develop a relationship with heritage and only then can she or he act responsibly. Feeling and behaving responsibly for any kind of heritage is a challenge for future-oriented developments and only possible if the goal is accepted by both the individual and the community. Individual and collective responsibility is therefore the precondition for a sustainable community development.

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2

Challenges of tourism for communities

Heritage, tourism and local community interactions within the framework of site management

María José Viñals and Maryland Morant

Introduction: general approaches to heritage and tourism

This chapter examines the nature of the relationship between heritage conservation, local communities and tourism as elements to be considered in site management plans for protected areas, especially UNESCO World Heritage sites.

Natural and cultural heritage have always been major tourist attractions. In contemporary societies however, tourism has become an increasingly complex phenomenon, especially in World Heritage sites and protected areas. Tourism is now recognized as having cultural, ecological, socio-economic and political dimensions.

Over the last forty years, one striking characteristic of social change worldwide has been the increase in mass tourism. Excessive or poorly managed tourism and tourism-related development can threaten the physical nature, integrity and significant characteristics of heritage. The ecological setting, culture and lifestyles of host communities may also be degraded, along with visitors' experience of the site.

The reasons behind that situation are: high visitation levels at many sites, construction at sites or areas adjoining them not in keeping with World Heritage values, few sites with tourism management plans, lack of staff to monitor impacts, few sites educating visitors and local people about World Heritage and a site's importance, inability to involve the tourist industry in addressing critical site problems, etc.

UNESCO designation of a World Heritage site involves the drafting of a management plan (*World Heritage Convention*, 1971) for the conservation of resources and heritage. This was one of the first requirements that the *World Heritage Convention* made of governments seeking World Heritage status for their sites. When the implementation of the *Convention* was under way, the most obvious concern was heritage conservation (and remains so), but nobody anticipated how attractive inclusion on the World Heritage List would be for the incipient culture/

nature tourism that began to develop during the 1970s. As the socio-economic effects of tourism were immediately noticeable, as well as the impacts, in subsequent years (1980s) UNESCO addressed the issue of appropriate management of tourism. As a result, among the items to be considered in a designation, the World Heritage Committee has included tourist management tools as well as for local communities to be involved in the overall site planning process.

Through the World Heritage Centre (WHC, 2001) the *Convention* also provided all contracting parties and stakeholders in heritage management with guidelines (World Heritage Sustainable Tourism Programme) for planning and tourism management at World Heritage sites. Other bodies, such as the UN World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 1995; 1999; 2002), the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS, 1999), the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and the Convention on Biodiversity (2004), were working along the same lines.

The *Guidelines* publicized by UNESCO greatly helped to orient national policies to make conservation and public use of protected areas compatible in face of the high volume of visitors who since the 1990s decided to travel to these destinations. However, we have found that to date most listed sites are no better conserved than prior to designation in spite of many having made large capital investments for restoration and maintenance and of the large number of tourists whose income should have contributed to site improvement and maintenance. *National Geographic* (Tourtellot, 2006) analysed the impact of tourism on popular tourist destinations and the most recent scorecard of the ninety-four World Heritage sites threatened by tourism. One of the worst placed is the Historic Ensemble of the Potala Palace, Lhasa (China) due to the impact of mass tourism, also Kathmandu Valley (Nepal) and the temples of Angkor (Cambodia). A number of destinations are weathering the tourist onslaught with strength and vigour. First on the List are the Western Fjords of Norway, followed by Spain's Alhambra,¹ both well protected and well managed by their local communities.

1 The Alhambra is one of the most visited sites in Spain. Its yearly Recreational Carrying -Capacity was set by the Regional Government of Andalusia at 2,900,000 (8,400 per day for April–September and 6,800 for September–March). Current flow rate is almost at that level and Granada City Council has run a set of innovative urban strategies to conserve, manage and ensure wise use of the cultural heritage (Troitiño, 2000).

Management instruments do not appear to be as common as they should be or they are applied incompletely or inappropriately, few evidencing tourist and social perspectives being integrated into the plans. Resource conservation absorbs virtually all the human and material efforts of the authorities responsible for site management. The almost forty years that the *Convention* has been in force has evidently not been enough to improve site conservation status, and in some cases, there has been obvious physical and spiritual deterioration, partly caused by tourism.

Although the above-mentioned documents on guidelines set out the essential role that local people must play in the planning and management of World Heritage sites and protected areas, there are few references to the way in which they must be involved. Why is there no attempt to venture beyond the realm of good intentions?

A few reflections on World Heritage sites and the conventional tourism development model

Institutional guidelines for developing tourism at World Heritage sites and Protected Areas. An appropriate approach?

The first step in the search for explanations regarding malfunctions involves reviewing whether the items that inspired some of the plans were suitable and served for all World Heritage categories. The *Convention* includes very varied protection resources that run from cultural landscapes, historic sites, built environments and biodiversity, collections, past and continuing cultural practices, knowledge, even living experiences, including local identities.

Thus, implementing a Tourism Management Plan for a monument, landscape or historic city is not the same as doing so where local people are the attraction *per se*, especially indigenous people (community-based tourism). When a community's heritage is the substance of what it offers visitors, protecting it is essential. Exceptional treatment is called for given that extremely vulnerable communities are involved and their survival as a culture is at stake. The collective memory of each locality or community is irreplaceable and an important foundation for development, both now and in the future. Extreme care must therefore be taken, bearing in mind all the ethical precepts that the situation

demands. The major challenge for heritage tourism programmes involves ensuring that tourism does not destroy the very qualities that attract visitors to the site.

Without going into too much detail, we should note that approaches to the tourist dimension of heritage in the above-mentioned documents have to date been made from the perspective of the large-scale tourist industry, which deals with large numbers of tourists all over the world.

Many tour operators (high-volume companies) were consulted when drawing up guidelines on tourism at World Heritage sites and even involved in heritage conservation programmes. In 1996, the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNTWO) and the Earth Council launched Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry based on the Rio Action Plan. Some other very useful documents exist, such as the UNEP (2005) document in which managers have to ensure that tourism results in an overall net benefit for World Heritage sites. Also from that time a large number of publications are devoted to best environmental practices in the tourist industry, some published by large tourism consortia (Wight & Associates, 2001, IHRA/UNEP, 2003). These companies have advertised measures to attract the large environmentally friendly tourist market, and quality certification has been established, based on those principles, such as the Green Globe 21 launched by WTTC in 1994.

Managing natural and cultural tourism products is mainly in the hands of conventional tourism companies that have identified opportunities to open new markets associated with heritage. Popularizing the destinations has entailed the proliferation of infrastructures and facilities at sensitive sites, making the iconic seem commonplace. Furthermore, as indicated above, this is the fastest growing segment of the tourism demand and the one that most swells tourism statistics worldwide. However, as pointed out by Fennell and Weaver (2005), this does not always guarantee the environmental and sociocultural sustainability of the destinations, nor awareness-raising among tourists.

It is clear that many major tourism companies have greatly improved not only their image but also their efficiency in managing natural resources and in taking them into account in safeguarding heritage. However, companies are still largely ruled by the criterion of financial profitability, which leads them always to hover on the threshold of permissive use of the iconic attractions and to overlook (consciously or unconsciously) the limitations of the support resources on which the industry is based, for example drinking water and land.

Regarding land use, the areas close to many World Heritage sites have been subjected to pressures and unwanted overdevelopment and deterioration. There are many examples of resorts and vacation-home sprawl, especially on coasts and islands, that have led to difficulties in maintaining the diversity of natural and scenic environments and in ensuring continued resident access to waterfronts. Furthermore, water pollution, solid waste, energy consumption, water usage and overly bright night-time lighting are among the usual consequences of inadequate approaches to tourism.

World Heritage sites, as we have seen, are important elements in the tourism products provided by both high-volume and specialist tour companies. High-volume tour companies increasingly offer excursions as add-on options to their holiday packages, including trips to World Heritage sites. Many specialist tour operators providing nature-based, adventure or cultural trips report that protected areas are important items in their tours although the protected status of these areas is often not specifically promoted to clients.

Beyond the environmental impacts

We have observed how nomination as a World Heritage site by UNESCO has enhanced the appeal of many sites regarding tourism in a way for which they were not prepared. Although it may involve a useful source of income, it affects the ecology and cultural dimensions as well as the spiritual dimension of the site.

Beyond all the environmental impacts and degradation of natural and cultural heritage that many places experience when they are exploited for tourism and about which a substantial scientific literature exists, this chapter focuses on other less tangible impacts, such as cultural impoverishment and the 'devitalization' (loss of vitality) that many sites experience, especially those where the local population is an essential part of the site.

The impacts involving the intangible values and functions of heritage are very often more important than the physical ones, but have received less attention both from World Heritage site management bodies and from the academic world as they are sometimes difficult to detect, measure and value and even harder to deal with.

The most obvious consequences of these impacts are loss of authenticity, a lower appreciation of the site's culture and heritage within the wider community, loss of integrity and definitely, a loss of the 'spirit' of the place.

Loss of authenticity at a site is connected with cultural impoverishment and is appreciable where tourist frequentation rates are high. The original value or attributes are lost and traditional functions are replaced

by other more superficial ones less closely associated with the site. Something exclusive is gradually transformed into something less important or more common through a process of commodification that is usually in the hands of people from outside. As Pedersen (2004) points out, too many tourists can turn intangible heritage into folklore. In such circumstances heritage becomes just another product on the market, rather than a unique and special feature. There is often conflict between those who regard the sites as a cultural asset and those who see them as commodities, products for sale. Cultural assets will be conserved and restored within the context of social responsibility for our collective cultural identity, whereas in the second case they will be obtained and restored so as to be marketed more effectively, for example to tourism.

This change in functions is well-known, especially at historic centres, monuments and sacred sites, as well as in natural areas. It has particular repercussions on sites with important intangible values associated with the local population.

Thus, as Albert (2011) points out in this book, many historic town centres become visited, or rather invaded, by tourists. The local people feel that the spaces of their daily lives are being taken over or even stolen by the many visiting tourists and they move away because the city life costs are too expensive and they probably feel also limited in their businesses by regulations for the conservation and protection of monuments. The ties that bound them there are disappearing and the historic town centre loses its vital functions. Such is the paradigmatic case of Venice (Italy), where Venetians live not in the historic centre of the island but on the mainland city of Mestre, and where traditional festivities, such as the Carnival, are nowadays a quaint show more for tourists than for locals.

There are also consequences for tourists as in the long term these areas become less attractive. It is a well-known fact that cultural heritage is a human creation and therefore its inherent intrinsic values are lost as the civilization gradually becomes distanced from its culture. Therefore, the symbiosis works better not only as regards heritage conservation but also tourism. In this regard, local communities that confer greater added value to heritage are the direct heirs of the civilization that created it, as intangible values are constantly fed into the site. This is the case of the indigenous people who have preserved their environmental know-how and the resources associated with their activities. There are also good examples of minority cultural groups immersed in modern civilizations seeking to recover their roots, such as the Crow Indians of Montana and other US Reserves, who have returned from cities where they were never well integrated in order to live a life more in harmony with their ancient customs and beliefs. It is also the case of the Garifuna people in Honduras, who have managed to preserve the language and customs associated with life in Caribbean coastal areas.

In other situations, however, a local community has fully accepted its own heritage that which was created by others. One example can be found in the monuments of ancient extinct civilizations such as those at Petra Archaeological Park, whose origins lie in the ancient Nabataean civilization. Nowadays, the largest local community at the site, the Bedouins, regard it as their own as having been there for centuries it is they who infuse it with life.

In some cases, groups are totally divorced from the heritage passed down to them by their ancestors. In parts of Central America, for example, there are now more Maya people than when that civilization was at its height and at Maya sites such as Copán (Honduras) or the Pre-Hispanic City of Teotihuacan (Mexico), the spirit of the site is no longer perceptible.

In other cases, rather than spontaneous or forced abandonment by the local population, the underlying reason why the World Heritage sites and protected areas become less vital is the so-called 'museum effect', caused voluntarily or involuntarily by the authorities responsible for the site and affecting both cultural and natural heritage. This effect results in the artistic value of heritage features being preserved by isolating and sealing off the heritage (over-protection) as if it were a museum piece so that large numbers of visitors can see it up close in an orderly way. It is, therefore, cut off from many links and connotations with the society that created it or uses it. At some extremes this conservation strategy involves physical barriers. The nature of the heritage is altered and removed from its context. Caves, for example, are fenced off or screened with glass, buildings (churches, markets, etc.), which until recently fulfilled a social function, are turned into museums that local communities can no longer use. We must bear in mind that physical barriers to protect heritage create psychological barriers not only for visitors, but also for local communities.

In natural protected areas, this 'museum effect' is felt wherever there is too much public use in terms of either relative surface area given over to recreational areas or of visitor numbers, a large number of infrastructures and facilities and indiscriminate access to very sensitive areas. All these factors give rise to artificiality, leading to a loss of authenticity; some natural protected areas, for example, may seem more like zoos than the wild areas that we intend to protect. As a result, we increasingly see that in order for areas and heritage items to be adequately preserved, we resort to the most restrictive legal solutions such as 'Integral Reserves' or purpose-built replicas of original sites (Morant and Viñals, 2008).

The seeping away of a site's vitality equates to what ICOMOS (Declaration of Foz de Iguazu, 2008) has highlighted as the loss of the 'spirit of a place', i.e. the vital essence that expresses the site's identity arising from

the relationship between a specific culture and the site where it develops. Interaction of tangible and intangible components in natural and/or built settings is crucial for preserving the identity of the communities that created them and which have passed them on over generations.

This fall in vitality entails the loss of the segment of interpretative visitors who are interested in heritage, in exchange for growth in a less specialized sector of demand (dumbing down of the visitor profile) which is less demanding, with a very high perceptual capacity and therefore a very low level of satisfaction from the visit (Morant, 2007). This involves a risk for the site because once visitor psychological comfort is assured, entry numbers may increase, even to the extent of drawing large crowds, thereby generating impacts on the site as a result of both the recreational activities themselves and the proliferation of tourism infrastructures.

Furthermore, tourist demands have changed considerably in recent years, becoming much more diverse. Today's interpretative cultural heritage travellers are better travelled and educated than previous generations and they expect more from their travel experiences. This makes quality and authenticity more important than ever before (WHC, 2005). These higher expectations and increasing competition for visitors' time also mean that the visitor experience has to make the site or programme come alive.

Restoring a site's vitality and spirit is a complicated operation that cannot be obtained by means of monetary investment (as is the case with physical restoration of heritage). Rather, it tends to involve social issues that affect local communities which often have had no control over the situation in which they find themselves. It is important to bear in mind that any solution that attempts to replace the true protagonists of the site runs the risk of ending up like a theme park.

It is also important to bear in mind that heritage is part of a shared past and is a source of community identity and that working on heritage preservation helps to strengthen a common sense of identity within a community.

The current guidelines on tourism are insufficiently or inadequately formulated and implemented for such cases. As set out in the Geotourism Charter³ supported by *National Geographic* (2006), a sound plan is needed which provides protection and enhances the appeal of the destination by encouraging business to make a sustainable contribution to natural habitats, heritage sites, aesthetic appeal and local culture.

Tourism and local community considerations

Local community and stakeholder involvement

Local communities' involvement has several facets. Normally, local people at a World Heritage site or protected area become involved for the first time when a site is designated, followed by approval of plans and programmes. Their participation is particularly interesting when a financial development plan, usually involving tourism, is devised to boost the area. Besides local people, stakeholders play a major role. Raising awareness, public communication, sharing of information and training are crucial aspects all through the designation process and must include all actors at all levels.

Local people make a contribution by providing their points of view, which may range from total acceptance to rejection of the schemes. Many local communities are not motivated to become involved although they are aware of the importance of participating and that they are entitled to take part. The reasons for this lack of motivation are very varied, but include the lack of confidence in the institutions, the fact that the process is very laborious and drawn out, loss of collective values of society in comparison with an increasingly marked individualism, many and varied interests regarding land, and so on (Viñals, 2006).

Operability is badly affected as regards both local communities and the authorities when problems arise once plans and projects have been approved or even implemented *in situ*. The most advisable option is usually to achieve a consensus on decision-making in order to avoid social friction and additional financial costs.

Another perspective of local community participation involves stakeholders being actively linked to designation. This usually occurs when designation of the World Heritage sites may yield financial benefits for residents if they become actively involved. In such cases, public participation awakens greater interest, and there is also a clear financial inducement for the local population.

Thus, the process differs depending on the kind of option involved. In the first case it is more a question of expressing opinions in a public consultation process in which all views are valid and taken equally into consideration. This usually involves consultations and claims. Where contributions to local economy are involved, World Heritage site designation should also lead to the identification of the actors who will take responsibility for governance and development of the designated area. They need specific training so that the implementation of capacity-building is truly effective because it must not be taken for granted local people and stakeholders in particular are sufficiently prepared to deal with management or handle future business.

Tourism projects are usually the first to be identified as providing income for the local community. However, this opportunity does not escape the attention of tour operators, who see World Heritage sites or protected areas as very attractive emerging destinations. Thus, inbound tour operators are usually included in the process of identifying stakeholders and soon provide the chief thrust in the tourism sector and a guarantee of successful marketing of the natural or cultural tourism product. This situation usually tends to satisfy the authorities at first as there is a major flow of international tourists from the outset and the destination's popularity increases. Small business people linked directly or indirectly with tourism do not have many opportunities initially due to lack of capital and professional experience. Thus, the role of local people is restricted to providing the labour force in large hotel chains or similar jobs.

These issues are particularly interesting in developing countries, where models of planning and managing heritage are very vertical and centralized and local authorities play a very important part by organizing offer, which usually focuses on internationally well-known iconic destinations channelled via tour operators. In such cases, local community involvement is sometimes minimal as are the precautions needed to conserve resources which are usually relegated in favour of development. Furthermore, tourism becomes too important, incurring the risk that the local economy is obliged to depend on trends in international demand.

True participation by local communities and indigenous people in developing countries is to be found in marginal areas outside the usual international circuits. Municipal corporations and NGOs play important roles in organizing the offer side of the tourism industry. In Latin American countries, there are many examples of stakeholder involvement in which funding to implement tourism projects usually comes from international cooperation agencies guided by a spirit that basically seeks to alleviate poverty and promote local development (Robinson and Picard, 2006). The usual problems associated with these proposals are a lack of professionalism when designing the tourism product (neither potential demand nor distribution channels, etc., are well defined) and difficulties in marketing small products in remote places. Planning and managing heritage tourism must be conducted by experts in the field and professionals in order to ensure viable results. These projects also often lack economic sustainability as when the aid ends, the activity usually declines, as it cannot be sustained in the marketplace.

In developed countries, there has so far been a lack of confidence in the idea of tourism at World Heritage sites or protected areas being the only item in the economy. It does, however, provide important input. In any case, these countries represent the largest volume of real and potential

demand and are where trends and fashions regarding destinations are generated and where the World Heritage sites have more and better facilities for public use, thereby generating reference items for consumers which the latter then try to find when they travel outside their country.

World Heritage site or protected area designations in developed countries may have the same features as in developing countries if they are in marginal rural areas or small settlements. If a site is located in a large town or city, both public consultation and stakeholders' involvement are minimal.

First, in the case of urban areas, neither the environmental nor socio-economic effects of tourism associated with World Heritage sites and protected areas are easy to distinguish from those caused by other factors as there are a series of synergies and a diversity of assets that cannot be teased apart. Cities are ready to absorb impacts; urban society is less vulnerable to social impacts and the economy is usually more diversified. Thus, in such cases, local community involvement focuses more on the consultation setting and consensus when it comes to decision-making regarding actions to be carried out and which has more effect on people's ways of life than their financial situation (except in small historic cities, as mentioned above).

However, as Wirth and Freestone (2003) point out, it is evident that heritage tourism represents new opportunities for urban revitalization and entrepreneurship. As cities adopt more 'creative' approaches to urban development, culture is being actively tapped to enhance city image and amenities.

At any given time not only World Heritage sites or protected area managers may be overwhelmed, but local authorities may also be unable to manage their own territorial planning and that of the tour operators. International tourism companies (such as cruise lines) often do not even have direct links with protected areas or World Heritage sites. Such is the case of Pico Bonito National Park in Honduras, where tour operators try to impose conditions of site access without taking into account the guidelines set by site managers. Another example is the Pingüinera de Punta Tombo in Argentina's Patagonia region. Concepts such as public-private partnerships, corporate social responsibility and entrepreneurship become more and more important in such situations.

Another common situation involves stakeholders planning without taking into account the limits of the World Heritage sites or protected areas. In technical terms it could be said that there is no confrontation between the results of the analysis of site recreational carrying-capacity and tourism carrying-capacity in the municipality or affected area. The former provides information on the number of visitors a site can handle without its resources suffering damage and enabling visitors to have a satisfying experience. This analysis must be taken as a starting point

in planning the necessary tourist infrastructures so as not to overestimate provision (tourism carrying-capacity) as the greatest environmental impacts are usually caused by urban development as a major consumer of land and water. Therefore, before embarking on a large or small tourism initiative, site managers should have a clear understanding of the level of tourism appropriate to the site based on financial goals, conservation objectives and available resources. Preparing management, business and financial plans that systematically identify all the costs and benefits associated with managing tourism can be useful.

Tourism in World Heritage sites or protected areas as a way of benefiting local communities and site conservation is currently facing a credibility crisis due to inadequate recognition of the potential conflicts between projects and activities and heritage conservation. This is because in many World Heritage sites and protected areas, tourism models governed by supposed environmental and social sustainability precautions that are difficult to demonstrate have been implemented, giving rise to serious environmental and territorial problems.

Tourism, World Heritage sites and territorial planning

In general, the international designation process is based, as mentioned above, on public recognition of the fact that a particular site's values and functions merit the application of specific rules and constraints. The political process is based on the agreement that World Heritage site or protected area status will be beneficial for the sustainable management of the area, representing a common heritage. Socio-economic benefits of international designations are expected to support conservation, labour markets, structural changes and the reduction of environmental/cultural restoration costs. Benefits are likely also to affect local communities and individual stakeholders, at least in the long term.

Another problem is that in World Heritage sites or protected areas where there is a tourism planning instrument, it is usually designed strictly for the site surroundings, being inadequately integrated into territorial legislation because current mechanisms provided through international designations are not sufficient for proper territorial planning. It means submitting this area to specific rules and constraints, and the surrounding area is normally affected by legislation that is less protective and/or with different strategic guidelines.

A tourism development model such as a conservation plan for the World Heritage site or protected area must be integrated into current territorial planning procedures where they exist (territorial planning and/or urban planning). The management plan would then be a single, integrated and comprehensive document, with contributions from all stakeholders and interested groups and individuals. Besides being site-specific, it has also to take into account planning aspects in the surrounding area. Also, international designation

should be seen as a dynamic process that does not merely focus on the particular moment in time when international recognition is obtained. Furthermore, the territorial planning process needs to take into account traditional knowledge and should develop mechanisms to connect science with territorial planning and transfer traditional knowledge to planners and managers.

The responsibility for drawing up and implementing integrated management plans lies primarily with national or regional authorities. The involvement of public authorities in tourism planning and management is decisive. Firstly, this is because resources and heritage are at stake and their preservation and conservation as public assets must be guaranteed. Secondly, because implementing tourism activity falls to the private sector and, therefore, national/regional legal frameworks need to be better harmonized in order to control actions affecting sensitive areas.

Some authorities have drawn up specific comprehensive plans for protected areas whose implementation is complicated except when small areas are concerned. There are also cases of territorial plans for vast territories that include protected areas and which are of an all-embracing nature. However in terms of practical management there are many problems when it comes to carrying them out in the spirit in which they were devised. Difficulties also arise due to there being many authorities with overlapping powers and whose measures are very difficult to coordinate. For example, the City of Venice and its Lagoon has twenty-two authorities (Stato, Regione, Provincia, Comuni, etc.) with powers relating to this site (Viñals and Smart, 2004).

Some promising initiatives that attempt to coordinate actions in European Protected Areas have been successful to a certain extent, such as the European Charter for Sustainable Tourism driven by the European Federation of Regional Natural Parks (EUROPARC, 2000).

As regards large cities with World Heritage sites, the model of tourism planning follows the patterns for the city itself in which all tour operators (large and small) have a place. In rural and natural areas the model to be applied must specifically cover involvement if local communities are truly to be brought on board and to satisfy the requirement for social sustainability. Economic sustainability will be fully achieved if the previous requirements are met. This option encourages small and medium-sized local companies, ensures that locals 'own' the heritage and safeguard it to a greater extent than if it were in the hands of companies from other parts of the same country or even from abroad. It also ensures controlled growth.

Conclusions ... 'ifs and buts'

In summary, we propose the following:

- Everyone must understand that the relevant authorities have set limits for World Heritage sites and protected areas in order to safeguard their values and functions.
- If the World Heritage sites or protected areas are to be open to the public, there must be thematic interpretation programmes and facilities in order to guarantee minimum impacts and maximum awareness.
- The World Heritage sites or protected areas need a specific tourism management plan integrated into territorial planning for the site. The plan must necessarily take into account territorial limitations (available natural and human resources) in order to monitor the number of tourist infrastructures it can hold. Therefore, recreational carrying-capacity and tourist carrying-capacity have to be determined and harmonized in accordance with the territorial planning goals and sustained growth.
- Tourism management plans for the World Heritage sites need to prioritize local community and stakeholder involvement and establish guidelines for project execution.
- Economic benefits from tourism must flow directly and mainly to local communities, who must manage the activity. Specific training must be provided for people working in tourism (tourist guides, service providers, travel agents, etc.) and World Heritage sites or protected area managers and staff.
- Social benefits and a better quality of life are welcome if they do not imply a trivialization of residents' lifestyles and a loss of traditions and habits.
- The heritage site image must be designed with a differentiated branding aimed at an interested and/or specialist public and conducted by professional experts according to scientific criteria. It is important to understand the kind and amount of tourism that a community can handle (effective carrying-capacity).

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Tourism and the perceptions of local communities: case study of the World Heritage site of the Historic City of Ayutthaya, Thailand

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Introduction

In the October 2007 edition of *World Heritage*, Jonathan Tourtellot of the National Geographic Society wrote of tourism as the 'biggest threat and benefactor' of World Heritage sites. Although he did not specifically state it, others have made it clear that the 'threat' is not only to the heritage resource itself but can extend to those communities organically connected to World Heritage sites. In the tourism research literature there has long been an attempt to understand the impact tourists have on the various environments (physical, cultural, social, economic and so forth) of destination communities. 'Cultural impacts' is a term readily found in the tourism literature and rarely is the notion an entirely positive one. It is often related to terms such as 'commodification', 'modernity', 'globalization', 'rupture', 'loss of traditions' and so forth. In the early 1990s Robert Wood wrote memorably of the governing metaphor which seemed to dominate the research scenario: it was as though tourism and a destination community were billiard balls, each a discrete entity and tourism was the white ball hurtling towards a stationary coloured ball, the destination, that then 'suffers' the impacts of this external force! (Wood, 1993).

This chapter looks at the perceptions that the destination community of Ayutthaya has towards the many tourists who visit Ayutthaya historical park and attempts to make sense of the relationship between tourism and this vibrant regional city just 80 km north of Krung Thep (Bangkok) in terms of the perceptions the locals have about the effects tourism has on their lives, and whether the cultural dimensions of these perceptions/realities are in fact the result of tourism.

Ayutthaya: city of myth and history

Ayutthaya was Thailand's royal capital city for some 400 years from 1893 BE or Buddhist Era (1350 CE or Common Era) to 2310 BE (AD 1767). Ayutthaya was established on a fertile alluvial plain at the confluence of three rivers, the Chao Phraya, Pasak and Lopburi. A moat connecting the rivers to the north and south created a well-protected island upon which the city was built. Further defence was provided by 12 km of brick walls with their fortified turrets and the ninety-nine gates, including twenty water gates.

Ayutthaya was essentially a water-based society: water for transportation, irrigated rice paddy fields, fishing and symbolically for the Buddhist culture that arose at the site (for descriptions of the site see Leksukhum, 2000; Lekhakula, 2000; Nanta, 2000). Ayutthaya, with its extensive canal system, was regarded by European travellers as the 'Venice of the East'. The word Ayutthaya refers to the mythological city of Ayudhya described in the Hindu epic the *Ramayana*. Ayudhya was built for humans at the command of the god Shiva (as opposed to its rival city Lanka, built under the command of the god Brahma for a race of giants). The connection to the *Ramayana* not only symbolically united Ayutthaya with the ideal of benevolent and virtuous kingship, but also gave divine rule an ideological locus. The name also underscored the Khmer influence on the political culture of the city (Heidhues, 2000, p. 61). At its height the Ayutthaya kingdom was both powerful and prosperous and commanded a vast Thai-speaking empire of subject towns and cities. European travellers, traders and diplomats, in their accounts, were dazzled by the wealth of the city (especially the use of gold in the hundreds of Buddhist temples) and the exoticism of its ritual life (Lekhakula, 2000, pp. 24–33). However, in 2310 BE (AD 1767), the city was sacked by the Burmese army and largely destroyed. Such was the scale of the destruction that the Siamese court re-established itself, first in Thonburi and then in Bangkok. The old Ayutthaya was never rebuilt.

The city was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1991 under criterion (iii) as set out in the *Operational Guidelines for Implementing the World Heritage Convention*, although it was nominated under criteria (i), (ii), (iii), (iv), (v) and (vi) (Saipradist, 2005; WHC, 2005). Criterion (iii) refers to sites 'bearing a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared' (WHC, 2005, p. 52). As Peleggi has explained, the inscription illuminates the strong nexus between Thai heritage or *moradok*, nationalism (and its insistence on the historical narrative of the modern nation-state that draws a line between the Historic Town of Sukhothai, Ayutthaya and Bangkok) and the so-called three pillars of Thai cultural and social identity, Buddhism, the Monarchy and the State (Peleggi, 2002). This relationship is both represented and enacted, over and over, by tourism to Ayutthaya: in the promotion and marketing of the place, in the guidebooks and in the way the tourist experience is constructed at the site (Peleggi, 2002).

Contemporary Ayutthaya: city of tourism

The Historic City of Ayutthaya hosts over 1 million international visitors per year according to the Tourist Authority of Thailand (TAT, 2004), mainly day-trippers from Bangkok, of which 72 per cent are from Western countries. The total represents about 10 per cent of the annual international arrivals into Thailand (Saipradist and Staiff, 2007). In other words, more than 720,000 visitors are from Western countries and the numbers are growing annually. TAT has calculated that the current rate of growth is 1.7 per cent per annum. In addition, the historic park receives 1.7 million Thai visitors (TAT, 2003 figures). The distribution of visitors throughout the year is uneven. For internationals, the peak months are July-August and November-January. For Thai visitors, the peaks are associated with the two major festivals Loi Krathong, the lunar festival in November and the Thai New Year, Songkran Festival in April. Light and sound shows, with fireworks, in the archaeological site continue to be a feature of Songkran. The modern Ayutthaya is a provincial capital and an important regional city with a population of over 55,000 inhabitants. Some 92 per cent of the province is agricultural and it is one of the most important rice-growing regions of Thailand (TAT, 2000).

Like most communities that are intimately connected geographically to a major World Heritage site, the relationship is diverse and complex (Leask and Fyall, 2006). Inhabitants can be directly connected to tourism as local guides, souvenir sellers, restaurant owners and their staff, taxi and *tuk-tuk* (small taxi) drivers, accommodation owners and their staff, tourist operators, provincial government officials in the tourism sector and so forth. Others who live in Ayutthaya would not see themselves as part of tourism, yet with an influx of more than 2.7 million per year to a quite defined and contained geographical precinct it is obvious that the tourist phenomenon cannot be completely ignored. Similarly, the relationship between the archaeological park and the rest of the city varies from strong connections (more to do with Buddhism and sacrality than *moradok*) to indifference (Saipradist, 2005).

Community values and community perceptions of tourism

In 2006–2007 a study of community perceptions of tourism impacts was undertaken using a methodology that focused on community values. An archival study and interviews with a number of tourism stakeholders produced a list of tourism issues for Ayutthaya. These were then converted into values; what it was that communities valued when they identified tourism issues. These values were then placed against all the tourism activities undertaken by tourists, everything from visiting *wats* (temples) through to elephant rides. The values and activities were constructed as a matrix and then this was given to a large number of tourism operators, tourism stakeholders and residents who were asked to note whether the tourist activity, in relation to the value, was a positive or negative or neutral relationship or was the perception that the value and the activity had no relationship (for details of the methodology see Staiff et al., 2007).

Unsurprisingly, the economic benefits of tourism were seen to be highly positive as they related to what the residents of Ayutthaya most valued with nearly 60.4 per cent of respondents seeing a positive relationship and only 13.3 per cent perceiving a negative relationship. Employment and income generation received more than 80 per cent positive response. In the case of sociocultural impacts, less than half of the respondents (46.8 per cent) saw a positive relationship and 21.2 per cent perceive a negative relationship while a further 22.3 per cent saw no impact of tourism on their values (Figure 1). One particular set of activities seen as related to tourism and regarded in a particularly negative light was that connected to night-life including bars, discos and karaoke with nearly 60 per cent of respondents expressing negativity. Respondents were evenly divided over how tourism contributed, or not, to the quiet and peaceful environment of the archaeological park, with nearly 50 per cent viewing the impact as negative.

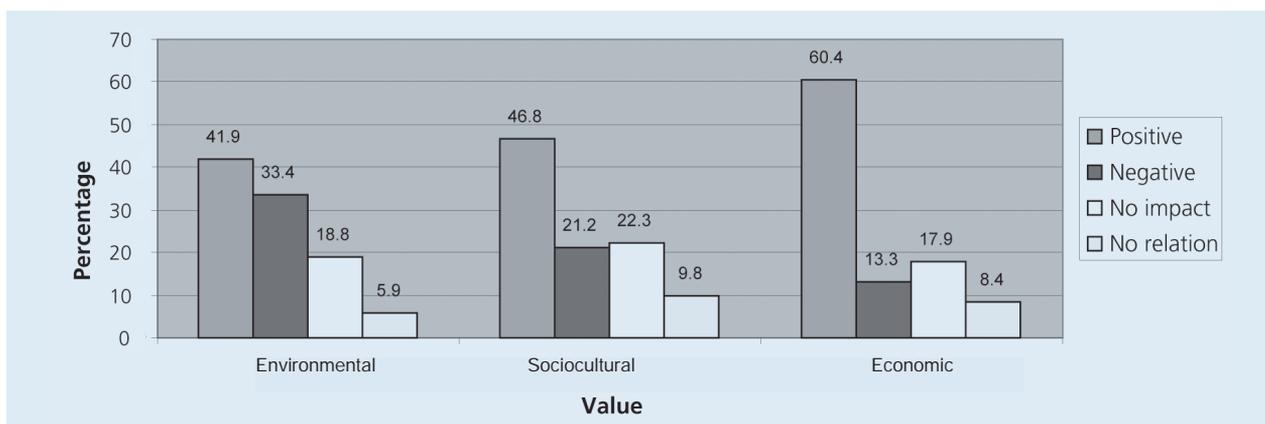


Figure 1: The perception of tourism impact on environmental, sociocultural and economic values.
Source: Authors' elaboration

Community values and ethical issues¹

In interviews, and the comments respondents made when undertaking the matrix survey, it was clear that major ethical issues were brought to the surface by the perception of tourists in their midst. On the one hand, the community valued highly the economic opportunities that tourism brought to Ayutthaya – and this is consistent with the many studies of tourism impacts. However, the data also revealed that the economic fruits of tourism have not necessarily been spread equitably and the high number of day-trippers and the seasonality of tourism along with the drastic effect on visitors numbers by events like the 2004 tsunami, produced a series of concerns about economic sustainability by tourism operators, vendors and guides working in the archaeological park. The proximity of Ayutthaya to Bangkok is viewed as a blessing and a curse. A blessing because it means high visitation (especially compared with Sukhothai World Heritage site, an earlier royal capital, some 420 km north of Bangkok by road) but a curse because Bangkok draws the tourists back each night and so those in the restaurant, shopping and accommodation sectors of Ayutthaya believe they are hugely disadvantaged. The research also revealed that there was a disquiet about the ethical behaviour of those who made their money from tourists, with nearly a third of respondents perturbed by the way tourists were being exploited by local vendors and *tuk-tuk* drivers.

There were also clear concerns about the environmental costs of tourism's success with 40 per cent of respondents commenting about traffic congestion and safety and parking issues within the archaeological precinct and nearly 50 per cent of those surveyed expressing anxieties about air quality as a result of the number of coaches and cars and mini buses in the city each day. However, against these negatives, the local community perceived a strong positive relationship between tourism and their own identity with over 80 per cent suggesting that tourism promoted a good image of their community, raised local awareness and understanding of World Heritage, produced pride in themselves and facilitated the conservation of historic buildings. Just less than 80 per cent believed that tourism leads to the recovery and the preservation of local 'folk' wisdom and the preservation of local culture, traditions and way of life.

At the same time, tourism was strongly related to two vitally important sociocultural aspects of Thai life. Unlike the international tourists who visit the World Heritage site

as a 'city of spectacular ruins' with a focus on Ayutthaya's past, Thai visitors and locals have a perception of Ayutthaya that is deeply spiritual and patriotic (these two things are powerfully fused). The temples of Ayutthaya (the ruins as Western visitors regard them) remain sacred places of Buddhist devotion and ritual. But the place of Ayutthaya in the Thai nation, as a former royal capital, is equally important and so in this fusion of Buddhism, royalty and the nation, Ayutthaya is a locus of Thai identity formation and expression (Peleggi, 2007).

Tourist behaviour in the monastic precincts is therefore of considerable importance and this extends to the tourists' modes of dress as well as physical interaction with the site and with each other. The 'peacefulness of the site' is therefore coded. It hinges on the spiritual nature of the site and the respect that most Thais have for both the Buddha and the monarchy. 'Quietness and peacefulness' is regarded as a way of being in these places for both Thai visitors and locals. Western tourists (some three-quarters of the international visitors) (Saipradist and Staiff, 2007) can, therefore, be a source of consternation. Because of Thai conventions of hospitality, Thai unease about the behaviour of *farang* (the Thai word for Westerners) is rarely communicated to the tourists themselves. Indeed, the Thai word *kreng-jai* (being afraid of offending someone and being considerate about another's feelings) encapsulates the response towards visitors by an older Thai generation, even in the face of inappropriate behaviour. For example, deep offence is caused by photographing Buddha statues in an improper manner, wearing shorts, climbing on a stupa and, above all, putting one's head in place of a missing Buddha head on statues. For local people, communicating the disquiet is not only a matter of *kreng-jai* but it also involves a fear and shyness about communicating in English.

In the future things may change in this regard. Younger Thais try to avoid *kreng-jai* because it makes them fearful of speaking their minds and they increasingly prefer a more assertive self-confidence. English language skills are also more widespread in younger generations especially those in the tourism industry and so there is a clear responsibility for tour guides and others to confront Western tourist behaviours that cause such deep offence to those who live in Ayutthaya.

The Westerners, however, cannot entirely plead ignorance about their behaviour. A visitor survey at the Ayutthaya World Heritage site, undertaken in 2004, revealed that 42.3 per cent of Westerners used a guidebook

¹ The use of the term 'ethics' can be problematic because of the different conceptualizations and renderings in Western and Buddhist thought. The term is used purposely here because of its centrality in the expression of Thai thinking and Thai perceptions. In Buddhism, 'ethics' relates to living in accordance with *dharma* (or 'natural' law) to produce happiness and fulfilment (as opposed to transgression and the production of suffering) (Keown, 1996). It is not about following moral rules of right and wrong but about 'mindfulness' and motivation and intention as a way of overcoming attachment and desire (Gethin, 1998; Trainor, 2001). This comes closest to the Socratic and Aristotelian idea of ethics as self-realization via the virtuous life of wisdom and courage with happiness the end-point. Buddhist ethics also resonates with those strands of 20th-century Western ethics discourse that focus on the principles for discerning the best consequences, although unlike Buddhist ethics, in Western societies actions are very pronounced compared with intentions (Irwin, 2007). What is critical here is that ethics, in either Western or Buddhist philosophy, is not reducible to morality and moral codes.

to navigate through the site and of these some 60 per cent used *Lonely Planet Thailand*. Lonely Planet, along with other well-used guidebooks such as the *Dorling Kindersley Eyewitness Travel Guide to Thailand*, are quite adamant about etiquette, body language, behaviour at temples and dress codes (Saipradist and Staiff, 2007). In the Historic City of Ayutthaya there are also cautionary signs about appropriate behaviour.

In the case of the tourist intrusion into sacred spaces, the ethical issue is clear. With regard to the nightlife activities, the ethical issue is equally clear but whether tourism is the source of the problem is far from certain. The research has shown that in fact there is little in the way of nightlife (bars, discos, etc.) in Ayutthaya compared with Bangkok and other popular tourist destinations in Thailand. One of the reasons has to do with tourism patterns. Overwhelmingly, most tourists to Ayutthaya are day-trippers who do not stay overnight. Even after the light and sound shows performed at night in the archaeological park, most returned to their Bangkok hotels. The few 'night spots' in the city are, nevertheless, a touchstone for local community concern.

The reasons are complex. Family life is a central characteristic of Thai society but so is the strong hierarchical structure of social relationships. Thus, within families, the highest levels of respect are reserved for parents and grandparents. Children, no matter what age, have important responsibilities for both their elders and their family. Nightclubs are therefore regarded as spaces that are the antithesis of both family spaces and sanctioned communal spaces (such as the market place and the *wat*). Further, nightclubs are associated with alcohol and illicit drug consumption; criminality; and lax sexual morality. For young Thais to visit a nightclub, or be part of a nightclub generation, is not only to be associated with dubious places and behaviour, it is often deemed to be an affront to family values and family responsibilities. Alcoholic consumption continues, on the whole, not to be part of the world of Thai teenagers. Alcohol consumption is, however, strongly associated with *farang* tourists, especially younger tourists. This perception is not hard to fathom given the 'party' atmosphere of the bar precincts in Bangkok, Pattaya, Phuket and many of the island resorts. Rightly or wrongly, therefore, nightclubs are deterministically linked to tourism. The so-called 'corruption of youth' has been a major government concern and there has been, in recent years, a resolute effort to control nightlife through enforced early closing times of clubs and bars. One of the major reasons for this clampdown has nothing to do with tourism but a society-wide concern about teenage motorbike gangs, the way they disturb communities at night and the sexual behaviour of members of teenage bike gangs. Through the media in particular, these gangs have been constructed as the antithesis of familial and communal relationships and responsibilities. Despite the role of teenage gangs, the campaign to control nightlife has reinforced the idea that tourists and nightclubs are harmful to Thai teenagers and

young adults. The negative connection between tourism and nightlife in the matrix survey of residents in Ayutthaya is, therefore, both predictable and understandable.

Nevertheless, unlike the 'peace and quiet' of the historic park, the role of tourism in relation to nightlife, and all it stands for, is far from clear-cut. The ethical dilemmas presented by nightlife are likely to have another, but profoundly related, companion – modernity.

Tourism and modernity

The links between tourism and modernity have received considerable scholarly attention (see, for example, the important work of Wang, 2000). It has also been a central theme in development studies (see, for example, Sharpley and Telfer, 2002) and in studies of globalization and tourism (see e.g. Meethan, 2001). The links have also animated the study of the relationship between tourism and culture (see e.g. Robinson and Picard, 2006; Smith, 2003) and the anthropology of the cultural impacts of tourism (the classic study being Picard, 1996; and more recently, Bruner, 2005; Cole, 2008).

Recent studies in Thailand (Staiff and Promsit, 2005; Theerapappisit and Staiff, 2006) have illustrated that it is exceptionally hard to distinguish between changes wrought by modernity and changes resulting from tourism, especially as tourism is itself a vector of modernity. A study of the cultural impacts of tourism, via the representations of culture, in several *sois* (small streets), where the *sois* in an acknowledged tourism space (in Pattaya) were compared with a non-tourism urban space (Thanon Rathchawithi in Bangkok) revealed that the similarities far outweighed the differences. It could be shown that a dominant driver of cultural change, whether in a tourism precinct or not, was modernity with all its attendant characteristics: globalization, commodification (and display culture), transformation, development, capitalism, consumption, mobility, the mass media, differentiation and non-differentiation simultaneously of the local and the global and so forth. In the study tourism as a distinct entity and an agent of change 'disappeared' into modernity. Modernity, however configured, was a better way of describing change than tourism *per se* (Staiff and Promsit, 2005).

The study of the perception of tourism development in three northern Thai villages reached a similar conclusion. At the village level the role and impacts (both positive and negative) of tourism were interwoven with the advent of modernity. Village communities, it was found, tended to perceive both issues and changes holistically across what in the West would be called multiple sectors, from infrastructure development (such as roads) to host-guest language barriers. Conceptually, the Thai participants in the study made no distinction between the changes associated with modernity (in all its various and contradictory guises) and those affected by tourism. Indeed, they were deemed the same thing (Theerapappisit and Staiff, 2006).

Modernity, tourism and community values

The Ayutthaya study of community values and perceptions of tourism indicated a series of tensions that have been described in other studies of tourism in Southeast Asia (see, for example, Hitchcock et al., 1993; Teo et al., 2001). The economic benefits that are derived from tourism are overwhelmingly seen as positive when standards of living are seen to rise from employment and income generation. And in a country like Thailand where inbound tourism is so crucial to foreign receipts the effects are noticeable. In 2006 there were 13.82 million arrivals that generated estimated revenue of €9.8 billion (TAT, 2008). However, these economic benefits from tourism are in fact connected to economic development in general. The higher standards of living in Thailand come at the end of a period of rapid economic growth and technological change as the Thai economy has globalized. And with this has come an upsurge in consumer capitalism. Once, as recent as the 1980s, the arrival of electricity in remote rural villages was a symbol of development; now it is the television and DVD player along with refrigerators and washing machines. And herein lies the rub. Thais have embraced the benefits of modernization, whether it is roads or transport or white goods or scientific agricultural practices or digital technologies or urbanization and the shopping mall, but these sit alongside a social and cultural system that is potentially threatened by the changes or, at the very least, is in tension with the changes (Askew, 2002). What research has revealed is that places experiencing tourism want a mixture of modern and traditional lifestyles where neither threatens the other and where there is community-level participation about defining this 'mixture' (Theerapappisit and Staiff, 2006). This desire, it was found, either suppresses the threat/tension or ignores it or is uninformed about the consequences of development for traditional lifestyles. And above all perceptions at the level of individual communities do not necessarily recognize that culture is always changing, always dynamic, always riven by conflicting narratives and is a human practice of signification and representation (Benhabib, 2002; Tanabe, 2008.).

In Ayutthaya, economic benefit is valued as much as respect for the quietness and peacefulness (in attitude as much as tranquil landscape) associated with the holy places of Buddhist meditation and ritual. The nightclub scene, however, is a type of touchstone connected to other dimensions of globalization and social change. The concerns about inappropriate behaviour and respect for 'traditional values' are as much about the various products and effects of modernity by, and upon, a younger generation of Thais (along with the associated anxieties around modernity) as it is about *farang* tourists. Western tourists, in this view, are both symbolic of and an incarnation of social and cultural formations around modernity that are deeply contested within Thai society (Askew, 2002; Peleggi, 2007; Tanabe, 2008).

Conclusion: strangers in our midst

The ethical landscape is therefore complex. Tourism in Ayutthaya reveals a series of tensions that are made visible by the constant presence of strangers in the city. The desire for economic well-being jostles with a variety of other values that are considered important to the inhabitants of the city. Kwame Anthony Appiah argues in *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (2006), that the presence of different behaviour does not in itself mean 'cultural contamination' and the perceived cultural conflict often attributed to so-called 'host-guest' relationships in tourism research (see, for example, Robinson and Boniface, 1999). This is a reminder of Wood's billiard-ball metaphor that has so often governed such conceptualizations. If the ethical issues around the perceptions of Ayutthayan residents about tourism and nightlife and the influence on young Thais was conceptualized as 'cultural contamination', then this presupposes two things: first, an essential and unchanging culture; and second, that 'culture' is an entity, like a billiard ball, that can be acted upon. Neither of these propositions can be defended. Appiah illustrates that the 'different behaviour' of 'strangers in our midst' will be 'read' in many different ways including making it clear what the 'locals' – in this case those who live and work in Ayutthaya – value and, maybe, why they value these things. Beneath the concerns the Ayutthayan community members expressed about the 'quiet and peacefulness' of the historic park and the bar and disco scene at night is exactly this: the interaction between tourists and the city starkly reveals what is deeply valued by the local people.

This is not to suggest that tourism is always benign. It clearly is not and the threats posed by tourism to natural, cultural and social environments, worldwide, have been well documented. At many World Heritage sites the pressures from tourism are critical. Nevertheless, the study at Ayutthaya suggests that local scenarios are crucial when assessing tourism impacts and that it is not easy – or indeed, perhaps even possible – to generalize about the dimensions (ethical or otherwise) of the complex cultural entanglement arising from tourism in communities with propinquity to World Heritage sites that have high visitor numbers. Perceptions, it was discovered, were as strong as 'realities' and, therefore, perceptions need to be accorded proper weight in any consideration of how local communities within World Heritage places respond to international visitors because they provide a window onto what such communities value.

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Internet applications for strategic communication, tourism and local communities in relation to heritage

Lola Teruel and María José Viñals

Introduction

UNESCO World Heritage status helps to enhance many sites' attractiveness as tourist venues and provides opportunities for local communities, who see tourism as a way to development and an advantage as regards conserving and passing on their values and culture. However, that same opportunity can become a threat when the basic principles of sustainable development are not applied given the interest kindled by tourism flows and the resulting large numbers of visitors flocking to the site (Pedersen, 2002).

Such flows and visitation intensity at World Heritage sites reinforce the importance of having management tools that advocate conservation and sustainable development (Inskip, 1991; UNWTO, 2005). In addition to other tourism management tools, those designed to promote and publicize destinations may, besides promoting an exchange of useful information about the site, permit other Strategic Objectives explored here to be met.

Tourists are a particularly important target for these communication media because the way they interact with the destination, their motivations and preferences and the activities they pursue, etc. – in short, their experiences – shape their final assessment, which must be satisfactory for the destination to continue to be able to contribute to local development and provide for direct involvement in the creation of new products and tourist activities.

This research focuses on new information technologies and communications (ICT), especially the internet, applied to tourism as a means for tourists to contact and communicate with destinations. The tourist experience begins with a search for information on the destination, usually on the internet. The internet therefore provides a channel of communication and an information tool prior to travelling (Pan and Fesenmaier, 2006).

The protocol presented here is based on communication and use of ICTs, particularly the internet, as a channel to minimize negative impacts and boost those that enhance the credibility of tourism based on the sustainable management of World Heritage sites or Protected Areas. The protocol covers the use of the above-mentioned technologies by all agents involved, especially local communities.

Internet and heritage tourism management: Which technological tools are used in tourism?

In the travel and hotel business the tourism industry has for years been using new technologies as a tool for marketing products and services. Global distribution systems (GDS) and computerised reservation systems (CRS) are currently available to users via on-line travel agencies and interactive marketing portals, such as Expedia (Buhalis and Law, 2008), in order to facilitate consumer access to travel purchases.

Tourism destinations have also evolved as regards the way they are promoted, publicised and marketed thanks to the application of information and communications technologies, particularly the internet (UNWTO, 1999a; 2001). There is a striking correlation between the various stages in the development of the internet and developments in promoting and publicising tourism destinations and World Heritage sites from Web 0.0 to Web 2.0.

In its early days the internet was mainly used to promote tourism destinations through advertising messages and the provision of useful information for travellers (UNWTO, 1999b). This stage gave way to a second more interactive one involving destination marketing organizations (DMO) and e-business for the sites (UNWTO, 2001), with reservations being made via the major global distribution systems. The third stage, Web 2.0, features the capacity for social interaction (Castells, 2001) using such technologies as blogs, wikis, virtual communities.

In a further step forward, new scope for social interaction involves modelling marketing and communication strategies for destinations, offering tourists the chance to influence other internet users by expressing their opinions on destinations. Another consequence of this social interaction is user involvement in selection processes and enhancement of certain destinations such as the recent nomination of the new Seven Wonders of the World (New 7 Wonders, 2007) with the expectation and interest which that involved as regards certain destinations, including World Heritage sites and Protected Areas.

Trends in tourism indicate increasing 'tailoring/customizing' of travel (UNWTO, 1998; Buhalis and Law, 2008) and a decline in traditional tourist packages. This trend will require a major flow of information among all the agents involved, as well as control of that flow.

In order to respond to the changes that are taking place, the internet, in its capacity as an information management tool, offers major advantages and opportunities for local actors, local communities, managers and planners. One great advantage is undoubtedly the creation and easy management of websites. On the consumer side, the democratization of the internet has involved large-scale consumption of tourist products and easier tourist access

to destinations. The various capacities associated with ICT applications in general and the internet in particular as regards promoting, marketing and communicating with tourism destinations are summarized in Table 1. However, a destination's technological standard is not always the same for all users in different parts of the world. This analysis and data-gathering exercise focuses on setting indicators for development standards and advanced use of ICTs.

Capacity	Advantages	Users	ICTs	Web phase
Information	Broadcasting information	Tourists Stakeholders	Websites	Web 0.0
Promotion	Resource enhancement	Stakeholders	Tourism portals Web pages	Web 1.0
Marketing	Sale of entrance tickets, activities and other products and services	Tourism Stakeholders	Databases	Web 1.0
Communication	Information gathering	Stakeholders	e-mail	Web 1.0
Demand observatory	Influence on supply creation	Planners/managers Stakeholders	Brief questionnaires	Web 1.0
Training	Virtual classrooms	Stakeholders	Training platforms	Web 1.0
Social interaction	Gathering information Influence on consumer habits Evaluating preferences regarding planning	Tourist stakeholders	Blogs Web pages Wikis	Web 2.0
Involvement	Information Influence on development Consensus	Stakeholders Local communities	Intranet e-mail	Web 2.0
Funding	Search for funding Establishing international networks Sharing information	Stakeholders Tourists Residents	Programmes for volunteers Banking organizations	Web 2.0
Tourism management	Control of loading capacity	Stakeholders Planners/managers	Databases Web pages	Web 2.0

Table 1: Capacities associated with ICTs.
Source: Adapted from Carbonara (2005).

Potential of the internet as a tool in the sustainable management of tourist destinations

Aware of the need to take action in order to control tourism and create wealth in a sustainable manner for destinations, UNESCO is setting out a series of actions along three major lines via the Sustainable Tourism Programme (WHC, 2001).

- Developing and expanding the World Heritage Tourism Programme Framework to build management capacity and provide alternative livelihoods to promote conservation;
- Building strategic partnerships to support sustainable tourism as a conservation tool at World Heritage sites;
- Aiding the World Heritage Committee, the States Parties, the World Heritage Centre and field offices on tourism-related issues.

These principles are based on interaction with tour operators and local communities. In theory, the latter's ties and involvement with World Heritage sites are crucial, but that importance is not always taken on board in practice. At certain destinations not all stakeholders participate on equal terms. Tour operators who take tourists to World Heritage sites or Protected Areas require certain basic conditions in terms of infrastructures. Their contribution is made in the form of income from park entrance fees, sales of souvenirs, but without there being any close cooperation with the site. Furthermore, the relationship is not an equitable one as there is no balance between the destination and the tourism industry.

The methodology presented here seeks to adapt the principles set out by the World Heritage Sustainable Tourism Programme (WHC, 2001) and other international charters (UNWTO, 1995; 2001; UNEP, 2002) based on dialogue with the tourism industry, especially tour operators and other stakeholders and local communities. It involves

checking whether the principles set out by UNESCO and other international bodies and conventions are applied on the ground for the benefit of local communities. Thus, this protocol revision has made it possible to pinpoint a series of indicators relating to performance in enhancing and using the resources, culture and values underlying the declaration in relation to local communities and the use of the internet. This protocol includes twenty questions to examine the potential of the internet as a tool for promotion and communication within a programme to manage natural and cultural heritage for tourism.

The questionnaire served as a guide to conduct in-depth interviews with managers of World Heritage sites such as Petra (Jordan) or the Maya Site of Copán (Honduras). The first part of the questionnaire relates to formal aspects of the website such as the web page issuing authority, the kind of information displayed, updating, and so on.

The second part focuses on web page contents and their relationship with local community involvement in tourism. The third part analyses the level of technological development made available to web page users.

This methodology can be extrapolated to other media such as leaflets or audiovisual materials. The internet has the competitive advantage in relation to other media of being able to provide immediate responses regarding demand, as well as marketing capacity (booking entrance tickets via a computerized reservation system) and feedback via e-mail answers. The internet makes it possible to attain the highest review level for indicators using this methodology.

The data has been gathered from a total of thirty websites, chiefly from sites in Europe and North and South America, which were declared World Heritage for their natural values.

Actions	Review
Building the capacity of World Heritage site management to deal with tourism	Does it include a mention of or link to local companies?
Training local community members in environment and culture preservation and tourism-related activities to receive tourism's benefits	Are guided tours provided?
	Who arranges them?
Aiding communities around the sites to market their products and use the World Heritage sites as a lever for local economic, social and cultural development	Are there links to other companies offering services for tourists?
Raising public awareness of World Heritage outstanding universal value and building pride and intercultural dialogue with local communities and visitors through conservation education	What kind of themes are on the website?
	Do the themes refer to the criteria for nomination?
	In what terms is the resource mentioned?
Using tourism-generated funds to supplement site conservation and protection costs	Is it possible to make a financial donation to the destination?
	Are there any volunteer programmes?
Spreading the lessons learned to other sites and Protected Areas	Are there any public relations measures such as one-day conferences, exhibitions, workshops, etc.?
Building increased awareness of the objectives of the 1972 <i>World Heritage Convention</i> and other UNESCO conventions to the tourism programme activities and policies for local and national public tourism authorities, tourism industry officials and visitors	Is the World Heritage site logo evident?
	Does the tourism industry working on the World Heritage site include a mention of site conservation or just of the World Heritage?

Table 2: Questions relating to the UNESCO Sustainable Tourism Programme.

Source: Authors' elaboration

The various sections of the study questionnaire are set out as follows:

- The main objective of the first part of this methodology is to analyse the formal components (contents and technology) of a website. Thus, among the formal elements analysed, more emphasis is given to those referring to issuance of information and responsibility for contents. Authorship of the webpage is checked, whether it is updated, and how many web pages relate to a World Heritage site appear via a search engine. It also analyses the availability of useful travel information such as practical advice on how to improve one's stay. It also investigates whether the information is accessible via a technological setting or if special software is required.
- The second part of the questionnaire is based on actions proposed by UNESCO in its Sustainable Tourism Programme. The questionnaire (Table 2) adapts the main lines.
- The third part of the methodology covers a review of website technology, for example e-mail address, databases to make reservations, web cameras to view the destination in real time, opportunity of paying for a reservation online.

The internet and local communities: a tool for tourism management and communication. Defining a strategic communication plan (SCP)

The results of the research conducted by applying the protocol described above at World Heritage sites are set out below. The skills attained are included in the strategic communication plan (SCP) as a communication tool that enables managers and planners at the destination and local communities to obtain financial, social and environmental benefits that will help to conserve and publicize the culture and values for which the sites were nominated. Possible benefits include funding, awareness-raising via messages (IUCN, 2004), capacity-building among local actors, promoting and marketing tourism and communication with tourists. The potential of the ICTs is highlighted by the capacity of preserving, collecting and disseminating culture and knowledge (Chikonzo, 2006).

The SCP uses the internet as a channel of communication, in which web pages are a medium for defining contents and tools for planning, management and tourism-related communication at World Heritage destinations. The objectives to be reached through implementation of a strategic communication plan will contribute to sustainable

tourist management of a destination according to the universal principles of a World Heritage site.

- *Objective 1: Capacity-building:* The first objective of the SCP is capacity-building or reinforcement aimed at enhancing tourism management of World Heritage sites.

The internet is used as a channel to obtain and share information on tourism destinations. Thus, demand observatories, internal communication via corporate work (intranet), even searches for secondary sources of information are some of the aims. Likewise, an intranet provides specific computerized information that is a 'virtual participation tool' enabling virtual participative processes to be developed by local managers or local communities. The Yellowstone National Park (United States of America) website (National Park Service, n.d.) for example, has a communication system that provides ongoing information on demand, thereby making it possible to establish visitor profiles and to fit supply to demand. Likewise, the internet enables local actors to be trained online using a variety of materials (vocational courses in typical craftsmanship, local culture, gastronomy, tree conservation, mosaics, etc.) with the aim of conserving local culture. Local communities can get involved in heritage conservation working as tourist guides, and the webpage could be the virtual training medium that allows this capacity-building (Hernandez and Viñals, 2007).

Monitoring site recreational carrying-capacity through a visit management system involving group ticket sales through tour operators and other visitors is another SCP function. This function facilitates and improves communication between the tourism industry (tour operators) and local communities as it provides information on visitor profiles, tastes and preferences. This information, collected on a regular basis via a small internet survey, functions as a 'demand observatory' to fit supply to demand. One example of applying this function of visitor control can be found at the Alhambra, Generalife and Albayzin, Granada (Spain), whose website (Asociación Pedagógica y Cultural Alhambra, n.d.) has a visitor management system that monitors daily visitor entry, and controls carrying-capacity via online ticket sales.

- *Objective 2: Increasing awareness for site conservation:* The second objective attributed to the SCP is the capacity to reinforce messages presented *in situ*, at the destination, via signs, codes of ethical conduct, good company practice, interpretation and group guidance, exhibition boards, etc. This objective seeks to increase awareness of destination conservation among tourists and other local actors (Viñals, 2002).

According to the *Budapest Declaration* (2002) communication is a vehicle to increase public awareness, support and involvement in World Heritage. The contents are crucial and must aim to increase the awareness of social actors involved (tourists, managers and tourism business stakeholders, both local and external) of resource conservation. Our research, which involved analysing messages from tourism companies and related bodies, revealed the importance of World Heritage nomination due to its ability to increase sales potential. The conservation aspect is, however, not taken into account.

Messages refer to the World Heritage site nomination and occasionally include slogans that typically rely on it as a symbol of the destination 'good image'. Such messages, issued by both public and private sectors, refer to the resource attributes rather in the style of a Guinness world record attempt (the highest, oldest, etc.). There are few mentions of the resource fragility, the importance of conveying culture, of historic fact. In short, little mention of the criteria on which its nomination rested. One such example is the different websites that the Palmeral of Elche (Spain) has developed (Institut de Turisme d'Elx, n.d.). The fact that it was declared a World Heritage site as an example of both knowledge transfer to Europe of the irrigation systems of the Arabs of North Africa and of values such as sustainable water culture is not always, depending on the website, mentioned and tourists remain unaware of those points.

The indicator used to identify the 'awareness-raising' capacity of web pages is the frequency with which words such as 'promote respect', 'accept local lifestyle', 'respectful behaviour', 'conservation', 'fragility', and so on appear. Awareness-raising through strategic communication could take another step forward and amplify its effect by the following means:

- tourism advertising hinging on conveying the conservation message.
- creating an accreditation system 'Partnership information points' (PIP) for local communities in conjunction with the tourism administrator in which rules are drawn up for tourism information and services at the destination (Galiano et al., 2007).
- publishing and disseminating good practice (etiquette, ethics, good practice and rules) (IUCN, 2004).

- *Objective 3: Funding for site conservation:* The third objective that can be achieved through SCP is the search for and identification of sources of funding that will serve to conserve heritage. A webpage may serve local communities as a showcase to obtain both funding and personnel interested in volunteering to help in conserving the destination.

Not many examples of this objective exist. The US National Parks Service website has a section called 'Getting involved' in which people are invited to participate as volunteers.

- *Objective 4: Communication:* The fourth function that the internet makes available to local communities is the opportunity to contact tourists directly via data gathered from potentially interested visitors. This direct contact enables them to inform tourists directly about specific actions, even tailoring it to tourists and visitors via e-mail, blogs, virtual platforms, etc.

One example of this kind of relationship between tourists and the local community via the internet can be found at the World Heritage site Mont-Saint-Michel and its Bay (France), which mentions local companies such as souvenir shops, restaurants and accommodation service (Centre des Monuments Nationaux, n.d.). The webpage of the Iguazu National Park (Brazil and Argentina), Parque Nacional Iguacú (Iguazú Argentina.com), contains various references to local companies as well as a special link to a local Brazilian company offering visits.

Tourists wanting to book their trips and then share their travel experiences afterwards online use the internet at different stages. In the initial planning phase and regardless of the purpose of their trip (business, leisure, etc.) they use it to obtain information on the destination. Subsequently travellers use the internet to book a flight, buy a tourism package, gather more information from blogs, etc. After travelling, tourists go back to the internet to take part in blogs (e.g. <http://blogjordan.com/about/>) or sometimes create their own in order to share photos or videos, with the simple aim of reliving their travel experience and so on.

- *Objective 5: Promoting tourism:* Local communities use the internet for promotion purposes, promotion being understood as the use of tangible and intangible resources. It involves a diversity of actions. The ones with the highest take-up are the joint actions to promote institutions carried out by local managers. The benefit for local communities of taking up these promotional or institutional actions is twofold: on the one hand, along with the institutional website, they offer services that take advantage of the contacts initiated from the institutional website; on the other, companies will be better positioned regarding searches using the name of a heritage site via a search engine (Google, Yahoo, etc.).

Another possible promotional measure to market sites via the internet is the creation of national and international networks around common interests. Many natural parks that are part of World Heritage in Central America are involved in this kind of initiative under the umbrella of organizations such as The Nature Conservancy. Occasionally

information is presented by tour operators as in the case of the Río Plátano Biosphere Reserve (Honduras), a World Heritage site and biosphere reserve. This occurs mainly when the NGO that developed that website is also the NGO that manages the site.

- *Objective 6: Marketing:* Regarding heritage, local communities market tourism products and/or crafts, services, etc. according to the level of technological development.

Differences in technology may be manifest at a destination where both small local businesses and large hotel chains coexist. The large businesses and hotel chains have more advanced technologies as well as the corporate training needed to access technology whereas that is not always the case with small businesses. Small businesses meet expectations regarding the function of promoting the destination in the sense of enhancing and making use of its resources, but the marketing function is not met. Marketing requires more complex websites linked to databases (Flores and Teruel, 2002) and a virtual bank for payments. Setting up these systems requires more technology and technology management skills.

The insistence in the *Budapest Declaration* (2002) on the value of communication as an objective to be pursued as regards World Heritage conservation boosts the internet capacity as a communication tool for managing a World Heritage tourist destination. The strategic communication plan may serve local communities as a comprehensive tool for managing, planning and promoting a tourism destination, attaining the level of development desired by the community. This technological tool has been made available to local communities and managers or planners because of the demand trends, but needs to be well defined and planned in order to achieve optimal results (Smith, 1997; Hanna and Millar, 1997). The information gathered from websites reveals that at many World Heritage sites there is a variety of private and public websites, with the opinions of residents and enthusiasts, etc. The pages offer descriptions of the principal resources, opinions and advice from other visitors, useful information for travellers, access, etc.

By way of conclusion, the six objectives seek to act as a bridge between heritage conservation and tourism. Throughout this chapter and previous research, gaps were found which may be alleviated by sound planning, updating and using of technological resources. Acceptance of these new information and communication technologies in today's society and the changes they are bringing about in tourist consumer behaviour is the best scenario for harnessing these interests in favour of the conservation and utilization of heritage.

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3

Appropriation of World Heritage values by communities

Tensions between World Heritage and local values: the case of Fremantle Prison (Australia)

Andrea Witcomb

Introduction

The Australian Government has been working towards a serial nomination of Australian convict sites on the World Heritage register. While work began in 1995, it was not until January 2008 that the first attempt at nomination actually occurred. Although the attempt failed and is being reworked, this chapter analyses its implications for the management and interpretation of one of the sites in the nominated series – Fremantle Prison. In analysing the impact of the World Heritage nomination process on the management of this site's significance, the question of whether the site has World Heritage significance is not asked. The focus is instead on analysing the impact of the nomination process on the management and interpretation of the site before it was even nominated. It is argued that this impact was a negative one, affecting both the conservation and interpretation of the site in ways that narrowed its significance to an unacceptable level, compromising the historical integrity of the site and its ability to open up public debate on either its history or the nature of justice and punishment regimes. The intent, then, is to argue for the need to develop a process whereby the identification of differing layers of significance under different heritage regimes does not impose a hierarchical management system whereby the broadest level of significance – in this case that of World Heritage – does not obscure or indeed erase those levels at the lower or narrower end of the scale in the ways the site is managed and interpreted.

Given the fact that heritage is made rather than given (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; Smith, 2006), it is inevitable that the process of establishing levels of significance is embedded in cultural, economic and political contexts. In labelling a historical site as part of the heritage landscape we are inevitably involved in a cultural process in which aspects of the past, both tangible and intangible, are given meaning in the present. One way to make this process evident is to emphasize in our analyses the process that went into making the site a heritage site rather than the site, object or tradition itself. By doing so it is possible to reveal the politics embedded in the identification of heritage and thus open up a space in which questions

can be asked about the choices that are made in the development of statements of significance. It is suggested that in the case of Fremantle Prison, the attempt to nominate the site onto the World Heritage List as part of a network of Australian convict sites, laudable and worthwhile though it was, had consequences for the interpretative frameworks that are now used to market, conserve and interpret the site. These were considerably narrowed.

The effect of this narrowing is that the complexity of the site's history is slowly erased in presentations to the public and the possibilities to connect the site to present-day concerns are significantly diminished. At the same time, it is important to recognize that the values identified as part of the nomination process are extremely important. The site plays an important role in the preservation of evidence regarding Australia's role in the history of forced migration due to its remarkable level of intactness and it lends credence to the argument that the physical evidence that remains in Australia about its history of forced migration is significant and worthy of World Heritage listing. The question therefore, is not whether this site is worthy of inclusion as part of a serial nomination concerning convict sites but, rather, to ask what processes are needed to ensure that other layers of significance are not forgotten in the rush to claim universal significance.

As Laurajane Smith (2006) has recently argued in her book *Uses of Heritage*, Western heritage systems are based on a set of values which are embedded within Western culture. These values prioritize the material world, a Western sense of aesthetics, a hierarchical understanding of significance and notions of authenticity which are often associated with the principle of intactness. Expressed through official charters, such as that of the *World Heritage Convention* and its associated World Heritage listing process, these values can be expressed in ways that are unsympathetic to complex, multilayered systems of meaning, particularly those based on social and immaterial associations. The problem is intensified with the criteria for World Heritage listing because of the need to make a claim for a value which can be recognized as universally significant. As readers will be well aware, universalist claims to knowledge are always in danger of being derailed by the local and the specific. Claims to universality inevitably rest on making the complex simple and in the process obscuring the diversity of meanings at a more local level. In the process, the layered nature of history is often forgotten and sometimes erased.

The danger is augmented by the concern of heritage professionals involved in the process of establishing heritage significance with notions of origins and authenticity as these work against the process of time – a process which adds layers of experience, fabric and meaning to places. The problem is, perhaps, not so serious if a site is in ruins or it was not used in the recent past. However, if the site in question was ‘alive’ in recent memory, the story is very different. Promoting a static understanding of heritage value – something that can occur as an effect of the demand to articulate a value of universal heritage significance – will work to obliterate the coexistence of other meanings, other values. The history of continued use and the range of meanings and associations such a site can potentially offer by the interpretation of this history to the public is thus critically endangered, as the following analysis of the narrowing of the range of meanings available to tourists in the way Fremantle Prison is presented to the public as a consequence of the World Heritage listing process so far shows.

World Heritage and local values of Fremantle Prison

The most arresting thing about Fremantle Prison, in Western Australia, is not that it was built by convicts. There are many other buildings in Western Australia and indeed Australia that were also built by convicts. It is rather that, having been built and occupied by convicts, the site continued to be occupied as a prison until October 1991, with no major changes to its physical fabric. This makes it unique within the stock of 19th-century prison sites in Australia in a number of ways. First, its continued history of occupation means that the site is not in a state of ruins, like other convict-built prison sites, such as its much more famous cousin, Port Arthur. Second, because of the continuity of purpose, a poor public purse and a conservative environment which saw little need to update the facilities, the site remains almost intact. It is therefore, a remarkable document as to what a convict-built prison looked and felt like and offers a physical, sensorial understanding of penal processes and philosophies. Third, it is possible to access the everyday culture of the prison through the ephemera that have been left over the last 150 years or so – objects, signs, graffiti on walls as well as a significant number of artworks painted on the walls of cells from colonial times to the present. A number of these are by Aboriginal inmates. The site offers a record of the experiences of the dispossessed, including those of Aboriginal people, who, in Western Australia, form a significant proportion of the prison population.¹ The site’s association with the colonization process is thus not only through its white 19th-century history, but also through its black 20th-century history. Moreover, the existence of this

graffiti is unusual among former Australian prison sites as most were whitewashed as part of the cleaning-up process for opening as a heritage site (Dewar and Frederickson, 2003; Wilson, 2008). Fourth, the site also offers an opportunity to interpret the history of internment during the Second World War, a history that is still remembered among Italian migrant families in Western Australia, many of whom reside in the Fremantle area. For example, in her biography, Emma Ciccotosto (1995) recalls visiting her boyfriend Peter who had been picked up in 1943 for refusing to go into the army and having to organize special leave for him so that they could marry, as she was pregnant to him. And last but not least, there is a significant local history of the site in the local imagination and sense of place, particularly in Fremantle as the prison commands a view over the town and is within walking distance of its centre. Many local people continue to have strong feelings about the place.

Interestingly, it was the awareness on the part of local people of this multilayered history that emerged as one of the narratives about the place as part of a process of community consultation in the development of a Master Plan for the site in 2003. According to the consultants’ report on this consultation process, stakeholders mentioned convicts, aboriginal prisoners and migrant internees as well as the past and present Fremantle urban fabric as part of the network of associations for them. They also argued that opportunities to interpret all these associations should be made at the prison, arguing that ‘targeting a single era would not adequately represent the layers of history and human experiences in the site’ (Palassis Architects, 2003). Many, particularly those associated with the Fremantle Historical Society, feel bitter that their views were not taken into account in the final Master Plan report. For example, in an article sent to the author, David Hutchison, a local historian and former history curator at the Western Australian Museum, objected to the local Council’s decision to severely prune the Moreton Bay figs lining the ramp leading from the town to the prison, arguing that the ‘Fremantle Prison vistas needs to take into account the long period of development. Within the total convict establishment boundaries, there have been substantial changes’ ending by ironically remarking ‘Should these be removed?’ (Hutchison, personal communication, May 2008). Diane Davidson, from the Fremantle History Society, commented that she had ‘tried emphasising the importance of Aboriginal history at the prison, for instance’ but got ‘a comeback from the management that the World Heritage listing is on the basis of it being a CONVICT site ...’ (personal communication, June 2008). She also cited her husband’s experience, while on the Prison Advisory Committee during 2002–2003, that the prison ‘was being ‘softened’ as part of the view that the golden age of the prison was the convict time. Part of this process was to take down recent trappings

¹ The high level of suicides for Aboriginal people within Australian prisons was the subject of a Royal Inquiry known as the Deaths in Custody Report. Western Australia, along with Queensland, had unusually high rates of deaths in custody among indigenous people. See Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (1991), Regional Report of Inquiry into underlying issues in Western Australia by Commissioner P.L. Dodson, Adelaide.

of imprisonment such as razor wire. As Diane put it, her husband went to Jim McGinty (local member) and pointed this out. McGinty wrote to the relevant Minister for Housing and Works and said that there had been no golden age, that its major characteristic was the series of phases it had gone through and particularly the Aboriginal imprisonment question. McGinty went on to say that he could not support the Cabinet memorandum unless the multilayered approach was adopted. His letter was accepted and the Cabinet memorandum that was signed stressed the many layers of the prison's history. Ron felt quite triumphant. However, very soon afterwards he was in effect sacked from the Advisory Committee by the minister of the time – and was replaced by the Mayor of Fremantle as the community representative ... (personal communication on an early draft, June 2008).

Heritage significance

Unfortunately, there are a number of pressures which make it hard to manage and interpret the many layers of historical significance associated with 19th-century prisons. Chief among them, as Jacqueline Wilson (2008) has comprehensively argued, are the romantic appeal of their architecture and the role of the prison establishment in continuing to control public representations of prison life. Fremantle Prison, like many other 19th-century prisons built on the Pentonville model, has a Gothic architecture that is steeped in our cultural imagination of the medieval period. The prison looks like a medieval fortress (Photo 1), complete with turrets and surrounded by stone walls. The very architecture of the place encouraged romantic associations with the distant past, associations which were encouraged by its convict history. Romanticized narratives about famous escapes, such as that of the Irish Fenian prisoners who had suffered under an unjust British system or those of infamous convicts such as Moondyne Joe, a local bushranger, added to this association of the site with a bygone past. If romanticism makes it hard to deal with the recent histories of prisons and particularly life within, so does the tendency to



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Photo 1: The internal courtyard within the prison gates after cleaning. The two main cell blocks and the Anglican Chapel are clearly visible.

use former prison officers as guides. As Wilson (2008) argues, a 'reliance on this group of stakeholders in compiling the prison's history omits, as primary sources, the voices, and hence the narratives, of those persons who after all comprise the institution's *raison d'être*'.

The difficulties are compounded by Western systems of listing which tend to prioritize the importance of physical fabric over intangible or social values even when social values are explicitly allowed for, such as, for example, under the Burra Charter. Early attempts to assess and define the heritage significance of Fremantle Prison before the World Heritage listing process were no different. They began at the local level with the National Trust, whose early interest was architectural rather than historical. Thus in 1960, the National Trust of Australia (WA) visited the prison, then still in operation, in order to study the Anglican Chapel which they decided to place on their very first heritage list. The moment was significant, as at that time there were no other listing bodies in Australia and convict history was not yet in vogue. But the Trust was interested in preserving the state's origins and early buildings and by that time convict-built sites were some of the earliest buildings available for preservation, as hardly anything remained of the first twenty years of the colony before convicts arrived.

By the time the state government had decided to close the prison and develop it as a heritage site in the late 1980s, historians, as well as architects were involved in the heritage industry. By then the Burra Charter, which recognized social value as a criterion for heritage significance, had been developed. However, social history came under the general criterion of historical significance, allowing a romanticized notion of the colonial rather than the recent past, to infiltrate the way in which history was used to buttress conventional physical assessments. Thus at Fremantle Prison it was the site's association with convictism that mostly prevailed rather than a more critical approach which sought to use social history to deal with contested memories or to ask questions about the recent past. For the kind of social history then in vogue was based on Australian colonial history rather than its 20th-century history. The history of convictism was perhaps its primary site. Taught in schools and promoted through popular culture, particularly films, convictism became a matter of national pride rather than shame, the location of many of our national character traits.

Those researching the history of Fremantle Prison were attentive to both its 19th- and 20th-century histories but the attraction of the 19th century was hard to resist. For example, an early pamphlet produced before the prison was closed, which announced plans to turn it into a heritage site, defined its cultural significance thus:

- It contains major surviving evidence of an imperial convict public works establishment and its adaptation for subsequent colonial use.
- It is the most intact such complex in Australia

- It is the outstanding symbol of the convict phase of Western Australia's history.
- It has been continuously used as a prison since 1855.
- It stands as a memorial to the design and supervision of the Royal Engineers including Jebb, the Surveyor General of (English) Prisons, Henderson (Comptroller General of Convicts) and Wray (Acting Comptroller General).
- The monumental scale of the complex, particularly its four-story main cell block which is the longest and tallest in Australia.

The site's association with convictism clearly looms large, although its continuous use also merits attention as does the notion of intactness. From this statement of significance, an interim conservation policy was derived which sought to preserve these types of significance by:

- Conserving all remnants of the original imperial convict establishment.
- Conserving elements which show how Fremantle differed from other prisons of its era and how it developed to meet the State's changing needs.
- Conserving elements which contribute to an appreciation and understanding of the impact of convict transportation on the State's history.
- Conserving its visual and functional relationship to the townsite of Fremantle.
- Conserving the external form and character of the walls, buildings and spaces between them, in particular the reception yard and the Parade.
- Conserving buildings and features of later eras which illustrate the development of penal practice and design.

The conservation plans

It is evident from this initial conservation plan that the aim was to interpret both the 19th- and 20th-century histories of the site in reasonably equal measure. It is clear however, that at this stage there was no language with which to capture the intangible histories of the site, the memories, associations, stories or the experience of the lives lived within its walls. The desire to do that has always had to strain against the weight of the site's association with convictism, a weight made all the more imposing by the intactness of the site and its romantic historical associations. The problem is evident in James Kerr's conservation plan for the site, particularly in his evaluation of its physical integrity. Indeed, his conservation plan, first drawn up in 1992 and then reviewed in 1998, uses the fact that changes to the physical fabric since it was first built by the convicts have been minimal,

to argue that its significance as a convict site and as a colonial establishment is paramount. As he put it, 'Its prime significance as a penal establishment therefore arises from how well it continues to illustrate the physical character of a convict depot and colonial prison. In this respect, its exceptional degree of significance arises from the fact that it is the most intact of Australia's convict establishments – convict accommodation at both Port Arthur (Tasmania) and Kingston (Norfolk Island) being in a state of ruin' (Kerr, 1998). It is thus the continued existence of fabric and the privileging of that aspect of the site's history that determines what is interpreted.

The point to understand here is that while this appears to be normal, or common sense, it is in fact a value developed by heritage professionals over the years which determines not only what is conserved but also what is then interpreted. Thus, while in clinching his arguments, Kerr states:

It should be recognized:

- That the primary significance of the prison as evidence relates to the imperial convict period and to the adaptation of the fabric as a colonial gaol for males and females;
- That existing adaptations have a part to play in illustrating the working of the prison up to 1991 (Kerr, 1998).

He goes on to say that 'Further work should therefore retain and, where appropriate, reveal all such evidence and care should be taken not to remove later items unnecessarily. The assessment of levels of significance ... will help resolve any conflicts but, in general, the convict and colonial periods take precedence over later works' (Kerr, 1998, p.10).

By the time that Kerr was revising his conservation plan in 1998, plans to incorporate Fremantle Prison into a network of Australian convict sites to be put forward for World Heritage listing was already in train.²

Indeed it is an important context for the revised statement of significance as demonstrated by Kerr's attempt to refer to this in constructing the statement of significance: 'Fremantle Prison', he wrote, 'is of exceptional significance and is an appropriate component of a World Heritage nomination of Australian convict sites'. What follows is all evidence for this claim. Almost the only nod to other layers of significance is the following statement which is second from the bottom in the hierarchy: 'because the prison in its present form also demonstrates with some precision the facilities, conditions and attitudes prevailing in a major

² The first plans to develop a nomination for World Heritage listing for Australian convict sites began in 1995 under a partnership between the Australian Government and the governments of New South Wales, Tasmania, Western Australia and Norfolk Island. The Western Australian Government's State Cabinet endorsed this nomination in June 1998 but things did not move beyond a draft dossier in 1999. In 2005, on the occasion of the formal inscription of Fremantle Prison on the new National Heritage List, the Minister for Environment and Heritage announced plans to seek the re-engagement of the states and Norfolk Island in the development of the nomination. That nomination was formerly made on 30 January 2008 (Department of Housing and Works, 2006, p. 3).

Western Australian prison – an experience rarely available to the public and made more immediate by the retention of graffiti, murals, signs, notices and recent evidence of use’.

Despite this nod to the availability of physical evidence to support the interpretation of the 20th-century history of the site, the attempt to gain World Heritage listing and the strategies taken to achieve it, made the interpretation of more recent histories very difficult. The difficulties began to emerge in a 2003 Master Plan undertaken not only to help develop financial resources for the upkeep of the site which was in need of conservation works, but also to identify ways to support the push for World Heritage nomination as part of a long-term sustainability plan for the site. As the Master Plan’s authors put it, ‘every endeavour should be made to embrace the opportunity for World Heritage listing’ (Palassis Architects, 2003, p. 32). The reasons for this were pretty simple. As a more recent, 2006 document by the site’s management authority, the Department of Housing and Works, put it, World Heritage listing ‘typically results in tangible social and economic benefits for the community, the state and the nation. Such international recognition raises their profile and status and generally results in important benefits such as increased tourism and employment and improved infrastructure’. The Department expected an increase in visitation of ‘at least 10 per cent’ as a result of listing. A successful nomination they argued, would therefore ‘boost activity in retail, accommodation, and food and beverage sectors leading to increased opportunities for existing and new business as well as employment in the local community’. Attention was also paid to the cultural impact which would be registered in the development of a ‘greater community awareness’ of the site’s ‘importance on a broader level’ (Department of Housing and Works, 2006). There was also a hope that the listing would attract attention to Fremantle Prison and Western Australia more generally within Australia, increasing interest in the convict legacy and connecting Fremantle to other major Australian heritage sites.

At the core of this process, then, was a rebranding exercise which was aimed at improving ‘awareness of the significance of the site and the opportunities it presents’ (Palassis Architects, 2003) by renaming the precinct to acknowledge its historical significance as an intact convict-era site. Ensuring sufficient economic resources for the long-term sustainability of the site as a heritage place was tied to marketing the site as a convict establishment – a move that not only strengthened the arguments for World Heritage listing but which, it was hoped, would make the site more attractive to tourists.

To begin with, the name was changed from Fremantle Prison, as it had been known throughout the 20th century, to Fremantle Prison – the Convict Establishment. All the site’s interpretative and marketing material, including its own website, now carry this name. The expectation on the part of visitors therefore, is that they will get to see a convict site and learn about the convict period. There is no expectation of anything else. Effectively, its heritage



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Photo 2: Entrance to Fremantle Prison – the Convict Establishment. All marketing or interpretative panels focus on the convict theme and contain the prison logo – a large iron key.

significance was narrowed to its convict associations. In practice, what this has meant is a programme of conservation and interpretation works that offers a focused and self-reinforcing package on the convict theme, from the name of the site to its major exhibitions, pamphlets and website (Photo 2). The availability of resources to do this has increased markedly. If the first major exhibition in 1998 was a one-room exhibition commemorating and interpreting a riot that had occurred at the prison in 1888 and contributed to the decision to close it, 2005 saw the development of a major travelling exhibition complete with multimedia interactives and major loans from Australian and American museums on the Catalpa Incident in which a number of Irish Fenians escaped from the prison. The exhibition was in large part, an announcement about the significance of Fremantle Prison to Australian convict history and thus part of the present marketing campaign to raise the profile of the site.

On the conservation side, the Western Australian Government finally provided enough money to begin a serious programme of conservation and restoration, the effect of which was to take the most important aspects of the site back to its convict period state. Thus the render that had been added to the chapel in the 1960s was removed, the external walls of the main block were cleaned and

recapped and the gatehouse walls were also cleaned. The effect was to return the site to its whiteness, a characteristic that was often commented upon when it was first built



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Photo 3: Fremantle Prison from the outside – a fortress castle above the town.

(Photo 3). While this was necessary as the render was causing water damage, the effect, from the point of view of interpretation rather than conservation, was to remove the evidence of the passage of time and thus a layer of clues as to the continued history of the site as a modern-day prison.

The exclusion of narratives other than those associated with the convict history of the site is very dominant on the Master Plan website (Palassis Architects, 2003). Here, just about every story about escapees is a convict story. Every character is from the 19th century. It is possible to access a database of all convicts to Western Australia for those interested in genealogy and to find out where the convicts came from. There is also a special feature on the Irish Fenian prisoners. There are no special features on any other category of prisoner.

The Master Plan's authors were not unaware that such strategies could lead to the erasure of the more recent history of the site. For example, they did argue that the precinct's recent history must not be ignored. However, in the very same paragraph they also argued for the importance of positioning the precinct as a major and unique attraction in appreciating and understanding the course of European settlement in Western Australia. 'This approach', they argued, 'has a strong and established market appeal and will assist in overcoming some of the visitor reticence or lack of interest resulting from the site's more recent history' (Palassis Architects, 2003). The recent past is of course much more emotive and complex, precisely because it connects to communities and issues which are still 'live'. The distant past, as argued above, is far more romantic and populated by unthreatening characters whose crimes can be explained as the result of difficult social and political conditions. In other words, they were not real criminals but characters worthy of either our respect or sympathy.

This is a problem that gets to the heart of the heritage enterprise. If heritage is simply about the past and not about the present, then the approach taken by prison management is perfectly reasonable and without any

problems. It is hard to see though, how heritage might remain relevant to the present as anything other than mythologized content for the tourist industry packaged in an entertaining format. But if heritage is, in part, about the presence of the past in the present, if it is a space with the potential to open up discussion about the present, then some important questions need to be asked about the consequences of putting fabric before interpretation at sites whose architecture makes it all too easy to romanticize the past. To begin with, such an approach favours expert knowledge over local or stakeholder knowledge. The site is interpreted within formal architectural criteria, valued for its physical integrity and degree of authenticity. The story is in the stones. There is simply no space for intangible heritage, for that nebulous but important space of collective and individual memories, of associations with place. Quite apart from cutting off important migrant groups interned in the prison during the Second World War – a history that could be made to reverberate for present-day audiences with debates about immigration and refugees in Australia (see for example Hodge and O'Carroll, 2006) – the loss of histories not based on surviving fabric but on memory, oral history and other historical records, means that the site's black history, for example, is hardly engaged with. Aboriginal people were only incarcerated at this prison in the 20th century. Focusing on convict history denies them a space for engagement with their issues. The issue here is also an ideological one, for traces of their time at the prison do remain in the fabric of the place, particularly its graffiti. But most of it is hidden from public view.

Conclusions

What then are the implications of the issues raised in relation to the management of heritage significance at Fremantle Prison? The first set of conclusions I wish to draw are in relation to the influence of the Burra Charter on the way in which Australian heritage professionals think. From its inception, those responsible for the development and implementation of the Charter, including James Kerr, maintained the importance of separating the identification of heritage significance from management, conservation and interpretation issues. The reasons for this were pragmatic and made sense in a climate of rampant development such as that encountered by heritage advocates through Australia in the 1970s and 1980s. For them it was essential to separate significance from political and economic decisions as to the future use of the site. Not to do so endangered the ability of heritage professionals to argue for policies that would maintain the site's heritage significance. Yet, as is clear from the previous discussion, the process of identifying heritage significance is not neutral and is highly dependent on changing regimes of value. The question therefore is how to ensure that future understandings of significance are not undermined by current ones given that statements of significance determine management, conservation and interpretation policies. Heritage practitioners need to find ways in

which social value can be connected to social history and stop looking for such tight fits between original fabric and historical significance. The two may co-exist but they also need to remain open to examples where they are in tension with each other. The problem is heightened by the existence of multiple heritage registers with differing powers and status. Clearly, the wider the significance that can be claimed for a site (from local to state, national and finally World Heritage status) the wider the audience for it in terms of the tourist industry. The economic pressure to gain as wide a status as possible does not come only from the tourist industry however. It also comes from government itself which, these days, is keen to devolve financial responsibility for the upkeep of sites to the corresponding level of significance. Thus, in Australia, municipal governments look after heritage sites on their register through their planning systems, state governments look after those in their register, and the federal government looks after theirs. The lower down the hierarchy the more pressure there is to get a place at the next level up as this increases the range of financial resources as well as market share in the tourist market. The problem is that each level of significance carries implications for the one lower down in the hierarchy. If the example of Fremantle Prison is anything to go by, the histories that get left out are those of the dispossessed and those whose significance is only local rather than national or international. It would seem then, that we need a system that enforces the need to take into account all the layers of significance when developing management, conservation and interpretation systems and which facilitates this by changing the financial regime under which heritage sites are currently funded. The notion of stakeholder consultation also needs to be taken more seriously than currently seems to be the case.

How can the World Heritage nomination process put pressure on governments and the management of heritage sites to ensure that nomination for World Heritage listing does not endanger the site's ability to communicate other layers of significance? There are two possible lines of argument here if we recognize that UNESCO has no legal powers over World Heritage sites nor the financial means to contribute to their upkeep. The first step would be to change the request that nominating governments provide a management plan that ensures the conservation of World Heritage values, to a request for a management plan that demonstrates how the management of World Heritage values does not endanger other existing layers of significance. This step would ensure that both universal and local values are addressed in a holistic manner and would help to redress the tensions produced by World Heritage listing at the local level discussed in so many examples throughout this book. The second step is to revise the *World Heritage Convention* to ensure that the immaterial aspects of a site's significance receive more recognition than they currently do.

These recommendations would not necessarily endanger the ability to nominate places with World Heritage values,

but they might just help to safeguard continued attention to local and intangible values, which are often associated with minority groups, and to ensure that the necessary resources are made available.

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Kakadu and Edenic idealization

Jennifer Harris¹

Introduction

A television marketing campaign in early 2008 that was designed to encourage tourism to Kakadu National Park produced an Edenic view of this World Heritage site in Australia's Northern Territory. Soothing music was played over spectacular scenes of the great beauty of the escarpment and wetlands. Flocks of birds, giant primordial crocodiles, brilliant water lilies and a nubile Aboriginal girl, filmed in a South Seas discourse of the alluring female, were the dominant images of this prime time advertising for a park which is inscribed on the World Heritage List for both natural and cultural values and continues to be the home of the indigenous people, the Bininj and Mungguy (Commonwealth of Australia, 2006).

The Edenic view promoted a depoliticized, ahistoric and highly aestheticized view of Kakadu producing the park as an extension of the idealized vision of European landscapes, but with an exotic Aboriginal overlay. Absent from the campaign was any suggestion of the issues that surge around the park, for example, uranium mining in excised parkland, different approaches to park management and the federal government intervention in the Northern Territory to protect children in indigenous communities eroded by alcoholism and poverty. The advertisement for Kakadu produced an idealized landscape which is consistent with most representations of the park. Long before visitors reach the park gates they have encountered the Kakadu-as-Eden discourse: rock art, waterfalls, abundance and creativity, and they are positioned to see Kakadu as a pre-lapsarian paradise.

Kakadu is yet another World Heritage site where uncomfortable politics and realities are all but erased by the production of a heritage text which aims to lure tourists to an intellectually and morally easy place. Despite two decades of fierce attacks on heritage representation for its idealizing tendencies, the ideal is still an ubiquitous feature of heritage sites. Hewison (1987) and Walsh (1992) led early critiques of heritage interpretation that reproduced harmony, synchronicity and foregrounded aesthetics

resulting in erasure of contested histories. Harrison (2005) argues that World Heritage sites are particularly prone to idealization because of the 'idealistic quest for universals'. Why are World Heritage properties so often produced for tourism with such an unrealistic, stereotyped world view? And whose world view is represented? These are core questions for Kakadu which are analysed here in order to illustrate some of the problems encountered at sites when they represent themselves for tourists.

Kakadu is a very important Australian site for several reasons. First, it is important because the park boundaries protect a wild tropical river system, thousands of animals and numerous rock art sites. Secondly, it is an example of harmonious joint management between a European-style parks management system and the Bininj and Mungguy, the indigenous people of the park. Thirdly, it is one of the iconic markers of Australian identity today and as a World Heritage site it is one of the texts that represents the nation to the rest of the world and, also, the nation to itself. There is interplay between these three important factors with the first and second being given apparent precedence in park literature and display. It is the third aspect, however, as an Australian icon, that the park is asked to do considerable, but barely acknowledged, semiotic work insisting that Kakadu represents Australia and that representation is of a pre-lapsarian Eden. This huge semiotic claim is made repeatedly and attracts large numbers of tourists eager to find paradise in a time of global panic about planet degradation.

On arrival in the park, tourists have easy access to visitors' centres with very high production values. Diverging from these permanent texts, however, are encounters with the Bininj and Mungguy that occur when purchasing art, on certain tours, and can be possible also at the Warradjan Cultural Centre at Yellow Water. These encounters, discussed below, offer insights into the real lives of indigenous people and suggest powerful other ways that the dominant park interpretation could be reoriented.

Analysis of Kakadu shows how a site can be idealized even when its idealized texts are mixed with experiences which seem engaged with real life and that take place in the complex national context of sophisticated participation

¹ When this chapter refers to 'landscape' it means the politics of the tradition of European looking at nature in such a way that the look bestows 'ownership', either cultural or actual. 'Landscape' is contrasted with Aboriginal concepts of 'land' and 'country' as a place that gives and receives life. Not just imagined or represented, it is lived in and lived with' (Rose, 1996, p. 7).

in post-colonial politics. Contemporary representations of indigenous Australians swing between two poles. On one hand, there are very negative images of the sort publicized during the conservative Howard government's 2007 intervention into Northern Territory indigenous communities as a response to endemic violence and child abuse. On the other, there are starkly opposed positive images derived from both individual achievements in all aspects of life and persistence of the arcane 19th-century 'noble savage' rhetoric. Typical of the mixed ideal imagery is the survey of possible futures for northern Australia by Garnett et al. (2008) who describe an 'indigenous community Utopia'. Although describing some social problems in achieving this vision, they say that in the future 'the members of these communities (would) maintain a strong engagement with indigenous culture, but with sufficient knowledge of and access to the non-indigenous society and economy to take advantage of the benefits of health, education and social services' (Garnett et al., 2008). They frame their discussion as utopic, which here can be understood as referring to an idealized place. This is typical of celebratory representations of Aboriginal life, a vision produced by both government and non-government sources.

This chapter argues for the development of positive indigenous representations, but is anxious that the positive not be developed heavily through the European pastoral mode of pre-lapsarian contentment. It examines, therefore, the textual problems of the way that Kakadu is represented noting that textual problems are often difficult for heritage practitioners to grasp because interpretation so often appears commonsensical rather than political; commonsense can function to mask the politics that has produced it. The text was written in the context of the very positive July 2008 (Garrett, 2008a) celebration of a new era of indigenous Kakadu tourism and mandatory training of all guides, but it asks, nevertheless, what sort of indigenous community development emerges when the dominant texts for tourists produce a vision of indigenous people which is framed substantially in an ancient European mode. The unarticulated meanings of these representations pose major meaning problems. The chapter begins by analysing examples of Edenic representation in Kakadu and then looks at emerging alternative strategies which should be able to reflect better the reality of local indigenous lives while contributing to community development.

Community development problem at a World Heritage site

One of the key community development questions in interpretation of World Heritage sites for tourism is how to handle intellectual conservatism which is so deeply entrenched that it is almost beyond the level of articulation. Even sites which are planned with the intent of breaking from stereotyped representations for tourists are in danger of reproducing heritage tropes with which we are so familiar.

MacCannell argued as long ago as 1976 that tourists travel ultimately to find 'home' and seek out the familiar in strange locations in order to do so. Butler and Hinch (2007) note that despite widespread fears of cultural 'prostitution', indigenous people involved in tourism must offer what visitors want. It is logical that if a site wishes to attract tourists, the managers must therefore please them, probably by offering familiarity with an exotic unfamiliar overlay. That familiarity is often in terms of content: one charming country village is much like another offering handcrafts, quaint architecture and comfortable tearooms with little hint of possible disruptive histories. Kakadu, by contrast, does not offer familiar heritage content, but it does offer friendly familiarity by relying on the Western discourse of Eden, thus producing a form of pastoral. The specific cultural details of Kakadu are, of course, mostly unknown to non-indigenous tourists, the majority of whom are of European descent, but the discourse within which that culture is offered is very well known because the park offers an Edenic vision of a pure, untouched indigenous culture existing in a magnificent, pristine landscape. Aboriginal culture is thus framed by a European discourse and the visitor receives two unwittingly competing messages. Kakadu becomes Eden before the fall, a place in which visitors can feel removed from history. Visitors are consoled that the Earth is not entirely wrecked by modern technologies and that an indigenous culture endures despite colonial onslaught. The sacred attitude towards nature is particularly evident each evening as hordes of tourists gather at Ubirr to climb the huge escarpment remnant and sit reverently waiting for the glow of sunset over the vast wetland. Familiarity resides in the acceptance that sunset is the best time to do this and that being in a high place is the right place to be. For many well-travelled tourists this is a most familiar travel ritual: many have climbed other peaks at sunset and sunrise on the international tourist circuit. It clearly makes good business sense for Kakadu to be produced with an emphasis on the pastoral, offering a naturalized vision of harmony for many tourists, but it leaves unanswered many questions about community development.

Kakadu texts: indigenous culture within a Western framework

Who is the indigenous subject? Websites promoting the Northern Territory start the process of Edenic idealization and promote confusion about the identity of the indigenous inhabitants. The 'Share Our Story Northern Territory' website is part of the same campaign which produced the Kakadu television advertisement described above. It tells us:

The Northern Territory is home to Australia's largest population of Aboriginal people.

Discover living Aboriginal culture rich with traditions over 40,000 years old. Weave a basket, spear a fish, enjoy story telling, translate rock art and taste local bush tucker on an Aboriginal guided tour.

Watch traditional dances and learn to play the didgeridoo at one of the many cultural festivals, or visit community art centres and watch the artists create their vibrant Aboriginal art (www.en.travelnt.com).

This is a familiar approach to tourists, offering them cultural contact and hands-on experiences. It could be argued that this website is too clearly a hackneyed approach to tourism to warrant mention, but its shallow depiction of indigenous culture is widespread and one of the first contacts with Kakadu that potential tourists are likely to have. This chapter does not suggest that the joint management of Kakadu has any control over the tone of commercial promotional material, but it does argue that the discourse adopted by such literature is socially sanctioned and within the bounds of accepted sense making.

Typical tourist familiarity is underscored by a link to a video entitled 'Kakadu Land Owner' and shows an Aboriginal woman sitting on a high rock ledge absorbed in looking away from the camera and out over the view far into the distance:

World Heritage-listed Kakadu National Park is Bessie Coleman's home. Its crystal clear waters and lush monsoon forests make up her backyard (www.en.travelnt.com).

Looking at views from high vantage points is a European preoccupation most amusingly analysed by Roland Barthes.

This bourgeois promoting of the mountains ... which has always functioned as a hybrid compound of the cult of nature and of puritanism (regeneration through clean air, moral ideas at the sight of mountain tops, summit climbing as civic virtue etc.) (Barthes, 1973).

The Aboriginal woman is thus positioned as a European looking at a landscape. To make the park even more like 'home' we are told that it is her 'backyard' although there is a vast difference between a suburban garden and Australia's largest national park. 'Crystal clear waters' are found at some rock pools, but the wetlands offer murky crocodile-infested waters. Dry, flat, burnt savannah is what the high season tourist sees travelling through the park and very little of 'lush monsoon forests'. 'Crystal clear' and 'lush' are words that belong to a description of European forests, not an Australian monsoonal park.

The reference to land ownership also reminds us that Native Title is both recent and contested. The image of Bessie Coleman, therefore, functions to reassure non-indigenous Australians that her ownership is not to be feared.

Contestation, history and timelessness

Popular literature on the park occasionally mentions contested park history, but not in such a way that the contestation is foregrounded and analysed. One of the most contested events in Kakadu was the opening of a uranium mine accompanied by enormous protests and the excision of the mine from the park. This history is glossed over in a sightseeing advertisement: 'Ranger uranium mine: visit a working uranium mine' (*Things to do in Kakadu, May–October 2007*). Photographs of a machine extracting rock and an aerial view of the mine site are accompanied by familiar, beautiful Kakadu nature images of a wetland and the Arnhem Land escarpment. In a stunning textual insistence on there being no clash between the environmental degradation caused by the mine and the natural heritage values of the park, the photographs are offered as if they were politically, environmentally and culturally unproblematic. The mine is produced in this brochure as just another opportunity for holiday sightseeing.

Some government-issued literature prefers not to engage with history, declaring that Kakadu is a 'timeless place' (Kakadu Board of Management/Australian and Northern Territory Governments, n.d., p. 2) although it is inscribed on the World Heritage List because of contemporary culture and is 'directly associated with living traditions of outstanding universal significance' (Commonwealth of Australia, 2006). Some government texts, however, do engage with history. The website of the Australian Government Department of Environment, Water, Heritage and the Arts describes the park's inscription as a World Heritage site for both its natural and cultural values and describes some of the social history of the site since colonization including missionary activity, mining and the pastoral industry. It adopts a measured, rational tone which suggests a comprehensive historical survey and appears not to shy away from scandalous historical facts such as the violence and disease that were part of colonization. For example, it says 'It is thought that about 2,000 people lived in the Kakadu area before the arrival of non-Aboriginal people; there are now about 500 Aboriginal people living in 18 outstations throughout the park' (Australian Government, n.d.).

The government website provides a wide background to historical and environmental issues which are almost missing from commercial websites, however, this site glosses over some major issues. In the discussion of the Ranger mine, for example, there is no mention of the fierce national debate that surrounded the decision to exploit the uranium deposits. Instead, it finesses the problem by crucially eliminating the dissenting non-indigenous Australian voice and presenting two views of the site from the point of view of Traditional Owners.

Opposing views expressed through poetry

The presentation of opposing views in Kakadu texts gives the impression of political balance. The website (Australian Government, n.d.) uses the poetic words that visitors can read in the Warradjan Aboriginal Cultural Centre near Yellow Water.

I don't like him
It's a nuisance.
I mean, mining worry me.
It wrecks the place.
Look at Jabiru.
Bill Neidjie, Bunidj clan.
Mining brought good things,
Brought social problems too.
It gave an income to us people.
Bought and built things
which our kids will benefit from.
Senior Murumburr Traditional Owner.

One of the biggest textual problems of the park is that the voices of Traditional Owners are repeatedly heard through poetry. From explanatory signs for rock shelters in the park to a government website, this is the preferred mode. In the above text it is evident that the words could have, and probably were, first spoken as straight conversational prose, however, they have been reproduced in the form of poetry. This has the effect of making the comments seem timeless, blurred and continuous with the representation of Kakadu as Eden. The poems function to counteract the passions aroused by this mine. Palmer (2001) argues that the poems appear as 'creative texts ... Aboriginal poems are ancillary, but not authoritative'. In this case, the poems' effect is to deflect the debate. On one hand, therefore, the government website pays tribute to Warradjan Cultural Centre by reproducing its words and acknowledging the mining debate, but it is a jarring and unprofessional choice to respond to the huge fight over the Ranger mine by quoting poetry. I can think of no other major national issue to which the Australian Government's comment would appear in poetry – why is it possible here? How could an issue as important as mining in a World Heritage site be reduced to a handful of sentences reproduced as poetry? Where is a non-indigenous critique?

Once inside the park the visitor is offered interpretive centres and informational stands at wetlands and rock art sites that continue the Eden theme. The Bowali Visitor Centre is one of the first visited by tourists travelling from Darwin. Its architecture pays tribute to the landscape with its rammed-earth walls, winding verandahs and internal creek bed. Displays on natural history offer the 'two views' method described above.

The display illustrates two views of Kakadu: the Gukburlerri (Aboriginal) and Guhbele (non-Aboriginal) views. Visitors are invited to journey through Kakadu's habitats, as the South Alligator River meanders through the landscape, from source to sea (Aboriginal Traditional Owners of Kakadu National Park/Commonwealth of Australia, 2007).

The concept of the meandering river links back to the poetry of the website; it sets a dreamy, pensive mood. The politics of Bowali seem impeccable: two voices are permitted to be heard, an increasingly popular way that heritage sites deal with contestation. This appears to be entirely fair, after all, giving indigenous and non-indigenous Australians a chance to speak suggests cultural and political respect. The idea of two voices speaking, however, is an entrenched Western method of dealing with oppositionality, for example, Western parliaments have a government and an official opposition to produce a balance of views. Why is this a good idea here? If the intent is to give tourists an insight into the plants and animals of Kakadu in the context of Bininj and Mungguy culture, why does the Western, scientific voice need to be heard at all? The discourse of science is very powerful with its claims to objectivity. By comparison, the poetic renderings of indigenous knowledge systems appear quaint and ultimately dismissable. To really encounter a second knowledge system at Bowali would be very challenging. Consider, for example, an exhibition of small carved items that I saw at the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia in 1998. The items were displayed without explanatory text. I was told that the indigenous people were happy for them to be on view, but that they were unwilling to offer explanations. In other words, the objects could be viewed, but no knowledge was offered. This was a confronting experience as I realized that although I was in a place of interpretation I was not permitted to understand all that I saw.

Colonialism

The Warradjan Aboriginal Cultural Centre focusses entirely on the Bininj and Mungguy experience of life. Tucked away on one side of the exhibition hall is one of the main references in Kakadu to the fact of colonization. It is surprising to find this admission of recent anguished history in the middle of Edenic representations. The Centre uses the opposing views method to talk about a variety of colonial impacts.

The priests were mongrels.
They would call and if you didn't come
They'd wait until you were in the classroom
and strip you naked in front of the class ...

we were sent there to be changed,
to get the Aboriginality out of us;
there was no other reason.
Senior Murumburr Traditional Owner

I was nine when I reached Garden Point.
All the nuns and girls were waiting for us.
I didn't speak English.
I had to learn and when I learned I became happy ...
The nuns were really nice.
I enjoyed going to school ...
When I finally came home I had to learn my language again.
I had to learn how to know my country and learn how to hunt
I had to learn about my relationships with all the people here.
Jessie Alderson, Murumburr clan

Once again the layout of the words as poetry tends to undercut meaning. Although the decline of population proves that colonial impact was enormous, the effects of colonization are minimized. Why? An examination of potential meanings suggests some reasons.

Kakadu meanings

The texts surveyed above cover a variety of media: ephemeral brochures, websites, guided tours and visitor centres. They all tell a similar story: 'Kakadu is a special place. Despite uranium mining and the invasion of feral animals, nature is pristine and the indigenous people have maintained their culture'. Why is this positive story told to the exclusion of others?

One answer is that in the context of the desire for community development through World Heritage sites, it is useful to develop a message about vigorous survival. A celebratory mood, however, reassures both indigenous and colonizer visitors about past and present but is a morally, historically and politically dangerous mood to adopt. By contrast, a pessimistic interpretation of the reasons for celebration could lead to an explanation of hegemony. Given the exhilarating reality of a visit to Kakadu, however, the hegemonic interpretation cannot be the only answer. Hegemony is refuted further by the fact that Aboriginal people have clearly resisted white settlement and knowledge from first contact (Reynolds, 1981) and, in the moving words of Rose,

Stories of ... the Dreaming speak of an imagination sharpened and expanded by the experience of the most barbarous of frontiers. They offer evidence of a continuing spiritual presence and an indigenous promise of life (Rose, 2004).

Aboriginal people do not regard knowledge as something that should be shared – that is a Western idea. Knowledge is local (Rose, 1996) and is neither universalized nor free, but crucially it is evidence of relationships between people (Rose, 1996). Perhaps the desire to control who has access to meanings is what the visitor is seeing in Kakadu and perhaps this explains why there is so little discussion of

disruptive colonizing histories. Clifford's (1986) argument that salvage is at the root of ethnography could apply equally to World Heritage interpretation and might be one explanation for what we see in Kakadu; the myth of Eden, however, is more persuasive. For European visitors, especially Australian Europeans, the Eden story is experienced as an enormous relief. Here is the untouched paradise that they have always longed for; it seems to replace the appalling history of transportation and penal settlement. The beauty of the landscape and the evident survival of the Aboriginal people offer hope that the dark beginnings of white settlement and history of cultural and environmental destruction which followed might not be the final story.

The biblical story of Eden combined with centuries of yearning for its restoration appears in Western pastoral expressions of art, music and gardening (Bermingham, 1986; Pugh, 1988; Schama, 1995; Williams, 1973). Pastoral in a World Heritage site such as Kakadu emerges not in the tame, gardened landscape of Europe but in 'country', the Aboriginal expression for a deep connection to land; here it is full of crocodiles, waterfalls and a rugged escarpment. Kakadu as a pastoral text, therefore, is not found in the recreated landscape one might find in a garden such as Stowe in England, but precedes this need to restore what was lost. Kakadu is represented as Eden. Just as Adam and Eve laboured fruitfully in pre-lapsarian Eden, so the Bininj and Mungguy have cared for Kakadu land with their firestick farming.

How could such a Judaeo-Christian story emerge in this unfamiliar landscape? The answer lies partly in the semiotics that are wielded so powerfully by non-indigenous Australians who have the political and linguistic control to tell any story. Torgovnik (1990) and Rose (2004) explain the protean sign of the 'primitive'/indigenous person. Torgovnik (1990) argues for the polysemy of the category, 'primitive', as it is used by Europeans.

Is the present sexually repressed? Not primitive life – primitives live life whole, without fear of the body ... Does the present see itself as righteously Christian? Then primitives become heathens, mired in false beliefs ... The primitive does what we ask it to do (Torgovnik, 1990).

Rose's (2004) analysis insists similarly on the malleability of the category of 'Aboriginal'; she describes the heavy cultural burden that Aboriginal Australians are asked to bear in the face of the fragmentation that European Australians experience through modernity.

With fragmentation we encounter a longing for a lost wholeness ... Here in Australia, as in other settler societies, one form of wholeness hunger manifests as the desire to attribute to indigenous people a reality that conforms to the very dreams of wholeness that are themselves brought into being by fragmentation. These dreams are structured by reversals: modernity fragments, so indigenous reality must be whole; modernity destroys, so indigenous people must conserve; modernity impels us towards

instrumental relationships with others and requires of us an extreme callousness, so indigenous people must be kind, thoughtful and knowing (Rose, 2004).

Rose's analysis helps partly to explain what is happening in Kakadu representations, and her redemptorist model is useful for describing the state of relationships throughout the rest of the country. In Kakadu, however, as evidenced by examining various texts in this chapter, redemption is not required because in this park is a world which seems uncorrupted by colonial destruction. When disturbing histories erupt, they are swept away by poetry or incorporated into glib sightseeing. In the matter of feral animals, all seems to be forgiven, as the Bininj and Mungguy embrace buffalo, horses and pigs and even create Dreamings for them (Franklin, 2006) while non-indigenous park rangers wring their hands. In the park, firestick farming is explained to visitors as something positive, but outside the park on the road back to Darwin one sees, almost immediately, signs warning of the dangers of lighting fires. One is back in the real, post-lapsarian world where fire is destructive. There is a sacred quality to a visit to Kakadu which is evident in the reverential way that rangers speak of 'country', but which emerges even more strongly in the realization that not only is this a place of absolution for colonial sins but the nightmarish legacy of much colonial history is perhaps just that, a nightmare that never happened at all because this is a fragment of Eden.

Positive texts

The pre-lapsarian vision of the dominant European pastoral texts is undercut by opportunities to meet the Bininj and Mungguy. The park encourages tourists to meet local indigenous people on guided tours and through demonstrations of cooking, handcrafts and spear throwing. These are enlightening encounters in which visitors have the opportunity to talk to park residents. The eagerness of tourists to meet indigenous people is evident at Warradjan Cultural Centre. When I last visited in July 2007 two Traditional Owners, Mary and Violet, spoke to visitors about hunting and cooking and the local concept of six seasons. They showed visitors how they cooked barramundi fish in leaves over smoking embers. Enthusiastic visitors enjoyed tasting the fish and then listened to Mary and Violet tell tales of the Dreaming while they demonstrated basket weaving. With the centre shop only metres away, the demonstration resulted in many visitors deciding immediately to buy local handicrafts.

Cruises on Yellow Water with its magnificent water-lilies and crocodiles give visitors an opportunity to see another world. On one hand, they might see non-indigenous people fishing and ask 'Is it appropriate to fish in a World Heritage area?' and, on the other hand, they might listen to indigenous guides describe the billabong wildlife. The disturbing sight of fishing, the sighting of feral animals and the thrill of seeing crocodiles combine to produce a non-Edenic world at odds with the dominance of the written interpretation elsewhere.

Art seems to offer the strongest point of contact between indigenous people and visitors, evident in the throngs of shoppers at art centres in Kakadu and Arnhem Land. Indigenous paintings of the landscape offer an ironic counterpoint to the European pastoral tradition. Magnificent crocodiles, water-lilies, barramundi and figures drawn from the Dreaming fill art galleries. Hoorn (2007) argues that after two centuries of white painters claiming the continent through the persistence of the European pastoral vision, the indigenous reclaiming of the land occurs partly through a black landscape vision.

Pastoral landscapes are transcendent spaces in which the viewer enjoys beauty, nostalgia and the pleasure associated with the land and its ownership. Those pleasures also lie at the heart of many Aboriginal landscapes in their abiding connection with country and the dreaming. Deep enjoyment of country, characterised by nostalgia, melancholy and longing for the land is a central aspect of both traditions (Hoorn, 2007).

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to analyse the differences between the two traditions. Awareness of history, however, so evident in indigenous images of the land, combined with depictions of the reality of the burden of colonization, suggest a radically different approach to landscape politics offering the chance for indigenous art to undercut European landscape imagery.

The celebration of stories, knowledge of the land and survival of traditional art and hunting support indigenous cultural self-image and lead to successful, energetic endeavours to maintain culture. The result is cultural pride and the growth of economic independence through traditional methods combined with modern tourism.

Minister for the Environment, Heritage and the Arts, Peter Garrett, travelled to Kakadu in July 2008 to mark a new era in tourism; He said:

Today we celebrate a dramatic shift towards indigenous tourism at Kakadu, with Aboriginal people and their culture now at the heart of the visitor experience ... this shift makes Kakadu a model for sustainable tourism around the world (Garrett, 2008a).

There is no doubt that the extension of indigenous tourism businesses at Kakadu is a positive step as it builds on the existing dynamic interaction of great goodwill between visitors and Traditional Owners.

Another business decision also suggests changing times at Kakadu. If the decision of the former conservative government to abolish park entrance fees was based on the ideal of a World Heritage area being free to all, then the reinstatement of fees announced in October 2008 by the new Labor Government (Garrett, 2008b) could be understood as a sign of a business approach to park management and a possible demotion of the Eden myth.

Conclusion

A key issue facing the use of a World Heritage site for community development is: what is the message to tourists? For Kakadu it seems to be a mixture of a controlled Aboriginal release of knowledge combined with the production of an idealized and ahistoric Edenic landscape which can soothe worries about the environment and the impact of colonization. Kakadu has been produced with an unwittingly ironic conjunction of robust indigenous culture and Western ideas of the pastoral. If the Bininj and Mungguy choose to use the myth of Eden to structure park interpretation, then this could be regarded as evidence that they are part of wider Australian contemporary society, at least to the extent of feeling comfortable with some of the myths of the colonizers. It is a sign that they are living in history and are not 'timeless'. These are unlikely explanations, however, and the visitor who thinks beyond the sign of Eden should be aware that this World Heritage site offers some unsustainable interpretations. Thinking of World Heritage sites as transition zones is useful. Maddern (2004) argues for sites to become places where differences are worked out but, to achieve this, differences must be stated rather than glossed over. If Kakadu examined its Edenic interpretation and established whose message is being received dominantly by tourists, it should cause a desire to reinterpret with alertness to creeping European hegemony. The park is a place of goodwill and respect between Bininj, Mungguy and non-indigenous people, but in order to depart from an ahistorical Edenic idealization and to construct the park as a contributor to national debates, it is necessary to rethink the place of the myth of Eden in Kakadu.

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The local-global nexus in the politics of World Heritage: space for community development?

Naomi Deegan

Introduction

This chapter examines the extent to which it is possible to use the concept of World Heritage as a vehicle for community development. It takes as its point of departure the belief that local and community involvement in the management of World Heritage sites is necessary to ensure the long-term sustainability of these sites and of the concept of World Heritage in general. A fine balance of both top-down and bottom-up management strategies is key to the sustainability of World Heritage sites in that each site is formally protected by a suitable management framework that can match up to heritage management standards at global level, while grass-roots management strategies and involvement of local communities in the heritage management process ensure the survival of the social values of World Heritage sites at the local level, while also negating the impacts of universalizing discourses in an increasingly globalizing world.

The involvement of the community has, in principle, become an integral component of planning and decision-making and in developed countries consulting the community is now central to most public sector management practice. The importance of community participation in heritage management in particular has been recognized since the 1960s, however it remains immature in its development and accountability (Hall and McArthur, 1998). Community involvement in planning matters can vary from loosely reached informal arrangements to highly-structured formal relationships. Anthony Long (1997, cited in Hall and McArthur, 1998) recognizes four distinct forms of positive relationships between stakeholders in planning: cooperation, coordination, collaboration and partnership. These four categories can be imagined as moving along a continuum between low levels of involvement and high levels of decision-making power going to local communities. Community development would be found towards the partnership end of the spectrum of stakeholder involvement and can be described as a process of developing or building up communities to enable empowerment, self-sufficiency and control over their environment. It differs from community consultation, the most common method of involving local communities in heritage management, in that it achieves more active participation and an increase in overall community confidence in its capacity to take decisions (Cardno Acil, 2007).

Empowering communities to make decisions for themselves, rather than having them made for them, is one of the main components of the debate on community development and non-governmental organizations in particular have been strong advocates of the need to involve communities in meaningful ways in decisions about their future (Li, 2006). In the World Heritage context, the empowerment of communities, as well as other stakeholders, to facilitate management of their heritage is a form of capacity-building. In fact, capacity-building, which can be invoked for the meaningful involvement of local communities in the heritage management process and also at statutory level to enable better revisions of Tentative Lists, was one of the four Strategic Objectives (or four 'Cs' for promoting the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention*, as outlined in the *Budapest Declaration on World Heritage*, adopted by the World Heritage Committee in 2002). A fifth 'C', Community, was added in 2007 to the already established 'Cs' of Credibility (of the World Heritage List), Conservation (of World Heritage properties), Capacity-building and Communication (increased awareness-raising, involvement and support for World Heritage). New Zealand proposed the adoption of the fifth 'C' in order to place 'humanity at the heart of conservation' and in the belief that each of the original four 'Cs' are all intrinsically linked to the idea of community (World Heritage Committee, 2007).

Capacity-building and the empowerment of local communities can be an issue fraught with political tension. Politics, when reduced to its fundamentals, is about power; programmes of capacity-building and empowerment can lead to changes in the dynamics of power, changes which so-called experts and those in charge of heritage policy-making may not be so willing, in some cases, to pursue. The multivocality of heritage necessitates the involvement of various groups of stakeholders, and this consequent involvement means that the experts are no longer the cultural brokers, but rather the facilitators or interpreters. The issue is one of democratic governance and the democratization of heritage discourses and management; this can be carried out via capacity-building programmes, community involvement strategies and partnership approaches, such as those recommended by the Brundtland Report and the Rio World Congress on Sustainable Development (Earth Summit, 1992). In the late 1980s, the World Commission on Environment and

Development, in *Our Common Future* (Brundtland Report, 1987), encouraged bottom-up management approaches in relation to the sustainability of environmental resources and development, as well as in relation to cultural resources. The 1992 Rio World Congress on Sustainable Development, through its Agenda 21 action plan, noted that sustainability for human, social and cultural resources was best achieved when the locus of decision-making was moved closest to those affected by the decision (Stovel, 2004). The more recent increased focus on partnership approaches and the devolution of heritage resource management to local communities reflect current international trends in governance as well as a policy shift away from a paradigm of managerialism and 'government' towards entrepreneurialism and 'governance' (Scott, 2004, p. 50, as cited in Cochrane and Tapper, 2006).

Local and global values of World Heritage

An inherent characteristic of places is that they exist within a hierarchy of spatial scales and thus different senses of place exist simultaneously at different levels in such a hierarchy (Ashworth, 1998). The existence of various scales of ownership and values that can be attributed to World Heritage sites, whether at the local, regional, national or global scale, was clearly recognized at the time of the invention of the World Heritage, that is, the design, drafting and negotiating process that led to the adoption of the *World Heritage Convention* in 1972 (Batisse and Bolla, 2003). The *Convention* is a unique legal instrument, based on the idea that some cultural and natural heritage sites are of such outstanding and universal importance for 'all the people of the world' (Preamble) and that they need to 'be preserved as part of the World Heritage of mankind as a whole' (UNESCO, 1972). This *Convention* is also based on the belief that the deterioration or disappearance of this type of cultural or natural heritage, in particular, constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world. Governments that ratify this *Convention* also recognize that they have

a duty to protect these sites of exceptional value and conserve them for future generations (Labadi, 2007a). Despite the global emphasis of the *World Heritage Convention*, the importance of World Heritage sites at the local and national levels was kept in mind during the drafting of the *Convention*; Article 5a established an obligation for States Parties to adopt a general policy which would aim to give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community. There are no formal guidelines on how to do this, but rather each Member State has to decide on which 'general policy' was deemed to be appropriate for their situation and which 'community' (the definition and delineation of which is problematic in itself) to address in their policy. Article 5 also highlighted the importance of managing and protecting heritage in general, and not just that recognized as World Heritage, while Article 12 emphasizes that a site's values are not diminished by lack of inclusion on the List.

The fact that a property belonging to the cultural or natural heritage has not been included in either of the two lists mentioned in paragraphs 2 and 4 of Article 11 shall in no way be construed to mean that it does not have an outstanding universal value for purposes other than those resulting from inclusion in these lists (UNESCO, 1972, Art. 12).

Community involvement in World Heritage is also highly recommended in the drawing up of Tentative Lists, that is, the inventory of those properties which each State Party intends to consider for nomination to the World Heritage List in the next five to ten years. It is at the discretion of each Member State to compile Tentative Lists of properties within their territories which could be considered to be of outstanding universal value to be put forward for inclusion on the prestigious World Heritage List and to decide the extent of community involvement or consultation in doing so. This process is carried out by making use of the framework outlined in the *Operational Guidelines*. Since 1995, the *Operational Guidelines* have emphasized the importance of involving the local community in the World Heritage process and

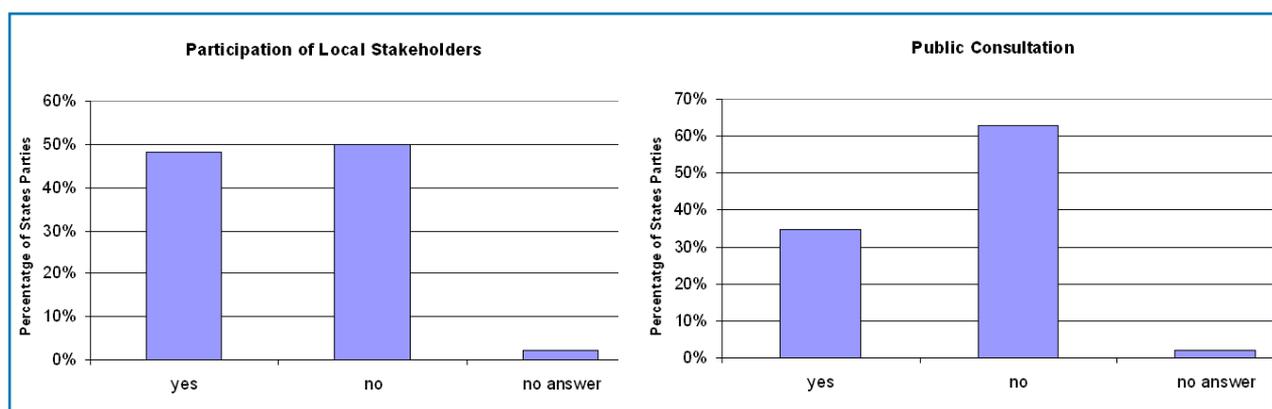


Figure 1: States Parties using public participation and consultation in preparing Tentative Lists, Europe (2005/2006) (Labadi, 2007b).

in particular in the preparation of nomination dossiers; Paragraph 14 indicates that the 'participation of the local population in the nomination process is essential to make them feel a shared responsibility with the State Party in the maintenance of the site' (Figure 1). Unfortunately, even in recent years, a frequent lack of communication has been noted between the authorities responsible for the nomination of properties to the List and the population which live in the areas concerned (ICOMOS, 2008).

Adding difficulty to this process is the fact that the criteria for assessing the outstanding universal value of sites for nomination to the World Heritage List, as well as the concept of authenticity, have been conceptualized, explained and understood from a European viewpoint (Labadi, 2005) and thus come into conflict with non-European conceptualizations of authenticity, aesthetics and social values. This European bias was recognized early in the life of the World Heritage List and attempts were made to rectify it and to address imbalances on the List itself which, due to the high amount of European sites inscribed was fast losing its credibility as representative of all humanity. The Global Strategy for a Balanced, Representative and Credible World Heritage List is an action programme, adopted by the World Heritage Committee in 1994, which highlights the need to address imbalances on the World Heritage List in terms of chronological-regional (across time and space), thematic and typological representativity. The Global Strategy advocated two initiatives to be undertaken concurrently:

- the rectification of the imbalances on the List between regions of the world, types of monuments, and periods,
- and at the same time, a move away from a purely architectural view of the cultural heritage of humanity towards one that was more anthropological, multifunctional and universal.

With the move away from the monumental conception of World Heritage to a more anthropological conception, new heritage themes have been identified; for example, 'Human Coexistence with the Land' and 'Human Beings in Society' are two themes which have been highlighted by the World Heritage Committee as being underrepresented. *The Nara Document on Authenticity* (1994), which was adopted contemporaneously to the Global Strategy, addressed the alleged European bias in the concept of authenticity; the definition of which had been provided in the *Operational Guidelines* since 1977 and focused on 'design, materials, workmanship and setting' and was thus inadequate to assess the wealth and diversity of the world's heritage (Labadi, 2005). *The Nara Document* acknowledged that the concept of authenticity varies from culture to culture and therefore the authenticity of a site can only be understood and judged within those specific contexts. It also added new categories for assessing authenticity, such as 'traditions and techniques' and 'spirit and feeling', thus allowing the concept of authenticity to be more readily applicable to more diverse cultural contexts.

Deterritorialization and reterritorialization of World Heritage sites

The requirement for World Heritage sites to be protected by a documented management system has often been interpreted by the state to mean priority for adequate legal and regulatory measures. This has resulted, in the main, in top-down management approaches, generally expressed in the form of a government-driven management plan (Stovel, 2004). The tendency to adopt top-down rational planning procedures has been shown to disenfranchise local communities from the heritage that they have lived beside and interacted with for generations, displacing local activity and depriving local community of economic and cultural interactions which they see as their birthright. This disenfranchisement can be either physical, by the erection of boundary walls designed to keep people out, or ideological, when national or global interpretations of a site override the local social values. This can be injurious in the case of indigenous or minority peoples' conceptualizations of heritage, especially when these are not endorsed at the national level.

Thus, the method of constructing World Heritage since the first inscriptions in 1978 has generally been one of status imposed from above and a reterritorialization of heritage sites from the local to the global level as the 'heritage of humanity'. The concepts of 'territorialization' and 'deterritorialization', as outlined by Deleuze and Guattari (1987), represent the continual creation and dissolution of space or territory while 'reterritorialization' refers to the remaking of territory or space. The deterritorialization of culture itself refers to the break between culture and its local contexts. Drawing on theories on spatiality as promulgated by Lefebvre (1974/1992) in *The Production of Space*, we are encouraged to see space not as an independent gift or thing (such as Cartesian space), 'but rather as a set of relations between things', this includes for example political and social relations. Space is produced by dynamic interrelationships between 'spatial practice', 'representations of space', and 'representational space'; this is known as the perceived-conceived-lived triad (in spatial terms). In Lefebvre's terms, the identification and classification of heritage sites as World Heritage sites is a spatial practice; this is the transformation of landscapes or religious buildings, for example, into monuments. The policies implemented by government agencies in the protection of heritage sites are an integral part of this 'spatial practice' which then creates 'representations of space', or conceptualizations of space, as defined in management plans and maps. The religious building or landscape itself is a 'representational space', which can be explained as space as directly experienced through its associated images and symbols, or as symbolic meanings enacted in spatial form. As heritage practices territorialize a landscape and thus recreate space, the landscape is recreated and redefined and its social character is changed. This can result in the disembedding of the landscape from its place of significance within the local community.

Most of the heritage sites nominated for World Heritage have already been reterritorialized from a local scale to the national and been interpreted as representations of the nation and nationalism. In this sense, national heritage is inclusionary as it helps to construct a unified homogenous nation or 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1991); it provides the state with legitimacy and the illusion of longevity as the antiquity of heritage sites can be appropriated by the State to extend the history of the nation backwards into time. Heritage can also be exclusionary, whether at the regional, national or global scale; the totalizing discourses ascribed to heritage sites may mean that certain interest groups, such as indigenous or minority groups, may become excluded from the 'imagined community' of a nation by not subscribing to the meanings or values ascribed to that heritage.

The reterritorialization of heritage sites onto the global level adds further layers of spatiality and complexity to the discussion. It is made all the more intricate by the concept of outstanding universal value, a universalizing discourse which often negates or overrides local values. While the concept of a 'heritage of humanity', that is, of a shared responsibility to safeguard the world's cultural and natural treasures, is a commendable one, it is often at odds with deep local connections to place, and can thereby reduce a site to its aesthetic or architectural qualities. Furthermore, the requirement of outstanding universal value for inscription on the World Heritage List tends to focus the principal attention on those attributes in a site that are referred to in the justification of the nomination. This can mean that issues or elements not considered critical for the justification are sometimes left aside. As a result, there have been cases where the presence of local communities in World Heritage areas has not been considered desirable by the state concerned and as a result they are not involved in the decision-making process (ICOMOS, 2008).

Thus the nomination of sites of significance for inclusion on the World Heritage List, the delimiting of boundaries and buffer zones of said sites and the implementation of policy for them are decisions taken at the state level, with little community involvement. In many cases, apart from a few positive exceptions, World Heritage status is often something which was imposed on local populations from above and resulted in the disenfranchisement of these populations by the reterritorialization of heritage sites from the local to the global level.

Case study: Megalithic Temples of Malta

The territorialization of sites of significance by heritage practices, such as the creation of archaeological parks or World Heritage sites, is a process which happens all across the world and can result in considerable backlashes from local communities should they feel disenfranchised from their patrimony. For the Megalithic Temples of Malta, a serial World Heritage site made up of six sites spread across the Maltese archipelago, the implementation of restrictive government policies before inscription and in

the early life of the World Heritage site culminated in the shocking vandalism of two of the neolithic temple sites on a few occasions during the 1990s and early 2000s.

The Megalithic Temples of Malta, thought to be the oldest free-standing structures in the world, are so colossal in their construction that several of them have remained conspicuous features of the landscape right until the present (Grima and Theuma, 2006). As such, they have been important representational spaces for local communities. In the 1970s, the burgeoning international reputation of the Megalithic Temples, as well as a massive influx of tourists to Malta, resulted in the displacement of the locals from the temple sites and their surrounding landscape. This displacement was most contested at two temple sites, located in close proximity to each other, the temples Hagar Qin and Mnajdra. The landscape surrounding these temples was an important place for locals, some of who used the area to carry out traditional pursuits such as bird-trapping, as well as for the more ubiquitous family outings and picnics. To provide for the increasing amounts of tourists to the temples, car parks and visitor amenities were developed and as the numbers of tourists to the temples grew, so the numbers of locals frequenting the area dwindled. A wall and steel barriers were erected at the end of the 1970s, transforming the social character of the site and divorcing the temples from the surrounding landscape. Entry fees were also introduced and the number of free-entry days for locals was progressively reduced to once a month by the early 1990s. The commodification of the temples as tourist resources and the perceived threat to traditional practices, such as bird-trapping, were compounded by the temples' inscription on the World Heritage List in 1992, as an extension to the World Heritage site of Ggantija, one of the temples which had been previously listed in 1982. This act, paradoxically, put the Megalithic Temples at greater risk than before due to their highly publicized international importance (Grima, 1998).

The tension created by the efforts of the government to create a World Heritage archaeological park around Hagar Qin and Mnajdra and thus to control access to the area resulted in numerous acts of graffiti on the ancient fabric of the temples. However these acts of vandalism could not have prepared the authorities for the violence of the vandalism which took place at Mnajdra in 2001, when in the space of one night, more than sixty megaliths were toppled (Grima and Theuma, 2006). This act resulted in public and international outrage; UNESCO Director-General Koïchiro Matsuura described it as an 'unworthy act [which] proves that in Europe, as elsewhere, the heritage of humanity is not sheltered from human ignorance'. Fortunately, most of the damage sustained at Mnajdra was reversible and security measures were also improved to prevent a repeat of the attack. Unfortunately, the perpetrators were never caught and it remains unclear exactly who carried out the attacks and for what reason. The most likely cause of the tension and subsequent attacks seems to have been that the global values of the temples were perceived to be in

conflict with local values and interests. Instead of instilling pride, the inclusion of the monuments on the World Heritage List contributed to a sense of dispossession among some members of the local community (Grima and Theuma, 2006). This disenfranchisement of the local community from the temples and their surrounding landscape was taken on board in the subsequent drafting of the World Heritage site management plan and as such, consultation and consensus building became an integral part of the process. Further efforts have been made since by the heritage management body, Heritage Malta, to help local Maltese to feel that the temples are their heritage, and not just for tourists; a new visitor centre is being built at the archaeological park encompassing Hagar Qin and Mnajdra temples, as well as at the Tarxien temple site, also part of the serial World Heritage listing. These visitor centres will have an emphasis on using the heritage sites as an educational resource for visiting school groups and for the general population. These visitor centres are envisaged to have a positive effect on the appreciation of the national heritage by the general Maltese public.

The local-global nexus in the politics of World Heritage

As can be seen from above, there is a distinct need to conceptualize the links between World Heritage on the global and the local level, as well as the levels in between, as the questions of ownership of heritage sites and the ability to make decisions about their care occur at every spatial level of World Heritage site management. As we have seen, when global values and conceptions of heritage are promoted at the expense of local values, tensions can arise which can lead to the destruction of the very thing which is meant to be protected.

The World Heritage Committee acknowledges that there must be a link between universal and local values for a World Heritage site to have a sustainable future (Millar, 2006). This can be interpreted as a call for an integrative approach of both top-down and bottom-up approaches to the management of World Heritage sites and the interconnection of ideas concerning World Heritage between the global and local levels. To help to conceptualize the links between the local and the global, we adopt the notion of the local-global nexus (Alger, 1988). The local-global nexus is where forces from diverging dimensions of scale, that is, of local and global (and the levels in between such as national and regional), interconnect and interpenetrate (Figure 2). It is the arena where the tensions between the trends of globalization and localization manifest themselves and thus, the ideal conceptual space within which to theorize on the outcome of local and territorial identities in the advance of 'global culture' and universalizing discourses. Robertson sees the local-global nexus as a twofold process involving the 'interpretation of the universalization of particularism and the particularization of universalism' (Robertson, 1992).

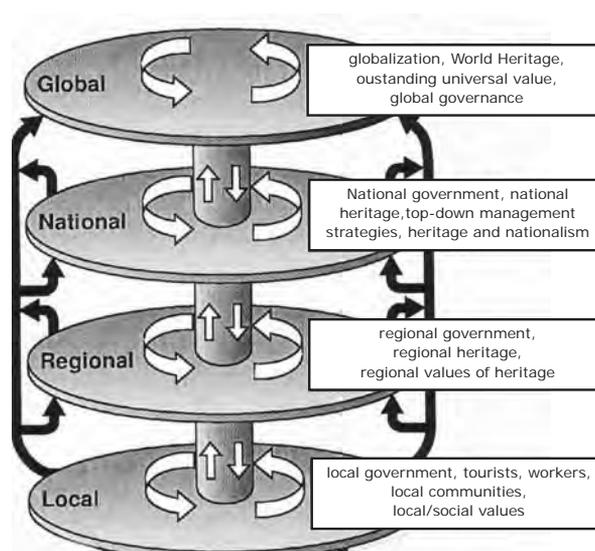


Figure 2 : The local-global nexus in the politics of World Heritage (adapted from Milne and Ateljevic, 2001).

Robertson believes that the forces of globalization and localization do not merely clash and collide with each other. The notion 'glocalize' indicates the meeting of an exogenous force with a local one and its adaptation to local conditions. The outcome of these two dimensions is generally defined in globalization literature as the local-global nexus.

In the case of World Heritage, the particular concept of 'outstanding universal value' has become promulgated on a global (universalist) level and implements a particular framework for assessing, nominating and managing sites. However, variations in cultural contexts mean that this universalistic framework can be interpreted in different ways and adapted to fit the particularized context and thus 'glocalized'. This 'glocalized' space is the local-global nexus in the politics of World Heritage; a space where global ideas about World Heritage and the management of sites can be adapted to fit the particular cultural context, taking local values, local ways of knowing and local ways of looking after sites into much greater account than heretofore. The recognition of the specific qualities and local values that are associated with World Heritage sites can also form a counterpoint to globalization.

Case study: African World Heritage Fund

The greater use of community-based traditional management systems in the management of World Heritage sites, with local people working in partnership with government officials, is a form of community development which can empower local people to benefit from heritage on an economic and social level. A positive example of the use of World Heritage to promote community development is the work currently being carried out by the African World Heritage Fund (AWHF).

The AWHF is the culmination of a series of discussions between South Africa, Benin, Nigeria, Egypt and Zimbabwe. These countries represented the continent over concerns that Africa's World Heritage sites are in dire need of funding for maintenance, capacity-building and awareness-raising, and in need of help in the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention* (SouthAfrica.info, 2005). Since the fund was launched in 2006, it has worked with the African Union (AU) Member States who are signatories to the Convention, to assist them in the conservation and protection of Africa's cultural and natural heritage. The AWHF represents a new approach to World Heritage management and is the first regional funding initiative within the framework of the *World Heritage Convention* (AWHF, 2008).

Africa is a continent of great ethnic, cultural and regional diversity; nevertheless there is an emerging sense of an African common humanity and as such, a pan-African approach to the challenges faced by many African countries regarding the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention* was seen as the best way forward. The key function of the AWHF is to mobilize African governments and their counterparts, donor bodies, NGOs, community-based organizations (CBOs) and the private sector to attend to some of the challenges faced by African countries in the many facets of the implementation of the *Convention*, such as the drawing up of Tentative Lists and nomination dossiers, the development of site management plans and the training of site managers and also, the safeguarding and presentation of sites in the region (Rajak and Murimbika, 2008). The Fund will also rely on several other international strategic partners such as the World Heritage Centre, the African Union and the Advisory Bodies of the World Heritage Committee: ICCROM; ICOMOS and IUCN. All the information garnered through strong partnerships with heritage bodies will be applied to different local contexts from a single African brand; this will help the Fund to produce valuable knowledge resources that are practical and relevant to the African context. Furthermore, the AWHF proposes to use the African cultural resources as vehicles of sustainable development through poverty reduction, community empowerment and social inclusion. The participation of local communities in the management of World Heritage on the African continent is seen as one way of empowering local communities and equipping them to tackle issues of extreme poverty with their own communities (Rajak and Murimbika, 2008). Recognizing that, as a developing continent, the preservation of its sites could benefit local economic development, the AWHF set up a marketing and branding arm, NHERIT, to ensure that Africa's World Heritage sites are sustainably managed and utilized in enhancing tourism, enterprise development and education, as well as being promoted to the world (Rajak and Murimbika, 2008). Through this project, the AWHF aims to:

- create awareness about Africa's heritage;
- encourage visitors to Africa's World Heritage sites;

- stimulate enterprise development in local African communities;
- build pride among Africans and the rest of the world about [African] heritage to create a more positive image of the continent (Nherit, 2008).

From this brief case study it is apparent that the African World Heritage Fund represents a localized approach to the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention*; one which has as its goal the democratization of heritage discourses and the promotion of community development programmes through World Heritage site management. It highlights the potential within the local-global nexus for programmes which can empower and benefit local communities; in this case, the global ideas and values of World Heritage have been adapted and applied in a regional context to create a unified African brand for the promotion and management of African World Heritage sites. This regional approach will then be applied to the local context, with the cooperation of local people, for the economic and social benefit of the local communities.

Conclusion

People involved in the care and protection of World Heritage sites can take inspiration from the Local Agenda 21 programme, one of the outcomes of the Rio World Congress, which highlighted the need to take environmental action at all spatial and political levels, as well as environmentalist slogans such as 'Act Locally, Think Globally', which encouraged a grassroots approach to environmental protection while being globally aware. These ideas underline the links between the local and global level in the protection of the environment and this sentiment is one which can be applied to the management of World Heritage sites, that is, the need for both local values and global values of heritage to be equally recognized and respected, while involving key stakeholders from each spatial level.

The World Heritage system has recently begun to embrace bottom-up approaches to site management involving local communities to a much greater degree than before. While still encouraging the States Parties to adopt adequate top-down legal and regulatory systems, the World Heritage Committee now promotes community involvement and public participation in management strategies, recognizing the importance of traditional forms of management and protection. The basic premise is that heritage is best protected not only through strong laws, but also through a widely shared understanding of heritage values and their importance in community development (Stovel, 2004). World Heritage sites may have been recognized as the 'heritage of humanity', but in the long run it is the local community which has the future of World Heritage in its hands, and which needs to be effectively empowered to manage and protect it.

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4

Models of best practice for communities

Protected areas and rural livelihoods: the case of a World Heritage site in Western Uganda

James Ilukol Okware and Claire Cave

Introduction

Biodiversity conservation and poverty alleviation are two critical challenges facing the global community today. The WWF *Living Planet Report* indicates that between 1970 and 2003 populations of terrestrial vertebrate species declined by approximately 30 per cent (WWF, 2006). When this trend is broken down into tropical and temperate species it reveals an average decline of tropical species by 55 per cent. This alarming rate of population decline is accompanied by an equivalent loss of natural habitat through human disturbance. Virtually all the Earth's biomes have suffered habitat loss, degradation and fragmentation through human activities. A study of human land-use patterns over the last three hundred years has revealed that forest or woodland has declined in area by 29 per cent, steppe or savannah or grassland by 49 per cent, shrub-land by 74 per cent and tundra or hot desert or ice desert by 14 per cent (Goldewijk, 2001). There is no sign that these trends are slowing down: natural habitats continue to be converted for cropland, pasture and other uses at a rapid rate.

The ultimate cause for concern is the growth of the world's human population, which is currently estimated at 6.15 billion people and projected to increase to 9.1 billion by 2050 (UN Population Division, 2007). Almost half the world's population, 2.7 billion people, live on less than US\$2 a day and over 700 million poor people live in rural areas and depend on the productivity of ecosystems for their livelihoods (IUCN, 2006).

These problems have called for an unprecedented set of international commitments to alleviate poverty and conserve biodiversity during the past decade. In 2001, the international community adopted the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) one of the key targets of which is to halve global poverty by 2015 and ensure environmental sustainability. Similarly, the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), signed in 1992 at the Rio Earth Summit, sets the global agenda for the conservation and wise use of biodiversity. The objectives of the Convention (Art. 1) are threefold: 'The conservation of biological diversity, the sustainable use of its components, and the fair and equitable sharing of the benefits arising from the utilization of genetic resources'. In 2002 during the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg the international community

made a further commitment to achieve 'by 2010, a significant reduction in the current rate of loss of biological diversity'. In 2004 the 7th Conference of Parties (CoP) of the CBD set a series of targets as part of a framework to monitor progress in achieving the CBD objectives and the 2010 biodiversity target. These targets include that:

- at least 10 per cent of each of the world's ecological regions are effectively conserved (by 2010);
- areas of particular importance to biodiversity are protected;
- the status of threatened species is improved and the decline of species populations is reduced;
- unsustainable consumption of biological resources is reduced;

As indicated in these objectives and targets, the creation of protected areas is a key world conservation strategy to battle habitat loss and to curtail biodiversity loss. Governments, conservation organizations, civil society and individuals have responded to species loss in the last century by creating protected areas (Adams, 2004). The World Database on Protected Areas (WDPA) includes 113,707 sites covering an area of 19.6 million km² (Lockwood et al., 2006). The 5th World Parks Congress in 2003 celebrated one of the significant achievements of the last century: the establishment of protected areas over 11.5 per cent of the Earth's surface (Mainka et al., 2005). This represents almost a fourfold increase from 1962 when protected area coverage was 3 per cent of the Earth's surface. Significantly, the growth of protected areas in the last decade has been in developing countries and within terrestrial ecosystems. Large gaps still remain in relation to coverage of protected areas in the marine, freshwater and coastal ecosystems (Fisher et al., 2005).

The *World Heritage Convention* clearly plays an important role in the global efforts to achieve the CBD aims and the 2010 target. Designated natural World Heritage sites have been inscribed on the World Heritage List because they are:

- (i) outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, freshwater, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals; and/or
- (ii) they contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation (WHC, 2005, II.D.77).

To date the World Heritage List is made up of 890 properties; 689 of which are cultural, 176 are natural and 25 are mixed. The area of natural and mixed World Heritage sites is greater than 1,713,118.34 km² and covers around 1 per cent of the Earth's surface. All the biomes (as defined by Udvardy, 1975) contain World Heritage sites (except cold winter deserts) and there are representatives of over half of the 193 Udvardy biogeographical provinces among the natural sites listed (Magin and Chape, 2004).

However, throughout the world and particularly in tropical areas, protected areas are under severe threat and suffer from extensive illegal resource use leading to loss of biodiversity (Carey et al., 2000). At present most threats to the protected areas' integrity and conservation values originate in the neighbouring communities. Many people living in close proximity to protected areas tend to rely directly on natural products and services for their livelihoods and survival. Protected areas and their associated resources directly or indirectly contribute to about 90 per cent of the livelihoods of about 1.2 million people living in extreme poverty and support the natural environment that nourishes agriculture and food supplies of nearly half the population of the developing world (Fisher et al., 2005; Mainka et al., 2005).

This situation is evident in the natural sites on the World Heritage List. The *World Heritage Convention* includes a process whereby sites in immediate peril of losing the very properties whose outstanding universal value ensured their successful addition to the World Heritage List, can be placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger. This is a mechanism to highlight the plight of these sites and to mobilize increased national and international support to mitigate the threats. Despite the fact that there are almost four times the number of cultural sites (689) than natural sites (176) on the World Heritage List there are only slightly more cultural sites on the List of World Heritage in Danger (seventeen cultural and thirteen natural including one transboundary site). Similarly, of the twenty-four sites that were placed on the World Heritage in Danger List in the past and have since been reinstated, twelve were cultural and twelve were natural. Table 1 lists the threats affecting natural sites on the Danger List.

Armed conflict and the consequent mass influx of refugees are major problems. For example between July 1994 and September 1996, some 1.5 million to 2 million Rwandans took refuge in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and settled where they could, including national parks and World Heritage sites. The resulting increase in demand for fuel wood, foodstuffs and building material placed enormous stress on the natural resources within the protected areas. The next most widespread threats indicated in Table 1 also relate to unsustainable resource use, and these are grazing, cultivation and poaching – a universal problem for protected areas. Historically, the attitude taken in the creation of protected areas has been to reserve places for nature and to exclude humans; to create pristine wilderness areas. The establishment

Threat	Number of sites affected*
Poaching	8
Political unrest, armed conflict, war	5
Refugees	5
Grazing	4
Deforestation	3
Cultivation	2
Mining	2
Tourism and urbanization	1
Pollution	1
Invasive species	1
Dam development	1

* Some sites are threatened by more than one factor so the total number of sites is inflated. Eleven of the sites are located in Africa.

Table 1: Threats to the thirteen natural sites on the World Heritage in Danger List.

Source: WCMC (2008).

of protected areas typically involved the eviction and/or exclusion of people as residents, restrictions on the extraction of natural resources and activities of indigenous peoples and the prevention of consumptive use; a so-called fortress conservation approach (Adams and Hulme, 2001). This practice spread from the first national park, Yellowstone, declared in 1872, to other countries and continents and was particularly enforced by Western authorities in Southern Hemisphere countries. It was characterized by a centralized, state-based, authoritarian approach (Lockwood and Kothari, 2006).

As international awareness of the concept of sustainable development grew, following the *Brundtland Report* in 1987 and the UN Conference on Environment and Development at Rio in 1992, a change in attitude towards the exclusionary approach to protected area management evolved. The concept of sustainable development encouraged the management of natural habitats, species and ecosystems as exploitable natural resources to the benefit of both developmental and conservation goals (Hulme and Murphree, 2001b). This 'paradigm shift' was supported by a growing recognition of the rights of local and indigenous communities to their environments and to have a say in decisions that affect them (Lockwood and Kothari, 2006). Slowly but surely the belief that an exclusionary approach was the most effective management tool to ensure the conservation of protected areas was eroded, not only because of concern for local communities but also because evidence mounted that it was not working. Protected areas were suffering from inefficient management and lack of supervision. Frequently, park staff were underfunded and ill-equipped to deal with increasing incursions from local communities and incidents of poaching and sabotage. There was a lack of local support from the communities that had originally been excluded from the areas gazetted as national parks, often with little or no compensation.

For example, Simien National Park (Ethiopia) was gazetted in 1969 and inscribed as a World Heritage site in 1978. Roughly 2,500 Amhara people lived in the park, but some 1,800 were forcibly evicted in 1978–79 and 1985–86. This was a much-resented policy, which continues to fuel animosity among the local people towards the park today. Initial policies to manage the park in cooperation with its inhabitants failed due to the central government's apparent concern for wildlife rather than the local communities. In 1996 the World Heritage Committee placed the park on the Danger List because of a serious decline in the population of Walia ibex (*Capra walie*) due to human settlement, grazing and cultivation (WCMC, 2008).

At Manas Wildlife Sanctuary World Heritage site (India), the Bodo tribal people live in the surrounding area. Forests adjacent to the park have been logged by paper and timber industries and immigrant farmers have illegally moved in and purchased the cleared land. This has forced the Bodo tribal people to use the protected areas' natural resources for consumption. Therefore, denial of access for subsistence by park officials has created conflict. This culminated in a violent occupation of the park by separatist members of the local All-Bodo student union campaigning for the right of their people to use forest lands. The ensuing chaos created an opportunity for poachers and smugglers to infiltrate the park and as a result hundreds of animals, including rhinos, elephants and tigers, were killed. In 1992 Manas Wildlife Sanctuary was placed on the Danger List (WCMC, 2008).

These situations are typical of many protected areas today. However, as countries realize their commitments to the Millennium Development Goals and the CBD, through poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSP) and national biodiversity action plans (NBAP) there is an ever-increasing pressure on protected areas to involve local communities in their management (Western et al., 1994; Hulme and Murphree, 2001a; Scherl et al., 2004). Similarly, given the alternative land use options that protected areas can be put to for generating local and national income, there has also been increasing pressure to justify the economic contribution of protected areas to national development and livelihoods of communities adjacent to these areas (Salafsky and Wollenberg, 2000). This pressure is partly due to the under-appreciation of the role protected areas play in livelihoods of communities in their vicinity and the fact that local communities adjacent to these areas have livelihood strategies that fail to take advantage of the opportunities provided by protected areas. There is a global consensus that we need to enhance rural livelihoods, conserve biodiversity and increase productivity at a landscape level.

For protected areas to succeed as venues for biodiversity conservation they need to enlist local support for conservation by addressing the livelihood needs of adjacent communities. To achieve this there is a need to understand the current impact of protected areas on the livelihood and survival strategies of the communities.

This insight will enable management, together with stakeholders, to identify appropriate sustainable strategies for local communities to meet their livelihood needs and to reduce destructive practices in the park environment. To date there has been little attempt to systematically assess or measure the use of resources by people living near protected areas (Salafsky and Wollenberg, 2000).

One of the research priorities of the ten-year management plan for the Rwenzori Mountains National Park World Heritage site in Uganda is to understand the role the protected area plays in the livelihood of the local communities and to address the issue of planning for community involvement in conservation. In an effort to tackle these issues, a six-month preliminary research project was carried out in sixteen villages located in eight sub-counties adjacent to the park. The villages sampled ranged from 4 m to 9 km away from the park boundary. In all, 240 households were randomly chosen and surveyed and data were collected with reference to household socio-economic characteristics (Okware, 2006).

The Rwenzori Mountains are a component of the Albertine Rift and straddle the equator along the border between Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Western Uganda. Over 75 per cent of the mountain range is located in Uganda with the rest in DRC. The park is nearly 10,000 hectares in area and covers most of the centre and eastern half of the Rwenzori Mountains National Park range. Some of the range is also part of the DRC Virunga National Park which is contiguous with Rwenzori for about 50 km (Figure 1). The Rwenzori Mountains rise to an altitude of 5,109 m and contain the third, fourth and fifth highest mountains in Africa. The peaks are snow-capped despite their closeness to the equator (although the cover of snow and ice is decreasing due to climate change) and the mountains are the most permanent source of water for the Nile. The mountains support the richest montane fauna in Africa and traditionally are the homelands of the Bakonzo and Baamba peoples (WCMC, 2003).

The majority of the 211 households surveyed during the project were Bakonzo (87.9 per cent). The households closest to Rwenzori Mountains National Park were all Bakonzo and other tribes appeared (Batoro, Alurmade, Samia, Banyankole and Lugbara) with increasing distance from the park. Approximately 60 per cent of the households surveyed were settled in the area less than thirty years: 7.9 per cent of household heads confirmed they had arrived within the last five years, which indicates the rate of arrival of new immigrants. The major reasons for migrating to the area were the presence of a relative already settled (around 50 per cent), the availability of land (35 per cent) and employment potential (5.8 per cent).

The respondents had few assets to generate a means of survival. The majority of people had acquired their land by inheritance of a portion of their parents' holding (75 per cent).

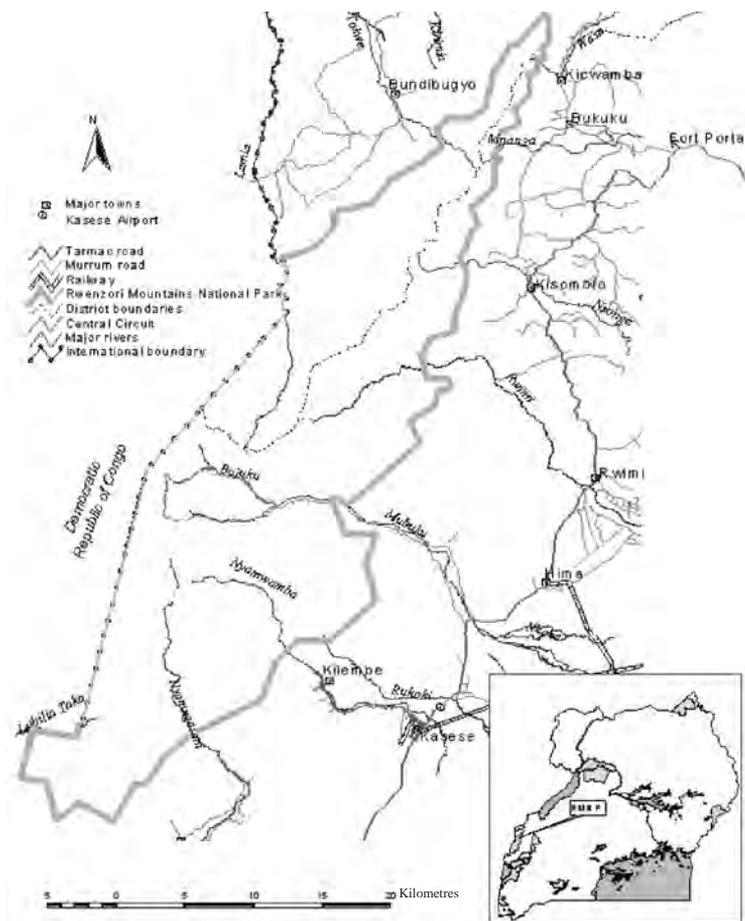


Figure 1: Outline of Rwenzori Mountains National Park borders (heavy line). Inset: location of park within Uganda.

Source: Rwenzori Mountains National Park

This subdivision of property from one generation to the next will be severely limited in the future as households are restricted to progressively smaller and more fragmented areas of land. Indeed the mean area of land owned per household is 1.15 hectares. The majority of households (90) subsist on 0.2 hectares (range: 0.2 to 2.4 hectares). The area of land owned by a household was not dependent on distance from the park. With regard to education, 37 per cent of the respondents had had no education at all, 45 per cent had only primary level education and the remaining 18 per cent had reached ordinary level education with some achieving certificate and diploma level.

The majority of respondents were farmers (87 per cent) and agriculture is the main livelihood strategy dominated by crop farming and, to a lesser extent, livestock rearing. Coffee is the dominant cash-crop contributing to 78 per cent of the income from crops. A small number of respondents (5.4 per cent) were self-employed, selling goods from shops, stalls or along the roadside and the remainder were public servants, blacksmiths, a student and a tourist guide. Table 2 indicates the different activities that households were involved in to make a living and the estimated contribution that each activity contributed to the livelihoods of the respondents.

Livelihood from Rwenzori Mountains National Park includes collection of honey, palm oil, vegetables and mushrooms, and activities such as pit sawing. Almost all (70 per cent) of the communities around the park also depend on the park for supplies of items such as firewood, water, medicinal plants, bamboo and building materials. Bamboo is not cultivated outside the park although it is used for construction, musical instruments, food, fuel and craft materials. However, the livelihood of households using park resources decreases with increased distance from the park. Similarly, the proportion of households with members employed by the park is greater for villages nearer the park than those farther away. The majority (78 per cent) of households did not have members or relatives employed by the park and the main jobs were boundary demarcating and acting as guides to tourists. Furthermore the park does not provide a market for crafts. Only 1.1 per cent of crafts were sold through the park; the bulk of sales were local, through markets and community groups.

As the number of people who buy wood increases with distance from the park, people are adapting to this demand and scarcity of firewood by planting trees in woodlots and trading wood as a source of livelihood. Firewood is the

principle affordable energy resource for most developing countries and in Uganda it is the main source of fuel. Demand for fuel by local people adjacent to the park constitutes a problem for day-to-day management and fuel shortage imposes a high financial and social cost on households. Sourcing firewood is a priority for women and children of the household and travelling long distances in search of firewood places women and children at risk as well as making it difficult for children to go to school.

Respondents were asked to identify the biggest problems that their households faced and the foremost concerns were crop diseases (84.6 per cent), lack of money (74.2 per cent), inadequate land (69.8 per cent), inadequate food (54.2 per cent), problem wild animals (56.7 per cent) and high food prices (54.2 per cent). Crop farmers also identified soil exhaustion and soil erosion as key concerns. Disease, lack of land and thieves were the main threats to livestock. These problems reveal a measure of how vulnerable the communities are to external factors beyond their control. The World Bank (2001) defines poverty in three dimensions - lack of assets and income, powerlessness and vulnerability, and lack of economic opportunities. Vulnerability is a measure of how susceptible poor people are to external factors, such as natural disasters, markets, droughts, seasonal trends in food availability and prices, etc., which can have severe negative impacts on their ability to survive. The villagers explained that they coped through difficult periods by reducing the number of meals and the quality of food consumed, borrowing money, selling firewood and other household assets, migrating for periods and sending their children to stay with relatives.

One of the greatest stresses that the people have been subjected to is war. Rwenzori Mountains National Park was used as a base camp by rebel groups from 1997 to 2001 during the Ugandan Civil War; the forested mountains provided a refuge for the rebels and a source of food, water, natural medicines and fuel. Many people were displaced during the conflict and were forced to flee to protective camps. The collapse of law and order made it impossible for park staff to control and manage the area, intensive hunting for bushmeat and other resources escalated and as a result

the wild buffalo is now extinct in Uganda and many species formerly abundant are now rare (Okware, 2006; WCMC, 2003). The park was placed on the Danger List in 1999 and eventually removed from the Danger List in 2004. Although the situation in Rwenzori Mountains National Park has improved, the neighbouring Virunga National Park in the DRC is listed as a site in Danger because of the presence of armed conflict and the inadequate management capacity to manage the protected areas. As a result, security is still a serious concern in the park. In fact, in the survey, people living nearby confirmed that they would be willing to pay if it were possible to ensure that peace was maintained in the future.

Contemporary conservation policies and practices in Uganda hark back to the fortress conservation approach of the British colonial authority. Gazetting and subsequent management of protected areas led to the displacement of the local people that were using the natural resources. However, there are now processes in place for the reform of land-use policies and for enacting legislation and strategies to alleviate poverty and protect the environment for conservation, including provisions for highlighting community issues and community-based conservation. The constitution provides that the State shall protect important natural resources such as land, water, wetlands, minerals, fauna and flora on behalf of the people of Uganda and create and develop parks and reserves to protect the biodiversity of Uganda (Barrow et al., 2001; Okware, 2006).

The management of wildlife and protected areas, including Rwenzori Mountains National Park, is guided by the Uganda Wildlife Act of 2000 (Chapter 200 in the Laws of Uganda published in 2000; Okware, 2006). The Act authorizes the Ugandan Wildlife Authority (UWA) to assume responsibility for wildlife management in Uganda, both inside and outside its protected areas. Under the Act, a Board of Trustees is appointed by the Minister of Tourism, Trade and Industry as the governing body of UWA.

The Ugandan Government has developed Vision 2025, a framework for the long-term development of the country. The Vision is popularly stated as: prosperous people, harmonious nation, beautiful country. It articulates strategies

Livelihood activity	Households involved in activity	Estimated contribution of each activity to overall livelihoods of households
Agriculture	87	27
Casual labour	51	16
Petty trade	44	14
Collecting natural resources from Rwenzori Mountains National Park	44	14
Crafts	43	13
Support from relatives living away	21	5
Park employment	22	6
Migration	15	5

Table 2: Livelihood activities of households (%). Source: WCMC (2008).

to focus on strengthening policies for sustainable utilization of environmental resources, enhancement of women in environmental management and developing a pollution-free and beautiful environment (Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development). The government has also established a poverty eradication action plan (PEAP). It recognizes that one mechanism to directly increase the ability of the poor to raise their incomes, is to ensure that the environment can continue to support agricultural production, alternative energy sources and food security, etc. In support of these commitments, one of the purposes of UWA is to strengthen its capacity to become a wildlife service, oriented to contribute to the government mission of poverty eradication in rural areas. In the same vein, one of the research priorities of the approved ten-year management plan (2004–2014) for Rwenzori Mountains National Park is to carry out a livelihood analysis of the people around the park to establish how much they depend on the protected area. Furthermore, in order to highlight community issues, community protected area institutions (CPAIs) have been established. These are local community committees which work with UWA to address issues that affect community/park relations, and they were established upon the recommendation of the 2003 UNESCO-IUCN mission which travelled to Rwenzori Mountains National Park while the protected area was on the Danger List. The outcome of these activities is an improved relationship between park staff and communities bordering the protected areas. However, the CPAIs are elected by the chairpersons of the respective villages, parishes, sub-counties and districts, and involving politicians in protected-area institutions could cause future political tension and challenges.

The results of this project, a preliminary livelihood analysis of the people living adjacent to Rwenzori Mountains National Park, confirm that the local people depend on the protected area. The park is the source of resources such as honey, firewood, medicinal plants, wild fruits and vegetables, palm oil, craft material and bamboo. The extent of poverty in the study area is high and is characterized by the smallholdings, large households, low income, lack of education facilities and gender differences.

This project has made the initial steps to quantify the role that Rwenzori Mountains National Park plays in the livelihood of the local communities and the value placed on it by local people. The surveys indicate that the value placed on the park by local people may fluctuate depending on external circumstances and the impact of factors such as food prices and crop disease on food availability. The use of park resources by the local people is widespread; of the 240 households surveyed, 152 agreed that they benefited directly from its natural

resources. However, despite the enabling policies and positive legislative environment for sustainable resource use in Ugandan protected areas, there is no signed Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the park authorities and the surrounding communities on the use of resources by local people. Consequently, the current use of resources is considered illegal. The project results identify the need to develop an understanding of how and when local people may use resources and, in order to prepare a MoU, emphasize the need for local realization that resources are limited. The value of Rwenzori Mountains National Park to the local people, as an investment against temporary downturns in agricultural production, is an important incentive for community involvement in protecting and maintaining park resources to guarantee local access to specific resources when necessary.

The park also has the potential to create jobs for the local people, either directly through their involvement in park management or indirectly through tourism. The survey highlights the undeveloped potential for tourist revenue through the sale of crafts and locally produced foodstuffs for example. There is also the potential to review and expand the local communities' involvement in the provision of tourist services. Rwenzori Mountains National Park is one of the few protected areas in Uganda where concessions have been awarded to the local community to provide services to tourists, in this case through the Rwenzori Mountaineering Services, a local NGO, which maintains the main tourist route for mountain climbing and hikes through the park.

The promotion of beekeeping and the growth of woodlots for wood fuel are examples of strategies to support local livelihoods and alleviate the pressure of unsustainable resource use within the park. For example, the Bunyangabu Beekeepers Community is an NGO in Kabarole District, which promotes sustainable beekeeping among farmers and provides access to external markets for the sale of honey. Furthermore, policies developed in cooperation with local farmers to mitigate the effects of problem wild animals and protect livestock from thieves would reduce the impacts of some of the external factors on the farmers' livelihoods.

Finally, all the surveyed households located adjacent to the park boundaries were the Bakonzo people. The Rwenzori are central to the historical, social, political, economic and spiritual life of the Bakonzo (Stacey, 1996). It is important that any policies put in place to manage Rwenzori Mountains National Park should consider the Bakonzo and the value of their knowledge of managing natural resources. Adequate representation of Bakonzo in the CPAIs and Park Management Advisory Committee is essential to promote local partnerships in conservation.

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Managing World Heritage sites as a tool for development in Ethiopia: the need for sustainable tourism in Lalibela

Elene Negussie and Getu Assefa Wondimu

Introduction

With a population of approximately 79 million, Ethiopia is in economic terms one of the poorest countries in the world, with 78 per cent of its large and rapidly growing population living on less than US\$2 per day. Ranking 169 out of 177 countries on the UNDP Human Development Index, and 105 out of 108 countries on the Human Poverty Index (UNDP, 2007a), its development indicators are significantly worse than the average for sub-Saharan Africa, the poorest region in the world.

However, Ethiopia has a wealth of cultural and natural heritage which has the potential to attract both international and domestic tourists. If correctly used and managed this can be utilized as a significant resource for economic development. Heritage is increasingly recognized as a tool for economic development, partly due to its inherent capacity as a tourism generating activity. International strategies to achieve the United Nations' poverty reducing Millennium Development Goals to be achieved by 2015, have embraced the link between culture and development (UNDP, 2007b). UNESCO plays a leading role in promoting such strategies through its Programme for Culture and Development and its promotion of World Heritage sites. In Ethiopia, the government aims to make the country one of the top ten tourist destinations in Africa by 2020, by utilizing heritage assets with the view to maximize the poverty-reducing impacts of tourism and transform the image of the country.

Nevertheless, while tourism may contribute to socio-economic development, it can also lead to irreversible damage and loss of cultural environments and inestimable heritage resources. This stems from an inherent conflict between the use of heritage as a cultural resource and heritage as an economic resource (Graham et al., 2000). For example, commodification of cultural heritage into products for the tourism industry may lead to the erosion of their intrinsic value as cultural manifestations (Pedersen, 2002). Therefore, a key issue to consider is how to balance tourism with sustainable heritage conservation. Poor countries and local communities are particularly vulnerable to the adverse impact of tourism on heritage sites. This vulnerability has been noted in several sub-Saharan African countries where there is a need

to prioritize 'long-term development of effective conservation measures' through inclusive and sustainable capacity-building efforts (Breen, 2007).

This chapter discusses opportunities and challenges of tourism development at World Heritage sites in the Ethiopian context and the need to establish integrated management plans to ensure their proper protection through participatory means in order to achieve sustainable development. Furthermore, it discusses heritage tourism in a development context and explores benefits for the local population at the monolithic Rock-Hewn Churches, Lalibela, dating from the late 12th century and listed by UNESCO in 1978 as one of the first twelve World Heritage sites. It draws on a pilot research study which examined tourism management based on a triangulation of perspectives, including heritage site conservation, local community benefit and tourist satisfaction (Assefa Wondimu, 2007). Such an approach embraces the idea of sustainable development resting on key cornerstones such as environmental conservation, including both natural and cultural dimensions, social progress and economic development. While sustainable development can be viewed from a multitude of perspectives and against a myriad of priorities, successful management strategies for World Heritage sites must address conservation as the overriding goal while also seeking to balance tourism needs and local community benefits.

Cultural heritage and tourism in a development context

The relevance of cultural heritage as a tool for development is increasingly recognized and utilized in strategies to reduce poverty. The World Bank, UN agencies and national governments alike have incorporated into their development agendas the notion that heritage constitutes a cultural asset which can be used to achieve socio-economic development. National trust funds have been established within international donor and lending agencies to achieve development through culture. For example, the UNDP/Spain Millennium Development Goals Achievement Fund (MDG-F) was established in 2007 in order to channel an amount of €528 million towards key Millennium Development Goals (MDG) over a period of four years through the UN system. The MDG-F seeks to address key development challenges central to the achievement of the MDGs, stipulated in the Millennium Declaration as a means to reduce world

poverty (UN, 2000), and related development goals including the integration of culture and development (UNDP, 2007b). The idea is that 'culture can clearly facilitate economic growth through job creation, tourism and the cultural industries' with culture as an economic sector for production, consumption and access (UNDP, 2007c).

Furthermore, national governments and agencies have sponsored cultural heritage as a subsidiary part of bilateral development projects to alleviate poverty, particularly in relation to World Heritage sites. For example, the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) has worked in partnership with heritage organizations in order to integrate preservation with development assistance in developing countries, for example renovations of the Stone Town of Zanzibar (United Republic of Tanzania) and the Old Royal Palace of Luang Prabang (Lao People's Democratic Republic). Furthermore, through its promotion of World Heritage sites, UNESCO has become an important actor in capacity-building efforts linked to heritage management in a development context. While its World Heritage Fund provides international assistance towards World Heritage sites on request by any of the States Parties to the *World Heritage Convention* (e.g. for technical cooperation, training or emergency assistance) such assistance is particularly significant for heritage preservation in developing countries. ICCROM has likewise undertaken capacity-building partnership projects such as Africa 2009, a training strategy especially for cultural heritage expertise in African countries.

In the Ethiopian context, the World Bank granted a loan in 2002 for a cultural heritage project to enable the Ethiopian Government in its efforts to achieve cultural heritage conservation through site planning, conservation of historic buildings and sites (e.g. the medieval castles of Gondar), the development of heritage inventories and preservation of crafts-based activities in order to maximize the tourism potential. Furthermore, UNESCO has promoted an international campaign to safeguard the principal monuments and sites of Ethiopia, in partnership with the Ethiopian Government, including implementation of the reinstallation of the Aksum obelisk and a shelters project to protect the Rock-Hewn Churches, Lalibela (see below).

Tourism plays a key role in the utilization of heritage resources for economic development. For instance, with agriculturally based livelihoods and extremely low levels of other income in Ethiopia (UNDP, 2007a), the link between tourism and poverty reduction has been recognized by the Ethiopian Government. Tourism is one of the focal sectors of its plan for accelerated and sustained development to end poverty 2006–2010 (MoFED, 2005). However, unless properly managed, tourism can contribute to irreversible damage and destruction of heritage resources. As economic gain is seen as a priority most poor countries are especially vulnerable to such effects. Thus, while optimizing the link between culture and tourism, there is a need to acknowledge the tension between the use of heritage as a cultural resource and as an economic

resource. Graham et al. (2000) suggest that 'a growing commercial heritage industry is commodifying pasts into heritage products and experiences for sale as part of a modern consumption of entertainment'. In this process, the authentic value of heritage as a bank of knowledge, history and culture may be compromised or even destroyed.

In order to come to terms with the negative effects of tourism, sustainable heritage tourism frameworks seek to address issues relating to authenticity, interpretation, access and equity, with planning and management methods which ensure acceptable limits of use, restricted access to sensitive sites through zoning and participation of both local communities and tourists in responsibility for heritage sites (Timothy and Boyd, 2003). New methods of financing heritage must also be introduced in order to restore, maintain and present heritage sites, for example by ensuring that a share of the income generated from visitors to World Heritage site is channelled to meet such costs. Sustainable heritage tourism needs to consider three main perspectives: site conservation, the local community and tourist needs. The empowerment of local communities to participate in planning and management of the site is crucial in order to enable them to share in the economic benefits of tourism. This also helps to foster responsibility and a sense of ownership which has a positive effect on conservation.

Tourism and World Heritage sites in Ethiopia

As far as tourism is concerned, Ethiopia has a wealth of cultural and natural resources, ranging from medieval castles, ancient churches and monasteries, archaeological sites, historic towns and monuments, traditional cultures and festivals, to various fascinating landscape features. Along with Tunisia, it has the highest number of World Heritage sites in Africa, including seven cultural sites, one natural site, and three proposed sites on the Tentative List. Most of these were inscribed in the first implementation phase of the *World Heritage Convention* between 1979 to 1980, for example Aksum, Gondar, Lalibela and the Lower Valley of the Omo. However, Harar Jugol, the Fortified Historic Town, was inscribed in 2006. According to the World Tourism Organization, given the international significance of the country's cultural and natural heritage resources, Ethiopia is underperforming in the tourism market. This is partly due to the country having struggled with famine, civil war and political instability, which has diminished opportunities for international tourism.

A tourism industry was established relatively early in an African context, with significant steps taken to create a tourism sector during the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie. During the 1960s, tourist arrivals grew at a yearly rate of 12 per cent. By 1961, tourism was considered a key economic growth sector and in 1966 a tourism development master plan was developed. Guided by this plan, the government invested heavily in tourism infrastructure in the subsequent decades, including Ethiopian Airlines routes

with both international and domestic access, airfields and hotels at key tourism sites, and the establishment of the National Tourism Operation (NTO) as a tourist agency. The 'Historic Route' was established as a main tourist attraction, including visits to the historic sites of Aksum, Gondar and Lalibela facilitated by Ethiopian Airlines.

During the communist regime in the 1970s and 1980s, in spite of investments in tourism infrastructure, the tourism industry suffered from the adverse effects of a prolonged civil war, recurrent drought and famine, strained government relations with non-socialist tourist-generating countries, and restrictions on entry and free movement of tourists. The tourism sector has remained almost entirely Ethiopian-owned, either by government, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church or the private sector. This closed and relatively controlled system seems to have slowed down the development of the industry. For example, in 1998, the total number of international tourist arrivals in Ethiopia was 112,000 (Figure 1), while in Kenya the equivalent figure was 857,000. Furthermore, the contribution of the tourism sector towards the GDP from international tourists was only 0.5 per cent compared with 2.0 per cent in Kenya (ETC, 2002).

With the increasing use of World Heritage sites as a means of achieving economic development through tourism, proper management of these is imperative.

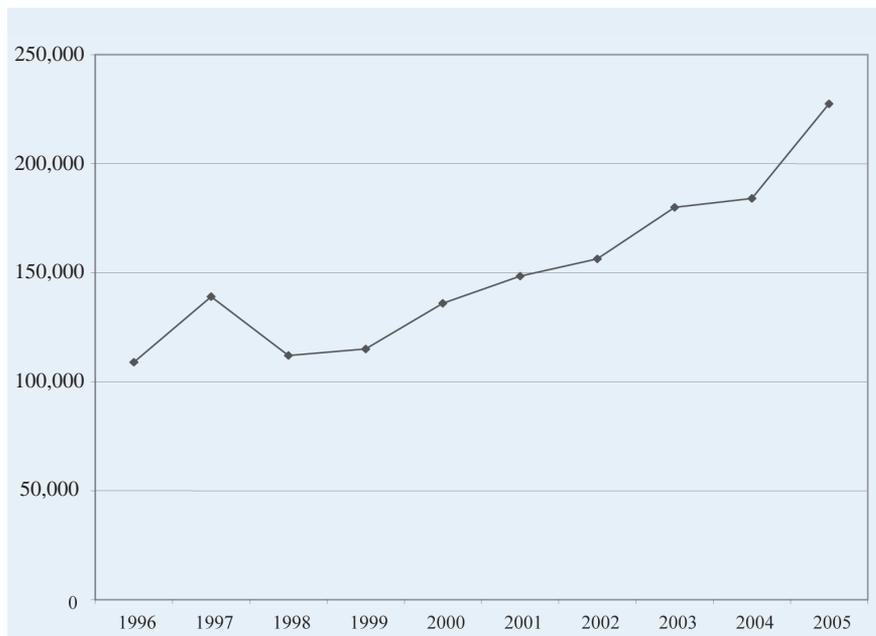


Figure 1: The growth of international tourist arrivals in Ethiopia, 1996–2005.

Source: Ministry of Culture and Tourism (2005).

The establishment of management plans for World Heritage sites is a compulsory requirement under the *World Heritage Convention*. The *Operational Guidelines* stipulate that 'each nominated property should have an appropriate management plan or other documented management system which should specify how the outstanding universal value of a property should be preserved, preferably through participatory means' (WHC, 2005). To date, all of Ethiopia's eight World Heritage sites, including Lalibela, lack such plans and a proper management system. Nevertheless, progress has been made in the development of management plans for sites placed on the Tentative List (e.g. the palaeo-anthropological site of Konso) since this has become a requirement for new inscriptions on the World Heritage List. Furthermore, the establishment of inclusive management plan processes has become a focus for recent capacity-building efforts.¹

Lalibela World Heritage site

The eleven monolithic Rock-Hewn Churches, Lalibela, date from the late 12th century and were one of the first twelve sites to be inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1978. Lalibela was nominated as a cultural site based on the first three of the six criteria defining cultural properties under the *World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO, 1972). Already in the early 16th century, the Portuguese traveller Francisco Alvarez, the first foreigner known to have visited

the churches, described them as creations 'the like of which cannot be found in the world' (Pankhurst, 1960). He also wrote 'I am weary of writing more about these buildings, because it seems to me that I shall not be believed if I write more ... I swear by God, in Whose power I am, that all I have written is the truth' (Beckingham and Huntingford, 1961).

The town of Lalibela was founded by King Lalibela during the time of the Zagwe dynasty which ruled over Ethiopia from the eleventh to the mid-thirteenth centuries after power shifted southward with the decline of the Aksumite Empire (Hable Selassie, 1972). Originally called Roha, the town was renamed Lalibela after the king's death to honour his achievement

¹ For example, UNESCO Capacity-Building Workshop for Site Management of the Aksum World Heritage site in 2008 and proposed partnership project between the World Heritage management programme of University College Dublin and the Ethiopian authority for research on conservation and cultural heritage.

of having excavated the rock-hewn churches. The monolithic churches were carved out of red volcanic tuff and were the most architecturally advanced buildings to be found in Ethiopia at the time of their construction. The reason for their construction is usually described as a result of Lalibela's desire to build a New Jerusalem in Ethiopia (Hable Selassie, 1972).

The architecture of the churches is thought to have been influenced by the early Aksumite architecture. As Lindahl (1970) puts it they were 'designed to be more Aksumite than the Aksumite itself' (Photo 1). Each building is architecturally unique with beautiful craftsmanship, and some are decorated with interesting wall paintings and carved figures. The churches are divided into two main groups dissected by a small seasonal stream called River Jordan, the first group consisting of six churches and the second group of four churches, connected through a system of tunnels, passages and courtyards. In addition to this is a single isolated church named Giorgis, or St George (Pankhurst, 2005) (Photo 2).



Photo 1: Monolithic rock-hewn church with features resembling Aksumite style.

The churches also have a wealth of ecclesiastical objects, most of them dating to the same period as the churches themselves, including processional crosses, bells and chandeliers of gold and silver, priestly vestments, robes and turbans, ceremonial umbrellas, as well as church paintings, icons, scrolls and manuscripts (Photo 3). Among these are King Lalibela's own hand cross and prayer stick which bear witness to his priesthood.



Photo 2: The Giorgis Church at Lalibela: excavated in Greek crucifix form and 12 m in length, width and height.

Lalibela is a living heritage, constituting monuments with which the local population associates itself in a participatory way, both in a residential and a spiritual sense. The church buildings, ecclesiastical objects, religious rites and festivities form part of the daily life of the local community (Photo 4). It is also the most prominent pilgrimage place for believers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Particularly important ceremonies are the Ethiopian Christmas (*Genna*) and the Epiphany (*Timkat*), attended by a large number of domestic and foreign visitors and the inhabitants of Lalibela. These intangible aspects contribute significantly to its value as a unique historic and religious site. Another noteworthy feature in Lalibela is the vernacular residential houses (*tukuls*) built of irregular rubble bedded in clay mortar with conical and traditionally thatched roofs. These are round two-storey structures with a solid outside staircase leading to the upper floor (Photo 5) many of which are poorly protected and preserved, despite their cultural significance.



Photo 3: Priest holding one of many old crosses stored in the churches.

The site of the Rock-Hewn Churches, Lalibela, is owned and administered by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which is credited with safeguarding a significant share of the country's movable and immovable cultural heritage. However, as a World Heritage site the State Party, represented by the authority for research on conservation and cultural heritage, has a shared responsibility for conservation and management of the site. In Lalibela, the church community members, 478 in number, all earn their living from the income generated from visitors' fees. Nevertheless, with the objective of increasing tourism it will be necessary to secure a share of visitors' fees for site conservation in the future in order to lessen dependency on external funding.

There are both actual and potential threats to monuments, objects and intangible dimensions of Lalibela's cultural heritage. A number of human-induced threats which can lead to total destruction and loss of cultural heritage have been identified, such as theft and illicit trade of cultural objects, vandalism and fire hazard. Other threats have a gradual impact such as uncontrolled construction and land-use, sanitation problems, environmental degradation caused by cutting trees, deterioration by age, and lack of appropriate maintenance. Some of the threats are directly exacerbated by tourism, such as damage to church paintings caused by camera flashes and erosive effects of shoes on flooring, pavements and steps. According to the Church, the spiritual value associated with the site is also threatened due to a shift towards a more materialistic and foreign-influenced culture. Such influences may have an adverse impact on the traditional values of the site.

In terms of naturally caused threats, erosion and water infiltration to the church buildings due to heavy rainfall, together with cracks from inherent faults in the stone and stresses from the carving, chemical phenomena such as the presence of salts as an efflorescence on the surface and as concretions under the surface, as well as biological phenomena such as microbiological attack and human factors, have had negative impact on the rock churches causing disintegration.

Several attempts have been made to protect and restore the churches in the past, although some of the early interventions are considered to have damaged the buildings. For example, the application of a bituminous layer to the external surface in 1954 halted the natural breathing of the rock and made it brittle. This prompted an initiative to remove this layer and that became the first restoration project sponsored by the World Monuments Fund from 1966 to 1972. More recently, an European Union funded project has been implemented by UNESCO to build temporary shelters for five of the Rock-Hewn Churches in order to protect them from rainfall and erosion (Photo 6).



Photo 4: Living heritage: priests gathering outside one of the churches.

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Photo 5: Vernacular two-storey residences (*tukuls*) at Lalibela.

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Photo 6: Shelters to protect the churches from rainfall.

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Photo 7: Young girl selling distinctive local leather crosses at Lalibela.

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Photo 8: Traditional cotton weaving techniques.

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Lalibela is a small and poor mountain town located in the northern part of Ethiopia. The physical landscape is characterized by a rugged topography on a mountainside in a picturesque setting at an altitude of 2,630 m. Located in the centre of the town, the Rock-Hewn Churches are surrounded by densely built residential areas. The main means of income for the local community is directly or indirectly related to tourism.

While tourism is considered as the main actual and potential source of income, there is a need to diversify economic opportunities and tourism benefits, such as

through earnings from handicraft sales (Photo 7) and tourist recreation. Besides visiting the churches, activities for tourists are limited, the average length of stay being three days including the days of arrival and departure. Nevertheless, there are signs of improvements in this regard with a new visitors' centre under construction. Furthermore, there are also initiatives to help develop crafts-based activities to mitigate poverty, for example a partnership project between the Ethiopian Government, UNESCO and the Japanese Funds-in-Trust to help artisan farmers to develop traditional artefacts and techniques (Photo 8).

As concerns local community benefit from tourism, a number of issues have been raised by members of the local community. As revealed by a questionnaire survey (Assefa Wondimu, 2007), residents in Lalibela tended to strongly agree that the local community is benefiting from tourism mainly through infrastructural development and job creation, and thus general improvements in quality of life. In terms of infrastructure, the majority of respondents believed that tourism has a positive influence on community services, including increased numbers of schools and health centres, as well as improved electricity, telecommunications and public transportation. In general, respondents selected schools as relatively the most satisfying while drinking water was selected as the most dissatisfying among the infrastructural developments.

In terms of job creation, residents explained that tourism brings benefits through employment in tourism industries and increases the number of small-scale businesses, such as restaurants, bars and shops, and also that tourism enhances markets for handicraft products. In particular, residents strongly agreed that work as local guides at the World Heritage site offers good job opportunities for the residents. The survey results, however, suggested a gender inequality in job opportunities, male respondents expressing higher levels of satisfaction with job and training opportunities. Furthermore, employment in conservation works was also considered as a positive influence of tourism in Lalibela. Areas in which lower levels of satisfaction were expressed included jobs in recreation and entertainment, transportation and large business enterprises.

However, although residents strongly agreed that tourism had a positive impact on the local economy, they also agreed that it had a negative impact from a social and environmental point of view. For example, the residents stated that tourism exacerbates community problems such as litter, lack of sanitation, crime, begging, school drop-outs and the spread of HIV. Nevertheless, most of these impacts are not directly connected to tourists. Rather, these problems are aggravated by those who seek to gain short-term profits from the tourism industry.

Conclusion

To conclude, cultural heritage is increasingly preserved and promoted as a tool for development. In this context, the discussion focused on the significance of World Heritage sites in Ethiopia, and the benefits of tourism for the local community at the Lalibela World Heritage site. Other dimensions of cultural heritage may also be applied in a development context, for example the repatriation of cultural objects such as the Aksum obelisk, and cultural industries such as crafts development. The increasing commitment to cultural heritage in strategies for international development is linked to the idea that investment in infrastructure and human capital are keys to sustainable development and long-term reduction of poverty. There is also an increasingly established view that cultural heritage resources can be commercialized and sold as products for consumption as part of the tourism industry.

While the link between culture, tourism and development is crucial in economic strategies for local community development, it is necessary to recognize the potential conflict between uses of heritage as cultural and economic resources. In the context of World Heritage sites, the compulsory establishment of an integrated management plan constitutes an opportunity for the negotiation of such conflicts. A balance needs to be achieved between the use of heritage as an economic asset and heritage as a cultural resource, without compromising preservation or sustainable development.

The case of Lalibela showed that tourism and development associated with its legitimacy as a site of outstanding international importance has led to both positive and negative impacts for the local community. On the one hand, Lalibela has experienced economic growth reflected in infrastructural developments and job creation with an increased number of small-scale businesses related to the tourism industry. This has in turn had a knock-on effect on agricultural demands. Nevertheless, tourism has also exacerbated social problems such as litter, lack of sanitation, water shortages, crimes, begging and youngsters dropping out of school. Furthermore, it has put increased pressure on both tangible and intangible heritage resources.

What is needed is a sustainable strategy which takes a holistic approach to conservation, tourism and local community development. In a development context, capacity-building efforts for managing heritage should be based on inclusive methods which support long-term development of management capacities. Lalibela is one of the most popular tourist destinations in Ethiopia and its share from international tourist arrivals to the country is increasing. Thus the adoption of an integrated management plan for the Lalibela site is a key to its future conservation and enhancement. The management plan should identify opportunities, objectives and a long-term vision for the site. Based on stakeholder participation and interdisciplinary collaboration, it needs to strike a balance between conservation, access, local community interests and sustainable economic use. Nevertheless, the primary objective of the management plan is to ensure preservation of the site and its outstanding universal value.

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Poverty alleviation through World Heritage conservation: encouraging corporate partnerships at Temple of Preah Khan, Angkor

Fiona Starr

Introduction

Numerous examples of cultural heritage sites around the world demonstrate the positive effects of the associated tourism on the social and economic growth of local communities, particularly in developing countries. Cultural heritage tourism is therefore well recognized as a catalyst for poverty alleviation and sustainable development. However, numerous negative effects are also evident at sites where mass tourism has caused unsustainable growth in the surrounding area. An alternative means for heritage to influence more sustainable development in surrounding communities, is through the capacity-building nature of conservation projects. Jobs are created for local people, and training is provided to enable the future independent management of sites, empowering local people and contributing to poverty alleviation. This chapter presents a case study of the World Monuments Fund conservation programme at Preah Khan, Angkor (Cambodia), showing how ten years of privately-funded conservation work has created jobs and equipped the local community for the future management of the site. In light of the ongoing need for secure sources of conservation funding, this case study demonstrates how such projects have immediate sustainable development impacts, and are therefore ideal for corporate funding partnerships. Through corporate social responsibility (CSR) programmes, many companies seek to have an impact on sustainable development, and use this rationale when selecting such projects to support.

Heritage tourism creates direct employment – in hotels, restaurants, tour companies, construction trades, transport and retail, and also ‘induced’ employment (Cukier, 2002) through local residents re-spending the additional money they have earned. However, heritage conservation projects also create direct employment and present opportunities for redistribution of capital, rather than relying on tourism as the only means by which heritage can influence economic development. Conservation projects create direct employment for conservators, architects, archaeologists, engineers, maintenance staff and workers. Secondary economic

benefits can also result for the local community, since a conserved site is made available as a sustainable income source for present and future generations. A well-preserved and interpreted heritage site that encourages tourists to stay longer and spend more, will also provide increased economic benefits for the community.

Many conservation projects focus on the stabilization of archaeological or built remains and, particularly in developing countries, expertise, equipment and materials are often imported to the site. However, such a strategy can be at the expense of local community development. While local people may not possess the necessary conservation expertise, they have the capacity to learn such skills, and to provide resources and labour for projects. As Greffe (2004) points out, in order for local areas to profit substantially from their cultural resources, they must be self-sufficient and train local people, without having to introduce external resources. Conservation projects, such as the LEAP (Local Effort And Preservation) programme pioneered by UNESCO in the Asia Pacific region, successfully acts in this way, empowering local people to play a leading role in the management of preservation, providing training in skills vital to the ongoing conservation and management of sites, and building a sense of stewardship among residents. The global fieldwork of the World Monuments Fund (WMF) also clearly demonstrates this involvement of conservation projects in promoting economic regeneration, particularly the WMF work at Angkor (Cambodia).

Angkor is a vast Hindu-Buddhist temple complex constructed by the various Khmer empires between the ninth and fifteenth centuries AD, and is perhaps the best-known and most visited World Heritage site in Asia. The principal and most famous temple is Angkor Wat, but the 400 km² World Heritage site is scattered with over a thousand temples of a range of sizes and designs, surrounded by dense forests and farmland. Many of the temples are decorated with elaborate Hindu and Buddhist stone carvings such as *Apsara* (celestial nymphs) and *Naga* (many-headed serpents). The major temples are surrounded by moats and built in a pyramidal or mountain design representing the mythical Mount Meru. None of the non-religious buildings have survived, but Angkor could have once supported a population of 1 million people.

From 1907, French archaeologists with the *École Française d'Extrême-Orient* began excavation and documentation of the temples, but this ceased with the outbreak of war in the 1970s and the subsequent takeover of the country by the Khmer Rouge. Angkor then suffered from looting, warfare and lack of maintenance and more than 1,100 Cambodian site managers and workers at Angkor disappeared during the genocide (Stubbs, 1996), leaving an expertise and knowledge gap among the surviving population. Conservation work resumed after the war, and since 1993 work has been coordinated by French and Japanese teams and by UNESCO's International Coordinating Committee on the safeguarding and development of the historic site of Angkor.

Tourism in Cambodia

After Angkor was added to the World Heritage List in 1992, some adventurous tourists began to visit, with just 7,650 the following year. Today, tourism is booming, with almost 900,000 tickets being sold in 2006, worth US\$25 million (Smith, 2007). Over 1.7 million international visitors arrived in Cambodia in 2007, most of whom visited Angkor for only a few days (Ministry of Tourism, 2008), and 3 million visitors are expected in 2010.

Siem Reap province, surrounding Angkor, is home to thousands of displaced people, relocated there since the civil war. Despite the local development due to tourism, Siem Reap still has one of the highest rates of poverty in Cambodia, with 54 per cent of residents living on less than 50 US cents per day (De Lopez, 2006). The protected zones of the archaeological park are home to over 100,000 residents (Fletcher et al., 2007), most of whom are descendants of the original Angkorian population. Their villages are also characterized by poverty and underdevelopment, with lack of access to water, sanitation, education, energy, dwellings, and assets. There are vast wealth inequalities, lack of community participation and local development is uneven (Winter, 2007).

A recent survey of local residents (De Lopez, 2006) found that 40 per cent of households rely entirely on tourism for their income, but 80 per cent of villagers and souvenir vendors agreed that tourism has made little or no improvement to their lives. Respondents had an average income of US\$55 per month, and 43 per cent of adults were illiterate. About one third of all houses were built with thatched roofs and walls, with 53 per cent of households building a fire to cook food, and 29 per cent using bucket stoves for cooking. In the absence of an electricity grid, sources of lighting included accumulators (charged by door-to-door battery chargers that use diesel engines) (32 per cent) and oil lamps (88 per cent).

Unofficial estimates say that international tourism to Cambodia in 2005 probably generated over US\$1.3 billion in output, US\$800 million in domestic income, US\$139 million in government revenue, and sustained over 150,000 jobs (Dao, 2006). It has been recognized however, that this revenue is benefiting only a small number of individuals rather than the country's disadvantaged groups,

and that tourism is having negative impacts for the local community (Dao, 2006; Serey, 2006; Winter, 2006). There is substantial economic leakage of tourism expenditures (40 per cent or more), and the linkages between tourism and other sectors of the economy are weak. Food is imported, souvenirs are made in China and Thailand and some tours, hotels and restaurants are run by foreign companies (Tyler, 2007). Access to natural resources has decreased, some villagers have been displaced and some traditional activities have been abandoned (Luco, 2006).

Despite its contribution to wealth inequalities, tourism is recognized as an integral part of the country's development strategy, as it stimulates foreign direct investment and local incomes through job creation in construction, transport and the service sectors (Ballard, 2003). The Authority for the Protection and Management of Angkor and the Region of Siem Reap (APSARA) estimated that as many as 1,000 people from nearby villages found employment in construction, and APSARA itself employs about 800 people as guards, cleaners and grounds maintenance, renovators and staff. Of the guards and cleaners working in Angkor, 90 per cent live in the villages located in or near the park, as APSARA has a hiring policy that prefers park residents. Over the past two decades, millions of dollars have been donated by more than twenty countries for restoration and archaeological research, however it was later recognized that this focus was neglecting issues of local socio-economic development. As Winter (2007) argues, the 'living heritage' values of the site have been largely ignored, by policies focused on structural conservation and tourism. Also, while the international heritage community regards tourism as causing unsustainable development which threatens the future of Angkor, the Cambodian Government sees Angkor tourism as a 'cash cow' that can provide socio-economic development and livelihood opportunities in post-conflict Cambodia. As this chapter discusses, conservation activities may provide development benefits that are more sustainable in comparison with those provided by the existing tourism infrastructure. While monthly tourism incomes vary according to seasonal fluctuations of tourist numbers, well-financed conservation jobs, as discussed below, can provide consistent economic resources and jobs. The sustainable benefits of conservation projects can bring together the agendas of both the heritage community and development-focused governments.

World Monuments Fund Project

In 1989, the WMF undertook one of the first field missions to Angkor and in 1991 returned to begin a conservation and training programme that continues today at Preah Khan, and other monuments within the park. Preah Khan, one of the most significant monuments at Angkor, is a Buddhist monastic complex, commissioned by Jayavarman VII (c. 1181–1219) and built in 1191. Constructed from sandstone and laterite using dry masonry in large blocks, the complex has four concentric walls enclosing a labyrinth of shrines, courts, halls, and pavilions, covering 56 hectares, with the outer wall protected by seventy-

two sculpted mythical winged *Garudas*. The invasion of vegetation and erosion caused by high humidity have both contributed to structural failure, and war, hurricanes, drainage problems, theft, and construction defects, have also left the complex in desperate need of help.

The principal objective of the WMF programme has been to train a new generation of Khmer craftspeople and professionals to replace those who were lost during the war, allow the local community to fully engage with the project, promote economic self-sufficiency, and build local capacity through training and education. WMF's philosophy at Angkor is based on a double challenge, 'to preserve a magnificent heritage site and to ensure that its Cambodian custodians possess the expertise required for its care and management' (WMF, 1991).

A lack of historical data and the substantial preservation work required meant that the ruined complex of Preah Khan was to be stabilized and preserved as a 'partial ruin'. WMF developed a methodology for structural stabilization and architectural conservation of the temple, and undertook protection of fragile stonework, clearing, restoration, and construction of an interpretive exhibition hut. Before beginning any stabilization work or reconstruction of collapsed structures, all stones were measured and drawn to scale, and then individually numbered to allow for accurate reconstruction. Cleaning tests were conducted, copper sulfate solution was applied to the cleaned areas as a biocide and stone preservatives were also tested and applied (WMF, 1994).

As with all its projects, WMF aimed to use locally available materials and equipment (except stainless steel and epoxide), and simple techniques and methods of implementation that conform to local conditions and capabilities of the local work force (Sanday et al., 2001). Failed beams, cracked columns, and load-bearing vaults were strengthened with steel bars and belting. The technology used was low cost and mechanical equipment was kept to a minimum, using only steel scaffolding and block and tackle hoists with hydraulic jacks to move stones (Stubbs, 2005).

All projects at Preah Khan have been staffed and managed by Cambodian architects, archaeologists, engineers and other workers, all part of a team of approximately seventy workers trained on-site in restoration crafts and conservation technology (Photos 1 and 2). In 1992, twenty-five students from the Department of Architecture and Archaeology at the Royal University of Fine Arts, Phnom Penh, began training in the history of Angkor, the philosophy of building conservation, general survey methodologies, and archaeology. These students assisted with the planning and supervision of works at the site. Seven of these students later joined the WMF team to study heritage conservation, by working and studying at Preah Khan, spending four months per year for five years making survey records and receiving on-site training in conservation technology by WMF international consultants. They assisted with documentation (measuring,



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Photo 1. WMF Khmer architect and draftsmen preparing for structural consolidation of western gate, Preah Khan.

drawing), analytical studies (planning for and execution of reconstruction of repaired masonry), project management (day-to-day site maintenance and conservation operations), and design and construction supervision. Up to fourteen graduate students in architecture and archaeology participated each year in the WMF missions. Over twenty students have directly benefited from the experience, and many have since been employed by the project and become largely responsible for the ongoing work.



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Photo 2. WMF team constructing scaffolding for emergency consolidation of western gate, Preah Khan.

In addition to this highly specialized training, the project also employed a workforce of craftsmen and labourers, as many as 110 people in 1992, but reduced in subsequent years. The workforce consisted of three stone work teams, three labourer/clearance teams, a carpentry team, a blacksmith team, and guardians/storekeepers (WMF, 1997). Each team consisted of about seven men under a *sous-chef de chantier* (foreman) and all received on-site training, giving them a diverse range of skills for the ongoing management of the temple complex, including vegetation removal, recovery of half-buried fallen stones, hoist lifting of 3 ton lintels and epoxy gluing.

WMF staff at Preah Khan are paid using a graded wage scale, and the organization supports the payment of fair wages to all workers employed at historic structures within the Angkor region, recognizing their skills and experience. During field campaign III (1994), the assistant manager earned US\$380 per month, the *chef de chantier* earned US\$100 per month, the *sous chef de chantier* earning US\$60, the administration assistant earned US\$40 and the site guardian US\$28. Team workers were paid daily - the *chefs de groupe* earned 4,500 riels (US\$1.10) per day, *ouvriers* (workmen) earned 4,000 riels (US\$1), and *flottants* (casual workmen) 3,500 riels (US\$0.85) (WMF, 1995). Even in 2006, the average daily income for 54 per cent of residents near Angkor was less than 50 US cents (De Lopez, 2006), so the wages during 1995 were considerably higher than the average Cambodian income at the time.

In addition to work at Preah Khan, WMF has in recent years conducted work on the main gallery at the intermediate level of Angkor Wat, at the temple of Ta Som, and at the remote temple complex of Banteay Chhmar. Khmer architects and archaeologists who have worked previously with WMF and specialists at the APSARA Authority are playing a prominent role in this ongoing work. For example, a technical proposal for Ta Som was completed by Cambodian members of the WMF project team in 2000, based on the model developed at Preah Khan, including site documentation, an emergency stabilization programme, and an inventory of all the fallen decorated stonework. The WMF team then began conservation including structural repairs, allowing greater access for visitors (WMF, 2004).

The Siem Reap office of WMF currently employs forty-four locally-sourced contract staff: thirty involved with conservation, six in documentation, four in management, two archaeologists and two office staff (von zur Mühlen, personal communication, 2008). Most were trained by WMF and some were trained by other conservation organizations working at Angkor, demonstrating the sustainable benefits of conservation training, through transfer of conservation skills to jobs with other organizations.

The consolidation of the Preah Khan complex has made the structure more secure for years to come, and the training and employment of local people as labourers, stonemasons, caretakers, architects, and archaeologists has had capacity-building effects, allowing for skilled

management of the historic site into the future, providing jobs and reliable incomes which contributes to the onward flow of foreign capital into the local community. In addition, the work has used local resources and has enabled longer-term use of the site as a tourism resource, also assisting in bringing foreign exchange into the local area, and acting as a catalyst for much needed post-conflict social and economic regeneration.

For the people of the Angkor region, and for Cambodians everywhere, Angkor is a source of cultural identity and pride. Conservation of the temples therefore contributes to national pride and social reconstruction and development, as one Cambodian stated, 'Angkor is Cambodia's history. It is the pride of our country. It is important for the Cambodian people to see what our ancestors have built... ' (Winter, 2007). Another man noted that 'Cambodians need to be proud of their heritage ... it is important for them to see Angkor rebuilt, it gives strength to our poor country'.

Community-based approaches to conservation are essential at living heritage sites such as Angkor, as the livelihood of local communities is influenced by the economic potential of the site. Economic linkages must be created between local resources and the international- or corporate-funded conservation projects. Budgets must be used in ways that reduce economic leakages and import of resources and personnel, allowing for secondary uses of the foreign capital in helping villages to finance shared access to electricity, water, sanitation, communication, health and education, roads, public spaces, and overall raising of living standards. As Luco (2006) notes, 'Development cannot proceed in a sustainable manner unless the local communities are involved in the management of World Heritage sites'.

Since 1993, conservation of the temples of Angkor has been funded by millions of dollars donated by over twenty countries, which have organizations and national research teams working within different areas of the park. In the same manner as the Preah Khan programme, these conservation projects trained a new generation of Khmer specialist historians, archaeologists, architects, stonemasons, sculptors, and craftsmen, in addition to employing perhaps thousands of unskilled labourers from the local area and providing reliable income for local families. However, for many lesser-known World Heritage sites, government funds and international attention is more limited than at Angkor, so it is essential that such sites attract corporate support, allowing for foreign private funds to assist developing countries with what is lacking at the local level.

The work of the WMF at Preah Khan has been sustained by substantial private funding, a key financial partner being the American Express Foundation. Through the Partners for Preservation Program, the WMF secured US\$5 million from American Express to safeguard the world's most precious cultural heritage sites. This represents only the latest contribution from this company, which for over a decade has supported the WMF. In 1995, American Express was the founding sponsor of the

World Monuments Watch List, and has since contributed US\$10 million, which has assisted in leveraging US\$150 million from other sources (WMF, 2005/06), for the preservation of 126 sites in 62 countries.

Through support of conservation projects such as Preah Khan, American Express has created livelihood opportunities for local communities, while also demonstrating its concern for the impacts of tourism on heritage, an industry that produces substantial revenue for the company. Preah Khan is an exemplary case study of the immediate sustainable development benefits that may be brought to a community through privately-funded conservation work, and may be used as an incentive to motivate future conservation partnerships with World Heritage. As former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan said in a speech at a business action for sustainable development event '...more and more we are realizing that it is only by mobilizing the corporate sector that we can make significant progress. The corporate sector has the finances, the technology and the management to make this happen' (quoted in Wade, 2005).

Corporate social responsibility

An increasing number of CSR initiatives are supporting the preservation of World Heritage sites. Some companies provide in-kind support, such as *National Geographic's* World Heritage maps, IBM's online reconstruction of the Forbidden City in Beijing, and Japanese television station NHK which produced television documentaries, all to promote greater awareness of World Heritage sites. Other companies provide direct financing for conservation works such as the Portuguese cement company CIMPOR at the World Heritage site of the Convent of Christ in Tomar (Portugal) and Vinci, which has financed the restoration of the Hall of Mirrors in the Palace and Park of Versailles (France). Tourism operators such as Expedia offer heritage-friendly tourism packages and some mining companies demonstrate responsibility by mitigating the impacts of their activities, for example as Shell did while constructing a gas pipeline across China, cutting across the Great Wall of China. Such initiatives do not have the same direct socio-economic benefits for local communities as conservation projects that train local people, however these initiatives are vital to the preservation of World Heritage, and through creating public awareness and maintaining the sites for the future, the corporate support has indirect benefits for local communities.

By engaging in corporate social responsibility programmes, many companies acknowledge that they must play a role in community development, but many have little experience in dealing with complex community and social issues, particularly in developing countries (Miller and Butler, 2000). Through CSR, companies work beyond legal compliance and maximizing financial returns for shareholders, to address social, cultural and environmental responsibilities to the community. Elkington's 1994 phrase 'Triple Bottom Line' has come into popular usage,

implying that companies should work towards not one bottom line (profits), but three – economic, social and environmental performance. In recent years, CSR has become a central part of the international business agenda, positioning corporations as part of the solution to global problems, rather than just part of the cause.

CSR often involves cause promotion, cause-related marketing, corporate social marketing, corporate philanthropy, community volunteering and responsible business practices (Kotler and Lee, 2005). These activities are used to improve competitive advantage, align social and economic goals and improve long-term business prospects. Reputation enhancement is widely considered a primary motivation of CSR, and it is also variously influenced by the potential to achieve increased profitability, access to new markets, greater consumer loyalty, licence to operate, higher employee morale, market positioning, risk profile management, ability to attract top job candidates, improved investor relations, and sustainability (Roberts et al., 2002). Companies therefore strategically search for projects that will fulfil these objectives, considering whether their involvement will be effective both for the recipient and their own business goals.

Public-private partnerships and initiatives that fulfil these corporate objectives commonly involve approaches to achieving sustainable development by addressing some of the major problems troubling the world, including hunger and poverty, global warming and climate change, HIV/AIDS, water shortages, literacy, biodiversity, improving education resources, and environmental concerns. Through mechanisms such as the Global Reporting Initiative, companies are required to report annually on a range of impacts including carbon footprints, energy, packaging and waste-reduction efforts, recycling, charitable and community support, responsible sales and marketing. Microfinance and socially responsible investing are providing seed funding and assisting communities in developing countries to build capacity and manage their own socio-economic growth.

There is little dispute that poverty poses an urgent global problem and business leaders and commentators are all questioning how the private sector can help to transform the lives of the poor. The Millennium Development Goals, the United Nations' initiative to promote sustainable development, are providing benchmarks and driving many CSR initiatives. As demonstrated by the previous discussion of Preah Khan, MDG goals one and eight – 'Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger' and 'Develop a global partnership for development' are directly addressed by conservation projects, as they create livelihood opportunities for the local community. As Klein and Hadjimichael (2003) simply note, 'To escape from poverty, the poor need jobs', and it is through job creation that heritage conservation projects can meet the corporate objective to address issues of poverty alleviation and sustainable development. Partnerships such as those with cultural heritage sites also allow companies to draw

on complementary or additional skills, connect to new social networks, benefit from local knowledge, assist in new approaches to development, make community development efforts more sustainable, and engage governments, communities and other stakeholders.

The CSR agenda is not only central to business strategy now, but has been predicted to become a future driver of business growth. By 2050, 7 billion people will be living in the developing world, and it is these high-growth areas and emerging markets that will be the main source of growth for many multinational companies.

As Cescau (2007) argues, the companies that make a positive contribution to economic growth and poverty reduction will be better placed to grow.

Many CSR projects seem to be generally accepted by the private sector as contributing to the sustainable development cause, but while cultural heritage is often discussed within the heritage industry as a tool for sustainable development, it does not seem to be recognized yet by the private sector as such. For heritage managers to mobilize further private-sector support, the importance of the sustainable development agenda to the private sector must be considered. There must also be ongoing reporting of the poverty alleviation impacts of conservation projects, in order to give a higher profile to heritage within the corporate sustainable development agenda.

Conclusions

Heritage tourism around World Heritage sites has successfully contributed to economic development in many developed and developing countries, however as Goodwin (2007) suggests, the stark truth is that in some of the poorest places on Earth, tourism has failed to benefit the poor. Conservation projects can present an alternative use of heritage that brings more sustainable socio-economic benefits to the poor, stimulating growth and building capacity among local communities.

The example of the conservation programme at Preah Khan, Angkor, demonstrates how privately-funded projects can act as avenues for capital redistribution, through job creation, training and capacity-building. The partnership between Preah Khan and the World Monuments Fund (and its private-sector sponsors), addressed the corporate objective for engaging in projects that assist with sustainable socio-economic development, reinforcing the business case for private sector/conservation partnerships, and forming a model which may be presented to encourage the private sector to engage in partnerships. Participation in such partnerships can be considered by companies as part of corporate strategy, contributing to reputation and competitive positioning, as the outcomes of the company's investment in the project contribute directly to livelihood creation and sustainable development.

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Epilogue

Kakadu National Park: a 50,000-year-old mirage?

Visiting Kakadu National Park twice in two years is a rare privilege, for the one year in between my visits allowed a different understanding of the spirit of this special place. The year in between two Sharing Our Heritages (SOH) visits allowed for deep reflection. It made me understand that no two trips to the same place are alike for various reasons. First, one is a year older the second time around. Second, one's mental frame evolves and an interesting superposition of old and new understandings of the place occurs.

The Sharing Our Heritages programme was born in 2004 between two distant regions of the world, culturally and geographically: Australia and the European Union. A kick-off meeting was organized in Sydney in spring 2005 for faculty members. Lengthy discussions took place on how to coordinate academic credits and calendars. Administrative matters needed to be shared first.

Then the content of the programme was debated. We all agreed that there was a need to give SOH a significant added value, in order for it to be more than just another academic exchange programme among thousands of others. The idea of having a special programme within the usual exchange visits was soon expressed. Someone called it a Master Class, in the musical sense of a master transmitting first-hand knowledge to young disciples in a unique manner to transmit energy, experience, soul and heart.

An interesting concept then arose: a Master Class composed of two compulsory sessions, one in Europe and the other in Australia, to be held within six months of one another. In Europe, students would get first-hand information from programme specialists at the UNESCO World Heritage Centre. They would also have a unique opportunity to meet the Val de Loire (The Loire Valley between Sully-sur-Loire and Chalonnes, France) World Heritage site managers. In Australia, students would have access to Kakadu National Park rangers, the Traditional Owners and the Joint Management Board of the park. Both in the Val de Loire and Kakadu National Park, the role of students would consist of site visits and analysis, to be followed by practical recommendations to site managers to help them to improve their work. Both sites were selected as cultural landscapes (although Kakadu National Park was not inscribed as a cultural landscape [criteria (i), (vi), (vii), (ix) and (x)], it was considered by the group as such), which are totally different in the interaction between people and nature, and in the way their management is conceived.

The 2006 visit to Kakadu allowed me to meet for the first time Traditional Owners who are, for example, guides, rangers and members of the Joint Management Board. This encounter was a shock as it gave me an instant feeling of being connected through them to the beginnings of humanity. The site has been occupied with no interruption for at least 50,000 years, during which time people developed their traditions and way of life without significant interruptions. Despite the introduction of modernity with its four-wheel-drive cars and satellite telephones, the wisdom developed over the centuries is still in evidence. Traditional Owners know exactly the story 'behind' the meaning of each rock-art painting found in the escarpment. They learned it from their parents and grandparents through oral transmission.

Traditional Owners knew long before the European exploration where to find uranium on their territory, in the judiciously named 'Sickness' Country which they carefully avoided. Traditional Owners know exactly what they are willing to divulge and what not. What is to be kept secret and what may be 'interpreted' to visitors. It is this tension between giving and keeping that fascinated me during my first visit. It was also this unique direct connection with the descendants of the first inhabitants of this country some 50,000 years ago which was so emotional.

Being in the presence of Jacob Nayinggul was like being at the side of a living treasure. It was a privilege to listen to him. He makes you understand that if left alone in the middle of Kakadu National Park, you would have no chance of surviving for more than a few hours: how could you possibly acquire 50,000 years of intimate knowledge of seasons, storms, heat, rain, floods, patch burning, game hunting, animal print reading, birds singing, plants healing and water holes within a few hours? In listening to the old man, you realize the sum of ancestral wisdom incarnated in him. He sits in front of the group like a sphinx and I wonder: what does he think of us? For him are we perhaps just a group of privileged students and academics from Europe and Australia wishing to know more about Kakadu National Park and aspiring to make recommendations for the management of this park after just a few days' visit? Who are we to him? He would not say, as he would not make eye contact with us in the traditional polite way he was taught.

The second visit in 2007 was very different, as I realized completely how much we were indeed the Traditional Owners' guests. We went across their country, as one would be invited to walk in a neighbour's backyard. As a guest, I felt much more honoured and better understood that 'country' is so sacred for them that you need to have an invitation card, a visiting permit to go across the East Alligator River. Also, I was grateful to this country for providing us with food, water, shelter and much inspiration. However, for how long will it be capable of hosting its thousands of visitors during the dry season?

Speaking with the Traditional Owners made us understand their awareness and concern about climate change. How could they possibly continue their traditional way of life if the traditional six-season calendar was to be completely disrupted by longer rain seasons than ever recorded in their oral tradition? Life cycles will be disorganized and Aboriginal cultures modified. A new awareness of future threats was voiced. Not only do the Traditional Owners face a new generation of young people who want to live according to the same standards as the rest of their generation: world music, jeans and soft drinks. They also face the pressures of climate change on their way of life. This conjunction of major changes may be fatal to their traditions and cultures. Also, it may be fatal to them as human beings as they cannot dissociate themselves from their country.

Indigenous communities worldwide offer many clues for the future of humanity. Not only do they have the keys to understand their respective countries, but their connection through oral tradition with an immemorial past provides them with a distanced judgement on what is currently occurring. This judgement is precious to us all. Their connection over 50,000 years with their ancestors is a unique asset for humanity.

As an example, their knowledge of medicinal plants and their use is the result of ancestral traditional knowledge. This unique legacy is fragile as it depends on the existence of indigenous people. It is also vulnerable as it is subject to predators from worldwide pharmaceutical, mining or industrial lobbies whose interests are purely materialistic.

Traditional knowledge of existing uranium ore on the periphery of Kakadu National Park has not prevented multinational companies from developing major mining projects. It seems as if the existence of this unique human legacy does not possess enough weight in political decision-making as the uranium ore resource located at the borders of this park makes up one-third of world reserves. Kakadu National Park and its surroundings are a living illustration of the existing tension between the world of conservation and the world of politics. The timeframe is radically opposed, as the long-term timeframe is the scale of conservationists while the short-term timeframe is the dimension of politics.

The non-indigenous world is poor in comparison, as it has lost this crucial connection with the first generations over many centuries. Losing the Traditional Owners' connection with our common past is like dropping the key to many current issues in the ocean. Our future may depend to a significant extent on indigenous communities whose knowledge may enable us to face future challenges. Yet people are barely conscious of this.

After these two memorable visits to Kakadu National Park, I look back with a certain sense of this site as a mirage: a mirage of its theatrical interpretation and tourism setting, as it keeps its secret story, its Dreamland trails. It also keeps concealed what should never be divulged to the 'Other'. A mirage of its authenticity as the park seems to be so different culturally and in terms of its nature from the neighbouring country, Owenpelli (Arnhem Land). A mirage of its wealth as the park's prosperity is linked with the many thousands of visitors in the dry season. A mirage also as to what might be left of the values for which Kakadu was inscribed on the World Heritage List for the 'invisible stakeholders', our descendants.

In this context, it is possible to understand why, a few days before we returned to Kakadu National Park in 2007 for our second SOH Master Class, the World Heritage Committee decided to adopt a fifth 'C', Communities, as another pillar of the World Heritage philosophy. After considering the first four 'Cs', Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-building and Communication, Paramount Chief Tumu Te Heu Heu, the first indigenous chairperson of the World Heritage Committee, felt that the best legacy he could leave was this fifth 'C'. He felt that enhancing the role of communities was a most needed principle which gives a human meaning to the other four 'Cs'. A new era was born: the principle fully recognizes the idea that sites, whether inscribed on the World Heritage List or not, cannot be dissociated from their communities. Conservation for the exclusive sake of preserving World Heritage sites is meaningless. It is the social dimensions of conservation that provide meaning to communities and visitors. Conservation can indeed generate many human values. These human values provide meaning and contribute to public awareness-raising. They contribute to peace and dialogue.

Kakadu National Park without its thousands of years old patch-burning tradition implemented by its communities would not have been transmitted to us in its present condition. It would have soon become a desert after continuous thunderstorms and consequent burning followed by seasonal floods. The park landscape would have been radically different in terms of appearance and biodiversity. It is this long interaction of its communities with their environment which has produced this unique landscape.

The *World Heritage Convention* is ratified by governments. Properties are nominated by governments, but once inscribed on the World Heritage List, governments will always need site communities as they are truly the best custodians of properties of outstanding universal value.

The SOH programme was based on the idea that heritage is a unique tool for intercultural dialogue and mutual understanding. In this respect, this programme responded to our expectations. In order for these results to be sustainable and to disseminate them across the world, we decided to produce this publication and hope that readers will grasp the invaluable first-hand information provided during the programme.

Above all, the SOH programme was an exceptional opportunity to obtain irreplaceable emotional knowledge, which cannot be learnt in an academic manner. For this reason, this programme should be replicated in other language areas or other contexts around the world and other types of World Heritage sites. It is hoped that this publication will help other universities to set up similar programmes and experience similar challenges in the near future. The programme was made possible through the recognition of the Australian Government and the European Union of the importance of opening the minds of future young conservationists to a global understanding of our common values.

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Marie-Theres Albert, teacher in higher education, since 1994 has held the Chair of Intercultural Studies at the Brandenburgische Technische Universität Cottbus, Germany, and since October 2003 a UNITWIN UNESCO Chair in Heritage Studies. She has undertaken several activities in research and education, in consultancy and projects as well as work stays in several countries in Latin America and Asia.

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Programme specialist, UNESCO World Heritage Centre, has a background in the history of art and archaeology (Paris X), oriental languages (INALCO) and management (International M.B.A., 1987, ISG). During her career at UNESCO since 1977, she collaborated in programmes such as 'Encounter between Two Worlds (1492–1992)', the United Nations Year for Indigenous Peoples (1993), the first International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1995–2004) and the first

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Mechtild Rössler holds an M.A. (1984) in cultural geography from Freiburg University (Germany) and a Ph.D. (1988) from the Faculty for Earth Sciences, University of Hamburg (Germany). She joined the Research Centre of the Cité des Sciences et de l'Industrie (Paris, France) in 1989 on a CNRS (Centre national de la recherche scientifique) post and worked in 1990/91 as visiting professor at the University of California at Berkeley (United States of America), Department of Geography. In 1991 she joined UNESCO, first in the Division for Ecological Sciences, Natural Sciences Sector and since 1992 in UNESCO World Heritage Centre as programme specialist and responsible officer for natural heritage and cultural landscapes. In 2001 she became Chief of Europe and North America Desk Unit in charge of half of all World Heritage sites and fifty States Parties. A contributor to the editorial board of three international journals, she has published seven books and over fifty articles.

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After doctoral studies in art history at the University of Melbourne (Australia), and establishing the graduate programme in cultural tourism and the visual arts, Russell Staiff moved to Sydney where he is with the Centre for Cultural Research at the University of Western Sydney. He researches the intersections between heritage sites, museums and tourism with a particular focus on tourism and World Heritage sites in Australia, Thailand and Italy. He also teaches in the graduate programme in architectural heritage management and tourism at Silpakorn University, Bangkok (Thailand).

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