Simon Makuvaza *Editor*

Aspects of Management Planning for Cultural World Heritage Sites

Principles, Approaches and Practices

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Foreword

The 1972 World Heritage Convention was conceived, drafted and adopted in the aftermath of the major social and economic changes of the first half of the twentieth century, against the backdrop of the immensely destructive forces of national and global conflicts, and at a time of the emergence of environmental awareness and activism.

The implementation of the Convention has demanded numerous ongoing reflections. Elucidation of the central concept, *Outstanding Universal Value*, undefined in 1972, did not gain traction until later and remains subject to debate; mass tourism, especially in the cultural heritage sector, was in its infancy, and World Heritage not foreseen as an international tourist brand; and questions of the *management* of sites once they were inscribed on the World Heritage List did not feature for several years.

The international context has changed dramatically since 1972. Whereas potential dangers were foreseen (Article 11.4), their scale and universality were not. Furthermore, implicit was the expectation that the identification, protection and conservation of cultural and natural heritage were the province of policy makers and experts, with little or no scope for local communities to be engaged as central players in the manifold processes and actions (*inter alia*, Article 5).

Since that time, our understanding of cultural heritage has evolved and expanded considerably, the vital role of host communities as contributory identifiers and custodians has come to be recognised, and the importance of sustainable use for society–the *human factor*–including in terms of human development and quality of life has been positioned as a goal.

These fundamental changes serve to reposition the 1972 Convention within the broader agendas of our time, such as the 2030 United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, and to reinforce the responsibilities that attach to the management of World Heritage Sites in the diverse geo-cultural situations in which the Convention operates today.

The several chapters in this book offer an important contribution to the literature and debate on the management of Cultural World Heritage Sites. Formulated in the main on Sites in continents and nations that do not automatically respond to First World ‘norms’ of conservation ethos and management practices and with parallel

case studies from North America and Europe, they raise vital questions that resonate beyond the Sites to which they refer directly. These include:

- First, is rigid adherence to the expectation for *management plans*, as compared to *management systems*, helpful?
- Second, what are the appropriate steps to take to reposition society at large, especially Sites' host communities, as both the primary stakeholders and beneficiaries of World Heritage Site status?

Addressing and responding to these and other key questions arising from the several authors' contributions will focus attention on the major site management challenges described in these pages. This book comes highly recommended.

Regensburg, Germany — Matthias Ripp
Edinburgh, UK — Dennis Rodwell

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Introduction

As a requirement by the World Heritage Committee, management planning for World Heritage Sites is increasingly gaining recognition throughout the world as more energy is now being expended towards attaining proper systems of monitoring the sites. World Heritage Sites broadly fall into two categories, which are natural World Heritage Sites and cultural World Heritage Sites. Cultural World Heritage Sites, with which this book is concerned, include but are not limited to archaeological sites, cultural landscapes, religious sites, fossil hominid sites, historic towns, cultural routes and architectural structures. Cultural World Heritage Sites are nominated on the World Heritage List (WHL) principally on the basis of their cultural values.

The objective of management planning for World Heritage Sites is primarily to protect the values for which they are recognised and nominated on the WHL. The value of World Heritage Sites, which is regarded as outstanding universal value (OUV), is considered to transcend national boundaries and is of importance for present and future generations. In order to ensure the safeguarding of the OUV of World Heritage Sites, there has to be management planning, which involves assessing management objectives of the sites and creating realistic detailed plans of action for achieving the objectives. The outcome of a management planning process for a World Heritage Site is a management plan, which is an integral component of the management of a World Heritage Site, and is a tool that is used to drive routine work plans for the site. Every site that is inscribed on the WHL is now required by UNESCO to have a management plan or some other management system.

According to UNESCO, the purpose of a management plan is to ensure the effective protection of the nominated property for present and future generations. This requirement was first made clear in the 2005 *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* where it was stated 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' (UNESCO 2005, Para. 108, p. 26). This requirement was in part necessitated by the need to implement real systems of monitoring on the management of World Heritage Sites.

The contents of the management plan or, alternatively, the key element of the management system of every inscribed site, according to UNESCO (2005, Para. 111, p. 26), could be: (a) a thorough shared understanding of the property by all stakeholders; (b) a cycle of planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and feedback; (c) the involvement of partners and stakeholders; (d) the allocation of necessary resources; (e) capacity building; and (f) an accountable, transparent description of how the management system functions (see also Ringbeck Chap. 2; Badia Chap. 3 this volume). These suggested key elements of the management plan have been retained in succeeding revised *Operational Guidelines*. UNESCO however made it a requirement that all the inscribed sites and those that would be listed in future should have a site management plan or a management system.

Before UNESCO made it clear that World Heritage Sites should have management plans, research on the contents and functions of management plans for protected areas, which included World Heritage Sites, had grown exponentially over the preceding three decades or so. The research had in part focused on developing templates or guidelines that could be used to create management plans for protected areas including World Heritage Sites (e.g. Feilden and Jokilehto 1993; Stovel 1998; Thomas and Middleton 2003; IUCN 2008; Ringbeck 2008). The development of the guidelines, especially after the directive that World Heritage Sites should have management plans, was perhaps encouraged by the observation that no official template that could be used as a manual to generate management plans was made available by UNESCO. The lack of the official template to create management plans has been and still is as a result of the diversity and complexity of issues related to preserving complex World Heritage Sites such as cultural World Heritage Sites (Feilden and Jokilehto 1998; see also Cleere 2010).

However, despite the unavailability of an official UNESCO template, the preparation and implementation of management plans to monitor World Heritage Sites was already in practice in many parts of the world such as in South and North America, Australasia and Europe. Part of the explanation of this position is that these regions of the world have long histories of managing protected areas such as national parks, wilderness areas, nature reserves, game reserves and forest areas. The production of management plans in these regions of the globe has been, in some countries, a law requirement set up to establish and monitor the protected areas. Gradually, the preparation of management plans for World Heritage Sites began to be based on models that were initially developed for protected areas.

Although some kind of planning to manage heritage sites could have existed in other regions of the world such as Africa, the preparation of management plans for World Heritage Sites appears to be an emerging practice in this region following UNESCO's instruction that each World Heritage Site must have a management plan or a management system. Unlike in other regions of the globe where management plans for protected areas have been a legal requirement, this has not been the procedure in many African countries even though formal laws to protect heritage sites existed in the continent since the beginning of colonial rule during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Several protected areas and heritage sites in Africa and in some countries around the world were and are even now in some cases still moni-

tored without management plans. In Africa, many countries are yet to make it a legal requirement for protected areas including World Heritage Sites, to be administered through the guidance of management plans.

When it was finally made explicit that World Heritage Sites should have management plans, the situation which existed before was that several heritage sites that were until that time nominated on the WHL had no site management plans while others had management plans. For heritage sites that were nominated on the WHL with management plans, it worked out to be easier to establish their management objectives and to ascertain how the objectives were to be accomplished. It also became simple to define the significance of World Heritage Sites that had management plans and how their various management aspects were combined to improve their safeguarding. Most importantly, with management plans, it became easy to determine how World Heritage Sites were to be systematically monitored and measured in terms of their management effectiveness.

In contrast, it was enormously hard to check if the values for World Heritage Sites that had no management plans were protected. The management of World Heritage Sites with no management plans was generally characterised by lack of coordination, joint conservation and management planning and cooperative programme development. The sites also lacked systematic planning on how to deal with, for example, weathering, erosion, collapse, vandalism and looting. Furthermore, there were no planned ways of dealing with development and tourism issues that frequently endanger the existence of World Heritage Sites. In addition, the involvement of stakeholders and especially the communities subsisting close to or within World Heritage Sites, which is now considered to be an integral part of any conservation effort, was not always obvious. Last but not least, appropriate policies to protect and conserve World Heritage Sites and their surroundings, including traditional management practices and buffer zones for sites that lacked management plans, were also not always apparent.

The response to address conservation problems affecting World Heritage Sites that did not have management plans though this could have been carried out in good faith, it was in some cases unsystematic and was not appropriately guided by management plans or proper management systems. Often, the results were that the conservation objectives of many World Heritage Sites were not at all times designed to address the many challenges that affected the sites. Lack of management planning undoubtedly played a role in the placement of several World Heritage Sites on the List of World Heritage in Danger, particularly in regions of the world where the preparation of management plans for protected areas was not commonly practiced or in cases where management plans were not effectively implemented (see also Ringbeck, Chap. 2 this volume).

Even though a lot of groundwork has already been covered in terms of developing templates that help create management plans for World Heritage Sites, it would appear that the most difficult part of management planning for World Heritage Sites is the implementation part. A management plan is of little use to a World Heritage Site if it will not be put into real practice. Therefore, implementation is an essential part of the planning procedure for World Heritage Sites, and the procedure for

applying the plans should be included in the early planning stage. The specific implementation procedure, which involves devising strategies, techniques and approaches as chapters in this book demonstrate, can vary from one World Heritage Site to the next, and this depends on the elements of the management plan or system to be implemented.

About the Book

This book examines the management planning for cultural World Heritage Sites from different countries around the world. It specifically explores the extent to which the management plans and management systems have been or are currently being implemented on the cultural World Heritage Sites. Dealing with a range of case studies, the chapters in this volume reflect on the historical, institutional and socio-political frameworks within which the management planning for cultural World Heritage Sites has been developed and practiced. The book brings together a number of leading scholars, policy makers and World Heritage Site managers to review their experiences of preparing and implementing management plans on cultural World Heritage Sites. The volume is aimed at promoting cross fertilisation of ideas and to learn from the best practices of management planning for cultural World Heritage Sites.

The book has 18 chapters that are divided into three parts. The first part, which is the Historical Overview of the volume, contains three contributions that deal with the historical background of the introduction of management plans for cultural World Heritage Sites and the management idea of the World Heritage Convention as well as the purpose and elements of a management plan for World Heritage Sites.

The second part of this book presents 13 case studies from diverse countries and heritage institutions from around the globe that deal with various aspects of management planning for cultural World Heritage Sites. The range of issues covered in the chapters includes involvement and participation of local communities in the management of cultural World Heritage Sites, development and conservation of the sites, tourism and management of the sites, administrative arrangements in place to govern the sites and so on. In general, the contributions provide a broad picture of current practices, approaches and novel developments in the field of management planning for cultural World Heritage Sites.

The third and last part of this book is the Discussion and Conclusion and it has two chapters. The task of summarising the book chapters and of reviewing them, which in general practice of writing introduction chapters should have been part of this opening chapter, has been carried out in the two closing chapters. Not only are the chapters summarised and appraised in this section of the book but they are also ingeniously interrogated and discussed.

The effort to put this book together could not have been successful without the cooperation and hard work of the authors. Their dedication to the subject of management planning for cultural World Heritage Sites is reflected in the quality of

papers published in this book. The themes and topics that the authors selected and presented emphasise not only their importance but also the attention that is being given to the management of cultural World Heritage Sites by researchers, experts and managers of the sites. This work could also not have been successful without the efforts of Dr. Douglas Comer and Professors Helaine Silverman and Marie-Theres Albert who helped shape the direction and content of the volume by commenting on the initial book proposal. Professors Pedro Paulo Funari, Ian Lilley and Ibrahima Thiaw and Dr. Douglas Comer helped identify some of the papers and authors who contributed chapters in this volume. Special thanks go to Mr. Dennis Rodwell and Dr. Matthias Ripp whose critical assessment of the early drafts of the book helped in the rearrangement of the chapters and for accepting to write the foreword of the book at a rather short notice despite their busy schedules. A special thanks goes to the publishing team at Springer, which worked very hard to ensure that this book is published. Last to be acknowledged but not least are all the reviewers who gave their time and effort to help make this book a quality publication.

Simon Makuvaza

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Part I
Historical Overview

Chapter 1
Introduction of Management Planning for Cultural World Heritage Sites

Christina Cameron and Mechtild Rössler

Introduction

This chapter traces the introduction of management planning for cultural World Heritage Sites from a vaguely worded requirement in 1977 to a fully developed obligation in 2005 and beyond. It examines various aspects in the evolution towards a mature management planning framework, including issues of traditional management, participation of local communities, and relationship to the values of the property. In the early years, natural World Heritage Sites benefitted from the expertise and previous practical experience in management planning brought to the table by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), advisors on natural World Heritage Sites. The cultural sector was slow to catch up to its natural heritage counterparts but by the late 1990s, management planning requirements for cultural sites were equivalent to those for natural sites. These obligations were formally set out in major revisions to the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* in 2005.

Although the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (World Heritage Convention) was adopted at the General Conference of UNESCO in 1972, the actual implementation began in late 1975 when a sufficient number of countries had ratified the agreement. In 1977, the World Heritage Committee approved a number of fledgling policies and guidelines in order to provide a framework for inscribing properties on the World Heritage List and ensuring their ongoing protection.

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Initial Requirements for Management Plans 1977–1987

From the beginning, management plans for World Heritage Sites were obligatory for both natural and cultural properties. In this initial period, however, the requirements were vague and more demanding for natural heritage sites. At its very first session in 1977, the World Heritage Committee adopted guidelines that required management plans for all sites:

> Nominations by States for inclusion of cultural and natural properties in the World Heritage List must be presented in the form of a closely argued case, supported by full documentation and bibliography.[1]

Concerning the state of conservation of the proposed sites, countries were required to explain the history of conservation of the property, proposed projects, and commitments to ongoing conservation (administrative, technical, and financial). They were also required to submit management plans as part (iv) of the nomination requirements. At this time the term "management plan" was not defined, so States Parties were left on their own to interpret what that might mean. Such plans, however, were focused on protecting the outstanding universal value of the properties and not on other values.

There was a small but insignificant change in the wording of the 1980 *Operational Guidelines* wherein measures for preservation and conservation included "management plans or proposals for such plans" (still undefined) and a request for development plans for the region.[2] Three years later, the guidelines seem to make a slight distinction between the "*management* of each natural site nominated" and the "*safeguarding* of each cultural property nominated." This special emphasis on management for natural sites is confirmed in a later section on the provisions for the inclusion of sites on the List of World Heritage in Danger. The guidelines state that "only for natural properties" danger includes situations where "the Management Plan is lacking or inadequate, or not fully implemented."[3]

While no further changes for management planning appeared in the *Operational Guidelines* until 1988, there were lots of intellectual activity taking place in the 1980s to determine how to protect sites. The World Heritage Committee was aware that management plans were often prepared for national parks and natural sites, but rarely for cultural sites. To address this disparity, the Committee at its 1981 meeting encouraged UNESCO to work with the two cultural consultative bodies, the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Conservation of Cultural

[1] UNESCO, *Operational Guidelines for the World Heritage Committee*, Paris, 30 June 1977, CC-77/CONF.001/8, para. 14. Available at http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide77a.pdf.

[2] UNESCO, *Operational Guidelines* for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, Paris, October 1980, WHC/2 revised, para. 33. Available at http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide80.pdf.

[3] UNESCO, *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, Paris, November 1983, WHC/2 revised, paras. 18 & 48. Available at http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide83.pdf.

Property (ICCROM) and the International Council on the Conservation of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), to examine the question of the protection and management of cultural properties.[4] Anne Raidl, at that time chief of International Standards Section at the Division of Cultural Heritage at UNESCO with responsibility for cultural World Heritage, responded to this request. In comparison to the Science Sector, she recognized that little expert advice was available for the preservation and management of cultural properties, and specifically for the preparation of management plans.

In 1983, Raidl convened a meeting of experts to prepare management guidelines for cultural sites. Bernard Feilden, Director General of ICCROM from 1977 to 1981, recalls UNESCO's initiative:

> In the mid-1980s, Anne Raidl of UNESCO convened an international meeting of experts, to consider the management of World Cultural Heritage sites and write the detailed Guidelines—the outline for which was produced by the committee. I was nominated to carry out this task, and after some delay produced a first draft of the chapters. This was circulated for comment. I then asked Dr. Jukka Jokilehto to co-author it. UNESCO did not respond to our draft. During each of about 3 or 4 years of my annual stint of lecturing at ICCROM, I reread the draft and improved it. As UNESCO had not responded with comments or approval, ICCROM decided to publish it as *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites* in 1993. Since then it has gone into a second edition and it has been translated into many languages[5] (see Feilden and Jokilehto 1993).

The thrust of Feilden's recommendations centered on the creation of a management committee for each World Heritage Site to be composed of a multidisciplinary team of experts, including archaeologists, historians, architects, landscape architects, and engineers. As he states, "the aim was to separate management from political manipulation, manage the care and maintenance of the Site, and to manage the impact of tourism."[6]

The influence of natural heritage experts on their cultural colleagues is clearly described by a participant at Raidl's meeting from the Science Sector of UNESCO, Jane Robertson Vernhes:

> I remember that it was very interesting because we were talking about protection of natural heritage and we were talking about the need for a management plan, adequate protection and things like that, and I do remember that the cultural heritage people who were in the same room said, "Oh, that's a good idea. We haven't asked that for cultural heritage." And they got the idea. They said, "Yes, we have never actually asked that the properties themselves for the cultural heritage actually have a protected status."[7]

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[4] UNESCO, Report of the Rapporteur of the Fifth Session of the World Heritage Committee in Sydney, 26–30 October 1981, Paris, 5 January 1982, CC-81/CONF/003/6, para. 28.c. Available at http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1981/cc-81-conf003-6_e.pdf.

[5] Canada Research Chair on Built Heritage, University of Montréal, written interview between Christina Cameron and Bernard Feilden, Bawburgh, Norwich, December 2007.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Canada Research Chair on Built Heritage, University of Montreal, audio interview of Jane Robertson by Christina Cameron and Mechtild Rössler, Paris, 24 November 2009.

Management Mechanisms and Traditional Management 1988–1994

By the end of the 1980s, over 100 countries with diverse perspectives had joined the Convention and were active participants in World Heritage matters. As a result, new ideas emerged about how to preserve, conserve, and manage cultural World Heritage properties. One such idea was a broad concept of "management mechanisms," as opposed to the narrower "management plan" which was still required for natural sites but was unfamiliar in the cultural heritage field in many parts of the world. As a result, the nomination guidelines in the 1988 *Operational Guidelines* were amended to require broader mechanisms:

> [Properties must] have adequate legal protection and management mechanisms to ensure the conservation of the nominated cultural property. The existence of protective legislation at the national, provincial or municipal level is therefore essential and must be stated clearly on the nomination form. Assurances of the effective implementation of these laws are also expected. Furthermore, in order to preserve the integrity of cultural sites, particularly those open to large number of visitors, the State Party concerned should be able to provide evidence of suitable administrative arrangements to cover the management of the property, its conservation and its accessibility to the public.[8]

This broader approach to managing cultural World Heritage Sites received further tweaking as a consequence of the emergence of the cultural landscape categories in the early 1990s. The paragraph above was amended in 1994 to include traditional management. "The existence of protective legislation at the national, provincial or municipal level *or well-established traditional protection and/or adequate management mechanisms* is therefore essential and must be stated clearly on the nomination form."[9] In other words, traditional knowledge systems were recognized as an effective way to look after World Heritage properties.

Recognition of traditional management systems in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention marks the first time such practices were accepted in an international legal instrument in the heritage field. The impact of this recognition was felt at the site level, where traditional management practices had to be clearly documented. It also made the World Heritage Convention more accessible to countries with traditional cultures, including the sub-Saharan Africa, the Pacific, and the Caribbean, as well as countries with indigenous populations like Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

For once, the cultural heritage sector was in the lead. The introduction of customary law and traditional management for natural World Heritage Sites only came about in 1998, with the proposal to inscribe East Rennell in the Solomon Islands.

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[8] UNESCO, *Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, Paris, December 1988, WHC/2/revised, para. 24. b (ii). Available at http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide88.pdf (hereafter *Operational Guidelines 1988*).

[9] UNESCO, *Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, Paris, February 1994, WHC/2/revised, para. 24. b (ii). Available at http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide94.pdf (hereafter *Operational Guidelines* 1994).

The leadership for this change came from the Japanese chairperson, Koichiro Matsuura. Against the advice of IUCN, he proposed an amendment to the *Operational Guidelines* that would allow "traditional protection" as an option for ensuring the conservation of natural sites. In an interview, Matsuura explains his rationale:

> This is the kind of thing we have to do in the context of the Global Strategy because in many countries … Africa, many developing countries … management plans are based on traditional law, not necessarily on legislation passed by parliaments. So we should make the requirement more inclusive.[10]

Participation of Local Communities

The World Heritage Convention has been correctly criticized for its concentration of power at the level of national governments. Even though World Heritage Sites are ultimately protected, conserved, and managed at the local and community levels, the legal text of the Convention does not mention civil society. Indeed, in the early years, the World Heritage Committee deliberately chose to minimize participation of interested stakeholders by holding closed meetings and restricting attendance to a limited number of established institutions. Early attempts by civil society groups to achieve official standing within the World Heritage system failed. The 1988 *Operational Guidelines* make it explicit in the case of nomination proposals:

> 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 [World Heritage] Committee on the nomination in question.[11]

Rob Milne, an American Parks Service employee who worked for decades with World Heritage issues, expressed his regret about the lack of public access. "I felt that the early decisions with regard to basically closed meetings and denying access to a variety of institutions and bodies has been in a way a weakness, and has, I believe, contributed to the general lack of public understanding or appreciation of what goes on."[12]

In this regard, the World Heritage Convention stands in sharp contrast to other UNESCO cultural conventions which celebrate the important contributions of local communities and civil society. The 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage calls for the participation of communities, groups, and relevant nongovernmental organizations in the identification and safeguarding of this heritage. In addition, countries are encouraged to actively involve

[10] Canada Research Chair on Built Heritage, University of Montréal, audio interview of Koichiro Matsuura by Christina Cameron and Mechtild Rössler, Paris, 24 November 2009.

[11] *Operational Guidelines 1988*, para. 14.

[12] Canada Research Chair on Built Heritage, University of Montréal, audio interview of Rob Milne by Christina Cameron and Mechtild Rössler, Paris, 2 March 2009.

the creators of such heritage in its management.[13] Koichiro Matsuura, former Director-General of UNESCO, praised this approach in an interview. "I do think the 2003 convention is a better frame, giving more weight to the role of local communities. This is something the 1972 convention should have more carefully looked into."[14]

The 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions explicitly calls on states to "acknowledge the fundamental role of civil society in protecting and promoting the diversity of cultural expressions. Parties shall encourage the active participation of civil society in their efforts to achieve the objectives of this Convention."[15] In its *Operational Guidelines*, an entire annex sets out the role of civil society including the right to participate in statutory meetings of the States Parties and access to the International Fund for Cultural Diversity.[16]

A Paradigm Shift in the 1990s

For the World Heritage Convention, attitudes towards community involvement evolved in the 1990s under the influence of a paradigm shift in key theoretical concepts. This shift can be demonstrated through the development of the global strategy, redefinition of authenticity, and creation of cultural landscape categories. The "Global Strategy for a balanced, representative and credible World Heritage List" (1994) demonstrates a strong anthropological perspective that encourages site nominations that emphasize human experiences on land and in society (Cameron and Rössler 2013).

The redefinition of the concept of authenticity for cultural World Heritage Sites came out of a seminal international expert meeting, the 1994 Nara Conference on Authenticity sponsored by Japan, ICOMOS and UNESCO. The Nara Document on Authenticity represents a paradigm shift in conservation theory because it interprets authenticity as a relative concept that must be understood within its own cultural context. It marked, in the view of one of the rapporteurs, Herb Stovel, "the final stage of the move from belief in universal international absolutes, first introduced by the Venice Charter, towards acceptance of conservation judgments as necessarily relative and contextual" (Stovel 2008: 9). One of the articles in the Nara Document sets out the primary role of local communities in looking after heritage places:

[13] UNESCO, Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, art. 15. Paris, 2003. Available at http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf.

[14] Canada Research Chair, interview Matsuura, loc. Cit.

[15] UNESCO, Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, Paris, 2005. Available at http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001429/142919e.pdf.

[16] UNESCO, Basic Texts of the 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, Paris, 2013, pp. 47–49. Available at http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002253/225383E.pdf.

> It is important to underline a fundamental principle of UNESCO, to the effect that the cultural heritage of each is the cultural heritage of all. Responsibility for cultural heritage and the management of it belongs, in the first place, to the cultural community that has generated it, and subsequently to that which cares for it (Larsen 1995).

The article goes on to encourage a balance between the requirements of the local community and those of other cultural groups. The development of the cultural landscapes categories is the most important demonstration of the paradigm shift that occurred in the World Heritage system in the 1990s. The significance of cultural landscapes depends on balanced and sustainable human interaction with the land. This approach confirms the important role of those who live on the land in the use and care of such landscapes. In 1994, under the influence of this pioneering work on cultural landscapes, the Committee reversed its long-standing position of "refraining from giving undue publicity" to involving communities in the nomination process. The 1994 *Operational Guidelines* state that "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, but should not prejudice future decision-making by the Committee."[17] This change merely acknowledges the role of local communities and indigenous peoples in caring for cultural World Heritage Sites. It was only in the 2005 version of its guidelines that the committee enthusiastically encouraged the participation of a wide variety of communities, stakeholders, NGOs, and other interested parties.[18]

Relationship to the Values of the Properties

From the outset, the World Heritage Committee required management plans as a State Party commitment to protect the outstanding universal value of the listed properties. By the mid-1990s, the guidelines were clearly delineated, requiring each nominated property and each World Heritage Site to have an adequate management plan or documented management system to cover the attributes and distinctive features that expressed its outstanding universal value. For cultural sites, the aim was to ensure that the World Heritage values and authenticity were sustained through effective management.

The adoption of this value-based approach for managing heritage places is an important innovation that has profoundly influenced heritage conservation activities in many parts of the world. In *Managing Cultural World Heritage*, a resource manual developed by UNESCO, ICCROM, ICOMOS, and IUCN, the authors distinguish between a "conventional" approach and a "value-led" approach to conservation. The conventional approach, best known through the doctrinal text of the Venice

[17] *Operational Guidelines 1994*, para. 14.

[18] UNESCO, *Operational Guidelines* for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, Paris, 2005, WHC.05/2, para. 123. Available at http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide05-en.pdf (hereafter *Operational Guidelines 2005*).

Charter (1964), focuses on conserving the physical fabric and materials of a monument or site, usually under the leadership of conservation experts. The value-led approach promotes conservation and management based on values ascribed to the property by all stakeholders, not just experts. According to the resource manual, "the recently developed values-led approach seems to be gaining popularity for its ability to address some of the complexities surrounding heritage and in particular its applicability to World Heritage" (UNESCO 2013).

Sharon Sullivan, a dynamic representative of Australia at the turn of the century, applauds this value-led approach:

> I think one of the great successes of the World Heritage Committee has actually been this changing practice, this move from monuments to places in the heart, to places in the mind, to technical places, to places which are places of sadness and celebrate the dark history of the world, not celebrate the dark history of the world, but commemorate the dark history of the world as well as its great achievements. I think that's really challenging, very challenging, but important.[19]

A further development is the recognition that values at World Heritage Sites are not always related to outstanding universal value but go further to include other local, regional, or national dimensions unrelated to global designation. While not the direct purview of World Heritage, the Committee nonetheless encourages an integrated approach to managing the sites through the use of statements of significance:

> It is not practical to manage attributes that carry OUV in isolation from those carrying other values, and can lead to values being prioritized where there is potential conflict between them. … Authorities preparing management plans should formulate a comprehensive Statement of Significance (see above), which captures OUV and these other values and use it as the basis for managing the property (UNESCO 2013: 137).

Countries should manage "in a holistic way that is also relevant to the conservation needs of the property as a whole, and has regard to all its values" (UNESCO 2011). This comprehensive management approach is a key contribution of World Heritage to cultural heritage conservation methodology. The series of Resources Manuals, which also includes *Managing Natural World Heritage* (2012) and *Managing Disaster Risks for World Heritage* (2010), further contributes to assisting States Parties and other stakeholders in best practice to better manage World Heritage Sites (UNESCO 2010: 12). A joint manual for both cultural and natural heritage is envisaged, bringing different approaches together in order to enable site managers of mixed sites and cultural landscapes to apply a unified approach.

One of the major changes in the 2005 *Operational Guidelines* is the attempt to clarify the concept of outstanding universal value, which is mentioned but not defined in the Convention. The 2005 guidelines included a definition for the required Statement of Outstanding Universal Value, which went beyond heritage value to include integrity, authenticity, protection, and management:

[19] Canada Research Chair on Built Heritage, University of Montréal, audio interview of Sharon Sullivan by Christina Cameron, Canberra, 30 October 2013.

> The Statement of outstanding universal value should include a summary of the Committee's determination that the property has outstanding universal value, identifying the criteria under which the property was inscribed, including the assessments of the conditions of integrity or authenticity, and of the protection and management in force and the requirements for protection and management. The Statement of outstanding universal value shall be the basis for the future protection and management of the property.[20]

While such a statement is clearly an important step forward towards baseline requirements for protection, conservation, and management, in retrospect this amendment may have gone too far by including the conditions of integrity, authenticity, protection, and management. These characteristics are often time bound, as for example management plans which are regularly revised and updated. The inclusion of these elements has created an increased workload for States Parties, the Secretariat, the Advisory Bodies, and the Committee in terms of periodically updating and adopting revised statements.

New Database Tool to Identify Relationship Between Management and Threats

With the evolution of the state of conservation system, including through an electronic database available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/soc/, the causal relationship between lack of effective management and threats to World Heritage Sites becomes even more evident. Analysis of the data demonstrates that three out of four properties are negatively impacted by a management or an institutional factor. This is by far the highest factor among all threats. A query to the database covering the period 1979–2013 reveals that weak management affected 359 properties in 122 countries in all regions of the world. The increase over time of the negative impact of this factor is even more striking: from 8% in 1985 to 75% in 2013. Of the 2642 state of conservation reports analyzed, 1722 indicate that there are issues with management plans or systems. It is not surprising that the series of publications and resource manuals on management have been well received by many stakeholders, especially since they were often accompanied by management planning workshops.

Conclusion

The management planning framework that evolved in the 1990s was spelled out as robust obligations in the 2005 revised *Operational Guidelines*. As we have seen, the challenges that arose for cultural sites in the first three decades, particularly related to issues of traditional management, participation of local communities, and relationship to the values of the property, contributed to the achievement of a mature

[20] *Operational Guidelines 2005*, para. 155.

management planning system. Outstanding universal value with its attributes continues to be a key reference for management, so that the value, authenticity, and integrity of World Heritage properties will be sustained over time. But seen in its broader context, management plans and management mechanisms need to consider external factors like land-use plans, visitor-use plans, and stakeholder involvement: "This inclusive approach is one of the qualities of the management planning approach since it requires links with other plans (such as local or regional land use planning or development plans) and stakeholders outside the heritage system" (UNESCO 2013: 122).

Requirements have not changed since the drafting of the 2005 *Operational Guidelines*. Management plans or documented management systems must be prepared for all sites and must explain "how the outstanding universal value of a property should be preserved, preferably through participatory means."[21] Drawing on the experience of the 1990s, the 2005 guidelines recognize that such planning needs to remain flexible:

> An effective management system depends on the type, characteristics and needs of the nominated property and its cultural and natural context. Management systems may vary according to different cultural perspectives, the resources available and other factors. They may incorporate traditional practices, existing urban or regional planning instruments, and other planning control mechanisms, both formal and informal.[22]

Annex 5 in the *Operational Guidelines* sets out the specific requirements in a comprehensive way: an appropriate management plan or a documented management system as well as assurances of effective implementation remain essential requirements for every nomination and every inscribed World Heritage Site. Downstream, it is critical that the provisions are implemented, and that plans are prepared in a participatory approach and regularly updated to adapt to new circumstances, taking into account new conditions, climate change adaptation, and risk management.

Beyond the protection of individual World Heritage Sites, the Convention has played a major standard-setting role in the evolution of management provisions. A number of World Heritage Management systems can now be considered as models of best practice. One of them, the Historic City of Vigan, the Philippines, was awarded Best Practice in World Heritage Management in 2012 on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Convention. This recognition celebrated the establishment of City Public Safety and Disaster Risk Reduction Management Office and the involvement of all stakeholders. With such good practices, World Heritage Site management can achieve an effective transmission of these special places to future generations.

[21] *Operational Guidelines 2005*, para. 108.

[22] Ibid, para. 110.

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Chapter 2
The World Heritage Convention and Its Management Concept

Birgitta Ringbeck

Factors Affecting Natural and Cultural World Heritage Properties

The high number of state of conservation reports annually submitted to the World Heritage Committee reflects the pressures the properties included on the World Heritage List and the World Heritage List in Danger are currently facing. Deficits in the management systems and missing or not adequately implemented management plans are topping the current list (World Heritage Committee 2016b) of the globally most reported factors affecting the properties (Table 2.1).

The factors vary according to the category of heritage sites considered. Some common threats have a different ranking; that is, only 10% of the cultural sites but 60% of the natural sites are affected by illegal activities such as poaching or illegal logging; other factors like mining for natural sites and housing for cultural sites are not relevant for both categories; further factors like major visitor accommodation and associated infrastructure are results of the increased public and touristic interest after listing as World Heritage Sites while others like land conservation and livestock farming or grazing of domesticated animals are complementary. However, each of the most reported factors is directly linked with the lack or the insufficient implementation of an integrated management system (Table 2.2). Management has been identified as main challenging task in order to address the continuously growing impact on the outstanding universal value (OUV) of World Heritage properties. Such a system is a fundamental prerequisite for the ability to fulfil the obligations of World Heritage Convention and to secure protection and conservation of listed World Heritage Sites. This is well noted in the *Operational Guidelines* as well as the

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Table 2.1 Showing factors that have a negative impact on World Heritage properties (WHC/16/40.COM/7, p. 3)

Factors	Percentage of the reported properties affected (%)
Management systems/management plan	72.4
Housing	29.5
Illegal activities	25.0
Ground transport infrastructure	19.2
Impacts of tourism/visitor/recreation	18.6
Legal framework	16.7
Land conversion	16.7
Management activities	16.0
Major visitor accommodation and associated infrastructure	13.5
Mining	13.5
War	10.9
Water infrastructure	10.9
Livestock farming/grazing of domesticated animals	9.6
Civil unrest	8.3
Human resources	8.3
Financial resources	8.3

policy documents on climate change (World Heritage Committee 2016a) and sustainable development (World Heritage Committee 2015).

The Obligation to Manage Heritage

The need for heritage to be managed was recognized relatively late in the 45-year history of the *World Heritage Convention*, although the guiding principles and essential structures are enshrined therein. Each State Party to the Convention has "to recognize the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage situated on its territory".[1] According to Article 5 of the Convention, "a general policy which aims to give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community and to integrate the protection of that heritage into comprehensive planning programmes"[2] should be adopted. For the implementation of such a policy, "one or more services for the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage with an appropriate staff and possessing the means to discharge their functions" should be in place. Further requirements are "to develop scientific and technical studies and research and to work out such operating methods".

[1] UNESCO Convention 1972a, Article 4

[2] UNESCO Convention 1972a, Article 5

Table 2.2 Presents the most reported factors affecting, respectively, natural and cultural properties, as identified in the State of Conservation reports presented in 2016 (WHC/16/40.COM/7, p. 3)

Natural properties		Cultural properties	
Factors	% of the reported properties affected (%)	Factors	% of the reported properties affected (%)
Management systems/ management plan	59.3	Management systems/ management plan	78.1
Illegal activities	51.9	Housing	43.7
Mining	31.5	Management activities	24.0
Water infrastructure	25.9	Legal framework	19.8
Land conversion	25.9	War and civil unrest	17.7
Livestock farming/grazing of domesticated animals	25.9	Ground transport infrastructure	15.6
Ground transport infrastructure	25.9	Land conservation	12.5
Impacts of tourism/visitor/ recreation	24.1	Impacts of tourism/visitor/ recreation	12.5
Oil and gas	18.5	Major visitor accommodation and associated infrastructure	12.5
Major visitor accommodation and associated infrastructure	16.7	Deliberate destruction of heritage	11.5
Legal framework	14.8	Illegal activities	10.4
Identity, social cohesion, changes in local population and community	14.8	Interpretative and visitation facilities	10.4
War and civil unrest 14.8%	14.8	Erosion and siltation/deposition	9.4
Invasive/alien terrestrial species	13.0	Human resources	8.3
Governance	11.1	Effects arising from use of transportation infrastructure	7.3
Invasive/alien freshwater species	11.1		

"They are essential to make the State capable of counteracting the dangers that threaten its cultural or natural heritage, to take the appropriate legal, scientific, technical, administrative and financial measures" and "to foster the establishment or development of national or regional centres for training in the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage and to encourage scientific research in this field". Finally, the State Parties are asked to inform the World Heritage Committee "on the legislative and administrative provisions, which they have adopted and other action, which they have taken for the application of this Convention, together with details of the experience acquired in this field".

Recommendation, Charters and Conservation Principles

The *Recommendation Concerning Protection, at National Level, of the Cultural and Natural Heritage*, adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO exactly on the same day as the World Heritage Convention on 16 November 1972, is complementary to the *World Heritage Convention*. As the Convention itself, the recommendation underlines that each State Party should develop, formulate and apply "in conformity with their jurisdictional and legislative requirements … as far as possible a policy whose principal aim should be to co-ordinate and make use of all scientific, technical, cultural and other resources available to secure the effective protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage".[3] The recommendation reiterates and explains the demands concerning the national policy, general principles, organization of services and protective measures as well as educational action, international co-operation and involvement of civil society. Article 5 of the Convention and paragraph 3 of the recommendation emphasize that a comprehensive and an integrative approach is the basis for the ability of the State Parties to fulfil the World Heritage Convention's protection requirements and preservation obligations; such an approach should be aligned to sites of OUV, as well as to heritage that does not fulfil the criteria of the Convention.

In the course of the 1990s, it became more and more obvious that the appellative character of the guiding principles and essential structures laid down in the Convention and Recommendation alone were not sufficient enough to protect and preserve World Heritage Sites. Consequently, additional information requests of the advisory bodies concerning state of conservation reports and nomination dossiers demanded detailed descriptions of how the management works. However, it was not until 1 February 2005 that the revised version of the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*[4] explained the management concept and made specifications on the management compulsory for properties to be inscribed on the World Heritage List. For the first time, the guidelines defined issues to be addressed such as legislative, regulatory and contractual measures for protection, boundaries for effective protection, buffer zones and sustainable use. Moreover, they describe common elements of an appropriate management plan or other documented management system "demonstrating the efficient implementation of the measures and how the cooperation between different stakeholders functions". Therefore, a management plan or a management system should include inter alia a thorough shared understanding of the property by all stakeholders; a cycle of planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and feedback; the involvement of partners and stakeholders; the allocation of necessary resources; capacity-building; and an accountable, transparent description of how the management plan or system functions.

[3] UNESCO Recommendation 1972b, paragraph 3

[4] UNESCO *Operational Guidelines* 2005

Simultaneously, it was recognised that a management plan or system depends on the type, the characteristics and needs of the nominated property and its cultural and natural context. These may vary according to different cultural perspectives, the resources available and other factors. They may incorporate traditional practices, existing urban or regional planning instruments, and other planning control mechanisms, both formal and informal. Although an official template was still missing, on this basis it was possible to develop a general structure for management plans (Ringbeck 2008).

As a basis for a thorough shared understanding of the property by all stakeholders, the statement of outstanding universal value (SoOUV) was included for the first time in the 2005 *Operational Guidelines*, and has become operational since 2007. It should not only allow a clear understanding of what is inscribed on the list, and why a property has OUV, but also give a direction to management through indicating what attributes of the property need to be maintained in or to sustain the unique qualities. Today, the World Heritage Committee approves a SoOUV with the decision to inscribe a property on the World Heritage List. In the course of the second round of periodic reporting (2008–2015), the nearly finished process started to prepare SoOUVs retrospectively for those sites, which were inscribed prior to 2007 (Jokilehto 2008). A SoOUV consists of up to five components.[5] The first one—brief synthesis—should encapsulate the rationale for the inscription and comprise a summary of factual information as well as a summary of qualities.[6] Instead of qualities, ICOMOS and IUCN speak about attributes and values to be described in the brief synthesis; attributes are described as physical elements or processes of the property that carry OUV; values are defined as quality, which is not inherent, given by people/society to places and which can be of local, national or international importance (Denyer 2009). A justification of how the property meets those criteria under which it has been nominated and a short description of the relevant attributes is requested for the second part, named justification of criteria.[7] The statement of integrity as third component of the SoOUV requires for all sites assessing the extent to which the property includes all elements necessary to express its OUV, is of adequate size to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes, which convey the property's significance, and does not suffer from adverse effects of development and/or neglect. Only cultural sites nominated with reference to criteria (i)–(vi) have to demonstrate authenticity using one or more of the following parameters: form and design, material and substance, use and function, traditions, techniques and management systems, location and setting, language and other forms of intangible heritage, spirit and feeling as well as other internal and external factors. The final section—requirements for protection and management—should set out how the obligations for protection and management will be fulfilled, in order to ensure that the OUV of the property is maintained over time. It should include both details of

[5] UNESCO *Operational Guidelines* 2015, Annex 10

[6] UNESCO *Operational Guidelines* 2015, Annexs 5, 3.1.a:

[7] UNESCO *Operational Guidelines* 2015, Annexs 5, 3.1 b

an overall framework for protection and management and the identification of specific long-term expectations for the protection of the property.[8]

Until well into the 1990s, conservation principles of the World Heritage Convention, especially concerning the cultural heritage, as well as the notion of heritage and its differentiation between monument, ensemble and sites[9] were based on a specific Western conservation approach laid down, i.e. in the ICOMOS founding document, known as the "Venice Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites" (1964), the "Washington Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas" (1987) and "Lausanne Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage" (1990). The increased listing of cultural landscapes as World Heritage Sites required a clarification of the categories and a revision of the criteria. In response, the World Heritage Committee adopted categories for cultural landscapes and decided to remove reference to "man's interaction with his natural environment" and to "exceptional combinations of natural and cultural elements" in natural criteria (ii) and (iii), respectively (UNESCO 2003; see Jokilehto 2008 for changes in the wording of the criteria). The approval of the cultural values of the Uluṟu-Kata-Tjuṯa-National Park (Australia) in 1994, inscribed only as natural site at the time of its original nomination in 1986, documents this important shift in thinking, which was prepared and accompanied by a lot of international expert meetings and non-Western documents like the "ICOMOS Australia Burra Charter" (updated several times since 1979) and the "Nara Document on Authenticity" (1994). This went hand in hand with the recognition that at least for complex heritage sites like cultural landscapes, the conventional approach focused on the conservation of architectural monuments and the fabric of the past has to be reformed by value-led principles. Moreover, increasing development pressures on World Heritage cities and urban ensembles demonstrated the urgent need for a more inclusive and comprehensive approach.

The controversial debate about the "Wien-Mitte" project as to its height and visual impact on the World Heritage Site Historic Centre of Vienna (Austria) led to the adoption of the *Declaration on the Conservation of Historic Urban Landscapes*[10] by the General Assembly of States Parties to the Convention at its 15th session in 2005. The declaration based on the "Vienna Memorandum", subtitled "World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture-Managing the Historic Urban Landscape", became soon a subject of dispute, because it was used to legitimize rather than prevent problematic interference in historic structures and the traditional urban landscape. Apparently, more than a qualified architectural competition was needed for managing the urban landscape and linking contemporary architecture to its historic context. Already in its 30th session in 2006, the World Heritage Committee deleted all references to the declaration foreseen in relevant draft decisions and referred instead to the statement of OUV as benchmark for the evaluation of impacts of nominated and already listed World Heritage Sites.

[8] UNESCO *Operational Guidelines* 2015, Annex 10

[9] UNESCO Convention 1972, Article 1

[10] WHC-05/15.GA/INF.7 [whc.unesco.org]

As requested in the decision concerning the adoption of the *Declaration on the Conservation of Historic Urban Landscapes* on 10 November 2011, UNESCO's General Conference adopted the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape.*[11] It defines the historic urban landscape "as the urban area understood as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of *historic centre* or *ensemble* to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting. This wider context includes notably the site's topography, geomorphology, hydrology and natural features, its built environment, both historic and contemporary, its infrastructures above and below ground, its open spaces and gardens, its land use patterns and spatial organization, perceptions and visual relationships, as well as all other elements of the urban structure. It also includes social and cultural practices and values, economic processes and the intangible dimensions of heritage as related to diversity and identity".

In addition to the first *Recommendation concerning the Protection, at National Level, of the Cultural and Natural Heritage* adopted by the General Conference together with World Heritage Convention on 16 November 1972, this second recommendation complements and updates the existing policies on the subject of conservation of historic urban landscapes, with special reference to the need to link contemporary architecture to the urban historic context. It provides guidelines for the protection, conservation and management of urban heritage in dynamic and constantly changing environments. As "soft law", the recommendation encourages the inclusion of various aspects of conservation in an integrated framework such as how cultural diversity and intangible heritage affects values and approaches to conservation.

This set of documents—the *World Heritage Convention* itself, the *Recommendation concerning the Protection, at National Level, of the Cultural and Natural Heritage,* the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* and the regularly revised *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*—are the basis for the elaboration, implementation and revision of management plans or management systems for properties taking into account types, characteristics and needs of nominated and listed properties as well as different cultural perspectives and traditional practices. The resource manuals prepared by the World Heritage Centre and the advisory bodies offer additional information regarding the management of cultural (UNESCO 2013) and natural properties (UNESCO 2012). Moreover, folders of the World Heritage paper series give helpful advice for the management of historic cities (UNESCO 2010b) and cultural landscapes (UNESCO 2010a). According to the holistic approach of the World Heritage Convention, comprehensive guidelines for the management of natural and cultural properties including subcategories like historic urban and cultural landscapes would be desirable.

[11] UNESCO World Heritage Centre, Recommendation 2011

The Proposal

There is no official UNESCO template for a management plan. A proposal for a possible structure can be found below. The components of the table of contents could serve as modules; they can be used to identify the necessary elements and to build an individual management plan. This is intended to serve as a guide, making it easier to generate management plans and to define efficient boundaries of a property and its buffer zone. The proposal does not claim to be exhaustive.

Modules for a Management Plan
1 Fundamental concern—content and objective
2 Statement of Outstanding Universal Value
2.1 Brief synthesis
2.2 Justification of criteria
2.3 Statement of integrity
2.4 Statement of authenticity
2.5 Requirements for protection and management
3 Subject of protection, protection goal and instruments of protection
3.1 Subject of protection
3.2 Protection goal
3.3 Instruments of protection
3.3.1 The World Heritage Convention
3.3.1.1 Recommendation concerning the protection, at national level, of the cultural and natural heritage
3.3.1.2 Recommendation on the historic urban landscape
3.3.2 Other international conventions and charters
3.3.3 National law and planning system
3.3.4 Statutes and contracts
4 Protected area
4.1 Boundaries of the World Heritage Site
4.2 Buffer zones
4.3 Protection of view perspectives, silhouette and panorama
5 Management system
5.1 Management structures
5.1.1 Authorities and procedure
5.1.2 Ownership structure and responsible bodies
5.1.3 Co-ordination
5.2 Basic principles for planning and action
5.2.1 Objective, targets and strategies
5.2.2 Master plan and catalogue of measures
5.2.3 Inventories
5.2.4 Science and research
5.3 Threats and preventive protection
5.3.1 Development pressure
5.3.2 Climate change

Modules for a Management Plan	
	5.3.3 Natural disasters
	5.3.4 Tourism pressure
	5.3.5 Overpopulation
	5.3.6 Security of buildings
	5.3.7 Miscellaneous
5.4	Monitoring and quality control
	5.4.1 Key indicators
	5.4.2 Impact assessment
	5.4.3 Advisory boards and commissions
	5.4.4 Conflict management
5.5	Mediation
	5.5.1 Education and information
	5.5.2 Tourism and visitor guidance
	5.5.3 Events
	5.5.4 Networks and international co-operation
	5.5.5 Use of the World Heritage and UNESCO emblems
6	Sustainable development and use
7	Resources
7.1	Staff
7.2	Budget
8	Format and appendix

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Chapter 3
The Management Plan for the World Heritage Sites as a Tool of Performance Measurement and Sustainability Reporting: Opportunities and Limits in the Italian Context

Francesco Badia

Introduction

This chapter aims to analyze the role that management plans for World Heritage Sites (WHSs) may hold in the development of practices oriented towards the effectiveness of their management systems. On the first part, this work analyzes the increasing emphasis and attention given by UNESCO to the purpose and the elements of the management plan, or otherwise of a management system for the realization of the fundamental objectives of effective protection on the nominated property for present and future generations (UNESCO 2016, para. 109). Then, the chapter focuses on two specific points that include contents of managerial nature and development of a management plan for a WHS capable to support them, i.e., performance measurement systems and sustainability reporting.

Despite the significant opportunities that a proper application and implementation of a management plan shows for the development of the objectives of safeguarding and promoting the values related to a site inscribed on the World Heritage List (WHL), in the practical application among many WHSs, the planning process has not reached the expected results. These elements appear as empirical evidences from several researches that have been conducted in Italy, the country that currently has the greatest number of UNESCO sites, but similar situations are commonly found in other countries. With reference to Italy, the approval of management plans has often represented a simple compliance with formal provisions and the process has not usually led to the implementation of effective management practices, consistent with what UNESCO requires (or suggests) in its guidelines (UNESCO 2016, paras. 108–119).

In the chapter conclusions, some possible paths of development are shown, in order to allow the overcoming of these critical elements. These paths are built on the

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concepts of accountability, participation, and control in a managerial sense. However, an acquisition of broader managing skills among individuals responsible for cultural heritage is essential for the development of these concepts. These individuals often do not appear to have sufficient knowledge tools to manage the complexity arising from the integration of instances of protection and enhancement coming from the needs of the community.

Purpose and Elements of the Management Plan for World Heritage Sites

The inscription of a cultural or natural property on the WHL includes not only the recognition of its outstanding universal value but also a strong responsibility in protecting it. The introduction of management plans (UNESCO 1994, para. 21) results from the decision of the UNESCO to facilitate the preparation of concrete instruments for the protection of WHSs as a guarantee of the current policies applied by the member states to pursue their protection. Over the years, the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* led to a more precise definition, within a specific section dedicated to management systems (UNESCO 2005). The following editions of this document introduce a subsequent improvement and clarification of those concepts (UNESCO 2011), up to the current definition (UNESCO 2016) that actually, for this section, had no changes from the version contained in the 2015 Guidelines. More specifically, according to the Guidelines (UNESCO 2016, para. 108), each WHS "*should have an appropriate management plan or other documented management system which must specify how the Outstanding Universal Value of a property should be preserved, preferably through participatory means*."

In addition to this statement of principle, the regulation made by UNESCO does not provide a precise format for the preparation of the plan, allowing some freedom, while respecting the diversities among countries, the characteristics of individual sites, and the possibility to adopt not a specific document (the plan), but also an appropriate management system. However, this does not mean absolute discretion: the UNESCO Guidelines clearly state what the key elements of the management plan (or system) should be (UNESCO 2016, para. 111):

(a) *A thorough shared understanding of the property by all stakeholders, including the use of participatory planning and stakeholder consultation process*
(b) *A cycle of planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation, and feedback*
(c) *An assessment of the vulnerabilities of the property to social, economic, and other pressures and changes, as well as the monitoring of the impacts of trends and proposed interventions*
(d) *The development of mechanisms for the involvement and coordination of the various activities between different partners and stakeholders*
(e) *The allocation of necessary resources*

(f) *Capacity-building*
(g) *An accountable, transparent description of how the management system functions*

Point (a) emphasizes the need for knowledge and sharing about the tangible and intangible values, which led to the inscription of the WHS. The beneficiaries of this process should be the subjects who, for various reasons, are linked to the local area. Specifically, such an operation of knowledge should be promoted with the use of participatory methods. Point (b) synthesizes all the elements that constitute the basic steps of a process of planning and control, consistently with the most successful managerial doctrines in the academic field (Anthony 1965). Point (c) was introduced only with the Guidelines of 2011 and developed in the current form in 2015. This point draws attention to the profiles of risk that can be applied to the WHS within its context: in this sense, it seems to recall typical strategic analysis concepts applied in management sciences (Ansoff 1979). Point (d) is fundamental and must be explained, especially in those cases where the inscribed property is under care and responsibility of different subjects, or in situations where its management cannot be carried out effectively without the involvement of relevant external parties. Also point (e) appears as essential, because the reachability of the managerial goals is directly linked to the allocations of resources (not only financial ones), which have been made by the government of the member state. Point (f) expresses the idea of being able to develop resources, especially of intangible nature, on the local area, able to allow the preservation of the universal values of the property and a future-oriented sustainable development, especially through appropriate training processes. Finally, point (g) calls for a necessity of accountability (Gray et al. 1996), i.e., both transparency of management actions and decisions and responsible reporting and disclosure of the real outcomes towards the external stakeholders.

According to a management perspective, point (b) appears as particularly relevant, because it recalls the need to follow up the phase of planning with the concrete implementation of the planned actions and the analysis and evaluation of the results. In this process, the concept of feedback is particularly relevant, since it consists of preparing the corrective actions towards goals or behaviors, in case there is a deviation between objectives and results. However, the set of seven constitutive elements for a management plan (or system) appears to be integrated one with each other, under the perspective of a single instrument, which in management studies has been defined as performance measurement system.

Performance Measurement Systems for World Heritage Sites

Performance measurement is a managerial process, linked to strategic planning and control, whose aim is to support the decision-making process and assess organizational effectiveness in every performance dimension, whether financial or nonfinancial (Simons 2000). The correct source of inspiration for the application of

performance measurement to WHSs has to be found in the studies that have dealt with the implementation of performance measurement systems for nonprofit organizations (NPOs). In this context, Sheehan (1996) and Forbes (1998) attempted to identify the peculiarities of organizational effectiveness in NPOs. They highlighted the difficulties of measurement processes. In addition, Kaplan and Norton (2001), the creators of the Balanced Scorecard (BSC), probably the most successful tool of performance measurement in the practice of organizations, considered these critical factors and adapted to the features of NPOs, the BSC, originally designed for commercial organizations (Kaplan and Norton 1992).

In the field of NPOs, there are some studies, which have specifically analyzed the possibility of application of performance measurement to the organizations that take care of cultural heritage (Jackson 1991; Gilhespy 1999; Paulus 2003). They develop a set of indicators for managers and external stakeholders, based on some performance outcomes like effectiveness, efficiency, economy, and equity. However, this process is not easy in its implementation, as argued by Schuster (1997) and Lampel et al. (2000), who consider the issues of bad configuration of the system and the possible conflicts between financial and cultural/artistic aims.

Therefore, whereas theoretical frameworks are quite developed for arts and cultural organizations, they have been studied on a lesser extent for cultural and natural heritage sites (Badia 2011). However, the main difficulties emerge with the implementation processes and in some cases real gaps and inconsistencies with respect to theoretical statements appear (Turbide and Laurin 2009; Badia and Donato 2013). Notwithstanding these difficulties, a complete and effective performance measurement system appears as a necessary part of the implementation process for a WHS management plan. Consequently, the management plan should contain a specific section regarding performance indicators (PIs) capable of implementing the performance measurement system.

The implementation of the performance measurement approach for a WHS has to consider particular aspects linked to the management of complexity, descending from the WHS context: a WHS often encompasses several organizations involved in the management processes. Therefore, the performance measurement system, traditionally designed for a single organization, will have to be adapted to a more complex context and the consequent process of measurement will be carried out by a plurality of organizations in the same time. Eventually, whereas measurement in a single-organization context is applied to its same actions, for a WHS the results have to be applied to the whole management system, with a not easy identification of the contribution of each organization to the general result. Hence, the performance measurement system for a WHS has some complex and unique features, but the introduction of this approach could significantly improve the concrete practices of management for the WHSs.

Opportunities of Sustainability Reporting for World Heritage Sites

The interest in management studies towards the development of sustainability reporting has been growing in parallel with the development of the theories of social responsibility. These studies were initially applied to the field of for-profit business (Ackerman 1975) with the acronym of CSR—corporate social responsibility—but then they have expanded to NPOs and public administrations and consequently to the organizations appointed to manage cultural and natural heritage sites.

Sustainability is a concept that aims to be able to ensure, if not improve, the current living conditions in the social and environmental context for future generations. The first definition of the concept of sustainable development was presented in the "Brundtland Report" that defined it as the development that "*meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*" (UNWCD 1987: 16). It is interesting to note that the concepts related to sustainability appear quite similar to those that led to the creation of the WHL.

A possible output of the sustainability policies for an organization is the sustainability report, for which there are no mandatory standards. Nevertheless, over the years some guidelines developed by independent international bodies have emerged, with the aim of spreading the logic related to sustainability reporting. Among the many initiatives of this kind, the most widespread worldwide is the Global Reporting Initiative (GRI). The GRI aims at promoting a uniform framework of reporting regarding the economic, environmental, and social dimension of the organization results: this is the approach of the triple bottom line, introduced by Elkington (1998). The outline of GRI sustainability reporting considers the definition of the categories of relevant stakeholders and the reasons for their inclusion, the concrete ways and the frequency of their actual involvement, and the description of the use of this kind of information in decision-making processes.

Further enlargements of social responsibility can be considered with the introduction of accountability. The concept of accountability, according to an extensive literature, includes different meanings, which gravitate around the assumption of responsibility (most frequently in the public sector) towards the key external stakeholders, with duties of reporting in a transparent manner (Edwards and Hulme 1996; Gray et al. 1988; Romzek and Dubnick 1987).

Therefore, the guiding principle of assumption of social responsibility and consideration of the accountability must be the attention to all external stakeholders. In the perspective of a WHS, the local community appears as the most important external stakeholder and the sustainability reporting initiatives have to be oriented to the community. The realization of a sustainability report can only start from the elements proposed in the previous section of this chapter: a performance measurement system is indeed indispensable to set up the key content of sustainability reporting.

From an operational point of view, the centrality of external stakeholders leads to the need of developing social accounting tools that are not self-referential but which

concretize an approach of participatory governance (Edwards 2001). This expression entails the activation of forms of effective involvement of the external stakeholders in designing the objectives, in analyzing the results, and in implementing the possible corrective actions. These engagement actions should be particularly relevant for all the activities and services, which are committed by public entities, for which public funds are provided, and, therefore, when a social involvement is appropriate, if not deserved (Grote and Gbikpi 2002).

Coherently with a performance measurement approach, the development of a sustainability reporting system for a WHS should comprise and interiorize some general aims. A possible structure of objectives may result from the following points:

1. Economic sustainability: This goal aims at promoting actions and initiatives that can establish an economic development based on the cultural and natural heritage of the site, ensuring the maintenance of the outstanding universal value and preserving it for future generations.
2. Environmental sustainability: This goal aims to maintain and, where possible, to restore or improve, the environmental and natural integrity of the land conditions, in order to preserve and transmit its values to future generations, and to guarantee the diversity of landscape, biodiversity, and natural habitats of flora and fauna; this is a fundamental objective in the implementation of sustainability policies for natural WHSs, but is a necessary condition also for the protection of cultural heritage.
3. Social sustainability: This goal may represent the most specific social dimension; it considers the development of a sense of active citizenship, a connection between citizens and their cultural and natural heritage, a collective identity, and a sense of openness to the outside.
4. Accountability and transparency: This goal aims to provide a periodic check on the actual implementation of social inclusion policies in the sense of transparency, accountability, and promotion of participation.

The application of performance measurement implies that for each objective of sustainability, specific actions should be selected for the implementation to the single reality of each WHS. Every action should then find in some measurable Pls a reference of the ability to realize a successful or an unsuccessful management system for the WHS, from a sustainability perspective.

The Current Situation in Italy

Italy, among the 167 countries represented on the World Heritage List, is the one that has the largest number of registrations (53). This prestigious acknowledgement, which places this country in first place on a global scale, however, collides with a difficult reality for the institutions appointed for protection and enhancement of cultural and natural heritage. The Italian WHS management must deal with a

situation where, despite the lower economic resources, a new pursuing of strategies of economic, social, and cultural development is necessary for the territories that host the WHSs.

As mentioned, although UNESCO has provided important guiding principles for management plans and systems, it has decided, in line with its institutional role and traditional modus operandi, not to enter directly in the development of specific guidelines for their implementation. Therefore, defining and overseeing the key elements and processes of the management for a WHS is under the responsibility of the individual member states, with reference to their own territory.

In Italy, the Ministry of Culture has moved decisively, a few years ago, in the direction of getting the management plans for all the Italian WHSs, through the development of specific guidelines (MiBAC 2004). Some years after the publication of this document, we realized two empirical studies, which took place in 2009 and 2012 and whose results were published, respectively, in Badia (2011) and Badia and Donato (2013). The aim of these investigations was to verify primarily the effective diffusion of the management plans in Italian WHSs, and secondly to analyze their contents, where possible, in order to verify the consistency with the points required by UNESCO, presented in the previous sections of this chapter.

In particular, starting from a perspective of managerial studies, the most investigated element of these empirical investigations was the presence of the element (b) contained in the UNESCO guidelines, i.e., "*a cycle of planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation, and feedback*," corresponding with a planning and control system in the managerial disciplines. In this section, a summary of the results is presented and, where it is possible, an evolution of the investigated profiles and of the results over time is showed.

Research Method

The research carried out in 2009 was directed to the 43 Italian WHSs, existing at that moment, and investigated, in a broader research design, two elements that appear to be of interest for the present work. The first objective was to detect the number of actually completed management plans, in the absence of official statistics provided by the Ministry. Secondly, we analyzed the concrete modalities of implementation of the planning and control systems within the WHSs. In particular, we investigated the presence (or the willingness of insertion, for documents still in progress of creation) of specific PIs, able to measure the degree of achievement of the stated objectives. On the basis of this investigation, there was indeed the assumption that a planning and control system, which is not based on measurements, is completely ineffective and therefore the monitoring is simply absent. The research was carried out through the submission of a structured questionnaire to a referent for the management of each WHS and got a very large result of participation, corresponding to 40 of 43 WHS, i.e., 93% out of the population. The research took

even more value with reference to the first survey profile, i.e., the number of management plans. In this case, thanks to the involvement of some institutional partners, including the Italian Ministry of Culture, we had the overall figure reported in all the 43 existing Italian WHSs in 2009.

The research conducted in 2012 considered a universe of 47 WHSs, due to the growth of 4 WHSs in the meantime. This second empirical research studied three elements of investigations. The first of them was the update of the number of management plans, which had concluded the path of realization and approval. For this point, we proceeded to a direct contact, where possible, with the same subjects involved in the first research, or alternatively with the analysis of the information available on the institutional websites of the WHSs. The second element of interest of this investigation concerned instead the actual presence of a part of the management plan dedicated to the planning and control system, with a particular degree of attention to the presence of PIs, really measurable and not too general or abstract. The achievement of this aim of research was possible through a detailed analysis of the contents of each management plan. The third and final element of analysis was the study of the actual implementation of these planning and control systems into practice. For the development of this research profile, we proceeded to a direct and personal contact with at least one person in charge for the management of each WHS.

Results: The Number of Management Plans

The first profile of research regards the number of management plans in the Italian WHSs. The first empirical survey found 19 cases (44.2%) where the plan had been completed (although it was not always at the end of the approval process with the official submission to the Ministry), 16 cases (37.2%) where the drafting was in progress, and 8 cases (18.6%), where the plan was still to be realized, completely or almost completely. From the second empirical investigation (with 47 instead of 43 WHSs as population), 3 years later, the result reported only a small improvement. Only 25 sites (53.2%) completed the plan, in 6 cases (12.8%) the plan appeared in an advanced stage of realization, and for the remaining 16 cases (34.0%) the effective plan drafting process appeared as retarded, if not practically absent.

Overall, the situation has not appeared as very advanced. Despite the emphasis placed on this instrument by UNESCO and the Italian Ministry of Culture, the number of completed plans has grown by only 6 units, a fairly poor result, especially considering that there have been 4 new inscriptions, for which this document has been prepared because of an explicit requirement in the application. Furthermore, it seems almost paradoxical that the number of cases of retarded drafting process increased (8–16). Two possible explanations can justify this specific result. The first explanation is that there were cases where, during the 4 years, a quite advanced drafting process was not brought to completion, due to political, organization, or

coordination factors. In these WHSs, the sudden interruption of the process of drafting has meant normally a necessity to restart the drafting process from scratch. The second possible explanation concerns the different research methods used for the two investigations. In the first empirical research, for the cases where the plan was not completed, a judgement about the degree of realization was required in the questionnaire to the interviewee. Differently, in the second empirical research, the judgment on the degree of progress was based on the actually available documentation. Therefore, it is clear that individual respondents in the first survey, as indeed could be expected, were more generous in judging their work rather than what was the objective reality of the progress of their management plan.

Results: The Presence of Planning and Control Systems

With reference to the development of concrete elements that proved the presence of planning and control systems, the results were as follows. The first investigation showed that only 20 WHS managers out of 40 participating in the survey had considered (for plans already approved) or wanted to consider (for those in course of approval) PIs for "*monitoring, evaluation, and feedback*" (as reported in the UNESCO guidelines). This figure does not appear very high, since, as already mentioned, appropriate indicators are necessary for the realization of an effective monitoring action, an essential basis of a planning and control system. This finding is even more alarming when combined with another result about the concrete expression of these indicators. In fact, only 11 managers of WHSs who claimed to consider PIs were able to produce concrete examples of them. In addition, considering the other 20 WHSs where indicators were not foreseen, in 12 cases the monitoring was not considered necessary at all (with a clear contradiction of the principles contained in the UNESCO *Operational Guidelines*).

Three years after the conclusion of the first empirical research, the results obtained with the second investigation do not show a much more comforting picture. In this case, the study was carried out on 25 actually published management plans. It reveals that only 12 management plans (48.0% on approved plans and 25.5% on Italian WHSs) had a special section dedicated to the monitoring. This figure should be further reduced if consider monitoring related to the presence of PIs: the use of performance indicators was considered specifically only in 10 management plans. The two investigations thus present a concrete reality that is far from catching the opportunities of the introduction of a planning and control approach, which may find expression in performance measurement and in sustainability reporting.

Results: The Implementation of Planning and Control Systems

The second empirical research has gathered more details. Indeed, it has analyzed the concrete implementation of management plans, by means of direct contacts with the persons responsible for the WHS management, where there was a management plan with a specific monitoring section (that is, the 12 just mentioned documents). The aim of this analysis was to check whether these WHSs would be able to put into practice the elements of planning and control, which were included in the management plan.

The emerging picture is that only in 2 out of 12 cases, the concrete measurement of the results took place, according to what was established by the approved management plans. In addition, a concrete action of evaluation and feedback (as required by UNESCO), based on analysis of the deviations between the stated objectives and results, appeared as incomplete or missing, even in those two cases. In the light of these results, the overall picture is rather negative: the management plan, which, if properly interpreted, could ensure a real improvement for a WHS in its purposes of preservation and development of cultural and natural heritage, appears more like a missed opportunity for the Italian WHSs. The next section presents some final considerations on the findings, with the proposal of possible solutions to the critical aspects, which have been reported.

Conclusions

A proper critical analysis of these findings cannot overlook the fact that often the management of a WHS shows characters of particular complexity. First, the management of a WHS is frequently entrusted simultaneously to several subjects. Coherently, the empirical analysis shows that the only two cases, which would be able to implement, at least in part, a planning and control system, are WHSs where the management system is assigned to a single organization. Normally, the realization of an effective monitoring system for a WHS must therefore be able to reconcile different interests and to enable a system of performance measurement, based on an aggregation of data collected from multiple subjects. Such a problem also involves the definition of the PIs: in particular, in front of a complex context, adding complexity would be a mistake. Therefore, the indicators should always have requirements of selectivity, timeliness, effective measurability, and, when possible, controllability from the subjects who measure.

A further peculiarity of the WHS management systems should be to ensure real accountability conditions and management transparency. Actually, these factors seem very scarce in the current situation of the Italian management plans. In addition, the study of the single Italian management plans shows the gaps also from the point of view of stakeholder participation in the prioritization of aims and

decision-making processes. The actual adoption of participatory governance could also solve the problem of accountability: the adoption of participatory policies would make all stakeholders aware of the ongoing policies of preservation and development and more interested in checking out what has been effectively accomplished.

A final necessary element in the Italian WHS management systems is more presence of managerial culture. More managerial culture is necessary, first of all, at structural level, permeating all the UNESCO heritage managers, beyond their specific skills and background. However, even a greater diffusion of the specific economic and managerial skills seems necessary for both the drafting process of the management plans and their practical implementation. Only in this way the creation of truly effective management systems will be possible, taking into account all the variables involved and the correct application of the monitoring concept, under the perspective of planning and control, also with the use of tools such as performance measurement and sustainability reporting.

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Part II
Case Studies

Chapter 4
From Archaeological Site to World Heritage Site: The Emergence of Social Management at Monte Alban, Mexico

Nelly Robles García and Jack Corbett

Introduction

One of the ironies in addressing planning and management matters as they relate to archaeological sites or parks is the tendency to overlook or ignore the circumstances of the place prior to its designation. In fact, it is doubly ironic because it is precisely that previous human habitation or use that makes the location of interest to us initially while more recent or contemporary dimensions fade into the background. In effect history begins anew at the moment of designation and with it the necessary creation of physical and institutional infrastructure to foster effective operations. The process of designation and formalization of activities addressing the place itself thereby produces an unconscious bias that leads to an emphasis on what lies within site boundaries; indeed the creation of boundary lines where none existed previously involves a process requiring rules specifying the who and how of boundary-making plus further rules governing relations between the site and its external environment. We identify this boundary zone as the *site-society interface* (Robles García and Corbett 2010b).

A further irony is a general reluctance to bring experience from other periods or places to bear on planning and management (Corbett 2016; Robles García and Corbett 2013). Certainly there are exceptions to this, e.g. manuals and studies produced by the World Heritage Centre or the conferences on best practices in heritage management convened in Menorca, Spain (Castillo Mena 2015; Brown and Hay-Edie 2014; Mitchell et al. 2009). But the more common tendency is to move forward based on limited or

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national perspectives, shaping planning and management in accordance with existing values, priorities and preferences rather than a systematic effort to establish forward-looking frameworks or mechanisms for decision-making.

Learning from Monte Alban

Given the general tendency to downplay context and prioritize the particular over the general, this text addresses the consequence of change over time at Monte Alban, Oaxaca, in southern Mexico. As one of the first significant urban centres in the Western Hemisphere it dates back perhaps 2500 years, but its recent history begins with early professional archaeological excavations there in 1931. At the time there was no officially designated "site", merely a mysterious massive array of mounds, apparent plazas and suspected tombs on the summit of a mountain dominating the central Oaxaca Valley. The lands in question belonged to local indigenous communities willing to permit national government archaeologists to excavate an obscure, low-value location used for grazing, firewood gathering and limited cultivation. The archaeological remains were simply places within community boundaries that, while known, held no special significance beyond occasional private religious rituals practiced by a few community members. In effect prior to 1931, it would have been difficult to identify many elements of a site-society interface at Monte Alban as the site was simply a physical place within local society.

Over succeeding decades, however, Mexican archaeologist Alfonso Caso pursued systematic, extensive excavation and consolidation of many structures, plazas and tombs on the mountain top. In 1939 the Mexican Government created the Instituto Nacional de Antropologia e Historia (hereafter INAH) as its agency for research, protection and public education related to the country's pre-Hispanic heritage, and INAH asserted control over the monumental remains its archaeologists were exploring. The informal, tacit boundaries established by the professional and moral authority of the archaeologists began to be codified as the legal authority of the national government. In effect, responsibility for establishing spatial and organizational boundaries shifted from informal negotiation between Caso and community authorities to more formal relations between national and local governments. In Mexico's highly centralized political system, with INAH granted a near-monopoly over archaeological properties and artefacts, this shift imbedded the emergent site-society interface in a hierarchy of structures and processes (Ley Organica 1939).

It is difficult to exaggerate the significance of this shift. It is a classic example of boundary-making, that is, of formalizing a differentiation of spheres of power and authority, of responsibility and privilege, of arenas of action. Initially the boundaries were relatively simple. The formal site boundary was the summit with its monumental architecture, and the organizational boundary was INAH as federal agent in relations with local communities. Furthermore, as its responsibility centred on the management of artefacts and culture, not space, it exercised oversight of land *use* but not land *tenure*, i.e. ownership (Corbett and Robles García 2014). As communities

retained ownership and existing uses were little affected, INAH's presence at first had very limited impact.

But even as INAH consolidated its legal status and organizational control over the areas explored by Caso, two other changes began to alter the context of INAH operations. First, additional archaeological research, driven in part by the arrival of other archaeologists in Oaxaca and in part by shifts in archaeological perspective, began to enlarge the space understood by the referent "Monte Alban". Caso's work and INAH's initial focus were on the monumentality of pre-Hispanic architecture, part of a Mexican Government effort to enhance the status of the indigenous population of Mexico through attention to their early accomplishments in constructing not only Monte Alban but also Teotihuacan, El Tajin, Tula and the many Mayan sites in southeastern Mexico. This was one reason for placing INAH under the overall responsibilities of the Secretary of Public Education; linking INAH's research and dissemination to the education mission of the Secretary of Public Education was one way to communicate to a broad public the contributions of indigenous people to Mexican culture.

Yet this nation-building focus for INAH found it necessary to accommodate changing interests among the archaeologists it trained, employed or permitted to conduct research. During the 1970s many Mexican and foreign archaeologists shifted their professional orientation from monumentality to settlement patterns and human behaviour. One consequence at Monte Alban was a shift in archaeological research from the relatively compact and discernable site at the summit to the agricultural terraces and housing distribution along the flanks of the mountain and even to the adjacent valley floor (Robles García and Juarez Osnaya 2004). As archaeologists expanded their horizons what was understood by Monte Alban also expanded. In 1993 President Carlos Salinas de Gortari officially proclaimed the formation of the Archaeological Zone of Monte Alban, a 2078-hectare reserve far more extensive than the 70 hectares on the summit of the mountain. This brought the area controlled by INAH into more direct conflict with the second major shift across the time, the urbanization of the Oaxaca Valley.

When Caso initiated his project at Monte Alban in 1931 the nearby city of Oaxaca, capital of the state of Oaxaca, had a population of barely 40,000. Physically isolated in one of the poorest regions of Mexico, surrounded by communities of Zapotec-speaking subsistence farmers governed by civil-religious hierarchies and village assemblies, the city appeared to be of little threat to the ancient ruins of Monte Alban several miles away. But by the time the city of Oaxaca and Monte Alban were designated a World Heritage Site in 1987, population growth fed by migration from the interior of the state, increased national and international tourism and greater commerce fed by improvements in transportation networks and government services provoked an extensive spread of the urbanized area. As archaeologists expanded Monte Alban through research, urban settlement not only reached the boundaries established by the 1993 proclamation of the Monte Alban Archaeological Zone but also began to penetrate the official boundary (Corbett and Gonzalo Alafita 2002). Current estimates place the metropolitan area population at approximately 800,000 people, and in one canyon uncontrolled urban growth has effectively divided the archaeological zone into two portions.

Challenge to Boundary-Making: Increased Organizational Density

If INAH has formal control over land use within the boundaries of the World Heritage Site how could such growth threaten its integrity? The answer lies in the increased organizational density that confronts INAH today. Prior to 1939 INAH did not exist and organizational boundaries were not an issue. Alfonso Caso's early excavations depended heavily on his personal stature and ability to convince village authorities to permit excavation. In INAH's early years its status as an important central government agency reinforced the personal contact of Caso and other archaeologists. By 1972 the number, size, complexity and distribution of archaeological projects and sites open to the public convinced INAH to open a regional administrative centre (Robles García and Juarez Osnaya 2004). As the city of Oaxaca grew, as regional tourism increased and as infrastructure construction expanded, more extensive oversight was necessary to protect archaeological remains so a regional centre seemed a reasonable solution.

But as the population grew so did the involvement of other agencies and jurisdictions. The state government eyed Monte Alban's slopes as a place to build housing for state workers. The Federal Electricity Commission sought to extend services to new neighbourhoods, the National Forestry Commission sought to reforest bare slopes while the Secretariat of Environment and Natural Resources struggled to protect the remaining vegetative cover, the Secretariat of Tourism promoted tourist access and services to stimulate the economy, and once-quiet rural communities like Santa Maria Atzompa found themselves confronting demands for land to be converted to residential or commercial use. By 2014 INAH found that it interacted with at least 50 agencies and organizations on a periodic or recurring basis, a number that does not reflect engagements with classes of private stakeholders such as tourist service providers or individual landowners.

The need to initiate, respond to, monitor and comply with the extraordinary growth in inter-agency and inter-jurisdictional relations, combined with the increasing pressure to address service demands associated with growing visitor traffic, produced Mexico's first archaeological zone management plan in 1997. Nelly Robles García, a Mexican archaeologist with a doctorate in anthropology and training in cultural resource management, introduced the concept as a way to meet the obligations of World Heritage Site status as well as bring order, focus and priority-setting to the increasingly complicated role of Monte Alban director (Robles García 2010). The notion of managing the archaeological zone as a unit rather than as an accretion of individual projects proved a novel challenge as it envisioned the inclusion of biologists, engineers and others not normally a part of INAH staffing. Some archaeologists were uncomfortable with a concept they feared diminished the central role of archaeologists as well as their claims for budgetary priority. Others feared a loss of research autonomy.

Few appreciated the extent to which the role of site director had evolved across time from a coordinator of archaeological research to someone spending considerable

time each week managing relations with stakeholders, organizations and agencies as varied as the Cultural Officer of the Embassy of Japan, the chief aide to the governor, the president of the tourist guides association and the Oaxaca coordinator for the federal Secretariat of Social Development. Despite early scepticism, the value of site management plans proved such that today they are required as they help structure encounters on the site-society interface by organizing relationships across boundaries. In 2011 the UNESCO World Heritage Capacity Building Strategy cited Monte Alban's attention to managing relations with other entities as an example of "best practice" for similar sites around the world (World Heritage Committee 2011).

Above all, Monte Alban finds that its relationship with surrounding communities, once managed via an occasional visit by an archaeologist with an official letter from distant Mexico City, now requires delegating one archaeologist to full-time duty as community liaison to address matters such as disagreements or violations of boundaries, location and use of trails and roads, access to the archaeological zone for community activities such as weekend recreation, and service provision. Two generations ago the idea that an archaeologist would be detailed to do this on a full-time basis would have been unthinkable. Today, managing boundary relations between Monte Alban and neighbouring communities is accepted as essential. This collaboration with adjacent communities was also identified as a "best practice" in the capacity-building strategy noted above.

Boundary management matters with local communities frequently have to do with physical boundaries. Sometimes these are simple agreements as to the location of a boundary line to facilitate allocation of responsibilities, e.g. to make sure that an INAH water line does not inadvertently intrude into a community's jurisdiction. Sometimes there are disputes: Does a subsurface archaeological feature extend into community land? INAH has the legal right to protect it in any case but the mechanisms might vary. Sometimes two communities disagree on a boundary matter and appeal for assistance. Or a private individual may wish to pursue construction or another use that conflicts with INAH's understanding of subsurface features and the local authorities come into play. Local authorities are INAH's first stop in addressing physical boundary matters and it is critical for INAH personnel to understand boundary-making and boundary maintenance not only from INAH's perspective but also from its dynamic within the community.

One of the most critical responsibilities of community leadership, especially in formally elected roles such as *presidente municipal*, essentially mayor, is to defend the territorial integrity of the community, to resist efforts by outsiders to appropriate community lands for their own benefit. While today such disputes tend to wind up in court or debated in front of state or federal officials, in extreme cases the mayor is expected to prepare his community to respond via armed confrontation. As community assemblies meet every 3 years to select new mayors and councils a common question regarding candidates is whether they appear able to stand up to outsiders or higher officials; in effect the question is whether they are capable of pursuing boundary maintenance. As managing boundaries becomes more important for communities the weight attached to this capability increases. Individuals regarded as

possibly excessively deferent or unprepared to protect community interests may be passed over to select those expected to be effective.

In addition to the full-time liaison with communities Monte Alban staff not only manages boundaries by attending community meetings to listen to discussions or answer questions but physically walk the place in question with community members. It is not unusual for such a group to number 20, 30 or even more individuals walking from point to point, discussing whether a tree, pile of stones or some other feature is the one referred to in eighteenth-century documents. Agreements are written down and signed. Not uncommonly community members slide into Zapotec to make their discussions more private (Robles García and Corbett 2010a). In such settings INAH staff must depend on interpersonal relations based on *confianza* or trust to assure positive outcomes for the intergovernmental relationships they seek to promote. Nurturing this trust requires an investment of time and commitment rarely acknowledged in documents or reports but vital to boundary-making and maintenance.

Challenge to Boundary-Making: Organizational Complexity

If organizational density refers to the growing number of relationships spanning the site-society interface emerging across time organizational complexity refers the way in which INAH must address increased specialization and differentiation within the site itself. Some of this change reflects the growth in visitor traffic from a few 100 visitors annually in the early 1930s to more than 700,000 annually today. Those early visitors needed to be well prepared as they often were faced with a 1500-ft vertical climb to the ruins. Today tour buses contribute to congested parking, thousands of school children participate in educational activities and Monte Alban offers Mexico's first access trail engineered for wheelchairs, including a solar-powered chairlift. Some of the changes reflect efforts to improve the quality of the site, ranging from a native plant nursery to a laboratory for material analysis and a package sewage treatment plant. Some address new institutional requirements such as improved site security and disaster planning, a requirement underscored by an earthquake in 1999 striking at midday when there were many visitors to protect and evacuate. The handful of administrative staff and custodians once supporting the site may now reach 200 staff and volunteers during peak visitor periods such as the December holidays or Oaxaca's Guelaguetza dance festival in July. Whether coordinating volunteers and personnel from other agencies on detached duty during peak periods or responding to directives from INAH's headquarters in Mexico City requires managing an organizational complexity not readily visible from the outside (Robles García and Corbett 2014a, b).

Dealing with wildfires is a case in point. The hilly terrain, weather cycles where the rainy season encourages the growth of grass and brush while the dry season makes it flammable tinder and the encroachment of urban settlement produce conditions that result in burning approximately 15% of Monte Alban's surface area each

year. While for the most part these are in the peripheral areas they represent a recurring danger to site structures and personnel, close roads and trails and leave denuded slopes that then suffer erosion in the subsequent rainy season, exposing and damaging unexplored archaeological remains. Yet because INAH is a cultural resource agency, not a land management agency, it does not have budgetary authority to acquire firefighting equipment. Unlike Mesa Verde National Park, its sister park in the national park system of the United States, Monte Alban has no institutional quick-response capability. Instead it is expected to call the fire department of the city of Oaxaca, in effect solving a problem by reaching across a jurisdictional boundary for assistance.

Unfortunately a firefighting solution that appears adequate on paper has serious limitations in practice. The city's fire department is equipped and trained for urban structural fires, fires that may be intense but generally are static, i.e. they do not move. Manpower and equipment are readily deployed on a concentrated objective. Monte Alban's fires generally begin on its lower slopes adjacent to settled areas where lack of garbage service leads to burning trash as a sanitary measure. Afternoon winds sweep burning materials upslope into dry grass and brush, and then push the flames upward toward the main plaza. Fires frequently expand until they advance on a front several hundred meters across, largely unimpeded by the steep, rough terrain. Oaxaca's fire department is unprepared for such fires even if it is willing to respond.

To address the gap between INAH's legal mandate and realities on the ground Monte Alban has turned to informal adjustments creating increased organizational complexity. A cadre of maintenance workers and custodians forms an almost invisible fire protection unit to respond as needed. As INAH cannot appropriate funds to purchase firefighting equipment Monte Alban appealed to the World Heritage Centre in Paris for emergency support. This was granted but the specialized portable equipment necessary was not available in Mexico. Eventually Monte Alban was able to purchase it in the United States only to have it impounded for months by Mexican customs officials. Finally delivered it supported training from the state of Oaxaca's civil protection office and personnel from Mesa Verde. Thus the increased organizational density discussed earlier provided a support system for increased organizational complexity at Monte Alban.

Yet even development of internal organizational resources may be inadequate where boundary concerns are involved. Fires commonly begin on and burn through community lands within Monte Alban's official boundary. This means communities have the formal responsibility for responding to fires even though they have limited capacity to do so. Usually it means the community land committee or some other body turns out a hastily mobilized force of volunteers with shovels, machetes and brooms to join INAH's improvised fire brigade. Community reliance on such ad hoc arrangements results in uncertainties and delays in responding as well as potential danger for untrained volunteers trapped by smoke and flames. Yet the informality of Monte Alban's own internal arrangements is vulnerable to changes in personnel and practice. In 2016 the arrival of a new director for Monte Alban, someone unfamiliar with its wildfires and its internal response capacity, meant a fire starting on a weekend burned more than 200 hectares before volunteers from Santa Maria Atzompa were able to control it.

Conclusion

Several dimensions of the Monte Alban experience are worth revisiting:

1. An emphasis on improved technical or disciplinary training for site/park managers, e.g. advanced degrees in archaeology for archaeologists, does not automatically prepare them for the dynamics of interaction across the site-society interface. Successful management of cross-boundary matters requires skill sets and perspectives integrating insights from several disciplines and a capacity to negotiate.
2. Recognizing the significance of change across time reinforces our sense of management as dynamic and evolutionary. At the same time change underscores the challenge to long-term planning as planning for Monte Alban as it was on attaining World Heritage status in 1987 would be hopelessly outdated today, and in fact the current management plan reflects a far different world than existed in 1997. Administrative histories may make for dry reading but are essential for understanding effective management. INAH is about to write a new chapter in its history with the December, 2015, transfer from its decades-old home in Public Education to the new Secretariat of Culture, a shift likely to bring changes in leadership and policy.
3. Boundary-making and boundary maintenance are critical processes that may be understood only in retrospect but are constantly in motion. Sometimes addressing boundary functions requires skills less valued in an earlier era; in 2016 it would be difficult for the director of Monte Alban to manage the international boundary functions of the site without a basic grasp of English or the use of computers. Managing relations across boundaries has become a central concern. When American poet Robert Frost wrote "Good fences make good neighbours" he might have been thinking of Monte Alban, not New England farmers.
4. *Organizational density* and *organizational complexity* are critical measures of boundary-making and maintenance. Over last 50 years Monte Alban has moved from a modest network of organizational relations to a web with international reach. Internally it has become far more complex. Fifty years ago no one would have envisioned employing truck drivers who spend their days hauling water up the mountain to support visitor services or educational services providing orientation and tours for school groups from all over the valley who come to learn the history and significance of Monte Alban. No one mentions organizational complexity to them but they are the beneficiaries of it in the form of the educational specialists who teach them while they are there.
5. Managing Monte Alban today is a multidisciplinary endeavour. No matter what the formal training of senior site staff they must be open to the perspectives and knowledge of specialists drawn from many fields. Conservation biologists work next to educators who work next to architects and anthropologists. Attorneys, once unimaginable at an archaeological site, today must track labour law, challenge physical invasion of the site boundaries by squatters and negotiate agreements with communities, agencies or other stakeholders. Accountants handle not

only ticket receipts but also the flow of federal funds, financial collaboration with foundations, and payments to vendors while security staff do disaster planning, firefighting, attempt to control dumping and looting, and patrol more than 30 km of perimeter fencing. Coordinating this internal effort while managing external relations requires broad vision and capacity to mobilize diverse resources.

For these reasons we refer to site management at Monte Alban as *social management* as its core reflects the need to coordinate relationships with individuals, groups, agencies, vendors and other stakeholders (Corbett 2008; Robles García and Corbett 2010b). It is valuable to have a site director knowledgeable in archaeological techniques or the history of Zapotec civilization; it is essential to have a director with the capacity to work across organizational boundaries and address multiple constituencies. Site staff needs to appreciate the contributions all make to a team effort, not envision the site as primarily an arena that must respond to the priorities of their specialty. Creating a team is in itself an important dimension of site leadership, and overseeing its effective interaction internally as well as its engagement with interests beyond site boundaries makes for new and often daunting challenges (Robles García and Corbett 2013).

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Chapter 5
Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, Canada, and Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site, United States

John F. Doershuk

Introduction

Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump (HSI) and Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site (Cahokia) were among the first 200 sites admitted to the World Heritage List (UNESCO 2003) and in each case the second cultural site designated, respectively, for Canada (1981) and the United States (1982). These properties were admitted well before the UNESCO *Operational Guidelines* (UNESCO 2005), which specify that each listed property should have an appropriate management plan. This chapter contrasts the nominating documentation produced in the early 1980s for each of these properties, identifying the critical elements of the respective initial management system established for each and tracing changes over the past three decades. Particular attention is paid to the involvement of descendant indigenous communities in the development and implementation of the evolving management plans for each site. Current approaches to how the UNESCO outstanding universal values of these properties are being sustained and specific management challenges are elucidated. Comparison of HSI and Cahokia provides useful insights as they are both World Heritage Sites (WHS) associated with pre-European North American cultures but are located in dramatically different modern natural and cultural landscapes, which present very different management system challenges. HSI is located in a rural area 45 km from Fort Macleod—population ca. 3100—in a relatively isolated part of the world in southern Alberta, Canada. There is little in the way of local support services for visitors and HSI is not considered a primary tourist destination (Economic Planning Group 2015). Cahokia is embedded within the St. Louis, Missouri metropolitan area—population ca. 2,800,000—at a major crossroad of the US interstate highway system. Cahokia is part of a large suite of local

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Fig. 5.1 Aerial view of Cahokia Interpretive Center and Monks Mound (used with permission: photo by William Iseminger, courtesy of Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site)

cultural/historical tourist destinations in the greater St. Louis area, and the full range of modern urban visitor support services are readily available to travelers. As will be seen, the kind and degree of indigenous involvement at HSI and Cahokia was—and continues to remain today—perhaps the most significant management difference between these two WHSs.

Cahokia is the largest pre-Columbian settlement north of Mexico. It was occupied primarily during the Mississippian period (800–1400 C.E.) when it covered nearly 1600 ha and included some 120 human-constructed earthen mounds. It is a striking example of a complex chiefdom society. Visitation in the several years prior to the designation of WHS status in 1982 was about 40,000 persons per year. Visitation after WHS designation but prior to the 1989 opening of the interpretive center averaged 75,000 persons per year (Fig. 5.1). Visitation for the first 3 years thereafter averaged 500,000 persons per year and then decreased, averaging 400,000 persons per year during the next 3 years. Visitation 1995–2002 averaged 350,000 persons per year but dropped to 300,000 per year since 2002 due to reduced number of days open. The recent trend is toward 250,000 visitors per year (Mark Esarey, Cahokia Site Superintendent, pers. comm., October 14, 2016).

HSI is one of the oldest, most extensive, and best preserved sites illustrating communal hunting techniques and the way of life of Plains people in North America. Bone and tool beds, nearly 11 m thick, lie beneath the jump's sandstone cliffs; earliest use dates to at least 6000 years ago with the majority of the deposit dating from the past 1800 years. HIS is open seasonally May–October and visitation peaked during the first 3 years following the 1987 opening of the interpretive center

Fig. 5.2 Aerial view of Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump Interpretive Center and setting (used with permission: photo by Jack Brink, courtesy of Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump)

(Fig. 5.2) with over 500,000 visitors counted (Brink 1992: 21). More recently, visitation has ranged between 55,000 and 65,000 per year. This is down from an average of 85,000 visitors per year through 2004 but admission was free in early years with longer operating hours and there was access to a now-closed local RV camp ground (Economic Planning Group 2015, Appendix IV), which encouraged more regional tourists to stop and visit HSI as part of their travels.

Why Were HSI and Cahokia Early Candidates for World Heritage Site Designation?

Prior to inscription as a WHS, HSI had been designated a Canadian National Historic Site (1968) and a Provincial Historic Site (1979). Susemihl (2013: 64) observed that HSI was "explored first in 1938 by members of the American Museum of Natural History [and] since the 1950s … has been the object of systematic excavations, which have considerably enriched the knowledge of prehistoric arms and tools and transformed current thinking on the use of game as food and in clothing and lodging." Kooyman (1994: 6) observed, "Head-Smashed-In is a very special place … Its story is recorded in Blackfoot oral traditions and was noted in the journal of Peter Fidler, the first European explorer in southwestern Alberta in 1792." HSI was inscribed as a WHS in 1981 under

cultural criterion vi, being "directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance." Notably, this criterion is qualified in the *Operational Guidelines* for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 2005: 20) in so far as the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the list only in exceptional circumstances and in conjunction with other criteria, cultural or natural. The site was in fact nominated (Parks Canada 2006, section 2a) under criteria iii ("bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared") and v ("be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement or land use, which is representative of a culture (or cultures), especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change") and the nominating information provided in support of these criteria was viewed as appropriate for inscription under criterion vi, reflecting the continued importance of HSI to Blackfoot-speaking people who remain resident in the immediate vicinity. Although no statement of significance was agreed upon at the time of inscription, in 2006 a proposed statement of significance was put forth (Parks Canada 2006, section 2b) and subsequently adopted (UNESCO 2014a: 1) as embodying the site's outstanding universal value: "The significance of the landscape of Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump lies in its cultural, archaeological and scientific interest. The deep layers of bison bones buried below the cliff represent nearly 6000 years of use of the buffalo jump by Aboriginal people of the Northern Plains. This landscape is an outstanding illustration of subsistence hunting techniques that continued into the late 19th century and which still form part of the 'traditional knowledge base' of the Plains nations. It throws valuable light on the way of life and practices of traditional hunting cultures elsewhere in the world." This description continues, making clear HSI's significance under criteria vi: "Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump is one of the oldest, most extensive and best preserved sites that illustrate communal hunting techniques and the way of life of Plains people who, for more than five millennia, subsisted on the vast herds of bison that existed in North America." A Parks Canada report (2006, section 3a) specifically highlights that the ICOMOS evaluation of the HSI nomination at the time of WHS inscription called specific attention to the sheer size and integrity of the site, which sets it apart from similar contexts in Europe and the United States.

Noted American archaeologist Warren K. Moorehead reported on field investigations he conducted at Cahokia in 1921 to establish site significance and outlined a plan to "inaugurate a movement to preserve these mounds" (Moorehead 1922a: 26). Moorehead recognized that in addition to needing permission from the owners to conduct his investigation he also had to interest the press, secure funds, and convince a "central institution" to eventually take over the work of preserving the site. Moorehead (1922b) subsequently published what was the most comprehensive treatise on Cahokia at the time, with copious details on the known archaeological and inadvertent discoveries. This publication also included reiteration of Moorehead's call for preservation, "a state park of 1000 acres would safeguard for all time these tumuli,"

noting the imminent danger to Cahokia posed by the rapidly expanding city of East St. Louis (Moorehead 1922b: 37). Moorehead cajoled his readers that other states had successfully made parks of some of their great mound sites and lamented that other mounds in the vicinity of Cahokia were already destroyed.

The State of Illinois purchased lands and in 1931 Cahokia Mounds State Park was established, with the primary objective being to "preserve, restore and interpret (based on research) the cultural development of the site for the mutual benefit of the citizens of Illinois and the world" (Illinois Department of Conservation 1980: 2). Cahokia was designated a National Historic Landmark (NHL) in 1964. A significant difference between the land-use history of HSI and Cahokia is that at HSI, although nonnative peoples entered the region and ultimately came to exert governmental control, the traditional Blackfoot-speaking peoples whose direct ancestors utilized the buffalo jump remain the primary resident population. At Cahokia, the Mississippian culture responsible for creating the surviving archaeological deposits, which serve as the focal period of significance for the WHS and NHL designations, had disappeared by the end of the sixteenth century. The area rapidly became dominated by Europeans and then Americans and after 1830 no resident population of American-Indians as an organized political unit existed in Illinois. By the 1950s, the area around Cahokia not in public ownership had fully taken on the typical trappings of a major metropolitan area within American society with little regard for the historical significance of what became an NHL and WHS. The initial Cahokia Master Management Plan (Illinois Department of Conservation 1980: 24) indicates that the property was intentionally shifted to "Historic Site" from "State Park" status to bring attention to the valuable historic resource, a step necessary in achieving WHS recognition.

Cahokia was inscribed as a WHS in 1981 under cultural criteria iii ("bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared") and iv ("be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history") with the following statement of significance embodying the outstanding universal value of the site: "Cahokia Mounds is the largest and earliest pre-Columbian settlement north of Mexico. It was occupied primarily during the Mississippian period (800–1350), when it covered over 1600 hectares (3950 acres) and included some 120 mounds. It is the preeminent example of a cultural, religious, and economic center of the Mississippian cultural tradition, which extended throughout the Mississippi Valley and the southeastern United States. This agricultural society may have had a population of 10,000–20,000 at its peak between 1050 and 1150. Cahokia is an early and exceptional example of pre-urban structuring (UNESCO 2014b: 1)." This description continues, highlighting specifically that the attribute "Dating from the Mississippian period (800–1350), Cahokia Mounds is the largest pre-Columbian archaeological site north of Mexico, and also the earliest. It is the pre-eminent example of a cultural, religious, and economic center of the prehistoric Mississippian cultural tradition" establishes significance under criterion iii, and "Cahokia graphically demonstrates the existence of a pre-urban society in which a powerful political and

economic hierarchy was responsible for the organization of labour, communal agriculture and trade. This is reflected in the size and layout of the settlement and the nature and structure of the public and private buildings" establishes significance under criterion iv.

Key Elements of Initial Management Systems

To date, HSI intentionally (UNESCO 2014a: 5) does not have a comprehensive management plan but instead utilizes a series of policy documents, which have evolved from the development and consultation efforts initiated in the mid-1970s by Canadian Government administrators and scientists charged with developing HSI into a WHS and the Blackfoot-speaking groups situated immediately adjacent to the site and in the region. Brink (1992: 21–23) describes in full the intricate series of contacts and communications—and several miscommunications, which eventually were overcome—with local tribal representatives, but in short identifies that achieving WHS inscription in 1981 led directly to a 10-million-dollar commitment by the Alberta Government for an interpretive center the next year, galvanizing native involvement. Brink (1992: 24–25) acknowledges the primacy of nonnative control in developing the HSI interpretive center and the stories it would tell about native people but notes, "it was also clear that a greater legitimacy, in the eyes of native people, could be obtained if the contemporary members of the Blackfoot Nation could make direct and meaningful contributions to the information to be contained in the centre." To this end concerted efforts to significantly and continuously involve the perspectives, concerns, and ideas of native Blackfoot-speaking people have characterized the management of HSI to the present day.

As noted, the first Master Management Plan (MMP) for the Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site was completed in 1980 (Illinois Department of Conservation 1980); it was an integral source for the WHS nomination. The 1980 plan included important recommendations for land management and acquisition, site archaeology, and numerous programs. Several key recommendations were implemented—the most significant being the 1989 construction of the interpretive center—however the 1980 MMP has a notable systematic absence of American-Indian involvement. This was hardly unusual in the United States at this time, especially in the eastern portion of the country where there are relatively few reservations or organized tribal population centers. As noted in the program overview section of the 1980 MMP there was a strong and specific management commitment to insuring "all elements of the site and activity interpretation will be as authentic and accurate as feasible and as documented by the research programme" (Illinois Department of Conservation 1980: 29) with responsibility for "correct native plants and wildlife" being assigned to the Natural Areas Section and Division of Forestry, Wildlife and Fisheries. So authenticity was intentionally designed to be achieved through archaeological research and modern landscape management lenses and no explicit emphasis was placed on seeking native perspectives.

Changes in Management Practices

Susemihl (2013: 65) notes, "Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump is owned, controlled, and managed by the Government of Alberta with only minimal indigenous involvement in the executive decision-making process … Holding the majority of jobs at the centre, however, including those as site interpreters, the Blackfoot play a key role in the **operation of the site** [emphasis added]." Susemihl makes it clear that her research confirms that HSI remains of great spiritual significance for the Blackfoot people, as Blackfoot culture is based on a long and intimate relationship with the land, and the landscape has always been part of indigenous traditions. Brink (2008: 290) observes that despite Alberta Government ownership, the Blackfoot have come to claim the site "as their own." Thus while the Blackfoot lack legal title to HSI the recognition by the government that the site's attraction depends significantly on Blackfoot presence and involvement in the operation of the site creates the basis for an ongoing and a substantial native involvement. Nonetheless, Susemihl (2013: 70–71) documents that improvement in indigenous employment, living conditions, and education seems to exist only on an individual basis, "Blackfoot working as guides, dancers, or sales personnel at HSIBJ identify with the site, [but] there is little identification with the site among the young Blackfoot. Many visitors, however, believe that the Piikani are the owners and managers of the site and can thus not understand Blackfoot complains [sic] about living circumstances, as they expect the indigenous community to make use of revenues."

The *Special Places 2000* program was established by Provincial legislation to preserve the environmental diversity of the province including HSI (Parks Canada 2006, section 4e). This program affords included properties' another level of protection through monitored use. An additional 728 ha around HSI were added to the original Provincial Historic Resource Designation and the full 890 ha were named to the Special Places 2000 project as rough fescue grassland. This designation allows the Alberta Government to review all developmental activities "within the area for the purpose of curtailing inappropriate and/or destructive use" (Parks Canada 2006, section 4e).

In addition, current HSI management practices as detailed in the most recent periodic report (UNESCO 2014a: 5) highlight that management and development of the site have "become a partnership between the Blackfoot-speaking people and the Province of Alberta, and Blackfoot-speaking employees are engaged exclusively to interpret the site and their culture." This perspective is qualified later in the same document, "the Ministerial Advisory Committee, which included municipal [sic], landowning, and aboriginal stakeholders, has been discontinued, [but] these stakeholders are consulted on an as required basis, and a 'committee' of native elders is consulted on all matters affecting the preservation and interpretation of native history and the use of the buffalo jump" (UNESCO 2014a: 6) signifying the ongoing commitment to significant native involvement in HSI management.

The project team (Woolpert 2008) for the updated Cahokia MMP consulted with representatives of three Native American Tribes. The 2008 update presented recommendations for the management of the site and the framework for creating

these recommendations was identified as developed during a "year-long planning process which involved the project team, site staff, the Master Management Plan Steering Committee, Native Americans, archaeologists and the public" (Woolpert 2008: ES-3). The specific inclusion of Native Americans in the 2008 master planning process represents a significant departure from the lack of any such involvement in the 1980 MMP. However, the most recent periodic report (UNESCO 2014b: 5) indicates a rating of only "fair" for the "cooperation/relationship with World Heritage property managers/coordinators/staff" with "Indigenous peoples" and that "Indigenous peoples have some input into discussions relating to management but no direct role in management decisions that maintain the outstanding universal value." The same report indicates that there is no involvement of "local indigenous people" in monitoring of the WHS (UNESCO 2014b: 8) although the "awareness and understanding of the existence and justification for inscription of the World Heritage property" by local indigenous people is reported as "excellent" (UNESCO 2014b: 7).

Despite numerous public comments recorded in the 2008 MMP for Cahokia along the lines of "need Native-run events … use Native Americans for events … use the Native American language for senior designations … more powwow type events … and…Native American interpreters might be hired on the site to demonstrate Cahokian life skills" (Woolpert 2008: G-121-123), the plan's Executive Summary does not explicitly recommend increasing consultation or engagement with descendant or interested Native American Tribes (Woolpert 2008). Recommendations under the "Research" portion of the plan include promoting Cahokia as a center for research and scholarship by developing an enhanced library and on-site archaeology lab but no discussion of incorporating native views, interpretations, or scholarship opportunities is cited. The MMP focuses on infrastructure improvements, adjacent land acquisition, repair/upgrade of interpretive center exhibits with ideas for a future river-oriented exhibit, and enhanced outdoor exhibits. In the "Market and Operations" portion the long-term recommendation includes development of a State of Illinois Visitor Center which would provide an organizational hub for tourists intending to visit regional natural and cultural resources. This portion of the plan suggests "Native American Tribes and organizations would be likely potential partners in this endeavor" (Woolpert 2008: 464).

The updated Cahokia 2008 MMP does include references to involving American-Indians in the Specific Objectives portion of the document, the most explicit example of which is to "Establish and enhance partnerships with local and regional Native American tribes, organizations, and schools" (Woolpert 2008: 4–64). This objective is to be operationalized by Cahokia management investigating "the potential for partnerships with Native American organizations and communities to enhance existing programs, or the development of new programming and special events that celebrate and promote Native American culture throughout time … and [establishing] relationships with universities with Native American students and programs. Internships for students in these programs should be established … and [establishing] a formal 'infrastructure of communication' between the site and Indian Tribes" (Woolpert 2008: 4–65).

Summary of Management Factors Affecting HSI and Cahokia

Specific management factors of concern currently identified for HSI are limited. These include visual intrusions into the visitor experience due to area wind farm development and the impact of invasive plant species into the grasslands that dominate the site landscape (UNESCO 2014a: 3). While both of these factors are identified as spatially extensive and increasing, the impact is rated as minor (wind farm development) or insignificant (invasive species) with adequate management response capacity present for addressing both. Other identified negative factors include the potential for wildfires or a large-scale landslide along the cliff which gives the buffalo jump its character, but these potentials are minimized. Likewise, adverse impacts from deliberate human destruction of heritage or high-impact research activities, while recognized as possible, are considered well controlled and of minimal concern.

Specific management factors of concern currently identified for Cahokia are more extensive. These involve effects from use of the transportation infrastructure which crosscuts a portion of the WHS, utilities which crisscross the area, and deliberate human destruction of heritage. Fortunately, the impacts of these factors are rated as minor (transportation and utilities) or insignificant (vandalism) with adequate management response capacity present for addressing all three factors, especially the potential for intermittent or sporadic vandalism (UNESCO 2014b: 3). The position of Cahokia within a major metropolitan area means the number of potential factors with negative impacts is more extensive than found at HSI, with building and development, illegal activities, flooding, earthquakes, and fire all recognizable as possible but manageable in sustaining the property's outstanding universal value under the current plan.

Conclusion

HSI and Cahokia as WHS clearly differ in development trajectories reflecting in large part the dramatically different natural and cultural landscape settings of these places which present very different management system challenges and opportunities. While Cahokia site managers could have reached out in 1980 to American-Indians as potential consulting partners this would have been an extraordinary step given the attitudes and practices of the day common in the United States. It would have been analogously extraordinary for Alberta Government authorities in 1980 to willfully ignore Blackfoot involvement at HSI given the proximity of the reserve and obvious interest of the local Blackfoot population. WHS management best practices have clearly evolved in the last three plus decades to give greater voice to indigenous people associated with specific WHS, and HSI and Cahokia management have followed this trajectory, with maintenance of indigenous involvement at HSI and a clear increase in engagement opportunities at Cahokia.

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Chapter 6
Pragmatic Approaches to World Heritage Management: Along the Central Asian Silk Roads

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Introduction

The results of the second cycle of Periodic Reporting identified some of the main threats currently affecting World Heritage Properties such as indiscriminate rapid development, inefficient site management, increasing tourism and natural disasters. These issues and challenges are reflected in the management of the ancient sites of the Silk Roads in Central Asia. As the number of listed properties increases every year, together with the number of serial sites that need to be managed at a transnational level, these threats are ever harder to control.

Management is not just about preventing change but managing it (UNESCO 2013). As heritage is subject to threats, but a proper management framework reduces the risk of loss of the attributed values shaping the outstanding universal value (OUV) of a World Heritage property. In the case of serial properties, coordinated management is crucial (UNESCO 2016, para.114). Demas (2002: 27) writes, "the best or most appropriate decisions for a site are those that will preserve the values of the place and are sustainable". This chapter focuses on the opportunities and

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challenges facing the heritage management of the Central Asian Silk Roads. These aspects are illustrated by a selection of three case studies from Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

Aspects of Operational Guidelines Requirements

To protect and mitigate the issues affecting the World Heritage properties as required by the *Operational Guidelines*, every listed site should have in place a management system or plan (UNESCO 2016, para.108). As highlighted by Pearson and Sullivan (1995: 133) "it is beginning to be understood that any management of a place over time, will affect the significance of the place". Thus, these systems should ensure stronger coherence for the protection of the wider urban setting of the World Heritage properties and a regulatory, control and planning framework to enable the concerned authorities to more effectively manage the property and its buffer zone. Management of each one of these properties should be unique and requires an individual approach in order to take the right management decisions. They aim at a long-term planning and are flexible enough to modify when circumstances change (Clark 2010).

A management system should recognize and be adaptable to cultural diversity (ICOMOS 1995). Thus, there is no recipe for its development. However, there are seven key aspects suggested by the *Operational Guidelines* that should be present: (1) a shared understanding of values by all stakeholders; (2) a management cycle that includes planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and feedback; (3) assessment of the vulnerabilities and change; (4) development of mechanisms for the involvement and coordination of the activities between partners and stakeholders; (5) allocation of resources; (6) capacity-building; and (7) clear description about the functionality of the system (UNESCO 2016, para.111). In serial transnational properties, even if there are differences in the legal and institutional frameworks as well as in the availability of resources, the management system should ensure (1) proper coordination of monitoring and reporting of the property, and (2) establishment of common goals and objectives for the protection of the OUV and the property as a whole (UNESCO 2016, para.114 and 137.c). The relationship of the component parts will determine the main management strategy, being it one overarching plan for all components or a strategic framework supported by, for example, individual action plans. It is then the responsibility of the national authorities to regularly review and update the management and conservation strategies of their sites, allocate resources and successfully implement the national legal and institutional framework.

The enhancement of cultural heritage management could be achieved through the implementation of accurate assessments, fostering a participatory approach and creation of strong legal provisions.

Management of Cultural Heritage Along the Central Asian Silk Roads

The protection, management and conservation of cultural heritage in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan present similar challenges and opportunities as these countries have similar development attributes due to their common historical background: multi-ethnic and independent from the Soviet Union in 1991.

As discussed by Peshkov (2007), the socio-economic and cultural transformations of the modern Central Asian countries affected the status of the cultural heritage due to the lack of resources and management after independence. The economic and political changes also required the revival of the cultural identity and sense of place as an important role in the life of the people. However, these challenges have come with opportunities mainly of sharing experiences with international and regional experts such as through the management of the Silk Roads World Heritage serial transnational nomination and the inclusion of tourism, for example, by supporting the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) Silk Roads programme to have a feasible role to play in the long-term socio-economic and cultural development. Both States Parties have ratified international tools such as the UNESCO Conventions, in particular, the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (World Heritage Convention) (UNESCO 1972)[1], and Kazakhstan has been an active member of the World Heritage Committee with its first mandate from 2013 to 2017.

Additionally, the protection and preservation of the cultural sites are supported by a number of national legislative acts and regulations. However, most of the time, these legal documents are not linked with the development plans like the Master Plans and Detailed Plan Project at regional and local levels, as it will be illustrated later in this chapter. The practice of developing integrated management plans for cultural sites is a new experience, and in Uzbekistan the process has started following the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) (UNESCO 2011) although it is still not incorporated in the legislation (Vileikis and Allayarov 2015). Guidelines for the conservation and maintenance, not to mention monitoring instruments, are not yet in place. Limited coordination between administrative authorities, monument-oriented management approaches and lack of proper conservation methods and technologies have been highly criticized by experts and cultural heritage and conservation scholars (Paskaleva 2013; Turekulova 2013; Fodde 2010). Examples of main impacts on the heritage values have been attributed to the use of non-traditional materials for restoration, reconstruction, uncontrolled urban expansion and insufficiently including heritage values in territorial planning. In response, the States Parties are working to enhance management of the heritage sites through

[1] Kazakhstan as acceptance (Ac) on the 29/04/1994 and Uzbekistan as notification of succession (S) on the 13/01/1993. Available online: http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/ (Accessed 2016–09-07).

good policies and practices. However, not always successful, mostly due to a clash of interests between the requirements of heritage protection and development as will be discussed in the next section.

The Management of the Central Asian Silk Roads in Practice

Taraz, Kazakhstan

Based on scientific studies made by Soviet and Kazakh scholars (Senigova 1972; Baipakov et al. 2013) the history of Taraz dates back to more than two millennia. During the medieval times, it was one of the Silk Roads famous cities of Eurasia together with Samarkand, Bukhara, Merv, Fustat and Kiev. However, this authentic and vibrant period is not visible any more in modern Taraz. In October 2012, the Zhambyl region administration in south Kazakhstan made a historically significant decision to close down the central market located in the down town of the modern city of Taraz, and to begin a large-scale archaeological research. Although it started as an inspiring research project along the Silk Roads, it is now facing management challenges.

The project was part of the national Kazakh programme "Reviving the historical centers of the Silk Road, preservation and successive development of the cultural legacy of the Turkic speaking states through infrastructure development for the tourism industry". Initially, the decision of opening the site for research was to a certain extent unpopular, especially among the approximately 150,000 residents (30% of the population) that were involved in the activities of the central market. The public reaction brought local spontaneous protests. However, the leaders of the region and the city, confident of their decision, demonstrated political will and continued with the implementation of the project (Voyakin 2013; see Figs 6.1 and 6.2).

Among the decision makers, there was a clear vision: to create a unique and recognizable image of the city—a brand. The city branding was a kind of "highly advanced" marketing in order to promote the interests of the city and aid in solving specific problems of its development by "catching the moment" to carry out some renovation of the urban fabric. This brand was not based on inventing new symbols designed to create a new ideal city, but on bringing back a lost distant past of the city. Such reality of ancient history and material evidence had a great archaeological potential in Taraz, but had not been explored towards the well-being of the community and the development of the modern city (Voyakin 2013).

The idea behind this initiative, as a kind of "acrobatics" move, was to understand whether the site could still contribute to the OUV of the Silk Roads, and if so to begin the process of preparing the site for inclusion on the UNESCO World Heritage List (WHL). It was foreseen that this move would not just bring a unique image of the modern city in the international arena and generated interest for foreigners to visit Taraz for scientific, educational and tourism purposes, but would also bring protection to the heritage site through the creation of an archaeological park based

Fig. 6.1 Medieval Taraz, Kazakhstan, during excavations in 2013. Copyright: Archaeological Expertise LLP

on archaeological research.[2] Additionally, the recognition of the rich heritage values was envisaged to bring permanent monitoring and management based on international best practices as required by the World Heritage Convention and conservation charters. This became a strong incentive for the residents who acquired a sense of belonging to the great past of Taraz and supported the idea for its implementation. A compromise between preservation and development was reached.

With the arrival of the new regional administration, the concept dramatically changed. The new concept established the site as a contemporary national landmark and there was no objection from the heritage authorities. Unfortunately, the ancient archaeological elements were not integrated in the planning design of the city. Instead, new elements on the archaeological site such as a watching tower, museum, a palace of the friendship of the nations and an entrance hall were constructed (Fig. 6.3). As stated by the *Operational Guidelines* (UNESCO 2016, para.86), "in relation to authenticity, the reconstruction of archaeological remains or historic buildings or districts are justifiable only in exceptional circumstances. Reconstruction is acceptable only on the basis of complete and detailed documentation and to no extent on conjecture"; thus, the powerful instrument of creating an archaeological park in Taraz and its possible inclusion on the WHL might not be an opportunity anymore.

[2] An archaeological park is the link between scientific research and the public. It can be termed as a definable area, distinguished by the value of heritage resources and land related to such resources, having the potential to become an interpretive, educational and recreational resource for the public, which should be protected and conserved (Salalah Declaration 2015).

Fig. 6.2 Medieval Taraz, Kazakhstan. Archaeological remains of 7–8 cm^3 AD after excavations, 2014. Copyright: Archaeological Expertise LLP

World Heritage Historic Centres of Bukhara, Itchan Kala and Shakhrisyabz, Uzbekistan

A good practice in Central Asia has been the development of management plans under the UNESCO HUL approach for the Historic Centre of Bukhara and Itchan Kala. The two historic centres were proclaimed World Heritage in 1993 and 1990, respectively. They cover more than 2000 years of rich history located in Uzbekistan along one of the main routes of the Silk Roads (Figs 6.4 and 6.5). Towards the protection of their OUV and taking into account the World Heritage Committee Decisions (see decisions 35COM7B.79, 37COM7B.68, 39 COM7B.72), the Principal Department for Preservation and Utilization of Cultural Objects of the Uzbekistan Ministry of Culture with support from the UNESCO Office in Tashkent has been working on the development of integrated management plans under a value-based and by participatory means.

As a first step, following the HUL approach, surveys and mapping of the assets of the historic centres were carried out. From 2008 to 2013 a Geographic Information System (GIS) database of the Historic Centre of Bukhara was developed (Vileikis and Allayarov 2015). In 2015, after this successful experience, a similar survey was carried out in Itchan Kala. Both field surveys provided the essential information for

Fig. 6.3 Implementation of new tourism project on the remains of Medieval Taraz, Kazakhstan, 2016. Copyright: Archaeological Expertise LLP

Fig. 6.4 World Heritage property—Historic Centre of Bukhara, view from Minaret Kolon, 2015. Copyright: Ona Vileikis

Fig. 6.5 World Heritage property—Itchan Kala, view of Polvon Qori main street, 2016. Copyright: Ona Vileikis

the development of the management plans. These included identification of conservation issues as a means of developing conservation measures, establishing sustainable human use of the site and the benefits to be obtained from the property and its buffer zone. In addition to this, the field surveys provided important information on legislations, decrees and local development programmes. The surveys also made it possible to identify weaknesses and gaps in institutional and economic frameworks and to develop monitoring and reporting system based on the GIS system. This information was used to define the management objectives of the sites that will be implemented by the Bukhara and Khorezm Regional Inspections and the regional authorities.

In 2015 and 2016, three consultation meetings were organized with the active participation of decision-making to executors, mainly local authority and state responsible bodies for heritage, management as well as urban planning and infrastructure development, the tourism authorities and the representatives of the community (mahallas leaders). It aimed at building collaboration by understanding the values and attributes, by discussing the current issues and priorities, and by developing strategies and actions for the implementation of the integrated management plans.

Nevertheless, despite these good practices, not all World Heritage properties in Uzbekistan went through the same successful process as was the case with the Historic Centre of Shakhrisyabz, listed World Heritage in 2000. Shakhrisyabz is also a historic city dating to the flourishing time of the Silk Roads and has outstanding monuments such as the Ak-sarai, medieval urban fabric and traditional historic houses.

Fig. 6.6 World Heritage property—Historic Centre of Shakhrisyabz. After implementation of the "State Programme for complex measures for development and reconstruction of Shakhrisyabz City (2014–2016)", 2016. Copyright: Ona Vileikis

In February 2014, the "State Programme for complex measures for development and reconstruction of Shakhrisyabz City (2014–2016)" was adopted by a national decree. The intention of the government to preserve and promote the national identity, cultural heritage and develop tourism in the country was a good sign of care and responsibility. However, cultural heritage was not properly understood and integrated in this level of planning.

The new urban initiative aimed at improving transportation, infrastructure, tourism facilities and housing while at the same time it also aimed at conserving and reconstructing the urban landscape and historic monuments such as the Dorus Saodat Complex, Dar al-Tilavot, Chor-su Bazaar Medieval Baths and the fortification wall. Lack of consultation with relevant bodies, quick decisions and speedy execution of the large-scale project caused negative changes, which unfortunately impacted the OUV of the property. Limited understanding of the heritage values including the urban fabric, as well as lack of knowledge of the international standards of conservation and requirements for the protection of World Heritage properties, brought the Historic Centre of Shakhrisyabz to a significant change. New open urban spaces with green areas were opened replacing historic quarters (Fig. 6.6). In 2016 during the 40th Session of the World Heritage Committee, the property was inscribed on the List of World Heritage in Danger.

In order to remove the World Heritage property from the List of World Heritage in Danger and achieve a desired state of conservation, a number of measures had to

be put in place. At a local level and under the direct supervision of the Khokimiyat of Shakhrisyabz (municipality), a special agency responsible for the protection and management of World Heritage property was established. All pending new works of the master plan were halted, and in total, three workshops and consultation meetings with stakeholders were organised. At a national level, through the planning process of the integrated management plans of World Heritage properties in Uzbekistan, a proposal was drafted to reinforce the 2001 Law "On the preservation and Utilization of Cultural Heritage Properties" corresponding with the World Heritage requirements. Additionally, conservation guidelines and normative building codes for the historic cities of Uzbekistan are under development. A combined UNESCO/ICOMOS Reactive Monitoring mission took place at the end of 2016. The results of the State of Conservation report and the implementation of the recommendations made by the World Heritage Committee in 2016 and 2017 (see Decisions 40 COM 7B.48 and 41 COM 7A.57) will be discussed and examined at its 42nd session in 2018.

The Site of Talgar, Kazakhstan - Silk Roads: The Routes Network of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor, World Heritage Serial Transnational Property

The medieval Talhir (site of Talgar) is situated 25 km to the east of Almaty, at the foot of Zailiyskoe Alatau, in the outskirts of Talgar city in Kazakhstan. The site of Talgar dates back to VIII-XIII centuries and counted with a total area of 28 hectares. The central part of the site, the citadel and shakhristan, is a rectangular area of about 300 × 300 m and it is surrounded by fortifications with towers (see Fig. 6.7). Additionally, the rabat with ancient buildings and housing can be traced around the central part. Talgar assuredly corresponds to Talhir, which is mentioned in anonymous Persian geographical writing of the end of the ninth century, called "Hudud

Fig. 6.7 Site of Talgar, component part of the Silk Roads: the Routes Network of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor, World Heritage serial transnational property, 2012. Copyright: Ona Vileikis

Fig. 6.8 Site of Talgar during the construction of the four-lane road "Birlik-Almalyk-Kazstroy-Ryskulov-Ak-Bulak". Component part of the Silk Roads: the Routes Network of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor, World Heritage serial transnational property. Detailed high-resolution aero orthophoto mosaic made with UAV, 2015. Copyright: Archaeological Expertise LLP

al-Alem". Excavations on the site have been conducted for about 50 years with intervals by archaeologists such as I.I. Kopylov (in Savelieva 1994). The site of Talgar is included in the state-funded programme "Cultural Heritage of Kazakhstan" (Baipakov et al. 2002).

As adopted by the World Heritage Committee, the site of Talgar is now 1 of 31 component parts inscribed on the WHL as part of the Silk Roads: the Routes Network of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor together with Kyrgyzstan and China (see Decision 38 COM 8B.24). Four months after being inscribed, the site of Talgar was again on the news, but this time related to the beginning of new infrastructure works, a road and a bridge. The project proposed the construction of a four-lane road "Birlik-Almalyk-Kazstroy-Ryskulov-Ak-Bulak", crossing directly through the World Heritage Site of Talgar, involving a concrete retaining wall of 7 m high and 45 m long in the immediate vicinity of the ancient walls of the Citadel, as well as the construction of a bridge over the Talgar River next to the main monuments of the site.

By the time of the ICOMOS Advisory mission to the site of Talgar in March 2016, the bridge crossing the river was already partly constructed and works had already started to construct the road (Fig. 6.8). The developer company did not follow any of the procedures listed in the *Operational Guidelines*, nor was the current national protection in place for the site and its buffer zone. No archaeological investigation was carried out before the land was allocated and the project was not approved by the Ministry of Culture and Sport. Additionally, the project was not

presented to the intergovernmental Coordination Committee for the Silk Roads serial transnational nomination, nor was it submitted to the World Heritage Committee for review by ICOMOS (see para. 172, UNESCO 2016).

The ICOMOS mission concluded that the proposed and ongoing constructions would have a high negative and irreversible impact on the site and on the overall OUV of the serial transnational property. It was also observed by the mission that reconstruction of the gate within the archaeological site was carried out without adequate evidence altering the setting of the Citadel and that illegal residential construction was taking place in the buffer zone (UNESCO 2016).

In June 2016, the World Heritage Committee urged the State Party to halt the construction works of the road until alternative options were discussed, dismantle the bridge and work on the management plan for the site (see Decision 40 COM 7B.34). Despite this recommendation and the official assurance by the Ministry of Culture and Sport of the Republic of Kazakhstan that the works were to be stopped, at the end of October, the construction works insensibly continued. However, the situation got back under control after the visit by the Vice Prime Minister of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the site. Since then, steps are taking place in order to ensure the preservation of the site and further successful management. Remarkably, although the site of Talgar is part of a transnational World Heritage property, there was no active reaction of the other States Parties or the appointed Silk Roads Secretariat along this process.

Conclusion

The brief case studies presented on the development of heritage management of the Central Asian countries of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan showed the big gap that is still present between the national and international (UNESCO) understanding of cultural heritage and its acceptable changes. There is indeed a long journey for the Central Asian States Parties to overcome barriers related with proper management. However, there has been a starting point towards success in implementation of the management system of the World Heritage properties. Despite any misleading actions, the UNESCO World Heritage status definitely plays an important role in the protection of the cultural properties in these countries. This status, together with the pressure of media and tremendous efforts of all stakeholders, could bring positive results as it was illustrated in the case study of Talgar, to the extent that the Ministry of Culture and Sport is currently working on the improvement of the national law system incorporating cultural heritage as one of the management pillars. Additionally, the preparation of integrated management plans under the HUL Approach, and its inclusive process encompassing specialists from all fields and the community, has been a positive step for the protection of the historic centres in Uzbekistan. In Bukhara, the management plans are in line with the City Development Strategy and it is foreseen that in both cities, Bukhara and Itchan Kala, the management plans together with conservation guidelines and directions will be legally integrated in the

master plan of the cities. These positive examples should serve as an eye opener, to the challenging cases like in Taraz and Shakhrisyabz, where there still could be dialogue between preservation of rich legacy and development as vibrant and sustainable cities.

At the transnational level, as a positive action, is the official creation of the links between the Coordinating Committee, with the Secretariat in Xi'an, China, and the Steering Committee supervised by the Vice Ministers of the three States Parties (see Vileikis 2015). Thus, there are agreements on cooperation such as in the fields of management, conservation, monitoring, interpretation, risk prevention and financing. The challenging points are that, first of all, the created links are not connected with official representative structures responsible for the site management, and, second, do not have real power of implementation. Careful construction and integration of the bottom-up and top-down planning, including the international arena, is the main aim of nearest future for all States Parties involved. With no doubt, this complicated process will be strengthened and further developed with the involvement of other States Parties, along the process of enlarging this ambitious and prominent serial transnational World Heritage nomination of the Silk Roads project.

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Chapter 7
"*Huai hai wei Yangzhou*": Site Management Planning and the Establishment of Yangzhou Archaeological Site Park in China

Wang Renyu and Chen Xi

Introduction

At its 38th Annual Session in Doha, Qatar, the World Heritage Committee inscribed the Grand Canal of China on the World Heritage List (WHL) on 24 June 2016. The Canal is perhaps the oldest and longest artificial waterway in the world. As a linear cultural heritage site, the Grand Canal incorporates all the important archaeological sites and historical cities along its route, one of which is the Yangzhou city. This chapter aims at exploring the site management planning and the transformation of Yangzhou city into an Archaeological Site Park. In discussing this change, it will first be argued in this chapter that the transition of the Grand Canal to an Archaeological Site Park was intended to both protect and present this Chinese cultural World Heritage Site to the public. The archaeological origins of the Yangzhou city are then explained after which its establishment and planning as an Archaeological Site Park are discussed. The chapter ends with a summary and a discussion on how the Grand Canal changes should be managed.

The Establishment of the Park as a Preservation Strategy

Faced with the rapid growth of Chinese urbanisation since the late 1990s (Shan 2007), the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) began to develop new strategies that would ensure that archaeological resources in the country are

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protected. One of the new strategies included the selection of at least 150 sites from archaeological sites of national significance and naming them *da yizhi*, which means "big sites". To preserve the sites effectively, the SACH asked relevant preservation units called *wenbao danwei*, who administer the 150 "big sites", to develop a site management plan before 2015. The development of the site management plan for the sites was to mark the end of year of the twelfth five-year plan. By so doing, the objective was to avert the huge pressure that was mounting on the archaeological sites caused by the expansion of the Yangzhou city and its complicated land management laws and policies (Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, School of Architecture of Tsinghua University, Yangzhou Survey and Design Company 2013).

From the 2000s onwards, construction of residential houses in China began to cause rapid urbanisation (Shan 2007) such that there was demand for land even in small Chinese towns. Challenged by the "urban invasion", cultural heritage authorities began to seek ways of protecting archaeological heritage sites from the massive construction projects that were now going on in China. The approach to protect and preserve the sites was to transform some of them as important archaeological heritage parks. Developing archaeological resources as site parks is gradually becoming a new trend and a way of protecting sites in China although the beginning of such protection could be traced back to the early 1980s when the country's first archaeological site park was established in northwestern Anyang.[1]

The process was started in 2009 by registering 12 sites on the National Archaeological Site Park List and this was followed by registering 23 more sites on the Tentative List. The sites on the Tentative List are considered to have the potential to be transformed into Archaeological Site Park even though site management plans are yet to be developed for them.

The next section briefly introduces one of the most important archaeological sites in China, which is the present Yangzhou city. The city of Yangzhou (Figs. 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3), which is located on the north bank of the Yangtze River, and is part of the World Heritage Site, is a good example of how archaeological heritage sites could be systematically managed in a densely inhabited urban area.

[1] Strictly speaking, China's archaeological resource management began from the 1950s. The early use of archaeological resource was divided into two main types: the site museums and archaeological site parks. The earliest site museums include the Museum of Banpo Prehistoric Site, established in 1957, the Nanking Massacre Site Museum, established in 1985, and the Xinle Prehistoric Site Museum, established in 1986. The earliest site park is the Anyang Yinxu Bowuyuan, which is known as Anayang Yinxu Site Museum, that was established in 1987. The establishment of Yinxu Bowuyuan started a new epoch in terms of using archaeological site for public entertainment and education. In the late 1990s, when probing the way of using archaeological resource, Chinese experts first put forward a concept of "exemplars for displaying big archaeological sites" (*Dayizhi zhanshi shifan yuanqu*).

Fig. 7.1 A high overlap map of the Yangzhou historical site (shaded in *grey*) and modern urban areas (Wang et al. 2015)

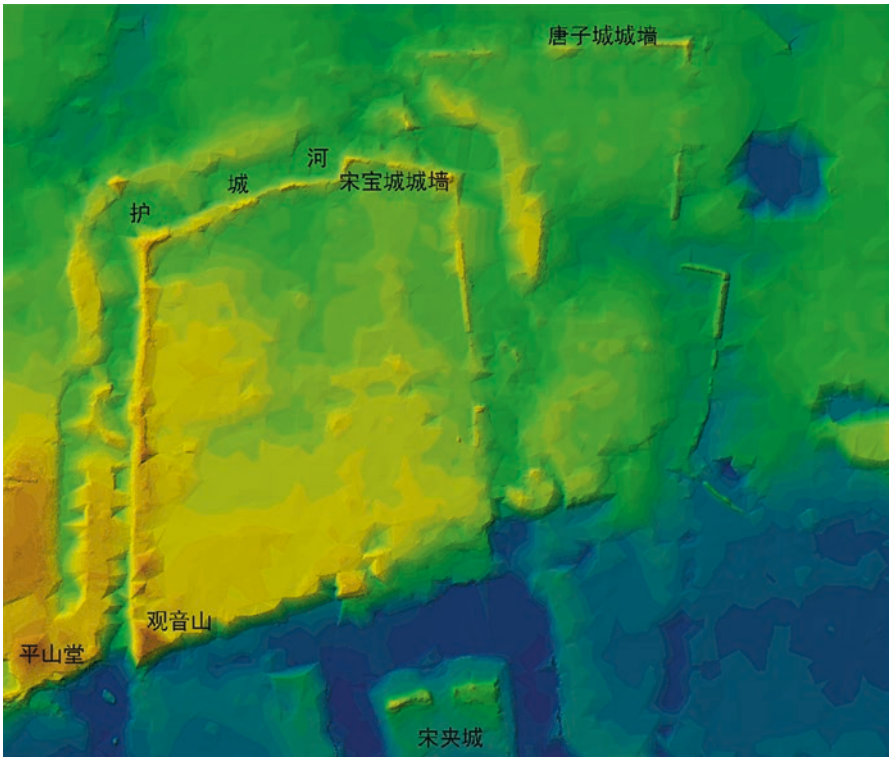

Fig. 7.2 A demographic elevation model of Shugang city (Wang et al. 2015)

Archaeology and the Origin of the Shugang City

Yangzhou has been known in *Shangshu* (Documents of the Elder), to be one of the nine continents (*Jiu zhou*) in the legendary hero Dayu's time, which extends from the Huai River in the north to the sea in the south. In the fifth century BC, a walled military camp was constructed in the present-day north suburban area on the southern edge of the Shu Terrace (*Shugang*) of Yangzhou city under the rule of Fu Chai to protect the Han Gou, which is a channel that links the Huai and Yangtze River. Owing to the absence of archaeological evidence, the fifth century BC is generally believed to be the earliest known date of human occupation of the Shu Terrace area. Later, the Chu and probably the Qin troops are believed to have settled and used the "camp" as a fortification during the warring states period that followed. To date, it is still however hard to accurately locate the site.

During the second century BC, a Western Han Dynasty Prince was given the walled city, which is located on the Shu Terrace, by the emperor to establish the capital for his own fiefdom called *Jiangdu guo*. The Shugang city is located on the north bank of Yangtze River, and it neighbours the Zhejiang area. The Yue people had long intermittently attacked the Zhejiang area since the Qin Empire. The emer-

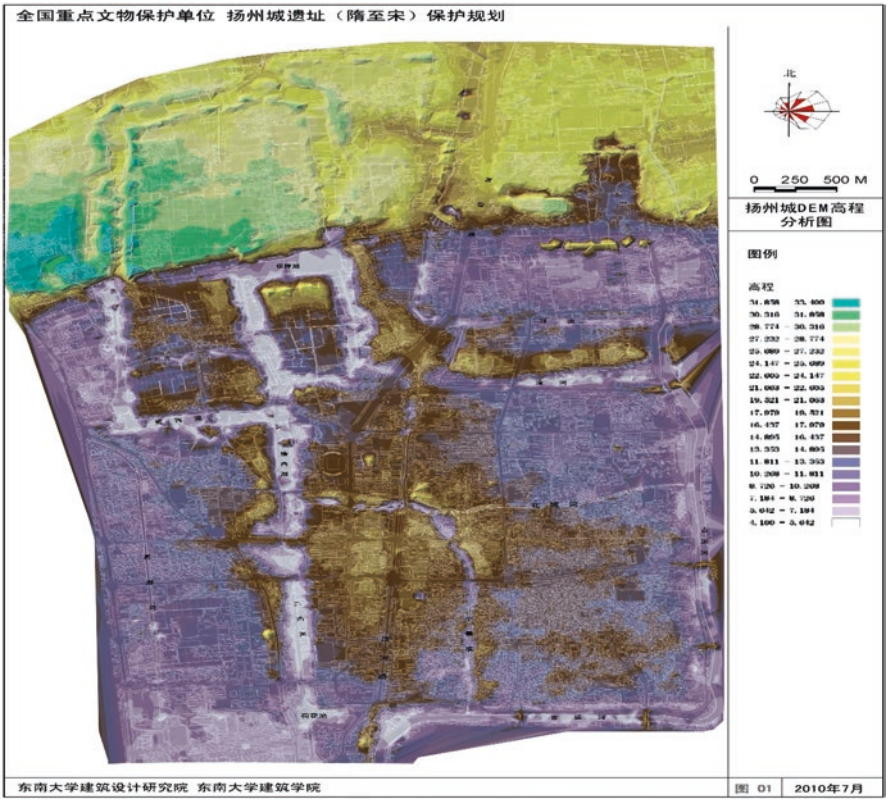

Fig. 7.3 Elevation analysis of Shugang city by the Dongnan University

gence of the *Jiangdu guo*, particularly the reuse and consolidation of the pre-existing walled enclosures, partly indicates that the Western Han Shugang city might have also served as a fort near the southern frontier of the early Han Empire. As recorded in historical books, between the periods of the warring states and the Six Dynasties, the name of the fort was *Guangling* or *Guangling cheng*. Since the prehistoric times, the Yangtze River had long flooded the areas below the Shu Terrace. However, from the Han to the Six Dynasties, it began to recede. People began to settle down and work on the lands that were previously submerged by the river. This was also the time of warfare when the warlords from both the south and the north scrambled for this important riverside. It was, however, during the Sui and Tang period that the names *Jiangdu* and *Yangzhou* began to be used in historical records and literary books, to refer to what is now present-day Yangzhou city. In the Sui Dynasty, the previous fort was incorporated into the Jiangdu Palace City (*Jiangdu gong cheng*) of the Sui Emperor called Yang Guang. Later, it became the seat of the Tang Dynasty Yangzhou Prefecture governor's office. The Sui and the Tang period troops were also garrisoned in the Shugang city and this is where the supreme or regional power was centred. During this period, the first large-scale urbanisation took place in the

large areas below the Shu Terrace. From the late Sui to the middle Tang period, large numbers of population moved to Yangzhou and settled down on the north bank of the Yangtze River below the Shu Terrace. The central government eventually established two counties below the Terrace and these are the Jiangdu and Jiangyang Counties.[2] From the early Tang Dynasty onward, the land below the Shu Terrace was gradually developed into three counties, which are Jiangdu, Jiangyang and Yangzi. Nothing was, however, discovered to support that the three-walled enclosures co-existed.

However, as Fei (1953) pointed out, it is very likely that two or even more county offices may have shared one city enclosure, although they could have managed their own county affairs separately. As partly evidenced by the archaeological research, the whole scenario of urban life below the Terrace from the middle Tang Dynasty onwards began to take place in the big *luo-cheng* city. From the Sui Dynasty, Yangzhou may also have therefore developed two-walled cities, which are the Shugang city and later the riverbank large city where ordinary citizens lived. However, during the Late Zhou Dynasty (951–960), the Shugang city was demolished following a warfare. The city was not reconstructed until the Southern Song, when it again became a stronghold on the northern frontier of the Southern Song Empire, resisting Jurchen and later the Mongols. From the Late Zhou Dynasty to the Northern Song Dynasty, a new city called Zhou *xiao-cheng* and which later continued to be used by the Song Government and therefore known as the Song *da-cheng* was constructed inside the previously thriving Tang Dynasty *luo-cheng* city. A new castle called the Song *jia-cheng* was also established between the Shugang stronghold and the new riverbank city.

In the Southern Song Dynasty, Yangzhou had three cities, which existed at the same time, namely the Shugang, which was a stronghold for housing soldiers, the Song *da-cheng*, which was for the common citizens, and the Song *jia-cheng*, which was built as a river castle linking the other two cities (Figs. 7.4 and 7.5). In 1276, the Mongolian troops conquered the Yangzhou city and this led to the total devastation of the Shugang stronghold. From the Yuan Dynasty onwards, the Shu Terrace area gradually fell into the rural area of the riverside Yangzhou city. At the same time, because of the wars and social upheavals in the late Yuan Dynasty, the local population sharply decreased, resulting in the further collapsing of the city. During the early Ming Dynasty, the local officials used part of the Song and Yuan period riverside urban areas to establish a much smaller city, which was further expanded dur-

[2] Important evidence supporting this includes the following: (1) As the epitaph devoted to Zhang Xingmi in the first year under the Daye reign of the Sui Dynasty (605 AD) recorded, "[the tomb occupant] moved to the South, thinking to get retired there, and chose to settle down in Yuxian village to the east of Jiangyang [County] city (*cheng*), Yangzhou", and "in the 16th year of the Daye reign era (642) and he died there" (The Museum of Tang Dynasty Yangzhou City, Center for Finds Unearthed from the Tang Dynasty Yangzhou City Site 2009). (2) According to *Dilizhi* (Geographical Records) in *Suishu* (A History of the Sui Dynasty), "the county had been named '*Guangling* [*xian*]', and in the 18th year of the Kaihuang reign era of the Sui Dynasty (598) renamed '*Hanjiang* [*xian*]', and in the early Daye reign era '*Jiangyang* [*xian*]'".

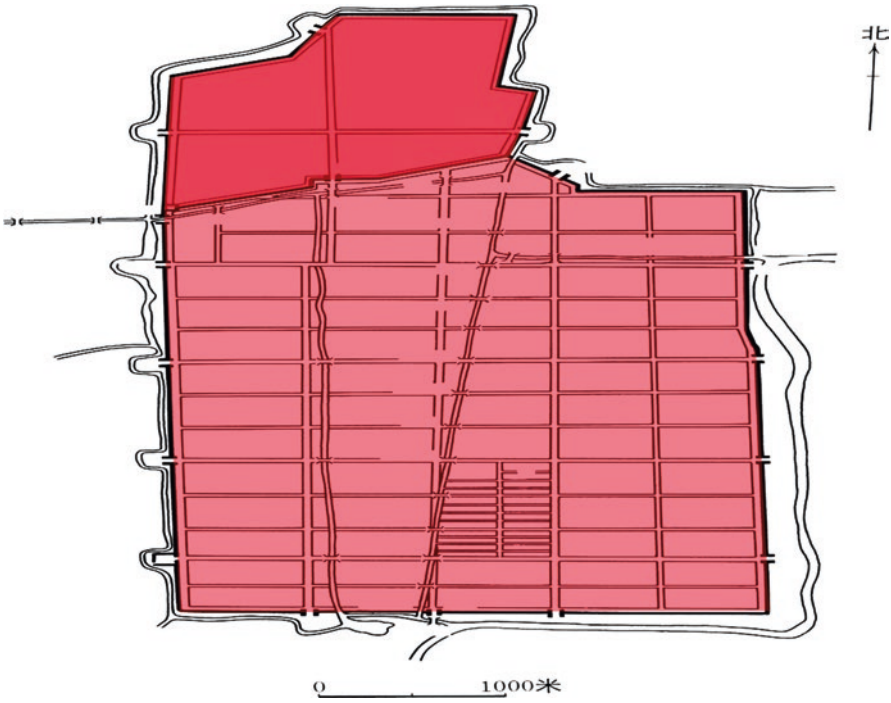

Fig. 7.4 Yangzhou, Tang Dynasty Yangzhou urban contour (Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Nanjing Provincial Museum, Yangzhou Archaeological Team, 2015)

ing the reign of Jiajing to incorporate more local population into local government's protection against the Japanese pirates. From the 1950s to the 1980s, the old city walls were removed and new roads were constructed on the pavements on which the old walls once stood.

The Establishment of the Yangzhou Archaeological Park

As illustrated above, the archaeological remains of the Yangzhou city are primarily composed of three interrelated parts, which are the Shugang castle, the Song *jia-cheng* and the riverside urban area, which are both located below the Terrace. Yangzhou is, in fact, characterised by a high overlap between the present human occupation and the historical urban areas. In terms of expansion and contraction, the remains of walled enclosures and moats clearly show how the urban areas were developed in the past.

From about 2000 onwards, the local government began to seek opportunities to promote the reputation of Yangzhou as a cultural city. One of the approaches to promote Yangzhou as a cultural city was to establish the Yangzhou Archaeological

Fig. 7.5 Yangzhou, the Southern Song Dynasty urban contour (Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Nanjing Provincial Museum, Yangzhou Archaeological Team 2005)

Site Park. The planning of the Park was regarded as an opportunity to present the history of Yangzhou through the use of archaeological remains. However, the truth is that the Shugang city, the Song *jia-cheng* and the big city have quite different ways of physical evolution, although all the three historical cities are located inside of today's Yangzhou urban area. And as one archaeological park, the proposed Yangzhou Archaeological Park is expected to include all the three cities into the themes of its historical representation.

As mentioned earlier, the present Shugang site is in fact the combined remains of the Eastern Zhou, the Han, the six Dynasties, the Sui, the Tang and the Southern Song periods. The site remained a "castle" shape and its huge size and durable walls were consolidated by partially reconstructing them during the Southern Song period. The current appearance of walls and moats stops at the late period of the Southern Song. For all such matters, the extant part of the Shugang city gives an impression that the castle was characterised by a political independence from the urban areas below the Shu Terrace (Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, School of Architecture of Tsinghua University 2014), thus shaping a unique Terrace castle landscape. From the Qing Dynasty onward, the Shugang

city had become one of the famous scenic spots in the northern suburb area of Yangzhou as recorded in the *Yangzhou huafanglu*. Unlike the castle site on the Shu Terrace, the major urban areas below the Terrace had experienced very complicated evolutional changes, owing to the dense and successive human habitation of the area. Quite different from the well-preserved Shugang site, the walls of the major urban areas were almost demolished, and the north-south major watercourses were filled, paved and used as roads. Periodic urban development and redevelopment have made the whole urban site a layered construction of garbage assemblages under the present land surfaces, which are intersected by the main waterways and streets, indicating the major metabolised urban area.

Site Management Planning of the Yangzhou Archaeological Park

The site management plan for the whole Yangzhou city was developed in 2010 by the Dongnan University. It is through the development of the site management plan that the preservation of the whole area was to be established. In the following years, efforts were made to implement the site management plan fully. From 2010, the Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) began to work on the plan to present the Yangzhou Archaeological Site Park to the public (Institute ofArchaeology CASS and School of Architecture of Tsinghua University 2015).

But how could each historical episode of Yangzhou be presented to the public? To properly present the Yangzhou archaeological remains to the public, it was recommended by the CASS staff that the park itself should be divided into three sections as follows: the Shugang city, the *jia-cheng* city and the large city located beneath the land surface of the major urban area of today's Yangzhou city. The Shugang city contains the archaeological remains from nearly all the important periods of Yangzhou's history (the Eastern Zhou, the Han Dynasty, the Six Dynasties, the Sui and the Tang periods). By contrast, the dates of the remains inside the *jia-cheng* city only start from the Song period whilst the extant archaeological remains inside the *luo*-cheng city may only represent the historical periods since the Sui. The difference of dates as evidenced by the archaeological remains, together with apparently different forms of such remains, made it quite difficult to incorporate all the periods into the same management strategy. To address the challenge, in 2012, when preparing the site management plan for the Park, the CASS planners made the following decisions.

It was recommended in the management plan that only the Tang Dynasty and the Southern Song Dynasty of the Shugang city be presented by using the evidence of walled enclosures. Other periods for this city were also seriously considered, but it was further recommended that they could not be regarded as firm spatial themes because the shapes and appearances of the city for these periods are still unclear.

Fig. 7.6 The green-coloured circles show the proposed attractions of Shugang city site park (Wang et al. 2015)

Consequently, it was then decided that the overall site of the city on the Shu Terrace be presented by using the Tang and Southern Song landscape features (Figs. 7.6 and 7.7). The present archaeological features that are seen above the ground on the Shu Terrace can only clearly show the contours of the Tang and Southern Song Dynasty city walls. For this reason, it was deemed wise and advantageous to follow the present sequence of exposure, which is to leave the underground remains in situ, and that only the parts of the city wall and moat remains that are mostly visible above the ground be presented. It was further recommended that a similar method could also be applied to the preservation and presentation of the Song *jia-cheng* city.

Noting that the bulk of the site remains are below the Shu Terrace, it was also recommended that the multi-period urban landscape could be properly preserved and presented on the land surface. The planning was done in such a way that it provides an opportunity for the visitors to understand the contours of the dynastic eras, particularly those of the Tang, the Late Zhou, the Northern and Southern Song, the Ming, the Qing and the Republican. This recommendation was made after it was observed that the moats of each period could still be viewed at their original loca-

Fig. 7.7 A plan for Shugang city Archaeological Site Park (Wang et al. 2015)

tions, even though some were silted or backfilled after the abrupt and irreversible urban land surface changes that took place during the early 1940s. Thus, the preservation of moats and walled enclosure remains could noticeably mark the different historical periods of the city.

Although it was planned that the site be presented on its original location, it should be made clear that the areas in between these walls have long been in a series of complicated metabolic processes. Several excavations inside the present urban area have revealed that most of the archaeological remains at these locations are layers of superimposed construction garbage of different periods, and especially the remains of ancient building foundations, on top of which modern buildings and other structures are now constructed. In actual case, the real evidence of the past inside the riverside urban areas is invisible, and is impractical to be displayed or presented to the public. For the riverside major urban areas, the only possibility to restore Yangzhou's glories lies in the presentation of some key "nodes" of the historical cities, particularly the moat remains and city gate remains. In the past 10 years, such strategy has already been implemented at some points along the walls of the Song and Ming period Yangzhou cities. Examples include the eastern, western and northern gates of the Song period in the Yangzhou city, and the Tang-to-Qing period southern gate, which is located in the south of today's Yangzhou city. It was planned that these key areas could provide an opportunity for the visitors to experience the contour and the size of the different periods of Yangzhou urban area as they tour the park.

Apart from presenting the walls and moats, there are also roads and canals, which are part of the past urban constructions and still in use in one way or another, and especially the ones that are from gate to gate and from water gate to water gate. Since these features are not similar to the abandoned castle site on the Shu Terrace

and the Song *jiacheng*, it was further planned that the major historical urban areas below the Shu Terrace could only be presented by outlining and highlighting such linear heritage.

In reality, the past of Yangzhou city was planned to be presented primarily in two ways: the special and separate castle remains of the *Shugang* city and *jiacheng* and the urban areas below the Terrace. Metaphorically, the presented two castles are dead evidence of Yangzhou's past, whilst the latter represents not only the past of the city but also clear evidence of the everlasting development and metabolisation of the Yangzhou city.

On the Shu Terrace, it was recommended that archaeological research should be conducted in line with the development of site display, and in the present urban areas, it should be carried out in collaboration with the urban developers. In the present urban areas, it was further recommended that archaeological research should lead to the thorough understanding of the modern buildings, especially the depth of their foundations, which could provide more information about archaeological resource potentials in the area. Apart from archaeological features, buildings and structures dating from the Ming and Qing were also noted to constitute part of the urban history and it was recommended that they also be properly preserved.

Summary: How to Deal with the Changes

The whole Yangzhou archaeological site, which shares nearly the same area with the present Yangzhou city, has been registered four times on (1) the *Quanguo Zhongdian Wenwu Baohu Danwei* (National Preservation Sites), (2) *LishiWenhua Mingcheng* (Cities Famous for Historical and Cultural Values), (3) *Dayizhi* (big archaeological sites) and (4) as part of the linear World Heritage Site, which is the Grand Canal. Consequently, this has led to the tension between the developmental needs and the basic requirements of site preservation. Since the 1990s, urbanisation in China triggered destruction of archaeological remains and, as we have seen in this chapter, the multi-period resource of Yangzhou city. Since 2014, when the plan for preserving and presenting the Shugang city site was proposed, the pressure to develop around the site area has been minimised. The site on the Shu Terrace has therefore been converted into a real site park on the northern outskirt of the modern Yangzhou city. Because of this development, archaeological studies in the site park could now be carried out without hurrying, as was the case before the conversion of the area as a park. However, meanwhile, the pressures in the present urban areas below the Shu Terrace are not completely mitigated, and they are even being exacerbated in some places. To address the above-mentioned challenges, a rigorous mechanism for urban archaeology is required as a matter of urgency. That mechanism should closely link archaeological research and urban development to direct the way the modern city of Yangzhou should be developed. Some heritage managers believe that heritage preservation or protection is a process of managing changes. The question is which changes should we manage in the Yangzhou case. As a logical

result of the above analysis, it seems that the changes the local cultural resource managers are expected to manage could be divided into basic three categories. The first are the changes in the form of the archaeological remains that were exposed above the ground and used as part of urban landscape presentation and these include the historical linear structures such as walled enclosures, moats, rivers, roads and channels. The second changes should be on the underground archaeological assemblages, which have resulted from a long-term urban landscape evolution and architectural metabolisation and were covered under the present ground surfaces. Although it is not easy to present the underground archaeological assemblages to the public, they are important evidence of the past land-use patterns that are also of great scientific significance. Lastly, the changes should also be on the preserved historical buildings and structures, which date back from at least the Ming and Qing periods. These historical buildings and structures, which are in the southeastern part of the present Yangzhou city, have already been transformed as tourist attractions.

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Chapter 8
Integrated Management of Archaeological and Rural Landscape: Feasibility Project for Gordion Archaeological Park

Nida Naycı and Halil Demirdelen

Introduction

Archaeological parks are potentially important management tools to balance conservation priorities of the site with visitor management and site interpretation strategies. Via Appia Antica in Rome is one of the early examples of regional archaeological parks arranged for public access during the 1930s for recreational enhancement of archaeological ruins including the ancient Roman road, aquaduct, necropolis and monuments within a beautiful and conserved landscape by the residents.[1] Today, archaeological parks are not only recreational oriented site arrangements but they also provide intellectual access to fragile archaeological information by using different mediums and scientific techniques. It provides common recognition and awareness about the scientific realms of the site, and opens new horizons for future conservation strategies. As McManus (1999: 57) states, if an archaeological site will be called as "archeological park", it must be open to public access possessing specially designed presentation and interpretation programs for different visitor groups, education programs (experimental archaeology, etc.), spatial arrangements (site museums, visitor centres, etc.) and appropriate infrastructural organisations. ICOM (International Council of Museums) has established EXARC Programme, which aims at providing collaboration among different archaeological park experiences in international medium since 2001.[2] Primary activities designed for visitor interpreta-

[1] Appian Way Regional Park. www.parcoappiaantica.it/.

[2] See www.exarc.net.

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tion in these archaeological parks include open-air museum arrangements, experimental archaeology and ancient technologies. As a result, archaeological parks are gradually increasing and getting more recognised throughout the world although there are slight differences in its scope and meaning in different regions.

Although the use and recognition of "archaeological parks" increase in practice, there is still a terminological gap in order to define content and criteria for "archaeological parks" at international level. This issue is also discussed in Salalah Reccommendation which presented after 1st International Conference of ICOMOS on Archaeological Parks and Sites (ICOMOS-ICAHM 2015).[3] Similarly, the terms "archaeoparks" or "archaeological parks" are lately used in a number of archaeological sites in Turkey. Although there isn't a specific definition criteria for which type of archaeological sites can be defined as "archaeological park" at the national level, we see an increasing number of archaeological site presentations that are named with this term, especially by local authorities and administrative agencies. The general approach by municipalities is to name urban archaeological sites that are donated by visitor paths and informative signs to direct public access as "archaeoparks" or "archaeology parks". This is accepted as a way to make public recognition of an archaeological site located within a dense urban centre into the daily lives of residents by naming them as "parks" rather than stressing only their scientific significance that must be "untouched" and "banned" for visitors. There are also a number of large-scale "archaeological park" examples, which are organized as complex open-air sites that are conserved in situ, local museums and reconstructions of ancient constructions to display for visitors past technologies and lifestyles.[4] Archaeological parks provide visitors and, especially to children who enjoy playing while at the same time gaining scientific information about archaeological and historical significance of the site. Within the light of international and national experiences, the feasibility project for "Gordion Archaeological Park" aims at discussing the potential of the "archaeological park" as an integrated management approach of achieving sustainability of its archaeological, natural and rural environment values and make the site understandable for different visitor groups.

Historical Background of Gordion

Gordion and its environs constitute the political and administrative centre of ancient Phrygian civilisation, with its location on the intersection of Sakarya (Sangarios) and Porsuk Rivers, which was important crossroads for Anatolian trade routes (Fig. 8.1). Although Gordion is famous for its Phrygian archaeological landscape today, the historical background of the region goes back to the Bronze Age according to

[3] ICOMOS-ICAHM , 23–25 February 2015, Salalah, Sultanate of Oman.

[4] Aşağı Pınar Mound in Kırklareli, Yeşilova Mound in İzmir, Aktopraklık Open Air Site in Bursa and Archaeological Park in Urfa Museum are some recent examples. They are all related with prehistoric ages, which make it difficult for visitors to perceive the archaeological information without additional presentation techniques. Thus, these archaeological parks provide site museums or visitor centres, visual or scaled-model reconstructions and hands-on activities for visitors.

Fig. 8.1 Location of Gordion as a political centre for the Iron Age Phrygian Kingdom in Central Anatolia. Map by authors

Table 8.1 Yassıhöyuk Stratigraphic Sequence, reproduced from Voigt (1997)

YHSS phase	Period name	Approximate dates	
0	Modern	1920s	Turkish
1	Medieval	Tenth–fifteenth centuries CE	Unknown/Selcuk
2	Roman	First century BCE-fourth century CE	Roman
3A	Late Hellenistic	260(?)-100 BCE	Galatian
3B	Early Hellenistic	330–260(?) BCE	Phrygian/Greek
4	Late Phrygian	540–360 BCE	Phrygian/Persian
5	Middle Phrygian	800–540 BCE	Phrygian
6A–B	Early Phrygian	900–800 BCE	Phrygian
7	Early iron age	1100–900 BCE	Phrygian
9–8	Late bronze age	1400–1200 BCE	Hittite
10	Middle bronze age	1600–1400 BCE	Hittite

evidence that has been found in the region. The cultural strata of the region chronologically includes Hittite, Phrygian, Persian, Greek, Galatian, Roman, Seljukid and Ottoman layers of human occupations (Table 8.1). The region was continuously settled throughout the ages due to its strategic location in central Anatolia, which connected important trade routes of Mediterranean with the Near East (Matero and Rose 2012). In addition, existence of Sangarios (Sakarya) River provided fertile lands and underground water supply suitable for agricultural activities. For this reason, the region was developed as a cultural and political centre for the ancient Phrygian Kingdom, which ruled central Anatolia starting from first millennium until fourth century BC. Afterwards, the region went through the Hellenistic period between fourth and first century BC, which was ruled by the Roman Empire between first and fourth century BC. Today, it is possible to see traces of the historic layers during archaeological excavations of the Gordion settlement mound.[5]

[5] See *http://sites.museum.upenn.edu/gordion*.

Fig. 8.2 Great Tumulus and Gordion Museum within boundaries of Yassıhöyük village. Photo by Nida Naycı

Fig. 8.3 (**a**) Great Tumulus and (**b**) passage to burial chamber of King Midas. Photos by Nida Naycı

The outstanding historic significance of the region has been defined by the richness of archaeological remains that reflect sophisticated level of the Phrygian art, architecture and engineering skills (Erder et al. 2013). The archaeological remains including ancient city of Gordion are spread over a large territory. It also covers over 120 Tumuli settlement mounds, among which burial tombs of important historic figures that belong to the Phrygian Kingdom and elite families are found. Among them, the Tumulus MM (known as King Midas tomb, hereafter Great Tumulus[6]) is the largest and is 53 m in height and 300 m in diameter. It stands as an important landmark in the territory. There are a variety of sizes and contents of tumuli which range from the famous Tumulus of the King to the burial chamber of a child. They represent perfectness of the Phrygian tomb architecture, which includes burial traditions and ancient wooden technology that has been preserved up to now. Silhouette generated by such dense number of Tumuli provides a unique archaeological landscape in a flat plain of central Anatolian plateau (Figs. 8.2 and 8.3). The well-preserved ancient

[6] It was believed that it belonged to legendary King Midas. But recent studies showed that the Great Tumulus belongs to King Gordios, father of King Midas.

citadel walls and the excavated city entrance gate in Citadel Mound (Young 1962) is another important archaeological significance of Gordion.

Gordion was the centre of extensive bureaucracy, which housed the seat of the king, the religious, military and judicial functions (Young 1962: 3). The core of settlement, which is called the "Citadel Mound", is located within citadel walls. Construction technique of the wall is one of the best preserved examples of its age reflecting the high level of the Phrygian architectural skills. Two facades of the wall are constructed out of stone with rubble infill material. Its thickness is more than 15 ft at the top while the exterior facade sloped outward (Young 1962: 6). One of the most interesting aspects on the wall is the monumental city gate. Within the citadel wall, a group of attached buildings were found. The buildings were constructed in megaron form of different sizes with a main inner hall, which is reached from a vestibule through a doorway. These building complexes are supposed to belong to the main palace. One of the halls has an early example of the mosaic flooring. The Phrygian period declined over a 150 years after the eighth century until the Persian era in the sixth century. Archaeologists have named the city "Persian city" after this era. There is also a Lower Town, which is protected by two defensive structures (Küçük Höyük and Kuş Tepe) and a Middle Phrygian outer town (Erder et al., 2013: 331).

The significance of Gordion during the Hellenistic period comes from the ancient mythology of Gordion's Knot, which historically drew Alexander the Great to Gordion during his imperium through Anatolia when he challenged himself to unknot the Gordion's Knot as a proof of his power over his kingdom. Thus, the myth of Gordion became an important historic and political event following the ambitions of Alexander the Great. The archaeological evidence shows that Gordion was occupied by later settlers until the Medieval times. During the Ottoman periods, the historic significance of the region declined. There were small villages located in the outskirts of the ancient settlement mound and along the Sakarya River (Erder et al. 2013). For this reason, the Phrygian remains were well preserved until to date. The historic significance of the region increased during the Independence Wars in 1920s, when the Turkish armies settled down in the region to protect Ankara, the capital of young Turkish Republic from invasion by foreign troops.

Today, Gordion archaeological territory has over 120 tumuli and settlement mounds integrated within protected rural landscape of central Anatolian plateau. The most remarkable village related with this landscape is Yassıhöyuk, which means "Lower Mound" named after the Citadel Mound. The village settlement is located on the designated archaeological site, between the Citadel Mound and Great Tumulus (Fig. 8.4). Other nearby villages related with Gordion are Kıranharmanı and Sazılar villages located close to Yassıhöyuk. All the villages economically depend on agriculture and animal husbandry, which are intensively carried out by local people. There are well-preserved examples of traditional houses, which reflect their historical development. Therefore, the cultural value of Gordion archaeological landscape is merged with the current rural landscape of traditional villages and lifestyles (Figs. 8.5, 8.6, 8.7 and 8.8).

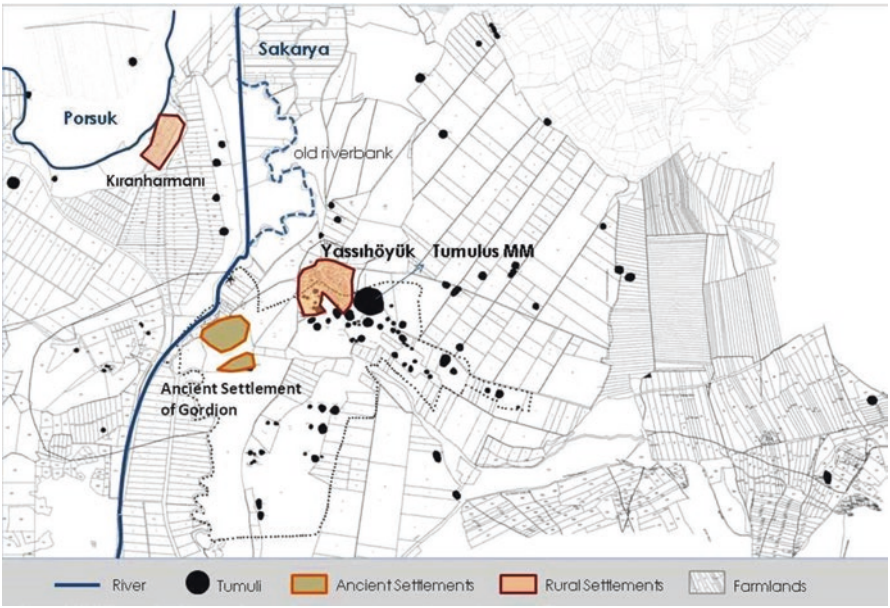

Fig. 8.4 Over 120 Tumuli and mounds within the territorial context of Gordion archaeological landscape. Map reproduced by authors from current site map

Fig. 8.5 Aerial view of Tumuli in Gordion archaeological landscape. Photo from the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations Archive

Fig. 8.6 Traditional rural architecture: (**a**) warehouse in Yassıhöyuk with "megaron" plan, (**b**) remarkable example from Sazılar Village. Photos by Nida Naycı

Fig. 8.7 Intense agricultural activities going on in Kıranharmanı village. Photo by Nida Naycı

Fig. 8.8 Animal husbandry is an important economic activity for local people in the region. Photo by Nida Naycı

Excavation and Conservation Studies

Gordion was first investigated by German researchers, Alfred and Güstav Körte, who explored the site during construction works of new railway line from Istanbul to Ankara in the 1900s (Erder et al. 2013: 332). They first excavated Citadel Mound until 1904 and published the map of the region. Archaeological excavations started again in 1950 by Rodney S. Young from the University of Pennsylvania who concentrated his excavations in the Citadel Mound and Great Tumulus. His studies lasted until his death in 1974. Since 1980s, excavation and conservation studies were carried out regularly by archaeologists and conservation specialists from the University of Pennsylvania and the Museum of Anatolian Civilisations.[7]

The archaeological excavations that were carried out at Gordion throughout all the years have revealed very significant archaeological findings, which give rich and diverse information about ancient Phrygian art, architecture and technologies. Ancient production systems and technologies such as wooden, furniture, pottery, coins and even habits of food can be understood from the collections. Archaeological

[7] Detailed and chronological information related to conservation and restoration works of Gordion can be reached from official website of "Gordion Archaeological Project" addressed as; [http://sites.museum.upenn.edu/gordion/].

excavations of Rodney Young during 1950s concentrated on the Citadel Mound and three royal tombs including the Great Tumulus. By the excavation of burial chamber in royal tomb, 50 pieces of fine furniture and more than 70 small objects (Simpson and Spirydowicz 1999) related with the funeral feast of the King were found. Research and conservation studies focused on preventive measures for timber material and structural strengthening of the burial chamber, protection of Tumulus from erosion and restoration works on the objects found in the chamber.

Following the archaeological excavations and in situ conservation works, a site museum was constructed close to the Great Tumulus in 1963 (Fig. 8.9). Some of the Gordion collections are displayed in Gordion Museum, while rest of them are displayed in Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara. Conservation works of unique and valuable Gordion woods are carried out in Museum of Anatolian Civilizations (Fig. 8.10) by an international team since 1981 (Simpson and Spirydowicz 1999). A comprehensive program regarding conservation and restoration works in the citadel gate, walls and megaron buildings, visitor circuits and establishment of GIS database for digital mapping of the region has been conducted by the Upenn Museum and Architectural Conservation Laboratory of the University of Pennsylvania, especially after 2005 (Matero and Rose 2012; Keller and Matero 2011).

Fig. 8.9 (**a**, **b**) Gordion Archaeological Museum constructed in 1963. Photos by Nida Naycı

Fig. 8.10 Display of Phrygian culture: (**a**) archaeological findings about funeral feast of the King presented in the vestibule of Great Tumulus, (**b**) restored timber furniture in Museum of Anatolian Civilizations. Photos by Nida Naycı

Gaps in the Management of Gordion Archaeological Landscape

Great Tumulus, Gordion Museum and the Citadel Mound, where archaeological excavations and conservation works are still carried out today, constitute the core of site presentation studies and as a result they have become the attraction points for the visitors today. The Great Tumulus and Gordion museum are located at the entrance of Yassıhöyük village while the Citadel Mound is located on the other side of the village. Due to the fragility of timber material used in the construction of chamber room against weather conditions, the Great Tumulus is closed for visitors. Instead, visitors can watch the 3D virtual reconstruction of the chamber room, which is displayed in the museum. When visitors complete museum tour, they are expected to continue their tour at the Citadel Mound, which is located at the banks of the Sakarya River. The distance between the museum and the ancient Gordion settlement takes about 20-min walk, passing through the Yassıhöyük village (Fig. 8.4). However, most visitor groups prefer to continue with their tourist buses since there are no designed visitor paths and signage infrastructure that link these sites together. Although the Great Tumulus is not open to visitor access, visitors can still examine its entrance and the ancient King Road that lies behind the Tumulus. Touring these three spots takes 3 h, which needs to be supported by visitor facilities for relaxation and refreshments. For this purpose, a visitor centre was recently constructed near the museum.

Although the Great Tumulus is the most famous and well known, there are more than 30 tumuli located close to the Gordion museum and its environs. The rest of tumuli are located in approximately 10 km distance from Yassıhöyük village while few of them are very close to Kıranharmanı village (Fig. 8.2). Despite their close proximity, presentation of these sites has not been linked to each other due to the physical sprawl of village settlements and existence of private property ownerships on the archaeological site. For this reason, the territorial interpretation of the whole Gordion landscape as represented by the high number of tumuli is missed by the visitors (Fig. 8.5). If presentations of other Tumulus spots are linked to the existing visited sites, the duration of stay for visitors in the region will increase longer than what is the case at the moment. There are therefore physical and planning gaps that still need to be closed in order to achieve more comprehensive and unified visitor management strategy around the site. The rural culture and traditional architecture of Yassıhöyük village is currently being overshadowed as a consequence of the existing planning gaps.

The site is very rich in terms of development of different visitor interpretation techniques such as experimental archaeology and reproduction of ancient technologies, which reflect Phrygian culture. Therefore, public cultural events have been recently organised by the collaboration of Gordion excavation team, museum of Anatolian Civilizations and NGOs of the region such as the open-air performance of Ears of King Midas Opera at the site and the reproduction of the recipes during funeral supper of the King. In addition, there have been workshops carried out by

specialists of Gordion excavation team and Museum of Anatolian Civilizations to increase public awareness in cultural heritage conservation, especially among young people living in the nearby villages. However, these are not regularly organised visitor programs for public enhancement despite the richness of the archaeological information related to Gordion sites and the Phrygian culture they possess.

Negative Impacts of Existing Rural Life on Conservation of Archaeological Assets

The primary socio-economic activities of this rural context are agriculture and animal husbandry (Figs. 8.7 and 8.8). Due to the land policies of the government in the 1940s, local people who economically depended on farming and animal grazing activities have been encouraged to settle in the area, which resulted in the distribution of private pieces of land among the nearby villages. Therefore, most of the tumuli are located within private lands, where dense farming activities are still being carried out today. Some of them are located on public lands that are reserved for animal grazing. The second important management problem of this large cultural landscape has been the erosion of tumuli profiles and degradation of archaeological materials as a result of machinery farming activities (Figs. 8.11 and 8.12). The tumuli should be protected against the negative impacts of human activities, which stem from agricultural activities. As the agricultural production capacity of the region increases, large-scale facilities are likely to develop and this would result in the construction of new and large-scale buildings (factories, depots and warehouses). These developments would cause negative impact on the unique silhouette of this untouched archaeological landscape. In addition, increase of production capacity in the region would require transportation of high amounts of local products by large-scale machines and heavy trucks, which would also cause vibration risks on Tumuli. Therefore, the region needs to be well managed by reconciling existing agricultural activities and potentially developing tourism activities, which hopefully would increase in the near future.

Fig. 8.11 Farming activities in the region. Photo by Nida Naycı

Fig. 8.12 Erosion of a tumulus due to machinery farming techniques. Photo by Nida Naycı

Lack of Tourism Activities for Socio-Economic Improvement of Local People

Despite intense agricultural activities that are going on as the primary economic resource for the local people in the region, depopulation of villages has become an emerging problem. Young people prefer to migrate to urban areas such as Polatlı, Ankara and others in order to find better job opportunities. In the past, local people used to obtain occasional jobs during archaeological excavations since the 1950s and this provided them with seasonal additional financial income. However, this was a very limited economic financial contribution for local people, when compared to the present number of visitors coming to Gordion, which now has an international significance and could attract higher numbers of people in future. Policies that will enhance the potential of tourism in the region to generate alternative economic activities for the local people, especially young people, are needed. Therefore, multisectoral economic management of resources is needed for sustainable development of rural life in the region. In this sense, agriculture and tourism are powerful and potential sectors of the economy, which young people could directly benefit from if appropriate policies are put in place and implemented.

Environmental Impacts

The Gordion archaeological landscape is significant with its integration into natural context since the silhouette of the intense number of tumuli merged perfectly with the terrain of the plateau, which shows perfect contribution of humans into the nature. In addition, the region is located on the intersection of Sakarya and Porsuk rivers, which play key life source for riverine ecology of the region. However, these two important rivers are polluted by industrial and urban wastes, which begin from their sources until they reach the Gordion region. Thus, irrigation of agricultural lands from river creates environmental risk and public health. Moreover, excessive use of ground and river water by local people causes decrease in water tables and creates problems for river habitat and wildlife ecology of the region.

Fragmentation of the Administrative Management

Present ownership pattern in the region includes a number of villages with their common animal grazing land and a high number of privately owned farmlands, which are spread over the Gordion archaeological landscape. This causes fragmentation among private and public lands in the region. There is a number of administrative institutions responsible from the region such as the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Ministry of Environment and Settlement, Rural Development Agency, Municipality Polatlı District and Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara. The present administrative situation is very fragmented, so decisions related to contemporary investments or new constructions in the region put severe risk for the well-preserved archaeological and rural landscape of the region. Management and planning works in the region need to be more comprehensive and collaborative approaches for sustainable development of the whole Gordion landscape.

The Integrated Management of the Region as "Gordion Archaeological Park"

Gordion was inscribed onto the UNESCO Tentative List in 2012. However, there isn't a comprehensive management plan for the region despite its high recognition throughout the world. Therefore, main goals of "The Feasibility Project for Gordion Archaeological Park" are to carry out studies on natural and human impacts in the region, improvement of visitor management and interpretation strategies, sustainability of cultural landscape with existing rural life and improvement of socio-economic potential of the area (Çetin et al. 2016). Involvement of stakeholders and local people into decision-making process in order to overcome administrative fragmentation that exist in the region is another important objective of the project. The studies are therefore conducted under the theme of "Gordion Archaeological Park" focusing on a two-way management process (Table 8.2):

1. To achieve integrated management of this significant cultural landscape similar to the management approaches of national parks. Tourism, agriculture and urban development activities and future strategies will be planned at regional level in order to achieve sustainable development of archaeological, rural and natural resources of the area.
2. To establish a comprehensive visitor management strategy and interpretation programmes, this will include open-air museums, experimental archaeology, ancient technology displays and museum education facilities. Based on this approach, the archaeological significance of Gordion will be interpreted through different mediums and activities. This will provide space for professionals to contribute to the interpretation of Gordion and also to provide local people with new job opportunities.

Table 8.2 Two-way management scope of "Gordion Archaeological Park"

Archaeological park as…	Expected impacts		
	Cultural/social	Economic	Environmental
Management of territorial context	• Prevention of administrative fragmentation by bringing together different stakeholders	• Tourism as a supportive sector for existing rural activities	• Improvement of visitors' approach to the site
	• Involvement of local people into decision-making process through participatory management approaches	• Development of trademarks from local products (food, craftsmen …)	• Establishment of visitor circuits linking archaeological sites with rural setting
		• Diversity in tourism types: Cultural tourism, ecotourism, nature, sports	• Sustainable and ecological methods in current animal grazing and farming techniques
Visitor interpretation	• Reconstruction of thematic Phrygian village displaying ancient architecture and technologies	• Establishment of ancient Phrygian wooden, metal, pottery workshops, where local people will display and sell reproduction of ancient techniques to visitors	• Display of archaeobotanical values to visitors through botanical parks
	• Involvement of tangible and intangible heritage values of local cultures into site interpretation strategies by establishment of ethnographic museums in villages	• Selling handmade souvenirs, artefacts, local products in "Phrygian market" that will be organised by Polatlı municipality	• Increase public awareness about environmental sensitivity and ecological values of the region
	• Recognition of the region through annual celebrations of "international Gordion festival"		• Visitor circuits integrated with outdoor experiences (i.e. trekking routes, cycling paths)

"Archaeological Park" as Management of Large-Scale Territorial Context

Since the primary target of the project is to provide integrated management of the Gordion archaeological landscape, researchers are expected to prepare a comprehensive visitor management plan at regional level, which would link unpresented

archaeological sites. The visitors will enhance not only the cultural landscape of the whole territory but also its protected natural and rural characteristics through alternative destinations, visitor areas, scenic drives and access ways. Involvement of local people and promotion of traditional villages as "cultural areas" that reflect ethnographic values and traditional lifestyles of the region is another expected outcome of the research. For this purpose, cultural heritage documentation was conducted in Yassıhöyük, Kıranharmanı and Sazılar villages, which have close physical, visual and cultural relationship with the Gordion archaeological landscape. In addition to the survey of traditional architectural characteristics of these settlements, continuation of intangible values was surveyed. Focus group interviews, oral histories and questionnaires helped understand historical background and present socio-economic profiles of local cultures. In addition, values they perceive from the archaeological significance of Gordion, their future expectations from the region and level of interest from the site with the increase of planned archaeological park activities were also questioned during the surveys. As a result, the potential for improving economic activities through the establishment of local ethnographic museums, production of traditional crafts, reproduction of ancient Phrygian technologies, selling of local food products and different ecotourism models, professional training in tourism guide could be defined. The management of the "archaeological park" needs integrated policies that are related to environmental, socio-economic and cultural resources of the region. Administrative collaboration is very crucial in order to achieve these goals. For this purpose, different meetings with various interest groups related with the site including local people are conducted during the project. The values, potentials and management problems of the whole cultural landscape are discussed during the meetings.

Thematic "Archaeological Park" for Visitor Interpretation About Ancient Phrygian Culture and Technology

The second emphasis of the term on Gordion Archaeological Park is to establish an experimental archaeological park, which will show the ancient Phrygian culture and its technology to the visitors. Establishment of the experimental archaeological park will include experimental archaeology techniques carried out by traditional craftmenships such as the production of handmade mud bricks using silted clay material from the Sakarya River. This will also provide visitors to experience ancient Phrygian architectural techniques through traditional construction skills of local masons. The archaeological park will provide reconstructed open-air museum displays and hands-on activities for visitors in order to understand the Phrygian architecture at different levels. Similarly, the physical reconstruction of archaeological sites will provide organisation of museum education programs for school children and different visitor groups, by which they will have chances to be part of public archaeology activities. In addition, ancient Phrygian art and technologies (i.e.

Fig. 8.13 Reproduction of ancient Phrygian motif on craft works produced by local woman. Photos by Nida Naycı

pottery, furniture, timber, dressmaking) will be reproduced by local people by which it will provide economic benefits. For that purpose, a training program with a group of volunteer women to produce traditional craftswork that reflect Phrygian art was organized. Potential public education programs to create Phrygian-themed local industries are designed with interest groups (Fig. 8.13).

Conclusion

There are management gaps at huge archaeological sites like Gordion, especially when there is thriving rural life within the designated sites. In order to achieve conservation-use balance, multifacet approaches including archaeological, social, environmental and economic policies together are needed. Based on this approach, the establishment of the "regional archaeological park" may provide more collaborative approaches to integrate scientific realms of archaeological sites with traditional cultures of local people. Secondly, due to fragility of archaeological material, it is not always easy to present scientific information of the site to visitors.

Therefore, new techniques and mediums designed for different profiles of visitors will be helpful to interpret the site. Based on the scale of the archaeological site, the site interpretation programmes and educative activities should include the visitor centre, site museum and workshop areas designed for visitors. Therefore all "archaeological parks" may provide alternative and supportive ways to link different strategies—conservation, tours, recreation, education, cultural and industry together for management of various archaeological sites throughout the world. The outcomes of "The Feasibility Project for Gordion Archaeological Park" will provide significant experiences in developing its first World Heritage Site management plan in future.

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Chapter 9
Conservation Issues, Management Initiatives and Challenges for Implementing Khami World Heritage Site Management Plans in Zimbabwe

Simon Makuvaza and Violah Makuvaza

Introduction

Khami, the second largest stone-built settlement after Great Zimbabwe, was declared a cultural World Heritage Site in 1986. Subsequent to its proclamation as a World Heritage Site, it began to be affected by various conservation problems. To curtail the conservation problems affecting the property, management plans were developed. These management plans had wide-ranging objectives, which sought to address the conservation problems affecting the site. This chapter reviews management plans for Khami, the first which was from 1999 to 2004, and the second from 2013 to 2017. The review reveals that few objectives of the management plans were achieved. Lack of experience in developing and implementing World Heritage management plans is argued to be one of the major reasons why management plans are failing to be effectively implemented at Khami. For effective implementation of future Khami management plans, it is suggested that a World Heritage Steering Committee that would consider the interests of other stakeholders and help address the conservation problems affecting the site be established.

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Khami World Heritage Site

Khami is a complex of stone-walled platforms situated approximately 22 km west of Bulawayo, and is managed by the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ). The cultural property consists of terraced stone-wall platforms, some of which are decorated. These platforms are the Hill Complex, Cross, North, Monolith, Passage, Vlei and the Precipice (Fig. 9.1). The Khami style of

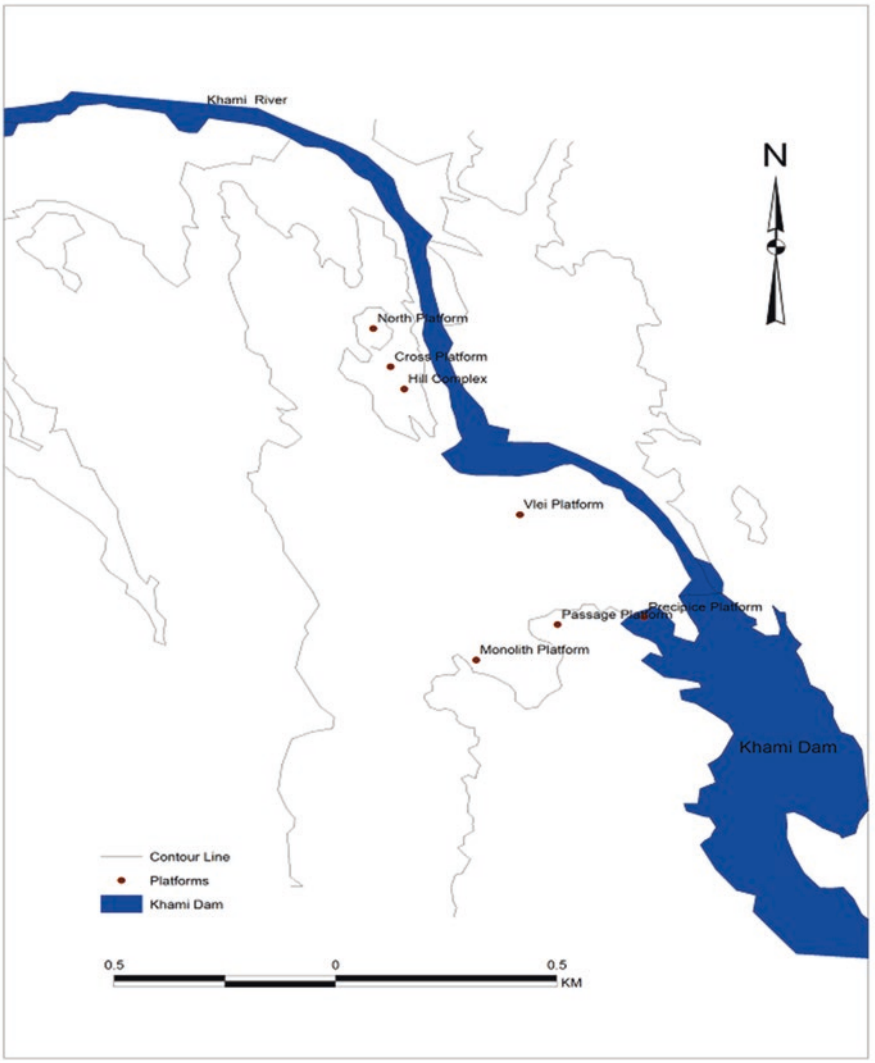

Fig. 9.1 Khami map showing some of the location of stone-wall platforms mentioned in the text

dry-stone-wall architecture is thought to have been inherited from Great Zimbabwe. The summits of Khami platforms were levelled to create spaces on which clay houses were constructed. Remains of clay houses, which are concentrated, especially on the western and northern sides of the Hill Complex, indicate that the common people lived in houses outside the platforms. The external faces of the stone walls were constructed with regular and neatly fashioned granite blocks while the internal parts of the platforms were packed with stones of irregular shape and size called core stones. Below the platforms, holes were constructed to drain water out of the platforms during wet seasons.

Conservation Issues

One of the conservation issues that affected Khami was the excavation of the North platform by the European treasure hunters who believed that gold was to be found at the site (Hall and Neal 1902). The search for gold at Khami was part of the speculation by the treasure hunters that dry-stone walls in Zimbabwe sites were storage places for gold and other precious minerals for King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. A mining company called the Rhodesia Ancient Ruins Company was formed to excavate gold at the sites throughout the country. Sites such as Dhlodhlo, Nalatale and Zinjanja (Regina) were targeted by the company in search of the precious mineral (Mahachi and Ndoro 1997; Matenga 2011). In 1896 the recovery of gold artefacts at these sites must have given the treasure hunters hope that they could find more gold at Khami. In 1897, the Rhodesia Ancient Ruins Company, led by William G. Neal and Frank Johnson, sank a shaft on the summit of the North platform. During the mining, not only was the stratigraphy of the platform destroyed but so was its foundation, which caused stone wall to collapse. No gold was, however, found at the site. This saved Khami from further pillaging as the company later folded its business around 1900, following a public demand to halt the mining of the sites in the country (Matenga 2011).

Even though mining was stopped at Khami, the site suffered yet another blow following the subdivision of land around its contiguous environment. This followed the parcelling out of land to members of the Pioneer Column as a reward for the services they had rendered during the 1893 Ndebele war. Cecil John Rhodes, who organised the Pioneer Column to occupy the country, had promised each volunteer 1500 morgen (about 3000 acres) of land and 15 gold mining claims on successful accomplishment of the mission (Galbraith 1974).

According to Sinamai (2013), land around Khami was subdivided into cattle farms, with only 300 hectares reserved for the site. Part of the land was given to the Bulawayo City Council (BCC) while the other part became Hyde Park farm which, in turn, was subdivided into several smaller farms for the purpose of cattle ranching. The BCC owned land on both sides of the Khami River, including land on which the Precipice, Passage and part of the Vlei platforms were located. Other stone walls were located on the northern edge of Hyde Park farm that borders the southern

boundary of the monument. As further pointed out by Sinamai, a section of the Vlei platform was dismantled to make it possible to construct the BCC boundary fence. Some sections of the site were destroyed during the construction of Khami Dam during the latter half of the 1920s. As Bulawayo grew, it became important to have a steady supply of water to support its ever-expanding industries and population. A programme of water supply was planned that resulted in the construction of the dam between 1926 and 1927, and was commissioned in January 1928. To administer the dam, a Khami Water Works and staff quarters were constructed opposite the Hill Complex, across the Khami River. Part of the Precipice platform, which can be viewed from across the western side of the dam, is clear evidence of the damage that was inflicted on the site by the construction of the dam, in particular a stone wall, which was destroyed during the building of the water works and staff houses. Meanwhile the site is being seriously threatened by the high-density suburbs of Pumula and Nkulumane, which are rapidly expanding towards it from the east.

Apart from these anthropogenic factors, Khami is affected by rainfall and vegetation growth. Studies at the site have shown that when it rains, the retaining walls are often filled with soil which is washed into the voids by water seepage. The soil then blocks the drainage holes of the platforms. As the soil continues to pile up and drainage is restricted, the walls are frequently pushed out as water tries to force its way out of the stone walls, resulting in bulges that cause wall collapses (Rodrigues and Manuelshagen 1987). A bulge is a section of stone blocks on the face wall that projects outwards to form a convex profile in a previously plane face wall (Walker and Dickens 1992). The problem with bulges at Khami can be observed through deformed wall profiles, fracture of blocks due to excessive weight, leaning of bottom blocks, voids behind walls and openings between blocks or missing blocks.

Water that fails to percolate into the walls would typically deluge the flat surfaces of the platforms, and this was observed to affect clay floors at the site. When flooded with water, clay floors tend to expand and then shrink when drying. This process usually causes salt crystallisation and encourages biological growth in the form of plant growth. Besides flooding water at Khami, house floors are also affected by erosion. The destruction of archaeological remains has also been caused by cattle grazing in the monument, a problem that was created by the subdivision of land near the site into cattle farms.

Although vegetation is known to have affected Khami, especially on the riparian areas of the site, it also grows on the summits of the platforms. At some platforms, this vegetation has grown into huge trees and a decision to remove them cannot be easily made as they have become part of the site. The roots of the trees grow radially and horizontally and penetrate spaces of packed core stones that are filled with soil and moisture. During strong winds, the foundations of platforms are shaken by the tree roots, resulting in the collapse of stone walls.

The conservation of Khami has continued to be affected by the above and with many other problems. At present, poaching of firewood and wildlife, growth of invasive vegetation and pollution of the river and dam are some of the conservation issues that continue to affect this World Heritage Site. The NMMZ's inability to address these conservation problems has largely been attributed to the decline of the Zimbabwean economy in recent years (cf. Makuvaza and Makuvaza 2013).

Assistance and Development of the First Management Plan

In 1986, at the 10th session to consider the inscription of Khami on the World Heritage List, the World Heritage Committee expressed grave concern about the condition of the site, and stressed the need to address the factors that were affecting it. The Committee recommended that the site be placed on the list of World Heritage in Danger so that it could receive help (World Heritage Committee 1986). The recommendation to place Khami on the list of World Heritage in Danger was not followed through. However, the severity of the threats eventually led to the placement of the site on the World Monuments Watch's *List of 100 Most Endangered Sites in the World,* a programme that is run by the American Express, a private international non-profit organisation which is committed to the preservation of historic architecture and cultural heritage sites around the world.

Between 1987 and 1999, the NMMZ sought international assistance and received several grants to address the conservation issues that were affecting Khami and to develop a management plan for the site. Following the awarding of the grants, the first management plan was finally developed. The plan was aimed at managing change at the site from 1999 to 2004. Its objective was to preserve the cultural and natural properties of the site and to make it accessible for public enjoyment. It also prescribed conservation strategies that were (1) to preserve and present the site, (2) develop visitor facilities, (3) develop archaeological research, (4) conserve wildlife and floral resources, (5) develop the administration of the site and (6) publicise and market the site. For each of these conservation strategies, proposed solutions and a working programme were suggested. Priority areas for conservation were also suggested.

The conservation of the archaeological remains was considered to be the most important objective as it was on this basis that Khami was proclaimed a World Heritage Site. It was further indicated in the plan that it was on the basis of the threats that were affecting the archaeological remains that the site was listed as one of the *100 Most Endangered Sites in the World*. The condition survey that was carried out at the site prior to the writing of the plan indicated that there were several threats to the monument, some of which have already been discussed above. It was further noted that although there were attempts to restore some platforms and to protect house floor remains, very little was done to address the conservation problems affecting the site. It was also argued that most of the restoration programmes were carried out as a reaction to a problem that would have already occurred and that they had not been the result of proper planning. It was further indicated that no complete documentation existed prior to the development of the management plan.

To control the threats that were affecting the archaeological remains, it was recommended that there should be a regular maintenance of the site by at least three individuals, one of whom was to be a stone mason. The responsibility of these individuals was to clear vegetation on platforms, house floor remains and the rest of the site. For stone-wall platforms, a monitoring system akin to that of Great Zimbabwe was recommended. At Great Zimbabwe, the monitoring of stone walls involves colour coding of stone blocks, photography and use of DEMEC Mechanical Strain

Gauge for taking strain measurements at different points of stone walls so as to monitor their movement. Developed by the British Cement and Concrete Association, the device was introduced at Great Zimbabwe in the 1980s to monitor the movement of stone walls. Colour coding involves numbering each course and stone blocks, which are separated by a stroke represented by a black colour. The courses are numbered from top to bottom and the blocks from left to right. This monitoring technique ensures that stone blocks that collapse can be restored to their original positions. None of these techniques had, however, been used at Khami before.

Stabilisation and restoration of stone walls were also recommended, and priority was given to the Precipice and Cross platforms, Hill Complex and some sections of the Vlei platform. Training and research to understand the structural behaviour of the platforms were also recommended prior to the start of the restoration programme. Termiticides were recommended to treat termite action on house floor remains and an experiment was further recommended to ascertain their effectiveness to treat the termites. If protective shelters for house remains were to be constructed, it was suggested that they be designed in such a way that they protected the floors from rain water.

The working programme to restore the Precipice platform was estimated to take between 4 and 6 months, while about 8 months was advised to be enough for the restoration of both the southern passage and the western terraces at the Hill Complex. The conservation of house floor remains was estimated to take at least 3 months. A heritage manager, surveyor and a civil engineer were further recommended as key personnel, and were to be supported by at least eight individuals to oversee the conservation of the archaeological remains.

Given the complex history of Khami, it was argued that without proper presentation of the site in the form of signposts, museum, brochures and guidebooks, the site would not be fully appreciated by visitors. It was noted that the small site museum contained information on the Late Stone Age period rather than information on the Zimbabwe Culture construction and occupation of the site. At the time the plan was produced, the main site entrance gate was demarcated by a low stone wall and there was a map of Khami behind it. Apart from that it was also observed that there was nothing that indicated that one had actually arrived at the site. It was further observed that the signposts and the brochures were not only inadequate but that they also lacked educational information for visitors.

General cleaning of the site around the picnic area and the site museum was recommended as the first solution to the problem of presentation at the site. It was then suggested that the main entrance to the site be redesigned so that it became more welcoming to visitors. A colourful map of the site, giving visitors a proper orientation, was also proposed. It was further recommended that old signposts and brochures be replaced with new and more informative ones. A recommendation was also made to construct a bigger museum that would exhibit and contain adequate information on the archaeology of the site. The work schedule for redesigning signposts was estimated to take at least 1 month, 3 months for refurbishing the museum, 3 months for designing platform displays, 1 month for redesigning signposts,

2 months for producing guidebooks and 1 year for constructing a new museum. A display artist, archaeologist, architect and a heritage manager were also suggested as key personnel to lead the project.

At the time the management plan was developed, visitor facilities at Khami were inadequate. The site museum, four toilet blocks with only one block that was operational and a car park close to a picnic area were the only existing facilities at Khami. However, it was observed that motorists preferred to park their vehicles close to the site museum. The picnic area, which also doubled as a camping site, did not have appropriate amenities. It was further noted that there were no refreshment facilities at the site. The existing visitor facilities were also observed to be located in archaeologically sensitive areas of the site. To address the problem of visitor facilities at Khami, the ablution blocks and the picnic area were recommended to be kept open and clean at all times. A proposal was also made to close the nearby car park and shift it to an area near the site museum. The Old Monuments Commission houses were recommended for conversion into a refreshment and souvenir area. It was also advised to renovate the old houses, as well as construct thatched sheds that could be utilised for refreshments and picnic parties.

During the development of the management plan, the Khami sewage plant, which holds the capacity to purify the Bulawayo western suburbs and industrial effluent, was also being constructed. The idea was to discharge clean water into the river without causing environmental disaster downstream (Makuvaza and Makuvaza 2013). It was perhaps on the basis of this understanding that if in future the number of visitors increased, lodges could be constructed along the Khami dam, which is, in archaeological terms, a less sensitive part of the site. Recreational activities such as boating and fishing could also eventually be introduced. Dormitories for school children were also recommended to encourage schools to spend more time at the site. Lastly, horse (pony) trails for those who would like to see more of the site on horseback were further proposed. Work to refurbish the old buildings was estimated to take about 6 months while the projects to construct the car park, the entrance and ticketing area were scheduled to take 3 months each. An architect and a landscape designer were also proposed as key personnel to drive the projects.

It was further noted during the development of the management plan that not much archaeological research had been carried out at Khami. The last major archaeological research work was by Robinson (1949, 1959). This was followed by comparatively limited work by Thorp (1995) and Hughes (1997). It was against this background that a recommendation was made to commence a new research programme at the site. It was envisaged that the new research programme would result in the production of books, brochures and guidebooks. In the past, archaeological research tended to be biased on the elite area, which is the Hill Complex. Against this background, it was also recommended that research carried out around the non-elite areas could generate more knowledge on the archaeology of the site. It was expected that visitors could be attracted to the site as they would witness the process of an archaeological excavation. The excavations were scheduled to cover the entire period of the management plan.

Previously, no management plan existed for the plant and animal species at Khami. With population increase around the site, wildlife from neighbouring farms such as kudu, duiker and klipspringer began to find their way into the Khami estate for protection. In the dam, aquatic species such as fish were poached by people from the neighbouring Bulawayo high-density suburbs. Without adequate protection, plant species such as *Cassia abbreviata* were also threatened at Khami as they were being rampantly collected for medicinal purposes. A policy for protecting the natural habitat at Khami was therefore seen as something that would enhance the integrity of the site. There was a need, as was suggested in the management plan, to put in place security measures which would prevent these species from being poached. Proposals were made to eradicate species that posed ecological threats such as *Eucalyptus* and *Lantana camara*. The conservation programme to address these threats was to be implemented over a period of at least 5 years.

At the time of developing the management plan, there were only four workers based at Khami. The administration of the site was done from the Natural History Museum in Bulawayo. Archaeologists would occasionally visit the site to update themselves on the conservation needs of the site. It was also argued that, given the severity of the threats, the work of the custodians was stretched and they could not, therefore, be expected to keep the site well presented. It was proposed that a Steering Committee be set up to resolve the problem. The proposed Committee would be responsible for the promotion, fundraising and implementation of the management plan. It was further suggested that the site manager, archaeologists and other staff members required offices from which to operate. It was also recommended that the old lodges located immediately to the west of the museum be turned into offices and to include a Conservation Centre. In addition to the above proposals, it was further advised that a tractor, a four-wheel-drive truck, grass mowers, computers, cameras and other necessary equipment be bought for use at the site. Within the first 3 years of the management plan (1999–2002), it was suggested that Khami would have at least 20 individuals working at the site.

Even though Khami has exciting platforms and is one of the major tourist attractions in the Bulawayo area, the site is said to attract less than 10,000 visitors per year. Poor transport network and lack of marketing were cited as some of the reasons why the site had remained unknown to tourists. It was contended that if marketed well, Khami could attract more than 40,000 visitors per year. A number of prescriptions were therefore suggested as a way of marketing Khami. A publicity campaign targeted at hotels, tour operators, country entry points, schools and museums was proposed, and it was further advised that a website with quality photographs be set up to further enhance the marketing initiative. It was also suggested that the marketing of the site should be a joint effort with tour operators, Bulawayo Publicity Association, Zimbabwe Tourism Authority and the BCC. The production of postcards, brochures and posters was also proposed as a way of marketing the site. The marketing campaign was to start immediately and was to last for a year, after which an evaluation was to be made to determine its success.

The First Khami Management Plan, 1999 to 2004

As a first step to implement the plan, an archaeologist and a stone mason were transferred from Great Zimbabwe to Khami. The transfers were intended to relocate the conservation skills and experience acquired by the staff members from Great Zimbabwe to Khami. A land surveyor was also engaged. Before the appointment of these individuals, three less experienced stone masons, who had previously worked at Great Zimbabwe, as well as two site custodians, were already stationed at the site.

Although the number of workers at Khami was initially increased, the target of 20 workers within the first 3 years was never achieved owing to two main reasons. The first is that there was not enough accommodation for the proposed number of workers. In addition to a semi-detached house that was already available, only two houses, one for the site manager and another semi-detached house for two staff members, were constructed. Apart from lack of accommodation, there was no working space for the suggested number of workers. The recommendation that the old lodges be converted into offices and a Conservation Centre was never taken on board due to lack of funding. With no accommodation and working space, the proposal to employ a heritage manager, a civil engineer and a display artist could not be achieved. As a result of these and other reasons that shall be discussed below, the number of staff members at Khami actually decreased following the resignation of the archaeologist in 2003, the stone mason in 2006 and the land surveyor in 2009. Besides the departure of these staff members, a Steering Committee for Khami was never established as was suggested in the management plan.

Following the successful transfer of some members of staff from Great Zimbabwe, the next stage for implementing the management plan was to fence the entire site. In 2003, members of the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) were deployed at Khami to patrol the site. Fencing of the site and deployment of the police were critical to prevent any further destruction of archaeological remains by stray cattle, poachers and trespassers. However, even though the recommendation to fence Khami was successfully achieved in October 2000, more than 90% of the fence has since been cut and stolen (Lonke Nyoni,[1] pers. comm., April 23, 2016). The theft of the fence means that the conservation problems associated with stray cattle, poaching and trespassing were never truly solved. In addition, without the fence, the idea to enhance the site as a well-managed conservation area for plant species and wildlife-seeking sanctuary in the estate could therefore not be achieved either. Following the theft of the fence, it has not been easy to establish the boundary of the World Heritage Site (Solomon Mumpande,[2] pers. comm., April 23, 2016).

The recommendation to conserve archaeological features at Khami began soon after the site was fenced. During the restoration of the stone walls, which began in June 2000, it became clear that some of the wall-monitoring techniques could only be applied with limited success at Khami. The DEMEC Mechanical Strain Gauge,

[1] Lonke Nyoni is the present Khami World Heritage Site Manager.

[2] Solomon Mumpande is a ZRP officer who is often deployed for patrols at Khami.

Fig. 9.2 The western terraces of the Khami Hill Complex before restoration in 1999. Photo by S. Makuvaza

for example, could not be used to monitor walls that had already extensively collapsed, especially the terraces on the western section of the Hill Complex (Fig. 9.2). As a result of the collapse, it was only practical that simple techniques, such as colour coding and photography, be used during the restoration programme. It would, however, appear that the urgency to complete the restoration of stone walls at Khami would not allow time to train workers understand monitoring techniques as was proposed in the management plan.

During the restoration programme, it also became clear that the 8 months that was proposed to complete the restoration of both the southern passage entrance to the Hill Complex and the western terraces was never going to be enough. The nature of Khami stone-wall construction made it impossible for the restoration of the walls to be completed within the scheduled time. Excavation of the northern section of the western terraces at the Hill Complex revealed that there were several inner walls that were constructed behind the external face walls. The bulges that are usually observed on the external face stones are an indication of complicated structural problems that run deep into the inner walls. To stabilise the structural problems of the walls, they were first cautiously excavated and recorded before they were systematically dismantled. The Khami Youth Camp Volunteers carried the stones from the terraces and arranged them in the order in which they were dismantled on the ground below the Hill Complex. Once the dismantling procedure was completed, the stone mason would first stabilise the foundations of the walls before the face stones were returned to the terraces for restoration. Since the restoration procedure is labour intensive, it takes more than a month to complete just one or two platforms.

Fig. 9.3 The restored western terraces at the Hill Complex. Photo by S. Makuvaza, April 2016

When the first management plan's period expired in 2003, only the southern passage entrance at the Hill Complex and the first four western terraces were successfully restored. Sections of the Cross Ruin and the Passage platform were also successfully restored between 2005 and 2008. But it took 8 years to complete the restoration of the northern side of the Hill Complex while the southern side is yet to be restored (Lonke Nyoni, pers. comm., April 23, 2016) (Fig. 9.3).

One of the reasons why the restoration of Khami platform walls could not be completed within the scheduled time was lack of funding. The restoration programme at the site has always depended on two main sources of funding which are government and donor funding. With the decline of the country's economy from about 1999, the Zimbabwean Government was no longer able to fund restoration programmes at Khami as its attention shifted to address areas of national economic importance such as agriculture, health and education. The donors who had for years contributed to the Volunteer Youth Camp, such as Chantiers, Histoire et Architecture Médiévales (CHAM), a French non-profit organisation, the French Embassy and some Bulawayo companies, also withdrew their support citing economic reasons (Makuvaza and Makuvaza 2013).

Although several efforts were made to restore the Precipice platform, they were never successful. The expectation was that the BCC would complete the construction of the sewage plant and release clean water upstream of the Khami River so that the stone masons would be able to restore the platform. The BCC, however, failed to discharge clean water into the river as the sewage plant was not commissioned. The failure to release clean water into the Khami River also made it impossible to implement the construction of lodges and dormitories for school children and other

visitors wishing to spend more time at the site as was recommended in the management plan. The length of stay for visitors at Khami has been short due to the continued lack of a refreshment and souvenir area at the site. In addition, the suggested recreational activities, such as boating and fishing in the dam, as well as pony rides for visitors, could not be introduced as a result of the failure by the BCC to release clean water into the Khami River.

The overemphasis on restoring platforms at Khami resulted in the overshadowing of the importance of protecting house floor remains at the site. As a result, no experiments were carried out to ascertain the effectiveness of pesticides to treat termite action on *dhaka* structures. In addition, no attempts were made to construct protective shelters over the house floor remains as was proposed in the management plan.

Fortunately, however, grass that has grown on some of the house floors has, in some way, prevented the erosion of the floors during the rainy season.

The general clean-up of the site as a way of presenting it to visitors was also not satisfactorily implemented at Khami. Lack of equipment such as a tractor that could have been used to cut grass at the site contributes to the failure to make the site more presentable. A two-wheel drive instead of the suggested four-wheel drive was bought, while equipment such as cameras and computers were never acquired. With inadequate working equipment, the idea to enhance the presentation of the site to visitors was never fully achieved.

While the restoration programme at Khami generated a great deal of data, not a single book, postcard, brochure or guidebook was produced as a way of marketing the site to visitors as was proposed in the management plan. In addition, the new museum in which the literature was proposed to be displayed was never constructed. The proposal to construct a new entrance and ticketing area scheduled for only 3 months was another proposal which was never undertaken, and the welcoming and ticketing of visitors are therefore still being carried out in the small site museum. With no literature, and the added hindrance of a poor transport system, the recommendation to vigorously market Khami was therefore not implemented. The failure could be attributed to the lack of a joint effort to market the site with tour operators, Bulawayo Publicity Association, Zimbabwe Tourism Authority and the BCC as was advised in the management plan. For this reason, the site has remained relatively unknown to many local and foreign tourists.

The Second Management Plan, 2013 to 2017

The recommendations of the second Khami management plan, which were prepared 9 years after the first plan had expired, are to a very large extent comparable to those of the first plan. It was recommended in the second plan to restore platforms, increase staff members, improve the image of the site, market the site and involve stakeholders. The retention of these recommendations in the second plan was after the appraisal of the first plan that showed that the same management issues

that had affected the site, more than two decades ago, had not been addressed and were still affecting the site.

The evaluation of the second management plan showed that none of the above objectives were actually accomplished. The restoration of platforms, in particular the Hill Complex, is yet to be completed. The number of staff is still very critically low, and the site still has no archaeologist and a surveyor. Khami is also still not well presented as shown by the lack of proper signposts and the failure to slash vegetation. There is also the continued failure to market the site as shown by the few numbers of tourists who visit the site (see Makuvaza and Makuvaza 2013). Pollution of the Khami dam still continues as engaging stakeholders and establishing a Steering Committee have proved to be complicated.

Remarks and the Future of Khami Management Plans

It is clear from the above appraisal of the Khami management plans that the majority of the recommendations were never implemented. The failure to implement management policies at Khami has largely been due to the lack of funding. Lack of experience in implementing World Heritage management plans is also one of the major reasons that contribute to the failure to effectively implement the plans.

Effective management system required that a World Heritage Steering Committee be established to facilitate the development of Khami. If established, the Committee would include representatives of the owners, managers, regional and local authorities and other official bodies such as non-governmental organisations with an interest in the site. The failure to establish a Steering Committee, as is the procedure when developing World Heritage management plans, made it difficult to fully implement the Khami management plans. Given that no Steering Committee was established for the site, it also follows that no representatives were engaged in the development and implementation of the Khami management plans. This means that the interests of other players such as the BCC, Bulawayo Publicity Association, Bulawayo residents' associations, industrialists, tour operators and the Zimbabwe Tourism Authority, which could have contributed to the success of the undertaking, were not considered. The failure to set up a Khami Steering Committee indicates that as a document, the plan was not agreed upon by the stakeholders as is commonly the practice when developing World Heritage management plans. This explains why it is difficult to deal with some of the recurrent conservation issues affecting the site such as the pollution of the Khami River, poaching and theft of the fence.

The reliance on government and donor funding to implement the management plans at a time when the country is going through economic difficulties and when international relations are strained is not going to be sustainable for the site. A clear process for site planning, with budgets, needed to be part of the Khami management plans. Without funding, the management plans tended to lose credibility as effective instruments to guide the management of the area. Instead, it had become a "wish

list" of actions to be carried out, if and when funds are available (see also Thomas and Middleton 2003). To avoid this and as part of its duties, if the Khami Steering Committee had been established, it could have helped secure additional funds to implement the management plans. The funds could have been used for the refurbishment of the Old Monuments Commission buildings and to construct more staff houses, a new visitor centre, a new site entrance and a conservation centre. But this was unlikely as the construction of new infrastructure at Khami was not considered as an urgent requirement in the management plans. While efforts to develop the site are highly commended, the restoration of the platforms should not have continued to be prioritised; it should have instead been considered as a continuous and ongoing programme. If annual reviews of the management plans were carried out as is the procedure when implementing management plans (see UNESCO 2013), the development of infrastructure at the site could have been prioritised.

When the Khami management plans were developed, it was important that the values of the site be communicated to communities living around it so as to secure their support for the effective implementation of the plans. This was crucial as raising awareness of the importance of a World Heritage Site to the communities living around it could have helped make them understand its values and why they must be protected. At Khami, this has not been possible as a result of the absence of a Steering Committee. The failure to make communities living around the site appreciate Khami as a World Heritage Site has largely contributed to the challenges of implementing the management plans.

To ensure that Khami is handed over to the next generation in good condition, the future of management plans would require that the best practices of developing and implementing management plans be considered. The best practices would in future need to consider the setting up of a site Steering Committee, involve stakeholders and form a consensus on the change to be managed and accommodated. This would also require that the plans be regularly reviewed as a way of monitoring their implementation.

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Chapter 10
Concerning Heritage: Lessons from Rock Art Management in the Maloti-Drakensberg Park World Heritage Site

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This chapter is offered as a critique and, though it is much needed and we hope impactful, we recognise that in the space kindly granted us in this forum we cannot hope to cover each page of the back story (see Mazel 2012: 516–524), or every perspective and reference in the discourse. We therefore limit ourselves to those articles and documents we feel most accurately convey our point, and apologise for any inadvertent omissions. We foreground the absence of marketing and place emphasis on making sustainable tourism strategies by incorporating local people and valorising heritage sites; creating better visitor experiences and raising the profile of rock art.

The Maloti mountain range extends over an area of 5000 km^2, including most of the Lesotho where the highest peaks lie (over 3000 m), and the adjacent sides of these mountains which, from the South African side, can look like a sheer wall. The South African Drakensberg (or in Nguni languages uKhahlamba) is the name of the same mountains as they fall away from the Maloti—hence Maloti-Drakensberg. The South African province of KwaZulu-Natal shares a border with Lesotho at the top of the escarpment. To the south-west, the escarpment continues where Lesotho then shares a border with the province of the Eastern Cape. On the KwaZulu side, most of this border region lies within the uKhahlamba Drakensberg Park (uDP) World Heritage Site—the preserve of indigenous wild plants and animals. On the Eastern

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Cape Side the border region comprises the districts of Barkly East and Maclear, as well as the districts of the former Transkei around Mount Fletcher and Matatiele—an area densely populated with people of diverse cultures. On the Lesotho side only a very small proportion of its scarce land resources are given to wildlife in the form of the Sehlabathebe National Park (SNP). The 6500 hectare SNP shares a 12 km boundary with the southern tip of the 242,813 hectare uDP. In 2013 an extension of the World Heritage Site, to include SNP in Lesotho, was proposed, with recommendations, and almost immediately ratified by the World Heritage Committee (UNESCO 2013a: 171). The whole area then became the Maloti-Drakensberg Park Lesotho/South Africa or MDP. Confusingly, this is a quite different thing from the MDTP or Maloti-Drakensberg Transfrontier Project, which administers the Maloti-Drakensberg Transfrontier Conservation and Development Area, a notional space far greater in size which encompasses the MDP, and which includes huge swathes of both nations which are densely populated, around the perimeter of the WHS (Fig. 10.1). This "Peace Park" is intended to promote regional stability, conserve biodiversity and stimulate job creation by developing nature conservation as a land-use option, though whether it has made much impact is questionable (see Büscher 2013).

The Inscription of the World Heritage Site

Not only are these mountains of exquisite natural beauty, but they also contain an archaeological sequence of human occupation dating back more than 83 thousand years (and peripherally to 250,000, e.g. Mazel 1989; Mitchell 1992, 2002; Stewart et al. 2016:266). Most visible is the remarkable hunter-gatherer rock art made by the San and their ancestors[1] in rock shelters throughout the region. This art, one of the best understood in the world, has been deciphered on various levels using the beliefs of San people from these mountains and elsewhere, and the art has, recursively and reflexively, helped us understand the complex beliefs of the people who made it (e.g. Lewis-Williams and Challis 2011). Indeed, World Heritage status was awarded to the uDP on the *dual* merits of its outstanding universal value (OUV), half for its biodiversity and natural beauty, and half for the cultural heritage, of which most weight was accorded to the rock art. Thus, both natural criteria (iii and iv) and cultural criteria (i and iii) contributed 50% each to its inscription on the World Heritage List in 2000 (UNESCO 2000: 38).

The establishment of the MDP World Heritage Site in 2013 followed a 2001 bilateral "declaration of commitment to a future jointly planned and implemented programme" between South Africa and Lesotho to create the Maloti-Drakensberg Transfrontier Park (MDTP 2012; Derwent et al. 2001: 3–4). It was understood that bilateral co-operation should be a central part of a co-ordinated programme for the development, management and protection of the area. The declaration emphasised the need to include and empower communities who depend on the region's resources (Derwent et al. 2001: 5). Although the overall vision of the project included the

[1] Both terms, San and Bushman, have carried pejorative connotations in the past. We use the term San, but reject any negative associations. These recent hunter-gatherers were not Stone Age relics and the names we use for them cannot be projected far back in time (Pargeter et al. 2016).

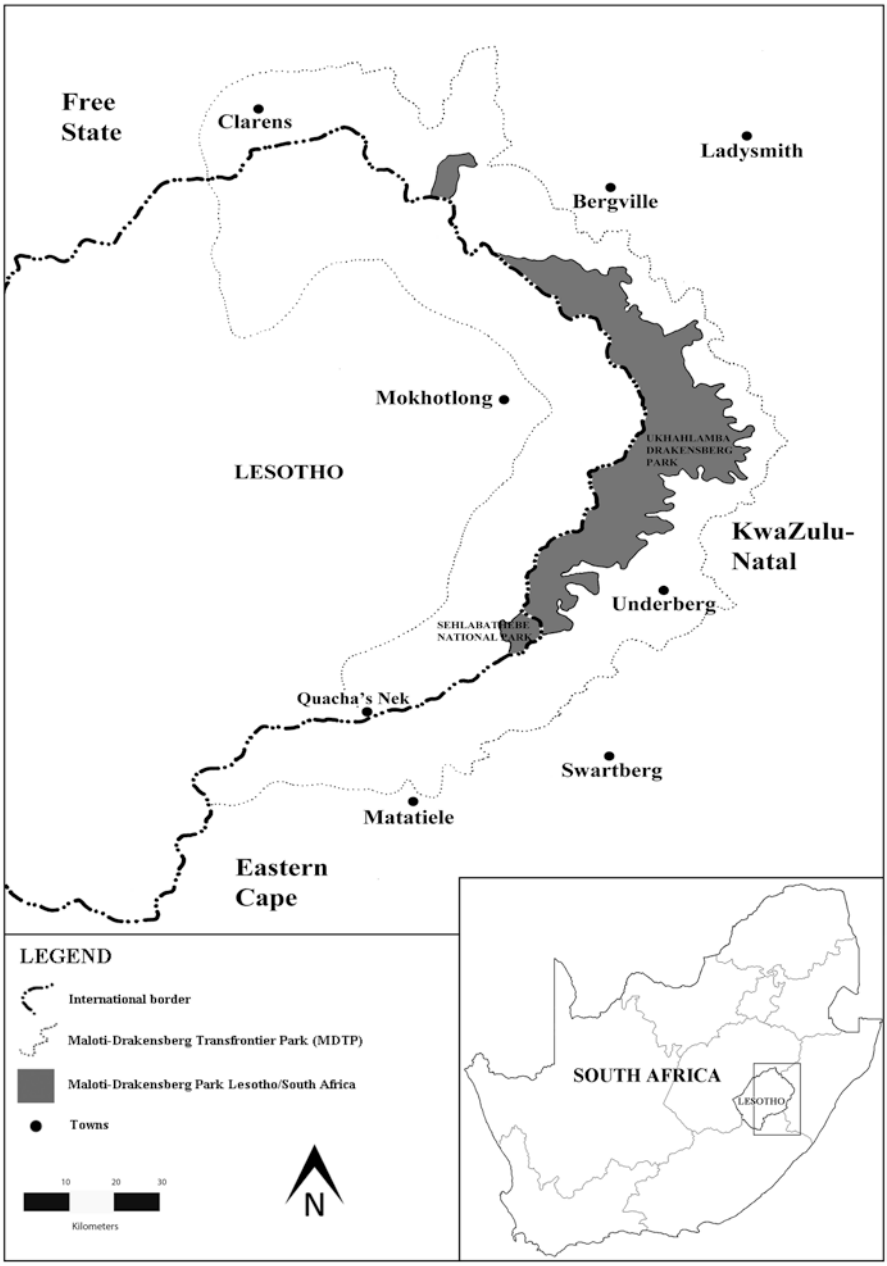

Fig. 10.1 Location of the Maloti-Drakensberg Park World Heritage Site

cultural heritage of the area, the specific objectives were more focused on the natural heritage (Derwent et al. 2001: 14–15) and this has been a problem for the management of the uDP since its inclusion on the World Heritage List. If the World Heritage Site was inscribed on its *dual* merits—natural and cultural—then why did, and why does, attention and funding focus on one and not the other? There is still no appointed cultural officer on the uDP side of the border.

Park Management and Marketing

There are several reasons, but at their core is one fundamental oversight that occurred right at the start: the park is owned and managed by Ezemvelo KwaZulu-Natal Wildlife (Ezemvelo), but South African legislation makes heritage agency Amafa a KwaZulu-Natali (Amafa) the legal entity tasked with the conservation of its rock art. A MOU was signed between Ezemvelo and Amafa committing both parties to the conservation of cultural heritage (Mazel 2012: 519) but no single body was given responsibility for the promotion of cultural heritage—in this case rock art (although there are other cultural resources in the park, rock art is the most prominent). The inherent flaw of this arrangement is that neither agency is obliged to take rock art to the tourist market (Rossouw and Dye 2015: 9). Marketing should be seen as an integral part of the management of the sites. Despite claims that the lack of a cultural officer at Ezemvelo is partly owing to power-play by Amafa (Ndlovu 2016: 104), there is reason for optimism with Amafa's new management plan (van de Venter Radford and Rossouw 2015) and a 5-year plan to involve Ezemvelo more in the cultural heritage of the park (A. van der Venter, pers com. October 2016).

Having no marketing mandate means people remain unaware of the product—and this has been one of the main findings in Melanie Duval's study of rock art tourism in the uDP (Duval and Smith 2013, 2014; cf. Smith 2006). Rock art appears to have very little value in marketing the uDP to tourists. There are no brochures on individual sites. The KwaZulu-Natal provincial tourism authority produces two main brochures: the first covers the whole province and makes no mention of rock art; the second is for the uDP and mentions only 2 of its 23 public rock art sites … strange, since the brochure emphasises the richness of cultural heritage in the uDP, so long as it is European or Zulu (Duval and Smith 2013: 140).

Making sites marketable, we argue, entails making them relevant to people not only from overseas but within South Africa and within the local communities themselves. In turn, part of this procedure feeds recursively back into the community when local people are employed as custodians and/or field technicians. Additionally, the local public, especially custodians, are a crucial link to cultural heritage specialists in the ongoing effort to conserve heritage resources. Nowhere is an integrated approach including these factors more important.

Recently, Ndukuyakhe Ndlovu (2016:114) has reiterated the plea that many have made, in asking for "a meaningful inclusion of indigenous [highlighting San descent] and African [Bantu-speaking farmer] communities in the active management of the World Heritage Site". What is needed, he argues, is a genuine

consultation procedure with local people of San descent and with other local villagers, the creation of custodians (Chennells and Du Toit 2004: 110; cf. Jopela 2011) and the employment of trained cultural heritage specialists to integrate and oversee heritage management. To this we would add two things: (1) that these procedures be further integrated into the framework of training field technicians (King et al. in press), and (2) that they form part of a concerted marketing programme.

Relative to point (1), in 2015 members of the Rock Art Research Institute (RARI) of the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) undertook the survey of the SNP for the Lesotho Government's Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Culture or "MTEC" (Challis et al. 2015). This was done largely by the tried-and-tested BaSotho Field Technicians trained on RARI's MARA programme (Matatiele Archaeology and Rock Art, see Challis forthcoming), the AMEMSA programme (Adaptations to Marginal Environments in the Middle Stone Age) and the Metolong Dam Project (Arthur and Mitchell 2010). These technicians, under the leadership of Puseletso Lecheko and Rethabile Mokhachane, recorded archaeological/rock art sites first documented in 1980. They compared the state of preservation at the known sites and discovered previously unrecorded sites as well. Moreover, they were able to train existing cultural officers who have become the new—government-appointed—WHS site managers (Challis et al. 2015). The position of cultural officer, well established in Lesotho, is what is so desperately needed on the uDP side of the park.

A Ministry with a Mandate

Relative to point (2), Lesotho's Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Culture, by combining these three critical departments under one roof, has created a solid platform for the documentation, preservation and marketing of cultural heritage: a Ministry with a mandate to market the nation's environmental and cultural heritage. Heritage and cultural tourism are taken seriously in Lesotho (e.g. Shano 2014) and the Ministry has recently appointed an officer for Intangible Cultural Heritage, a recognition that environment and culture can be intertwined and in some cases the same thing (Nic Eoin and King 2013). Of course, people local to the sites know this, but it is important that local custodians receive training—possibly becoming field technicians themselves—and that governments appoint cultural officers who are able to work with local custodians to ensure that cultural heritage both tangible and intangible is safeguarded. Only then can it be marketed and its revenue ploughed back into the community and the site's preservation.

A Scramble for Africa?

Therefore within 2 years of the SNP's inclusion on the World Heritage List, the Lesotho Government managed to inventory and procure a management plan for its rock art sites. However, the management plan was not as useful as it might have

been because it was produced at the same time as the survey report, thus necessitating that site-specific recommendations were very brief—each of the 19 possible visitor sites needing a potential visitor plan (Challis 2015). The cause for this approach can be linked to the movement that Lynn Meskell (2012) has termed "the rush to inscribe" which is being advanced by some State Parties within the United Nations. Parties who have in the past been underrepresented on the World Heritage List are forging new (perhaps temporary) alliances in order to secure the inscription of their sites. Such a strategy Meskell (2012: 149–150) suggests may be in defiance of, and to subvert, the largely Eurocentric view of what constitutes heritage, although ICOMOS has expressed its doubts that best practice will be upheld. The SNP was on the "deferred list" as recommended by the UNESCO Advisory Body because the Lesotho government had to provide extra data, including the rock art survey and management plan (UNESCO 2013a). Instead, the decision was immediately ratified in the same year (UNESCO 2013b) and the requisite work was only completed 2 years later (Challis et al. 2015).

Cultural Heritage Management Plans (CHMPs) on the South African side have had a checkered past. To be sure, there was the original CURE document (Cultural Resource Management Plan) submitted with the WHS application, but it was recommended by UNESCO that this be integrated with the environmental management plan. It seems that uDP authorities accepted the recommendations of the International Union for Conservation of Nature, which makes no mention of cultural heritage (IUCN 2000: 157), but ignored recommendations of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS 2000: 3) in the UNESCO nomination dossier: ICOMOS is concerned that the different management plans have not yet been harmonised by means of a master plan. It is very important that the objectives and policies of the Cultural Resource Management Plan are properly integrated with those relating to the natural heritage, so as to avoid any possible conflicts.

Integrating Management Plans

The MDTP did produce, in 2012, a "Joint Management Plan", which seemingly integrated natural and cultural heritage, but it is limited to a description and makes no provision for management. This situation has now, thankfully, been rectified and a plan has been circulated by Amafa (van de Venter Radford and Rossouw 2015). This is, not surprisingly, a far more considered and well-set-out document than that hurriedly produced for the SNP. Importantly, ICOMOS also identified the core problem that there are no cultural officers on the South African side, something that was sidestepped to the detriment of the park as a whole. The staff of the Nature Conservation Service [Ezemvelo] is exclusively related to the natural heritage. ICOMOS strongly recommends that a cultural heritage unit be established within the Service.

A pattern emerges which highlights the apparent gap between planning and implementation. A plethora of documents have been produced, some public and institutional, and others academic and/or critical. A staggering number of planning committees have been convened, workshops held (at what cost it is presumably dif-

ficult to know) and a proliferation of acronyms has resulted. Writing of the MDTP, Zunckel (2007: 17) declares that it "is too important an area to be lost under a pile of glowing annual reports that show the achievement of organisational targets but ignore the failures to achieve the conservation targets".

At ground level, however, very little appears to have changed since the WHS inscription in 2000. Within the patrolled borders of the uDP the mountain slopes, their flora and fauna are protected and the rock paintings are for the most part undamaged. From the perspective of cultural heritage management, however, this tranquillity belies a more sinister silence—an absence of visitors to rock art sites and the softly dashed hopes of the communities that are supposed to benefit from what the WHS inscription promised. Sinister also are some of the reasons for this silence; gangs of drug and arms smugglers use the mountain paths to ply their trade, and rob groups of tourists when the opportunity presents itself (Sunday Times 6 July 2014; Kynoch et al. 2001), and when they are not busy fighting rival gangs. In 2006 one author (SC) met tourists who had discovered a dead body on their way to view a rock art shelter in Didima. In 2014 two of the authors (SC, AM) were fired upon while conducting rock art research in the mountains of Matatiele (within the MDTP conservation area). If cultural heritage is to be protected with money generated by tourism, then visitor safety must become a priority. To do this sustainably will involve a substantial increase in formal policing (the uDP has armed rangers, for instance) and informal policing—if only local communities can be encouraged to "take ownership" of sites.

Responding to complaints by the public that there is no central hub where they can establish which sites are open to the public and where they can access them, Amafa, in consultation with the African Consultation Trust, developed a web page with information about the sites that are open to the public and their locations (Rossouw and Dye 2015: 9). The site itself, http://www.maloti-drakensberg.co.za/rockart/, is user friendly, but is unfortunately not linked to many of the websites mentioning rock art in the area, nor the Ezemvelo website for the uDP.

One of the roles taken on by Amafa was the training of rock art custodians. In order to safeguard the sites, Amafa's Access Policy requires that in order to visit a site, an Amafa-accredited custodian must be present (Rossouw and Dye 2015: 9). Amafa envisioned providing local peoples with poverty-alleviating income by training them as custodians (Rossouw and Dye 2015: 9). However, because these custodians are dependent on rock art tourists for income, and because rock art tourism has virtually no marketing, it is difficult to earn a living wage. Thus, the turnover of custodians is high, making training unsustainable (Duval and Smith 2014: 37).

Local Communities and "Poverty Alleviation"

Poverty alleviation is often seen as one of the benefits of opening a site to the public (e.g. Laue et al. 2001; Derwent et al. 2001: 1; Cain 2009: 43). This raises the hopes of potential local custodians or employees, but seldom does the income meet expectations, leading to dissatisfaction, which can further endanger the sites (Ndlovu 2011a: 48). The initial construction of visitor centres can provide cash injection for local

communities but only in the short term. There is little money worldwide for heritage sites but this is especially so in Africa and heritage managers have to be innovative in order to keep sites sustainable (Little and Borona 2014). Failure comes with inadequate funding for running costs and projects either close or have to be scaled down, the visitor centres becoming white elephants (Mokoena 2017). Often, there is an overestimation of projected visitor numbers. For example, the Wildebeest Kuil site that was developed in 2001 projected visitation at 1000 adults and 1000 school children per month (Turkington 2001). This projection was based on the number of tourists visiting other cultural tourist attractions in the Kimberley area, and proved to be a huge miscalculation (Morris et al. 2009: 18). There is still a perception that building a visitor centre will create jobs and that simply opening the doors to an establishment will bring visitors flocking. Money spent on construction of buildings and displays often leaves little for the most important factor: marketing. If people don't know of the place, why should they come (see interviews in Duval and Smith 2014)?

In order to circumvent some of these problems local communities need to be an integral part of any site management process and need to understand fully the implications of a site being declared a World Heritage Site (Sullivan 2004: 49 cf. Mokoena 2017). Local communities must not be tacked on as an afterthought—written into proposals to give a politically correct gloss. In writing about the first Cultural Resource Management Plan (CURE) the authors stated that they knew that the contribution from the neighbouring communities was not adequate (Wahl et al. 1998: 166–67). In the plan they considered the goals of three interest groups, natural resource managers, cultural resource managers and park visitors (Wahl et al. 1998: 153), excluding those that might use the sites for ceremonial reasons or those that live in the area. Neighbouring communities, of course, experience a rock art site differently from tourists (national or international), and their involvement must be mediated differently and with consultation (Mokoena 2017; Challis forthcoming).

Although things are changing, many indigenous communities in Africa and other parts of the world have long been denied access to heritage sites. This owed largely to the colonial mindset and its urge to preserve the past as a static object, followed by heritage management practices that ignored local traditions and practices (Ndoro 2004: 84). If people are involved and feel ownership of the sites, there is less likelihood of vandalism on their part (Jopela 2011; Ndlovu 2011b: 49). The best barrier for a rock art site is not a physical barrier but rather a local community that has a vested interest in the site, both an economic and/or an emotional link (Little and Borona 2014: 179; Smith 2006). Perhaps the best approach to take would be that of Nthabiseng Mokoena (2017), who asked local community members in the Matatiele area what they consider to be their heritage, how they understand the local rock art sites, and how they would like to see a heritage centre operate. Funded partly by government, like schools or hospitals, such Community Heritage Centres may well prove an effective answer to the difficulties faced in the WHS in both South Africa and Lesotho.

The more people understand about what archaeology can tell them about the past the more they know, the less likely they are to damage sites (Mazel 2012: 524). Sites that are open to the public cannot remain unmediated. They are products of past societies and information about them is not evident from the sites themselves. It is

research that provides this information. The mediated site is a place where research and the public come together.

The displays in visitor centres are too important to be left to non-specialists and need the direct input of archaeologists (Mazel 2008: 49). We agree with Mazel's (2008: 50) observation that rock art visitor centres were not established with any clear uDP presentation or interpretation strategy. Research theory and method are needed for good management practice (Hygen and Rogozhinskiy 2012: 4). At the same time, Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) and intangible heritage must be accounted for if visitor centres are to be multivocal. There seems to be a disconnect between management and research into the interpretation of the data. These cannot be treated separately. This has meant that the conservation and issue of ownership are often dealt with by the heritage managers while issues around pricing, promotion and income generation are left in the hands of others (Deacon 2006: 380). There must be agreement and compromise between researchers and conservationists, managers and the local community. Exactly who the local communities are is another issue, which needs to be dealt with (Mazel 2012; Ndlovu 2011a, b). However, it must be stressed that local communities are not those to whom the marketing is directed, but those who must benefit from it.

Integrated Strategy

To manage a site effectively, multiple factors must be considered, budgeted and implemented: environmental (site condition assessment in terms of natural deterioration), cultural (heritage associated with the site, whether archaeological, current, tangible or intangible), social (including community-involved management as outlined above, and differential rights of access) and economic factors (international and national marketing strategy and budget, transparent finances and clear benefits to the local community) (Deacon 2006: 282–283). Of course all these factors feed into one another and work in conjunction. However, there is a disconnect somewhere in the loop. The findings of Duval and Smith (2013, 2014) clearly show that visitor numbers to the WHS are low, owing to lack of awareness and lack of interest. Low income causes disenfranchisement in the community, leading to neglect of site conservation and centre management - and thus a worse product in a downward spiral. Budgets prioritise physical structures with little or nothing left for marketing or training of the local community. Marketing strategies should be central to any management plan. Visitor centres could start with simply trying to capitalise on the tourist market already thriving in the MDP, but a marketing strategy is inherently complex and should communicate with potential visitors from Tokyo to Touws Rivier. When booking, information on the rock art sites open to the public must be forwarded, allowing visitors to plan and budget accordingly. Another strategy is to combine the natural and the cultural to show how visiting a rock art site can allow one to experience all aspects of the site's outstanding universal value (Duval and Smith 2014: 44). Marketing should also be aimed at all members of society; for

example the visitor survey at the Wildebeest Kuil rock engravings (Morris et al. 2009: 18) showed that the majority of visitors (66%) have graduate degrees or higher, which means that large segments of the South African population are missing. Along with marketing, the empowerment of local people through training as rock art custodians and visitor guides should be a top priority. There seems to be an assumption that once a building is in place, visitors will come, and that this in turn will benefit the local community. This is seldom the case (e.g. Morris et al. 2009). Well-trained guides will enhance the visitor experience more than any visitor centre. It is they who will bring more visitors through word of mouth and repeat custom (Hampson 2015:380). Unfortunately, when guides are accorded so little importance that they are not even given a monthly salary, there is little incentive for them to improve their presentations or indeed stay in the job. However, as we have seen in examples cited above, jobs created at rock art sites can only be sustainable with a successful marketing strategy, but a site can only be marketed when the local community is willing, and can see the benefits on their own terms (i.e. after consultation). Local communities - whose investment in the site is crucial to the operation of any visitor centre, and to the park itself - are not the object of the marketing campaign, but the beneficiaries, although they will quickly abandon the project if benefits are not forthcoming, and regular. A call for an integrated approach may come across as chlichéd, but in this instance it is unavoidable. As things stand, it is difficult to see how the situation can be reversed without government support. The idea of the Community Heritage Centres explored by Mokoena (2017) is promising- and provides a more sustainable alternative to the "government handout". It would help ensure the community can realize its own ideas of heritage, which will come to include the rock art and archaeological heritage if it does not do so already.

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Chapter 11
Managing the Rock Art of the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg: Progress, Blind Spots and Challenges

Aron David Mazel

Introduction

In 2000, the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Park (uDP) became South Africa's third World Heritage Site (WHS) and its first mixed (i.e. natural and cultural) WHS. The cultural aspect of the designation revolved around its extraordinary assemblage of rock paintings (Fig. 11.1). In 2013, the World Heritage Committee approved its extension to include Lesotho's Sehlabathebe National Park (SNP) to become the Maloti-Drakensberg Park (MDP), Lesotho/South Africa (UNESCO 2013a). This chapter, however, focuses on the uDP, as for the most part it continues to be managed as a separate entity.

Although uDP rock paintings were first recorded in the 1870s (Ward 1997), in essence their management began in the 1910s with the documentation of about 40 sites and the removal of a series of panels to the KwaZulu-Natal Museum for safekeeping (Vinnicombe 1976). Despite the early beginning, it was only in the 1970s that a more focused management effort for uDP rock art was initiated. Unsurprisingly, this development corresponded with the increased recording of rock paintings (Pager 1971; Lewis-Williams 1981; Vinnicombe 1976) coupled with a greater appreciation of their vulnerability as reflected in Pager's (1973) report on the deterioration of the Didima Gorge paintings. Undertaken at the request of the Directorate of Forestry (FD), which, at the time, managed most of the uDP, Pager's (1973) report contributed to the establishment of the "Survey of the Rock Art in the Natal Drakensberg" (RAND 1978–1981) project funded by the FD (Mazel 2012). Despite being well received by the FD and the Natal Parks

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Fig. 11.1 Eland Cave in the northern uDP

Board, the RAND management plan was not implemented and the committee established to oversee it was short-lived. Since then (i.e. the early 1980s) the management of uDP rock paintings has generally been of a stop-start nature (Mazel 2012; Ndlovu 2014, 2016) although it has been more consistent during the last decade. This is despite a series of ongoing issues that have been detrimental to their management such as the continued lack of cultural heritage specialist knowledge within the KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Board (hereafter Ezemvelo), which has the responsibility for managing the WHS. These issues are explored in this chapter along with the overall status of rock art management particularly since the publication of the 2008 Cultural Heritage Management Plan (CHMP), known as CURE, for the uDP.

It is appreciated that there is an ongoing debate about the role that San descendants (Ndlovu 2005, 2014, 2016; Prins 2009) should play in the management of the rock paintings along with the fact that in the run up to the application for the uDP WHS that "the consultation process failed to adequately cater for the inclusion of those who represented the interest of the Bushmen" (Ndlovu 2016: 108). This is a valid debate; however, it will not be covered in this chapter, which focuses on management practices within the uDP. Given space constraints, it will also not be possible to engage with the recent research into rock art tourism (Duval and Smith 2013, 2014).

An Exceptional and Threatened Resource

Extensive recording in the uDP has revealed over 40,000 individually painted images in more than 600 rock shelters (e.g. Pager 1971; Vinnicombe 1976; Lewis-Williams 1981; Mazel 1981; Nardell 2012a, b). Mostly made by San hunter-gatherers, the paintings generally date within the last 3000 years although some might be older (Mazel and Watchman 2003). Their status as an outstanding global rock art tradition is reflected in the abundance and variety of paintings along with the skill, vibrancy, diversity and detail represented in them (Deacon and Mazel 2010). This is strongly complemented by the impact that their interpretation, which has drawn heavily on San belief systems, has contributed to the understanding of hunter-gatherer rock art worldwide largely through the work of Lewis-Williams (Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1988, 1998).

Acknowledgement of the deteriorating condition of uDP rock art dates back to the 1870s (Ward 1997) but it was in the early twentieth century that the growing threat to them was manifest in the "public outrage at the uncontrolled export of San or Bushman rock paintings and engravings, which were being sent to museums in Europe" (Deacon 1993: 119). This was the primary factor influencing the promulgation of South Africa's first heritage legislation in 1911. Now, a century later, many threats still remain even though the illegal removal and export of rock art are no longer an issue. The dangers to uDP rock art identified by Pager (1973) and Mazel (1981, 1982) have been updated recently through the efforts of the Rock Art Mapping Project (RAMP) (Nardell 2012a, b) and Topp (2011a, b). According to Topp (2011a), who monitored over 500 sites between October 2009 and April 2011, fire damage was observed at 24% and human damage at 25% while vegetation was perceived as a threat at 46% of the sites (Fig. 11.2). Topp (2011a) indicated that overall, 77% of the sites were either damaged or threatened. Although he acknowledged that his report should be regarded as a "laymen's interpretation" as no team members were trained archaeologists he spent considerable time discussing his observations with archaeologists. Tellingly, Topp (2011a: 3) concluded that "Scientific archaeological fact or not, the sites already damaged by fire are high enough to warrant immediate action in terms of protection and further investigation. As for vegetation, which poses a fire threat, these should be addressed without delay".

UNESCO (2016b) also addressed the threats to uDP rock art "Although the area has changed relatively little since the caves were inhabited, management practices, the removal of trees (which formerly sheltered the paintings) and the smoke from burning grass both have the capacity to impact adversely on the fragile images of the rock shelters, as does unregulated public access". Moreover, Amafa (2016b), the professional heritage agency in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, has indicated that "Graffiti and vandalism over the last few decades have had a severe impact on many rock art sites. At some, the art which was clearly visible 30 years ago has been obliterated by human intervention". It is, therefore, evident that uDP rock art is at risk, highlighting the need for effective management interventions to ensure its safeguarding.

Fig. 11.2 Graffiti at Esikolweni Shelter in the northern uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Park (photography courtesy of Amafa)

Legalities: Management and Management Plans

Although the promulgation of the World Heritage Convention (WHC) in 1972 prompted an increased focus on the safeguarding of tangible cultural heritage resources, it was not until 2005 that the first clear reference to management planning was incorporated into the WHC *Operational Guidelines* with the statement that "an appropriate management plan or other documented system" (UNESCO 2005, paragraph 108) should be implemented. The purpose of a management system, as presented in the most recent *Operational Guidelines* (UNESCO 2016a, paragraph 109), "is to ensure the effective protection of the nominated property for present and future generations". It is further stated that an "effective management system depends on the type, characteristics and needs of the nominated property and its cultural and natural context". Yet, despite these statements, there is no specific requirement for management plans to be developed and implemented (UNESCO 2016a, paragraph 110). The *Managing Cultural World Heritage Resource Manual* (UNESCO 2013b) focuses on management systems rather than management plans although it does discuss the latter. In contrast, Bernecker (2008, p. 4), in his Foreword to the German Commission for UNESCO's *Management Plans for World Heritage Sites: A practical guide* commented that "every site inscribed on the World Heritage List must have a management plan explaining how the outstanding universal value of the site can be preserved. Management plans are the central planning instrument for the protection, use, conservation and the successful development of World Heritage Sites". It thus appears that there is no clear

determination from UNESCO as to whether WHSs require management plans. In contrast, however, it will be shown below that South African legislation requires that WHS management should be underpinned by management plans.

In 2003, Valli Moosa, Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, declared Ezemvelo as the management authority for the uDP WHS in terms of section 8 of the *World Heritage Convention Act* (WHCA) (1999). This commits Ezemvelo to the "identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission of the cultural and natural heritage to future generations" (Article 4). It includes preparing and implementing an "Integrated Management Plan" (IMP), along with the need to "promote, manage, oversee, market and facilitate tourism" in agreement with "applicable law, the *Convention and the Operational Guidelines* in such a way that the cultural and ecological integrity is maintained …" (Chap. 1, part 3). Supporting the WHCA is complementary legislation to guide the development of IMPs, including the National Environmental Management Biodiversity Act (2004) and the KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Management Amendment Act (1999). Moreover, it is stated in the Maloti Drakensberg Transfrontier Park Joint Management Plan (MDTPJMP) (2012: 27) that the Joint Management Committee "must ensure that appropriate cultural heritage management plans are developed for each Park [i.e. uDP and SNP] in accordance with the relevant country specific legislation".

The most recent uDP CHMP dates to 2008 (Mazel 2012). Although no known time frame has been specified for the updating of these plans, as will be shown in this chapter, the 2008 plan is now out of date. According to van der Venter Radford (pers. comm., 2017), Amafa produced an updated CHMP in 2015 with input from several academics and had extensive public participation, including with the representatives of the local San community. Although the plan was signed off by Amafa, Ezemvelo did not follow suit as they decided that the plan should be integrated into the IMP format. This was done but the IMP is still not finalised as it is in the Ezemvelo IMP review cycle. It is understood that a new plan is in draft form and that its finalisation will be achieved through a tender process (van der Venter Radford pers. comm., 2017). Not only is the 2008 CHMP out of date, but it also needs to be highlighted that the cultural heritage occupies a minor part of the MDTPJMP (2012), which focuses primarily on natural heritage. The strong emphasis on natural heritage resonates with Ezemvelo's overall approach to the management of heritage resources in the uDP, although, as Ndlovu (2016: 104) has highlighted, "as the government-designated authority, it is the responsibility of Ezemvelo to manage the heritage resources within the uDP in the same way they manage biodiversity. Amafa's role should be an advisory one, guided by the provincial legislation since the uDP has never been declared a Grade I site under the national heritage act".

In addition to the requirements of South African legislation, UNESCO (2016b) has noted in terms of the MDP WHS designation that "There is a need to ensure an equitable balance between the management of nature and culture through incorporating adequate cultural heritage expertise into the management of the Park and providing the responsible cultural heritage authorities with adequate budgets for the inventory, conservation and monitoring tasks". With particular reference to rock

paintings, it is stated that "This shall ensure that all land management processes respect the paintings, that satisfactory natural shelter is provided to the rock art sites, that monitoring of the rock art images is conducted on a regular basis by appropriately qualified conservators, and that access to the paintings is adequately regulated" (UNESCO 2016b).

Duty of Care: Safeguarding Efforts

Ezemvelo's lack of in-house cultural heritage expertise along with absence of an up-to-date CHMP and its focus on biodiversity has led to the safeguarding of uDP rock paintings being primarily driven by Amafa, an organisation with which Ezemvelo signed a Memorandum of Understanding in 1999 that committed them to "cultural resources conservation" in the uDP, the African Conservation Trust (ACT) and private individuals such as Topp. This is reflected in the fact that non-Ezemvelo parties have undertaken the recent key interventions regarding the safeguarding of the uDP rock paintings. These are detailed below.

(i) Perhaps the most important development has been the first comprehensive updating of uDP rock art information since the RAND project (1978–1981). This work, which forms the basis of current site management recommendations, was done under the auspices of two overlapping projects: (a) the ACT Rock Art Mapping Project (2010–2012; Nardell 2012a, b), and (b) Topp (2011a, b) and his volunteer team. Nardell (pers. comm., 2016), who led the ACT project, used both the RAMP and Topp data to compile her final report that included 562 sites, 71 (i.e. 13%) of which were newly discovered (Nardell 2012a). The entries in Nardell's report (2012b) confirmed site and official names as well as provided GPS readings, site elevation, aspect, directions to sites, site descriptions, digital photographs, conservation threats and management recommendations. A wide range of threats to the paintings were identified such as exfoliation, water, river floods, dust, seepage, organic deposits, vegetation, fire, graffiti and human impacts. According to van der Venter Radford (pers. comm., 2017), the Amafa 2015 CHMP plan includes tables on management threats, how to avoid them and what to do in the event of them occurring.

(ii) RAMP (Nardell 2012b) and Topp (2012, n.d.) made recommendations about the monitoring of rock art sites. The RAMP report noted the conservation threats to individual sites and provided management recommendations for them (Nardell 2012b). According to Nardell (pers. comm., 2016), Ezemvelo managers have been provided with mapped information for all the sites that they have responsibility for, along with extensive photographic and video documentation, condition assessments and detailed site management recommendations, with some of the sites being identified as Priority and High

Priority. These recommendations have been provided to all 14 uDP management regions in the form of a "colour booklet detailing rock art site information and management recommendations, to assist with their knowledge of cultural resources within their respective management areas" (Nardell 2012a). While RAMP (Nardell 2012b) provided management recommendations for individual sites, Topp (n.d.) promoted the concept of cluster monitoring of rock art sites that could be merged with the regular patrolling procedures of the management programmes in the different reserves. With the support of Charl Brümmer (Ezemvelo) and Siyabonga Mbatha (Amafa) a rock art clustering programme was piloted in the Cobham State Forest and then rolled out to other regions of the uDP. Its aim was to include "the grouping of rock art sites together in manageable 'pockets' referring to walking distances to rock art sites, the amount of rock art sites within a management section to be visited in one day, the number of Field Rangers needed for the practice; funding and or capital needed for the project" (Topp 2012: 1). According to the Ezemvelo annual report (2016a: 46), "A Rock Art Clustering Programme is currently in place and being implemented" using hard copy monitoring cards until an "electronic monitoring form is finalised".

(iii) Amafa has had an active programme of site interventions, including the removal of graffiti and the installation of driplines. For example, graffiti has been removed at Esikolweni Shelter (Bassett 2014), Game Pass Shelter 1 (Bassett 2015a) and Waterfall Shelter (Bassett 2015b) while driplines have been installed at the WHS buffer zone sites of Bhlendleni Shelter and Cow Shelter (van der Venter Radford and Rossouw 2016).

(iv) Amafa has updated the management plans for the rock shelters that are open to the public (van der Venter Radford, pers. comm., 2016). This includes 26 sites in the uDP and 16 in the WHS buffer zone (Amafa 2016a).

(v) There have been various initiatives regarding rock art education and community engagement. Regarding education, Amafa has produced the "Amafa, a KwaZulu-Natali Rock Art Curriculum-Level One Training" supported by the provision of work books (Nardell 2014). The curriculum includes terminology used in the study of rock art, an outline of the cultural significance and heritage value of rock art, a discussion on the interpretation of the paintings and the examination of the threat to rock art and the need for its conservation, monitoring and management (Nardell 2014). Considering community outreach, Amafa's strategic objectives determine that they need to undertake a number of rock art road shows annually; in Amafa's 2014/2015 Annual Report (Amafa 2015), for example, a minimum of six road shows were specified. An example of these road shows includes assisting Ezemvelo with a display on the uDP at the Pietermaritzburg Royal Show in 2016 (van der Venter Radford pers. comm., 2017). Moreover, Amafa has produced a rock art themed snakes and ladders game for schools, which has been translated into isiZulu (van der Venter Radford pers. comm., 2017). In respect of working with communities, however, Ndlovu (2016: 113) has noted with regard to the safeguarding of rock art

that the 1998 Ezemvelo's decision to establish Local Boards was a significant development but that "they have not been particularly effective in ensuring that there is a move away from the status quo-they do not effectively ensure the participation of the neighbouring communities". It would appear, therefore, that while progress has been made, more work needs to be done.

Managing Rock Art: Blindspots

Despite the significant progress that has been made since 2008 regarding, for example, site recording and monitoring, there have been notable oversights that have potentially deleterious consequences for the safeguarding of the rock art. As detailed below, these include the lack of integration of insights derived from heritage science research into management recommendations, the continued shortcomings in interpretation and Ezemvelo's non-appointment of a cultural heritage specialist.

(i) Tournié et al. (2011: 405) commented that "Aside from the dating possibilities, our findings will help conservators to understand the micro-chemistry of the art and therefore assist in the development and implementation of conservation measures". Space does not allow for full consideration of the insights provided by uDP rock art heritage science projects, initially through the investigations of Meiklejohn (1995, 1997), and then followed by others such as Arocena et al. (2008), Denis et al. (2009), Hall et al. (2007a, b, 2010), Hoerlé (2005, 2006), Hoerlé and Salomon (2004), Prinsloo (2007), Prinsloo et al. (2008), Sumner et al. (2009) and Tournié et al. (2011). Many of these papers have made specific management recommendations; for example, Hall et al. (2010: 134) commented that a "possibly simple and non invasive approach to conservation may be to replace shielding vegetation (there is some evidence that such vegetation existed in the recent past), thereby blocking much of the solar radiation that currently impacts the paintings. There is no reason why this vegetation replacement cannot be done in such a way as not to hinder visitor access and to improve the overall experience by making the sites look more 'natural'". Moreover, Hall et al. (2007a, b) have cautioned against removing vegetation that provides thermal buffering of rock art surfaces. While there are overlaps between the threats identified by Nardell (2012b) and Topp (2011a) to uDP rock art and the observations and remedial actions suggested by heritage science researchers, to the best of my knowledge none of their insights have been used to inform rock art management practices even though there is an aspiration to do so. For example, Rossouw (n.d.) noted that the purpose of Meiklejohn's weather station at Battle Cave was "to monitor and document the micro-climate of the rock shelter. The data collected includes temperature, air humidity, surface wetness, rainfall, solar radiation, wind speed and direction. This is analysed to gain insight into the natural weathering process of the rock matrix to throw light on the causes of the physical and chemical deterioration

of rock art. This information will be used to guide and develop management strategies to limit or prevent these destructive processes". Moreover, the Amafa 2015 CHMP has listed areas where research should be promoted, especially applied research that will assist in rock art management (van der Venter Radford pers. comm., 2017).

(ii) Mazel (2008, 2012) has argued that the interpretation presented at Main Caves and the Didima and Kamberg rock art centres not only provides "inconsistent messages" about uDP rock art but they also (i) excluded information generated through rock shelter excavations and (ii) the Didima centre does not include rock art themes relating to the surrounding area. No changes have been made to these three attractions since 2012 and, therefore, the shortcomings raised previously still exist although it is appreciated that Amafa has done an audit of the displays and suggested updates (van der Venter Radford pers. comm., 2017). Many of the types of limitations identified by Mazel (2008) in the visitor centres are reflected in the MDP management planning documentation. For example, the IMP (2012) is deficient in its understanding of San hunter-gatherer history. It notes, for example, that "All that is now left of their [i.e. San hunter-gatherer] culture is the rock art" (IMP 2012: 48), which is inaccurate as the excavation of Good Hope Shelter (Cable et al. 1980), Clarke's Shelter (Mazel 1984), Diamond 1 (Mazel 1984) and Mhlwazini Cave (Mazel 1990) in the 1970s and 1980s yielded over 85,000 stone artefacts along with other items of material culture such as pottery, ostrich eggshell beads, worked bone, ochre, reed tubes and wood shavings. Moreover, a wide range of animal and plant subsistence remains were recovered from these excavations. In addressing the threat of fire to the paintings, the IMP (2012: 38) states that the rock art "is between 8000 and 150 years old". As mentioned earlier, existing evidence indicates that the paintings date back to 3000 years ago and perhaps slightly earlier (Mazel and Watchman 2003; Mazel 2009) with no indication that it is anywhere near 8000 years old. Problems also beset some of the text on Amafa's (2016b) "Rock Art of the Maloti-Drakensberg" website, which provides information about the sites that are open to the public. It states, for example, that one of the Game Pass panels "depicts the migration of eland from the valleys up to the mountains in September during breeding time in the rainy season", which is misleading as there is no evidence to support that this is the case. Lastly, the MDTPJMP's (2012) conflation of cultural heritage with paleontological matters reflects the lack of appreciation among Ezemvelo and Lesotho staff about the distinctive nature of cultural heritage resources.

(iii) Ezemvelo commented in its 2015/2016 Annual Report that the cultural heritage specialist post "is still vacant due to financial constraints" (Ezemvelo 2016a). Various perspectives have been presented as to why this post remains unfilled. According to Ndlovu (2016: 104), "Politics within Ezemvelo and Amafa have stalled the appointment of heritage managers for the uDP for over a decade (see Ndlovu 2005; Mazel 2012). It is my sense that if Amafa were to play an advisory role, like they should as per the legislation, they felt they would be losing power over the uDP". Ndlovu is alluding to a situation in the

early 2000s when the Chairperson of Amafa, who was also an Ezemvelo board member, effectively blocked Ezemvelo interviewing shortlisted applicants for a cultural resources coordinator position on the basis that cultural matters were Amafa's provincial responsibility. Mazel (2012) has argued that despite Ezemvelo's apparent desire to appoint a cultural heritage specialist, priority lies with natural heritage and this has influenced its non-appointment of a cultural heritage specialist. This bias is not only reflected in its vision "To be a world renowned leader in the field of biodiversity management" (Ezemvelo 2015: 6) but also emphasised by the statement that the "objective" of its planning and development planning section "is the conservation of biodiversity … and the achievement of the provincial biodiversity conservation targets, both within and outside protected areas" (Ezemvelo 2016b). Finally, Ndlovu (2016: 103) has commented that "Over the past 17 years … [Ezemvelo] … has focused only on the biodiversity management plan, while Amafa … facilitated the implementation of the CURE following the signing of an agreement in 1999 to establish a Liaison Committee between the two organisations. As a result, Ezemvelo has never appointed people with cultural heritage expertise to ensure a successful and proactive management of the rich history represented in this mountain range". As mentioned earlier, Ezemvelo's lack of a cultural heritage specialist contradicts UNESCO's (2016b) view about the need to ensure parity between the management of culture and nature in the uDP through providing acceptable cultural heritage capability in the management of the WHS.

Discussion

Much progress has been made in the safeguarding of uDP rock art during the last decade through the updating of site records, provision of site management recommendations and implementation of a cluster monitoring programme, and Amafa updating management plans for the sites open to the public. Although the day-to-day cluster monitoring is being undertaken by Ezemvelo staff, it needs to be emphasised that the progress surrounding the management of uDP rock art during the last decade has been achieved primarily through the offices of Amafa, delivering on the provisions of the 1999 MoU between itself and Ezemvelo, supported by ACT's RAMP initiative (2010–2012) and the work of Topp and his volunteer team. The achievements have been made without the benefit of an up-to-date management plan, which can be considered to have expired once RAMP provided Ezemvelo with management recommendations for the rock art of individual reserves in 2012. Notwithstanding these successes, there have also been drawbacks, such as the inadequate response to the insights provided by heritage scientists, problematic public interpretations including the lack of engagement with the excavated archaeological record and Ezemvelo's non-appointment of a cultural heritage specialist.

The above-mentioned insights highlight several important issues in respect of not only the ongoing management of uDP rock art, including the vital ongoing

updating of site records, but also the long-term viability of safeguarding the rock art without the guidance of a management plan. There are several concerns going forward. Chief among these is whether Amafa will be able to continue to provide the same high level of management support to Ezemvelo that they have during the last decade. This comment is predicated on the understanding that (i) Amafa (2016c) continues to suffer from budget cuts (for example, a 15% cut in 2015/2016) and (ii) is likely to undergo organisational restructuring following the implementation of KwaZulu-Natal Amafa Research Institute Bill (2016). The aim of the Bill is "To amalgamate *Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali* and the Chief Directorate: Heritage within the KwaZulu-Natal Office of the Premier so as to establish a statutory Institute to conduct both basic and applied research to generate relevant knowledge and contribute solutions to challenges within the field of heritage in the Province; to provide for the management of both the physical and the living or intangible heritage resources of the Province; to administer heritage conservation in the Province; to determine the objects, powers, duties and functions of the Institute; to determine the manner in which the Institute is to be managed, governed, staffed and financed; and to provide for matters connected therewith". In this respect, it needs to be acknowledged that Amafa, as part of its core business, manages several major heritage projects such as the Isandlwana Battlefield, Border Cave archaeological site and the KwaZulu Cultural Museum, which is likely to take precedence over its commitments to uDP rock art management, especially as the MoU between themselves and Ezemvelo specific to the management of uDP rock art has not yet been signed (van der Venter Radford, pers. comm., 2016). Moreover, Amafa is spending more time than previously recording rock art in other parts of KwaZulu-Natal (van der Venter Radford, pers. comm., 2017). Without the professional support of Amafa, it is doubtful that Ezemvelo will be in a position to, for example, adequately analyse the results of the cluster monitoring programmes and update cultural heritage management plans without its own in-house cultural heritage capacity. Moreover, it is unlikely that Ezemvelo will be able to meaningfully incorporate the insights generated by heritage science research into rock art conservation and management planning or rectify the ongoing problems that beset the interpretation of uDP hunter-gatherer history in its visitor attractions and interpretive material. The latter issue should not be taken lightly as public interpretation provides a critical underpinning for the management of heritage resources as succinctly reflected in this statement from the 1950s: "through interpretation, understanding; through understanding, appreciation, through appreciation, protection" (National Park Service Administrative Manual, cited in Tilden 1957: 38). In terms of the uDP, already in the 1980s, Mazel (1982: 7) had noted that it is not stricter laws that are desired but rather the support of the public: "Convincing the general public of the importance of archaeological sites and need for their conservation would indeed represent a major breakthrough in the conservation of archaeological resources and considerably reduce management requirements in the field".

The fact that the management of uDP rock art has been undertaken since at least 2012 without the benefit of an up-to-date CHMP raises the question of whether, on the one hand, there is a need for an overarching management plan to effectively

drive forward management practices and, on the other, the actual future of rock art management in the uDP. Addressing the second issue first, I suggest that the management of uDP rock art is currently in a precarious position with Ezemvelo's institutional emphasis on natural heritage and the possibility that Amafa, or whatever institution that may replace it, could well not be in a position to commit the same level of resources to rock art management as they have over the last decade. Should this happen, Ezemvelo will have to decide whether or not to embed cultural heritage expertise within the organisation or to seek other options to update and oversee the management requirements of rock art. Given the uDP's WHS status and the accountabilities that this involves, it will not be possible, as in the 1980s and 1990s (Mazel 2012), for Ezemvelo to continue to abrogate its responsibilities towards cultural heritage management.

Concerning the first issue, it is suggested that the management of uDP rock art without a CHMP is not sustainable. While it has been achieved in the uDP during the last few years through the coalescing of a series of factors such as input of RAMP and Topp and his colleagues, it is unlikely that a similar set of circumstances will be repeated anytime soon. Moreover, there does not appear to be an overarching mechanism in place to analyse the results of the cluster monitoring and, based on this, to update the rock art databases that underpin its management on an ongoing basis and, if necessary, to modify the monitoring requirements. The platform for undertaking these tasks in the uDP needs to be underpinned by a management plan as required by South African law, as without this it is possible that the safeguarding of uDP rock art will take a step backwards, which could have harmful consequences for the safeguarding of this precious heritage resource.

Conclusion

As noted earlier, uDP rock art is in a vulnerable state. According to Topp (2011a), 77% of the uDP's rock art sites were either damaged or threatened. This is a high percentage and raises serious concerns about the safeguarding of uDP rock art. The last decade has witnessed many positive developments regarding its management but there have been drawbacks (e.g. inadequate interpretation), which have, to some degree, compromised these developments. Moreover, the sustainability of the progress that has been made appears to be in jeopardy. This is an issue that Ezemvelo, as the legal custodian of uDP rock art, needs to pay serious attention to, as once this resource is lost, it is gone forever.

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Chapter 12
Conservation, Stakeholders and Local Politics: The Management of the Matobo Hills World Heritage Site, South Western Zimbabwe

Paul Hubbard, Pascall Taruvinga, Pathisa Nyathi, and Simon Makuvaza

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore the extent to which the first site management plan for the Matobo Hills World Heritage Site (MHWHS), located in south western Zimbabwe (Fig. 12.1), was implemented between 2004 and 2009 as well as the interregnum between its expiry and start of the second plan for 2015–2019. The management of World Heritage Sites remains dominated by "western" management approaches, something we wish to unpack in relation to this area famed for its intangible heritage managed by traditional practices for centuries. The chapter examines the management of the Matobo Hills before their inscription on the World Heritage List. Control was fragmented, with cultural and natural components being administered without an integrated approach. We review both management plans in the context of the chaotic sociopolitical and economic situation in Zimbabwe to see how they dealt with the legacy of conflicted responses to complex issues within this vast natural and cultural landscape.

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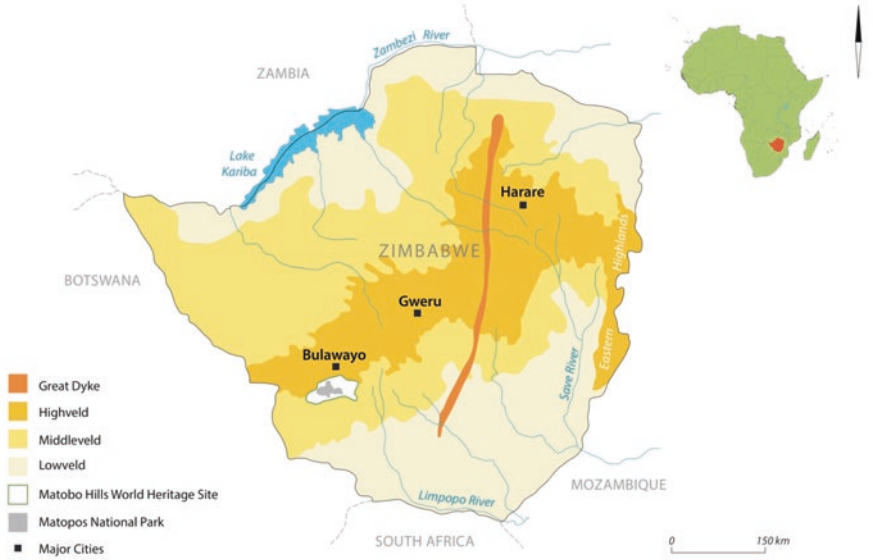

Fig. 12.1 Map of Zimbabwe, showing the location of the Matobo Hills World Heritage Site (After Makuvaza 2016)

The Matobo Hills

The Matobo Hills cover an area of over 4500 km^2, in south western Zimbabwe. The region is characterized by densely packed granite hills, famed for their balancing rocks (Fig. 12.2). Many natural caves and rock shelters provide a congenial home for human and wildlife alike. The hills host a range of intricate and diverse ecosystems, containing a wide variety of flora and fauna, including many endemic and near-endemic species of plant and bird life (Lightfoot 1981; UNESCO 2004; Walker 1995).

There is clear evidence of human habitation in the area for over a million years, followed by a succession of cultures, each of whom have left their mark in one form or another, creating a multifaceted cultural landscape (Burrett et al. 2016; Hubbard and Burrett 2011; Walker 1995). The region is perhaps most famous for the thousands of rock paintings (Fig. 12.3) found everywhere from cave walls to isolated boulders, argued by UNESCO (2004) to be the densest such concentration in the world. The paintings are undoubtedly connected with the spiritual beliefs of the hunter-gatherers (Walker 1996).

Today these paintings are both a tourist attraction and a spiritual resource for the local inhabitants who often worship at or near such sites. Often these sites are surrounded by sacred hills, rock formations, forests and pools highlighting the interdependence of traditional religion and the natural environment. Archaeological and

Fig. 12.2 General view of the Matobo Hills cultural landscape. Photo by Paul Hubbard

Fig. 12.3 An example of a rock art site in the Matobo Hills. Photo by Paul Hubbard

ethnological research has proven the great antiquity of the strong bond between the local communities and the natural environment in the Matobo Hills (Daneel 1970; Ranger 1999; Walker 1995), a bond that has changed but rarely weakened until recent times, due to outside pressures and influences often beyond the control of the local inhabitants.

Management Before Inscription of the Hills on the World Heritage List

Conservation of heritage within the Matobo Hills was anchored in traditional management systems. Before the advent of colonial rule in the area during the late 1890s, the landscape and its resources were managed by the local communities through the use of taboos, rules, cultural beliefs and certain religious practices (cf. Nyathi 2016). Several different tribes had settled in the hills including the BaNyubi (Munjeri 1992), BaKalanga (van Waarden 2012) and Ndebele (Cobbing 1976; Ranger 1999), each with their own perspectives and management strategies.

Once Cecil John Rhodes, mining magnate and arch-imperialist, visited the Matobo Hills in 1896 and decided to be buried there (cf. Ranger et al. 2015), it was almost inevitable that colonial rule and development would be extended there. From 1900, farms were surveyed around the periphery and many were settled by whites. Once Rhodes' will was enacted in 1902, government interest in the agricultural potential of the Matobo Hills was increased due to his multiple bequests and requests to establish, inter alia, forest plantations, an experimental farm and cattle ranching (Stead 1902). Agricultural potential was to remain a significant interest until the 1940s. In addition, part of Rhodes' estate was to be set aside for the leaders of the war of 1896 and any "prominent" Ndebele who wished to settle there (Ashton 1981: 19).

Much of the focus of the management of the Matobo Hills after the initial alienation of the farms and resettlement of people in the area in the 1900s (Fig. 12.4) was focused on maintaining the integrity of the river systems, which formed an important part of the water supply for important ranching and farming areas to the south (Ashton 1981; Lightfoot 1982). To this end, there was a great deal of concern from the Department of Agriculture over the increasing population of people and livestock in the area but the Native Department continued to move people into the area, resettling them from other areas now created as white-owned commercial farms.

The creation of the 224,000-acre National Park in 1926 is a landmark in the management history of the Matobo Hills, not least because it established the idea that the landscape was important to the settler population, both as a place of natural beauty and historical significance (Ashton 1981; Ranger 1989, 1999; Makuvaza 2016). The area was re-proclaimed as a Game Reserve in 1930 but it was only in 1944 that the first ranger, J. H. Grobler, was appointed to manage the natural resources of the area. Also in 1944, the Irrigation Department had taken over the area and thanks to Charles Murray at the Matopos Research Station, became obsessed with reducing the number of people and cattle in the area to prevent what

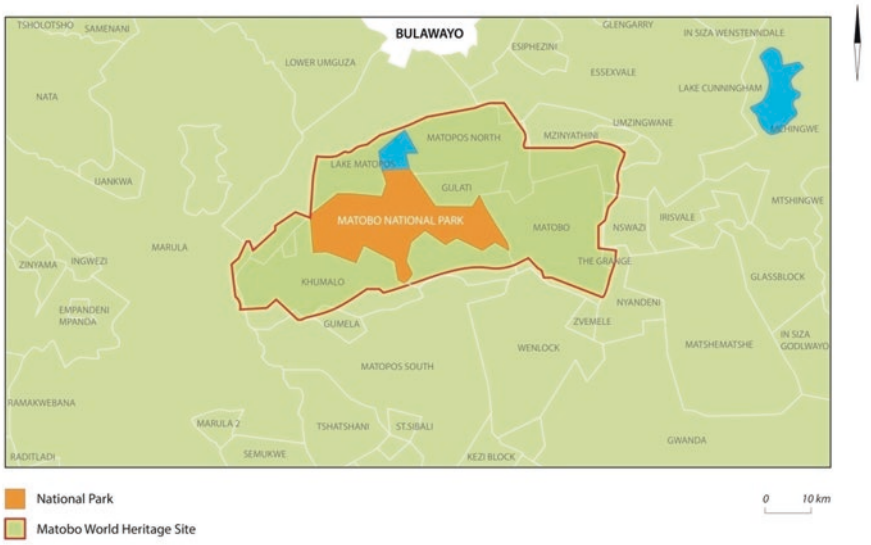

Fig. 12.4 Map of the wider Matobo Hills landscape, showing the division into farmland, the National Park and communal areas (After Makuvaza 2016)

was perceived as irreversible ecological damage due to overpopulation. Unsurprisingly, people resisted their eviction from an area they had called home for generations, and after a Commission of Enquiry ruled in their favour, 729 families were allowed to stay, subject to conditions narrowly spelled out in a series of government gazettes. Many other families were resettled, often far from the hills, severing their connections to their ancestral homeland and traditions (Ashton 1981; Ranger 1999).

The Historical Monuments Commission was established in 1936 to protect, study and promote the archaeological and historical heritage of the country. From the early 1900s, there had been a great interest in the numerous rock art sites within the Matobo Hills, which prompted a series of excavations and publications that further enhanced the reputation of the area as an archaeological wonderland. Several painted shelters and historical sites were declared National Monuments, partially for their protection and arguably as a way for the settlers to assert their identity and to institutionalize their administration of the Matobo Hills (Makuvaza 2016: 70). Such proclamations often served to alienate the indigenous people from their heritage as they could no longer freely visit these places or follow traditional rituals. The Monuments Commission, and later the National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia, hired custodians to provide security and act as guides at many monuments in the Matobo Hills. Ironically these employees replaced the traditional custodians who had often looked after these sites in precolonial times (Makuvaza 2016: 72).

The Department of National Parks and Wild Life was established in 1950 and took over the management of the vast Park in 1953 (Lightfoot 1982: 111). Ideas

were changing regarding the communion of human presence and the preservation of the environment (Ranger 1989) and in the early 1960s the authorities decided "that human occupation was incompatible with conservation of the area as a National Park" (Lightfoot 1982: 110). In 1962 and 1963, families were moved from the area gazetted as a National Park, its boundaries redrawn to be 30% of its former size. The reduction in size was due to the often-violent resistance to the forced relocation and thus the Department of National Parks took what was regarded as "waste land" or river valleys needing protection, which resulted in the peculiar shape of the Park today (Lightfoot 1981, 1982). From 1963 there is a story of two Matopos—the wildlife area and the area where people lived. This dichotomy is, in many ways, false but it has influenced the management of the area from that time.

The War of Independence in the 1970s impacted the management of the Matobo Hills only a little although there was a growing demand for the National Park to be de-proclaimed and the land given back to its original inhabitants. Promises of this nature were made by the freedom fighters to own the support of the local communities during the war (Ranger 1999); hopes were even higher in 1979 when the Land Tenure Act was repealed removing the racial classification of land in the country and freeing the Park for use by all (Ashton 1981: 16). Much of the area became inaccessible to tourists due to the fear of death or kidnap at the hands of armed forces. Hopes for the restitution of land were dashed immediately after independence in 1980 as the new government refused to consider the idea (Ranger 1999). Many of the methods used to manage the Matobo Hills area did not change as expected and communities remained marginalized despite increased tourism and expanded research projects in the area.

Inscription of the Hills on the World Heritage List and Development of the First Site Management Plan

The campaign to declare the Matobo Hills a World Heritage Site began soon after Zimbabwe celebrated its independence. Zimbabwe ratified the UNESCO Convention in 1982 and began an immediate drive to list several heritage sites as "World Heritage". The Matobo Hills were initially nominated by National Parks purely on the natural attributes of the area. The application was unsuccessful due to the fact that the environmental factors alone were not deemed to be of outstanding universal value (Mguni et al. 1995). Four other sites were successfully placed on the list by 1986—Khami (cultural), Great Zimbabwe (cultural), Victoria Falls (natural) and Mana-Chewore National Park (natural).

The Matobo Hills were once again considered for World Heritage Status in 1995 after the changes to both National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe and the UNESCO World Heritage system (Fontein 2006). One of the major changes was the recognition of the concept of intangible heritage and also the fact that cultural and natural factors could be combined (Munjeri et al. 1995). They were first proposed for renomination during the First Global Strategy Meeting for African Cultural

Heritage and the World Heritage Convention (Munjeri et al. 1995: 104–107). The hills were deemed to be both a natural and cultural site, "significant not only to Zimbabwe but also to the people of northern Botswana and Transvaal region of South Africa" (Munjeri et al. 1995: 106).

The initial proposal (Mguni et al. 1995) briefly summarized the important attributes of the area. The initial reasons for the proposal focused on the increased protection that would be accrued to natural environment with World Heritage status, notably to several endangered animal and bird species found within the National Park. The proposal did add that such status would hopefully allow "local communities [to] play a significant role in the conservation and management of its resources and in turn derive direct benefits from those resources" (Mguni et al. 1995: 9).

In the meantime, the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management, in conjunction with the Ministry of Environment and Tourism, published the *Rhodes Matopo National Park Management Plan, 2000–2004* (Mabaso 1999). This focused almost exclusively on the National Park and Recreational Area with the aim of giving guidance to Park Managers and staff on the development projects and policies in the area under the control of the Department. Part of the plan aimed to create a "harmonious and conducive working atmosphere between the park and stakeholders" (Mabaso 1999: 44) without adequately identifying these stakeholders. It is unclear to what extent the plan was ever implemented because of later developments with the World Heritage Status application which superseded all previous plans.

With financial assistance from UNESCO, the nomination dossier (Kumirai et al. 2001) was completed in mid-2001 five years after the area had been placed on the Tentative List by the World Heritage Committee (Bafana 2001). The dossier was approved in early 2003 and the Matobo Hills was inscribed on the World Heritage List later that year. It matched criteria (iii), (v) and (vi) of the World Heritage Convention.

To identify key management issues affecting the Hills, a consultation exercise that involved local communities subsisting in the world heritage area, government departments, tour operators, hoteliers and commercial farmers formed part of field consultations. The exercise also sought to create awareness of the significance of the cultural landscape among the local communities of the Hills, and how the inscription of the area on the WHL would impact on their day-to-day lives. During the consultation exercise, a number of issues that included anthropogenic and natural factors were identified as some of the major conservation threats affecting the outstanding universal value of the Matobo Hills. Involvement in the management of the cultural landscape and benefiting from the listing of the Hills on the WHL were also some of the issues that were raised by the local communities during the exercise.

First Management Plan (2005–2009)

At the 27th session of the World Heritage Committee in 2003, ICOMOS recommended deferring the nomination of the property to allow for a coordinating management plan to be prepared. Nevertheless, the Committee, with Decision 27 COM

8C.59, chose to inscribe the property, requesting the establishment of an effective management committee and a comprehensive management plan (UNESCO 2005).

Once it was accepted by the stakeholders in 2004, the management plan of the Matobo Hills (UNESCO 2004) officially came into effect the following year. At 90 pages long, a quarter dedicated to a condition survey of a few rock art sites, the plan was an ambitious attempt to comprehensively fulfil stakeholder needs, desires and requirements. The primary objectives were to create a management structure that focused on the conservation of the values of the cultural landscape for visitor enjoyment and to provide economic opportunities for the local community with special attention paid to an educational and interpretive programme for all visitors and inhabitants of the World Heritage Site. Such a complex set of objectives required a thorough understanding and appreciation of the sociocultural environment as well as a clear road map as to how to achieve the goals set out.

A review of the state of conservation across the Matobo Hills identified several natural processes and human activities that threatened the continued existence of many cultural sites and the surrounding natural landscape.

The first Management Committee for the area (Fig. 12.5) was created "to foster integration and coordination of the different management programmes within the cultural landscape" (UNESCO 2004: 22). The committee was dominated by statutory bodies which, as shall be discussed below, unintentionally helped to perpetuate the fragmented management systems of the landscape. The plan did attempt to devolve some authority, stating that "overall decision-making, coordination and implementation of the management plan will be the responsibility solely of the Management Committee" (UNESCO 2004: 24). Nonetheless, this authority was dependent on the will of each organization to cooperate, which was by no means assured and, as circumstances showed, rarely happened (cf. Makuvaza & Makuvaza 2012).

Many of the challenges and problems bedevilling the Matobo Hills were clearly identified in the plan and effective strategies for their amelioration were spelt out. Overall there was a greater focus on environmental issues, which can be seen from the 20 or so pages dedicated to these issues compared to about half that focused on cultural and intangible heritage.

There was recognition of the need to move away from previous "top-down" management approaches and instead focus on community cooperation and participation. Importantly for those planning projects in the Matobo Hills, the plan made it clear that "communities usually prefer programmes with benefits that are immediate and are shared on an individual basis, rather than those with a long-term effect that are shared on a group or community basis" (UNESCO 2004: 40). The plan did not provide practical examples of the sort of the projects that would meet these needs instead calling for CAMPFIRE projects to be implemented. The section on communities was focused on ensuring regular meetings between the Management Committees, Rural District Councils and Traditional Leadership "to develop mutual understanding and respect" and to "promote awareness of the value of local traditions and culture that contribute to the significance of the World Heritage Site" (UNESCO 2004: 40–41). There was little clear indication on how the communities would have an effective voice and see their needs and desires met.

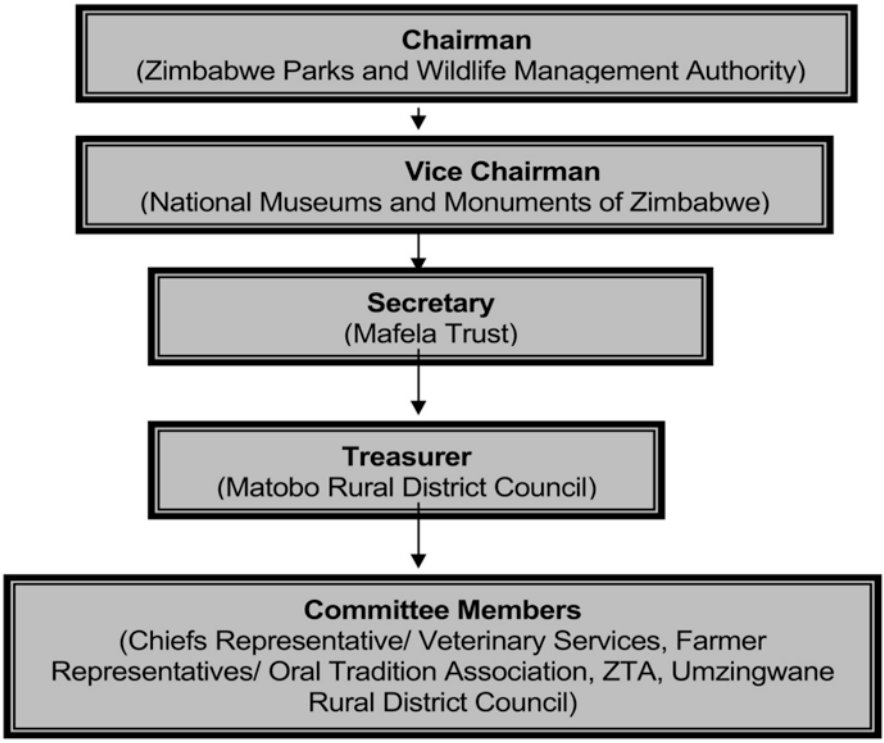

Fig. 12.5 Diagram of the first Management Committee, 2004–2009

The Second Management Plan (2015–2019)

The first management plan expired in 2009 with almost none of its stated objectives accomplished (see below). Consultations to develop the second plan began in 2014, led by the Natural History Museum in Bulawayo (representing National Museums and Monuments), the Matopos National Park management (representing Zimbabwe National Parks and Wildlife Management Authority) and the Matobo Conservation Society (MCS), together with technical advisors drawn from different areas of expertise and stakeholder groups. The plan was formally adopted by all stakeholders present in November 2014.

The focus of the new plan was to set "attainable goals" for NMMZ and ZPWMA "who are mandated by Acts of parliament to manage and preserve the environment and heritage sites within the country" (UNESCO 2015: 4). With this phrase it can be argued that the attempt to feasibly share authority and power in the management of the Hills to the local communities was abrogated. Many of the more ambitious schemes, such as controlling river siltation and repair of dams in the area, were dropped as main objectives although their importance was recognized. Much of the plan is focused on controlling tourism, arguably without a great deal of understanding of how the industry in Zimbabwe works.

Much of the second plan carried over elements of the first plan, often to the extent of copying the text almost verbatim. Fewer community meetings were held during the plan's formulation as it was felt by the government agencies that enough consultation had been done during the first plan and thus did not need to be repeated as many of the concerns, needs and problems remained the same. This was a disadvantage because much had changed, not least the influx of new people into the area under the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (2000–2009), the collapse of the economy (Hawkins 2012) into world-record hyperinflation, leading to massive immigration of people, and the dominance of other religions, notably the Apostolics, who arguably did not care for the area in the same away as the indigenous inhabitants and their religion (see below). The increasing role of traditional leaders (chiefs, village heads and headmen) in community leadership is also a crucial change (cf. Herald Reporter 2012). The tourism industry drastically changed, globally and locally, during Zimbabwe's disastrous hyper-inflationary era and visitor numbers dropped precipitously (cf. ZTA 2000–2014).

An improvement on the first plan was a more thorough identification of the stakeholders in the Matobo Hills, which has allowed for a more inclusive approach to be developed albeit under the introspective supervision of the government agencies.

At the time of writing, the second management plan is in force with much to be done, but there have already been some significant accomplishments within the stated objectives. Meetings of the Management Committee (Fig. 12.6) have happened on a regular basis with some effort made to include all stakeholders. The only difficulty thus far is that the meetings have only been held in Bulawayo, which has excluded some community members. The Whovi Intensive Protection Zone in the western area of the National Park has been completely fenced to international stan-

Fig. 12.6 Diagram of the revised Management Committee, 2015–2019

Fig. 12.7 Local communities working with National Parks to rebuild the fence for conservation purposes. Photo by Paul Hubbard

dards in order to protect the endangered black rhino in that area (Hubbard 2014). This was done by a local NGO, the Matobo Rhino Initiative Trust, who supervised the fundraising and construction of the fence in conjunction with National Parks and the local communities (Fig. 12.7). Under the aegis of Dambari Wildlife Trust, significant strides have been made in research and documentation of the natural heritage across the entire landscape (cf. Sagonda and Pegg 2015). The Natural History Museum has begun its own research and education programmes with rock art and invertebrates being a major focus.

Discussion and Conclusion

The implementation of the first Matobo Hills management plan did not yield the much-needed results or delivery of the set targets due to a multiplicity of factors, among them the misrepresentation of benefits accruing from World Heritage status, the size of the property to be managed, an effective site management committee, inadequate resourcing and local political dynamics.

The process of listing the site as a World Heritage property, as well as developing the management plan, created an unrealistic impression of how communities were going to benefit from the World Heritage status. The reality of the matter is that the World Heritage Convention at that time was more focused on conservation rather than exploitative patterns. The Matobo Hills have remained in this mode where limited development has been undertaken, and largely controlled by state entities with communities confined to small-scale concessions granted by National Parks. Communities are largely alienated from profit-making ventures yet they are expected to support conservation. To local communities the beauty and aesthetics of the site, being the selling point of the World Heritage Site, are meaningless unless they contribute to their development needs.

The sheer size of the Matobo Hills World Heritage Site is a challenge to uniformly and adequately manage given the historical and evolving land-use patterns. What has emerged is that state entities have concentrated on areas of the property where their respective mandates are visible, leaving the greater part of the site neglected. Property delineation for World Heritage Sites should interrogate whether we need vast places or just a representation of cultural landscape to ensure that effective management would be put in place. Was it possible to have only the Matobo National Park as a representative of the entire landscape?

A critical analysis of the configuration of the Management Committee in the first management plan reveals that the political authority and decision-making remained vested in government entities as they occupied controlling positions. In addition, the administration of this committee was left to the Mafela Trust, which did not have the power or the financial backing of powerful government entities, which chaired the Committee in this process. For UNESCO purposes, the structure showed inclusivity and a well-thought-out approach (UNESCO 2005) yet this did not take into consideration the local dynamics of the site and national power matrixes that needed to be diffused to foster a common approach. Power was theoretically ceded to the Committee yet government departments never deviated from their legal mandates. This situation was clearly demonstrated by the duality of National Parks and National Museums in the administration of the site instead of having a single management authority or composite one but fully supported by all stakeholders. This attitude has continued to the present day.

The management of the Matobo Hills could have followed an example of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA) in Tanzania, which has moved towards a single management authority in which the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Management Authority manages both culture and nature with the full involvement

of the Masaai communities who reside in the area (UNESCO 2010). The structural flaws and resultant incapacitation of stakeholders are a common phenomenon at most World Heritage Sites in Africa resulting in non-implementation of management plans like in this case. Heritage institutions have to break out of this "lip-service syndrome" and empower stakeholders in a practical manner, which is also sustainable.

The integrated management system proposed for Matobo Hills underlines the need to involve and benefit local communities within the cultural landscape but this requires funding. The management of the site has relied on budgets allocated to state entities operating in the area and this has not been aligned with the needs of the site. The overall budget allocated to the NMMZ does not take into consideration the obligations outlined in the management plan. For National Parks, focus has been to maintain order and peace in the park, rebuild tourist infrastructure and improve anti-poaching measures. Unlocking significant resources from non-governmental organizations that seek to empower communities, public-private partnerships, donor communities and trusts will enable heritage institution to make a transition from the traditional agency-specific system to a more integrated management system resourced by stakeholders as long as mutual benefits are outlined.

The universal argument that World Heritage is a stakeholder-driven process needs to be further interrogated. While stakeholders can be theoretically identified and empowered on paper, it is an area heavily affected by local dynamics (such as political authority, financial capacity, technical understanding and social status), which are not fully recognized and are ignored in this scientific process of listing sites. Local communities in Matobo have endured waves of alienation from colonialism in the 1890s through to the post-independence period where their voices are inconspicuous in the management of the site. Apathy to the activities and intentions of government agencies directly emanates from this colonial mentality which has been sustained by state entities.

The Traditional Leaders Act (Chapter 29:17) empowers traditional leaders in natural resource management, with a respect for cultural norms and values on a national scale (Kurebwa 2015). It recognizes them as custodians of indigenous knowledge systems which should be better integrated with the formulation of any management plans in the World Heritage Site. As an example modified from a newspaper article (Herald Reporter 2012), the Traditional Leaders Act empowers such leaders to be deployed in conjunction with the Environmental Management Agency (EMA), which is mandated to ensure that environmental protection laws are implemented and adhered to by all citizens.

In the Matobo Hills, there are EMA officers who are therefore expected to work hand in hand with traditional leaders updating them on latest environmental and cultural legislation, which has been enacted and helps to train their subjects in sustainable environmental management. Traditional leaders could be empowered further through holding of consultative meetings on environmental management practices and protection and agree on operation norms and standards while also agreeing on penalties to be levied to law breakers by both government agencies and traditional authorities. This would complement the efforts of the management plan

and the committee while also empowering the people who live and work in the World Heritage Site. Management planning should not be seen as a compliance tool to the *Operational Guidelines* of the World Heritage Convention, but rather as a tool for socio-economic empowerment, which cannot be separated from the functionality of the site through time and space as viewed by the local communities. In Africa, the multiple functionality of heritage sites is embedded in traditional management systems that have existed for centuries in which western concepts should be integrated into traditional management systems of the continent. The World Heritage framework is recognizing both western and traditional management systems. Whatever management system exists at a site, this should be informed by a people's worldview. Local relevance is of essence (cf. Mapuva 2014). Closely related to this is how political authority makes communities to feel a sense of having participated in the creation of such systems. Where such political authority has been inherited, it stands a good chance of acceptance. Their ancestors were players in the political process that brought about the political authority of the areas they live.

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Chapter 13
Stone Circles and Atlantic Forts: Tourism and Management of Gambia's World Heritage Sites

Liza Gijanto and Baba Ceesey

Introduction

When The Gambia achieved independence from Great Britain in 1965, its economy was driven by a single export—the groundnut. In the 1830s, colonial officials and merchants transformed agricultural production along the river from a subsistence-based endeavour to one driven by groundnut exportation (Wright 2013: 5–6). This posed a number of financial challenges as the colony prepared for the transition to independence in the 1960s. The situation was further complicated by the fact that The Gambia had no natural resources to export. The emphasis on the groundnut crop by colonial officials caused many farmers to abandon cultivation of subsistence crops, resulting in an unhealthy reliance on imported foodstuffs. With little to export and a dependence on imports, the Gambian economy needed to diversify. Because of this, it is not surprising that tourism was embraced as an economic strategy in the 1970s (Dieke 1993). In 2009, tourism in the Gambia comprised 12.3% of gross domestic product (GDP) (Baumgarten and Kent 2010: 3). This was a decline from 17.6% in 2008 that was likely the result of the global recession (http://www.accessgambia.com/information/tourism-statistics.html. Accessed May 10, 2014). While it is predicted that the percentage of GDP from tourism would continue to decline, the number of visitors to the Gambia has increased significantly since 2010 with numbers fluctuating between 150,000 and 180,000 through 2014 (Table 13.1).

The industry began, and continues to be, primarily comprised of "sunlust" European tourists seeking comfortable resorts and beaches as opposed to "wanderlust" tourists in search of experiences outside of the Atlantic coastal beach area. Today

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Table 13.1 Annual number of visitors to the Gambia, 2006–2013 (Ministry of Tourism statistics).

Year	Number of visitors annually
2006	125,000
2007	143,000
2008	147,000
2009	142,000
2010	91,000
2011	106,000
2012	157,000
2013	171,000
2014	156,000

as in the early days of the industry, "many of these [visitors] include middle class office workers who come to Gambia for her beaches and sun-related activities" and not to experience cultural or historic attractions (Jursa and Winkates 1974: 46). As an increasingly visited beach destination in the 1960s, Gambia's lack of infrastructure posed a unique set of challenges as well as opportunities for the government and foreign travel agencies. The first management plan for tourism development in the 1970s targeted the Atlantic coastal region outside the capital of Banjul that was built to accommodate the "sunlust" tourist population (Jursa and Winkates 1974).

The Gambia's second tourism management plan (1981–1986) included proposals for creating facilities and attractions upcountry focusing on historic resources (Thompson et al. 1995: 576). Attempts to develop heritage sites were limited, and at first targeted the African diaspora community in the wake of Alex Haley's (1976) novel *Roots*. The National Centre for Arts and Culture (NCAC), overseen by the Gambian Ministry of Tourism, invested a significant amount of resources in what they saw as the emerging heritage sector connected to Haley's protagonist Kunta Kinte's home village of Juffure on the north bank of the Gambia River, opposite the former British fort on James Island. Following a short tourist boom in the 1980s, Juffure quickly transitioned from a pilgrimage site for diaspora tourists into a day-trip destination for all tourists visiting The Gambia through organized tours (Gijanto 2011). In the aftermath of the 1994 coup that put the Jammeh government in power, traditional European tourism temporarily dropped and The Gambia sought to reinvent itself as an attractive destination reaching a more diverse audience. This included an effort by the NCAC to revive the African diaspora sector through the biennial *Roots Homecoming Festival* established in 1996. However, The Gambia's market share of this tourist sector was never large and it continues to lack the resources to compete with Ghana. This is apparent in the sporadic nature of the festival itself. For instance, the 2014 festival followed after a 3-year hiatus. A secondary factor was President Jammeh's own cultural agenda that favoured his home village of Kanilai[1] where an annual cultural festival was established beginning in

[1]The Kanilai International Cultural Festival is staged at the home village of former President Jammeh and is comprised of performing groups from a number of West African countries including Mali, Guinea Bissau, Mauritania, Sierra Leone, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, South Africa and Guinea Conakry, though participation varies from year to year. The festival was meant to highlight the President's influence in the region as well as staged for Diaspora tourists.

2004, which often co-opted or displaced the *Roots Festival*. During the period between the late 1990s and the present, the NCAC has aggressively sought outside funding and succeeded in developing a number of sites throughout the country including James Island and Juffure for heritage tourists in an attempt to maintain resources outside of Kanilai. This chapter examines the emphasis placed on different historic sites in an effort to improve the heritage tourism sector. In order to contextualize these efforts, a brief review of tourism in The Gambia since independence in 1965 including the nationalities of these visitors is presented. This is followed by a review of the NCAC management and conservation of the historic sites that it controls or has helped maintain including those that are part of two World Heritage area designations in Niumi and at Wassu.

Tourism in the Gambia

Seventy percent of tourists arrive during the dry season between November and April (Department of State for Finance and Economic Affairs 2006: 65; Rid et al. 2014:103). Gambian tourism is said to have officially begun in 1965 when Bertil Harding of Vingresor Club 33 travel agency brought approximately 300 Swedish tourists to the country to spend their winter holiday on Gambian beaches (Thompson et al. 1995: 573). The following year, the number of visitors brought by Harding's agency had nearly doubled to 528. The Gambia appealed to northern European tourists for its relative proximity to home, beaches and the low cost of what many westerners believed was a truly "authentic" African experience in a country that emerged from colonialism with its traditional culture seemingly unscathed (Harrell-Bond and Harrell-Bond 1979: 79). At the close of the 1960s, the annual number of visitors reached 1000 (Hughes and Perfect 2006: 34). Vingresor Club 33 remained the only agency operating in the country until 1970 when British agencies started to take control of a significant portion of the tourist market. The entrance of both British and Danish agencies to the Gambian tourism sector led to a rapid increase in annual visitation to 25,000 by 1976 and 102,000 during the 1988–1989 season (Hughes and Perfect 2006: 35). The Gambian Tourism Authority reported 171,000 visitors in 2013, marking continued growth with 30,000 more visitors than in 2009 (Saliu 2014). By the early 1990s tourism had surpassed groundnuts as the largest foreign exchange earner for the Gambia (Thompson et al. 1995: 575).

In many lesser developed nations, tourism is embraced as an important tool to increase GDP, improve infrastructure and generate employment (see Britton and Clarke 1987; Erbes 1973: 1; Sharpley 2009). As tourism began to take shape in the Gambia, there were arguments for its continued growth based on perceived economic benefits (Esh and Rosenblum 1976: 55–56) and against it based largely on cultural implications and high rates of revenue leakage (Jursa and Winkates 1974; Harrell-Bond and Harrell-Bond 1979; Wagner 1981). In 1971, the Gambian Government released a development plan wherein tourism was identified as a key tool. The 5-year plan had the support of the United Nations and World Bank funding to improve infrastructure in the tourism sector including hotel amenities (Wagner

1981: 194). This investment was greatly needed because the Gambia was the least developed British colony in terms of both infrastructure and industry, lacking the resources to cope with the rapid rise in visitation. The poor economic climate was further complicated by the fact that the nation's relatively early independence led to a loss of foreign investment associated with colonial rule. The existing hotels, roads, restaurants and other necessary features required to accommodate the growing industry were stretched beyond capacity at an early date, and the government had little recourse to correct the situation, despite this assistance of international agencies (Harrell-Bond and Harrell-Bond 1979: 78). As a nation with no other major industry besides groundnuts and shipping to generate revenue, the Gambian Government was naturally enthusiastic about the arrival of tourism as a gateway to development.

In the most recently available Poverty Reduction Strategy (2007–2011) report, tourism remains included as a positive development tool (Department of State for Finance and Economic Affairs 2006: 65). The recent International Monetary Fund progress report on this plan notes gains in the tourism sector in terms of advertising, training and assessment of resource quality (International Monetary Fund 2011: 20). The early impetus to diversify the industry and desire to appeal to a broader range of consumers, including selling Juffure as an African diaspora destination and adopting the *Roots* narrative as the central aspect of Gambian identity was never rewarded (Howe 1998: 108). Of all tourists entering The Gambia, the majority are from Great Britain with the remaining primarily from Scandinavia, Germany and the Netherlands.[2] German tourists previously comprised the second largest contingent of visitors to The Gambia; however, the 1997 withdrawal of the German tour operator FTI from the Gambian market resulted in a significant decline in their numbers (Department of State for Finance and Economic Affairs 2006: 65). Recent statistics released by the Gambian Tourism Authority reveals a marked decline in visitors from Britain—27% in 2014, down from 41% in 2006. This decline may result from policies and rhetoric directed towards Great Britain by the Gambian Government and former President Jammeh. This includes the 2013 withdrawal from the Commonwealth. The decision to leave appears to have been a unilateral move by President Jammeh who stated that "The Gambia will never be a member of any neo-colonial institution and will never be a party to any institution that represents an extension of colonialism" (October 3, 2013, *Daily Observer*). While theories abound for why this decision was made at that time, many believe that the criticism of Human Rights in The Gambia was one catalyst (Perfect 2014: 332).

Prior to the recent decline in British arrivals, both cultural and heritage tourism sectors were incorporated into the master plan in an attempt to diversify the types of visitors to The Gambia including attracting those from nations known to spend more money on the ground than the British. Though the ultimate reason for this is unknown, it may be related to the British preference for all-inclusive practices, or that they are primarily middle class and traveling on a budget. However, neither resource was

[2] http://www.accessgambia.com/information/tourism-statistics.html. Access Gambia, October 25, 2016.

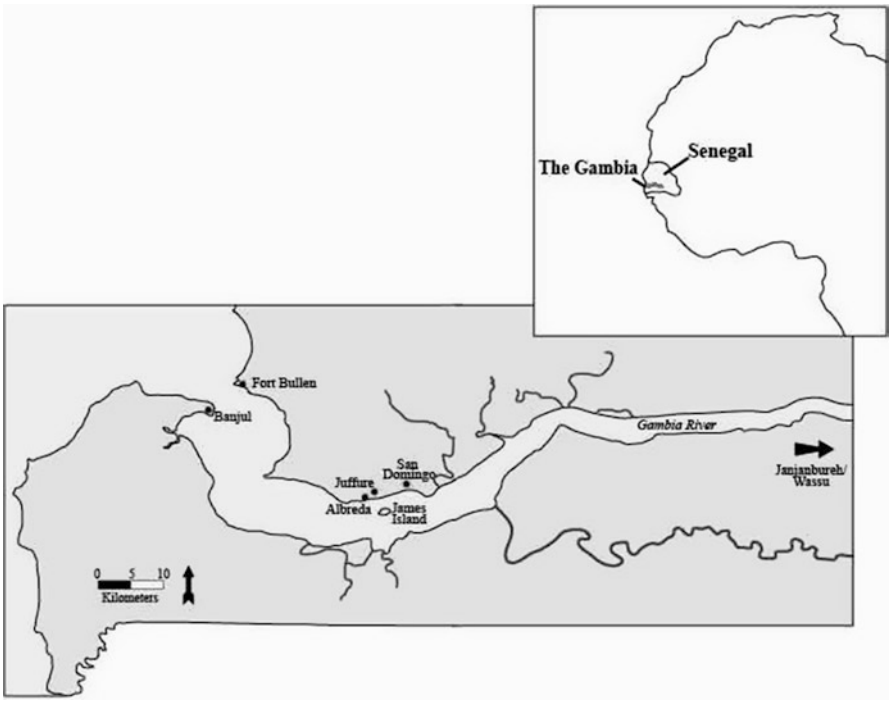

Fig. 13.1 Map showing primary heritage sites in the Gambia

highlighted as a primary development tool in its own right, but rather formed a litany of "other" tourisms that could be pursued including eco-, sport and conference tourisms (Department of State for Finance and Economic Affairs 2006: 69).

Currently, there are limited excursions to Juffure and upriver as far as Janjanbureh (Georgetown) operated by a few tour companies. More rarely, some adventurous backpackers make their way to Janjanbureh as well as other less frequented destinations including the stone circle at Wassu. The norm for most visitors is to stay within a small area developed in the 1970s containing a handful of resort hotels, nightclubs and restaurants on the Senegambia strip. The physical isolation of the Cape Point area from the majority of the country including heritage attractions has exacerbated efforts to bring tourists to existing areas in Niumi such as Juffure, James Island and Albreda (see Fig. 13.1). Moreover, the harassment that greets tourists as soon as they exit many of these hotels further encourages them to stay within the confines of the resort (Nyanzi et al. 2005: 560).

The rise in social problems that has accompanied the growth of "sunlust" tourism has necessitated a statement on responsible tourism development. The creation of the policy is the recognition of the negative impact of the industry and the inequalities created in Gambia. Among the stated goals of the revamped tourist industry and national image of The Gambia are (1) to decrease environmental damage caused by tourism; (2) to decrease the negative social impact of it on young people; (3) to

generate economic benefits and (4) to positively impact conservation of natural and cultural heritage. In order to accomplish these goals, the involvement of local communities in "… the decisions that affect their lives and life chances" is among the necessary components for responsible tourism (Bah and Goodwin 2003: 3). Gambians recognize that they can and do influence the types of tourists visiting their nation. However, in order to attract those who value the "cultural heritage assets" of The Gambia, those resources must be maintained and marketed.[3] This task falls under the purview of the NCAC and the Department of State for Tourism and Culture.

Protecting National Heritage and the Origins of the National Centre for Arts and Culture

The 1970 constitution of The Gambia did not include a section related to the country's national identity or historic resources. In the same year the constitution went into effect, Bakary Sidibe contacted the Vice President to petition for the creation of a "Cultural Institute to engage seriously in collection and preservation of Gambian oral and material heritage" (Sidibe 1983: 1). The following year, a research post was created and the collection of materials for a national museum was begun.

The importance of heritage sites was first officially acknowledged by the new government through the 1974 Monuments and Relics Act. This Act created the Monuments and Relics Commission in 1976 with the mission to acquire and maintain historic sites for the good of the Gambian nation. A monuments survey was carried out in 1978 in which 59 sites were catalogued as national monuments (Sidibe 1983). Unfortunately, the Institute of Cultural Research was limited by lack of funds and infrastructure during the early years of independence.

In the most recent incarnations of the constitution of the first (1994) and second (1997) Republics of The Gambia, Section 218 declares that "the state and all the people of the Gambia shall strive to protect, preserve and foster the languages, historic sites, cultural, natural and artistic heritage of The Gambia". These cultural objectives originally were under the jurisdiction of the Cultural Archives established in 1971, and later changed to the Oral Histories and Antiquities Division (OHAD) of the Ministry of Education. In its original incarnation, the OHAD focused on oral history collection and documentation of cultural performances that were beginning to disappear such as the Simba. The name change was spurred by the added responsibilities of national monuments preservation in 1976 (Sidibe

[3] As a former British colony, marketing historic sites to British tourists would be the logical undertaking. But, as previously stated, former President Jammeh's antagonistic behaviour towards the British Government has led the embassy to warn British tourists about potential harassment and anti-British sentiments in the Gambia (accessed October 24, 2016 https://www.gov.uk/foreign-travel-advice/gambia).

1983: 1). Efforts were made to address tangible heritage through the construction of the National Museum in 1983. Upon its opening, the OHAD was changed to the Institute of Cultural Research, which had three aims: (1) to collect and preserve recordings of music and oral histories as well as present these in publications; (2) to collect and preserve antiquities, scientific and ethnographic objects to be displayed in the National Museum; and (3) to preserve, restore and protect national monuments (Sidibe 1983: 1–2). In 1985 the National Museum was officially inaugurated by the Minister of Tourism and Culture signalling a transition to heritage as a tool for development within the growing tourism industry. The NCAC was formally established in 1990 following a 1989 Act of parliament as the National Council for Arts and Culture. At this time, the former OHAD became one of the two divisions, the other focused on monuments and antiquities. All oral history now fell under the purview of the Research and Documentation division that took an applied approach to information gathering emphasizing sociocultural projects in addition to more traditional historical work (Cultural Advisory Services n.d.). In 1992 this semi-autonomous institution was brought under the umbrella of the Secretary of Tourism. The original 1989 Act has now been replaced by the NCAC Act of 2003 declaring that the NCAC "is the highest official decision making body on all matters relating to Arts and Culture in the country" (http://www.ncac.gm/about.html. Accessed May 10, 2014). In 2007, the NCAC changed from a council to a centre now overseen by an eight-member board appointed by the Minister of Tourism. Each member's nomination was endorsed by President Jammeh, essentially making them political nominees; the board also includes the head/director general of the NCAC and the permanent secretaries of the Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Ministry of Basic and Secondary Education and the Director General of The Gambia Radio and Television Services, all of whom are ex-officio members.[4] While the NCAC does act independently in terms of rehabilitation and interpretive materials, their budgets as well as events such as the festivals are subject to oversight by the board, minister, and ultimately President Jammeh, though his recent loss in the 2016 election may lead to an alteration in the power structure.

Beginning in the late 1990s, the NCAC successfully sought and received funding from a number of European and international agencies to stabilize and interpret sites in Niumi including James Island and Albreda. In addition, museums and heritage sites were created such as the Slave Museum at Albreda as well as Roots Heritage Trail and Mock Village at Juffure for the *Roots* festivals. Recently, Fort Bullen at Barra has been renovated following its reinstatement as an NCAC-managed property.

[4] It is unclear how the board will operate, or what its composition will be under the newly elected President Barrow.

Gambian Heritage Sites

The 59 national monument sites named by the 1978 survey included 9 that were given priority development status. These included the crocodile pools at Katchikali and Kartong Folongko, Fort Bullen, Fort Louvel, Stone Circles (Wassu and Kerbatch), Barajally (birthplace of President Jawarra), James Island, the CFAO building in Albreda and the so-called Slave House at Janjanbureh (Sidibe 1983: 3). The development plan for each of these varied including the level of involvement of the NCAC in the continued management of these as tourist sites (Table 13.2). For example, the NCAC assisted in the restoration of the crocodile pool at Katchikali, which was then handed over to the residents of Bakau for management and maintenance. Alternatively, Fort Bullen, Fort Louvel (Louvel Square) and James Island remained in the hands of the NCAC.

The majority of the heritage sites currently developed for and receiving tourist visits are historic in nature and are located on the north bank. Two serial sites have been inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List. The first, James Island and Related Sites, is located in the Niumi province and includes the chapel ruins at Albreda, Fort Bullen at Barra Point, the ruins of San Domingo,[5] the Maurel Freres building at Juffure, CFAO building at Albreda and the Six-Gun Battery in Banjul were named for their importance in the slave trade and its abolition on the river. The second UNESCO World Heritage Site is the stone circles at Wassu and Kerbatch in Niani and Nianija Districts (Kuntaur LGA). These are part of a larger designation that includes sites in Senegal. In addition to these, lesser known sites have received peripheral attention from the NCAC in an effort to attract tourists such as the slave house on Janjanbureh.

Table 13.2 Heritage sites in the Gambia

Site	Location	Type
Katchikali	Bakau, Combo	Sacred crocodile pool
Fort Bullen	Barra, Niumi	Colonial fort
Fort Louvel	Banjul	Colonial fort
James Island	Niumi	Slave trade
Stone Chapel	Albreda, Niumi	Slave trade
CFAO building	Albreda, Niumi	Colonial trade
Maurel Freres building	Albreda, Niumi	Colonial trade
Juffure	Niumi	Slave trade
Six-gun battery	Banjul	Colonial
Wassu	Kuntaur LGA	Stone circle
Ker batch	Kuntaur LGA	Stone circle
Slave house	Janjanbureh	Slave trade
San Domingo ruins	Juffure, Niumi	Slave trade

[5] The ruins designated as San Domingo are actually the ruins of the eighteenth-century Royal African Company trading house at Juffure.

Juffure, James Island and Albreda

With regard to tourism, The Gambia has two key assets—its beaches and history. Specifically that history related to the slave trade and its abolition are seen as marketable to Western tourists (Thomas et al., 1995: 571). UNESCO recognition of James Island and Related Sites was gained in 2003. This coincided with UNESCO's launching of the Slave Route Project with the World Tourism Organization (WTO 1995 from Austin 2002) that The Gambia hoped to be a part of. The desire to raise awareness of these sites internationally, including among potential African diaspora tourists, was part of efforts to diversify the tourist experience.

The impetus for seeking out the African diaspora market originated with visits to the Gambia by Alex Haley seeking his family's ancestral village. Haley's *Roots* was published in 1976 during a period of a steady rise in the number of beach-going tourists visiting The Gambia. Within 2 years of its publication, the Gambian Government observed that Haley's ancestral village of Juffure "must be declared a national monument and protected as a traditional village to retain its appeal" (Harrell-Bond and Harrell-Bond 1979: 89). Yet, even in the immediate aftermath of the publication of Haley's book in 1976 (and the later film of the same name) and Haley's promotional works (Haley 1973, 1981), *Roots* tourism in The Gambia received little national attention in the United States and has failed to become a driver of tourism revenue or growth. This may be due to a number of factors including more resources devoted to the market share by Ghana and the difficulty of getting a direct flight from the United States to Banjul added to the expense of the trip.

In spite of this, Juffure and Albreda have continued to be the central focus of the NCAC efforts to encourage heritage tourism. Much of this is the legacy of the early interest by the African diaspora community, but the primary reason is the ruins on James Island. The remains of the 1755 fort are the only comparable structures to Ghana's forts and castles, a tangible place for tourists to experience the past. Tourists can reach the island by travelling overland from Barra to Albreda where local boats can be hired to reach the island. A second route is to join a tour group leaving from Banjul by boat.

The NCAC has rehabilitated the island on numerous occasions and has engaged overseas researchers to assist in the interpretive narrative. In the 1980s, archaeologists from Ghana completed a preliminary survey of the island to determine the integrity of the site, though no excavations were conducted. Between 1996 and 2003, in preparation for the UNESCO World Heritage nomination, funds from a number of international agencies including the World Monuments Watch were secured to stabilize and identify various portions of the fort ruins. This work was directed by CRATerre-EAG and supported by Irish archaeologist Red Tobin. As part of the management plan for the island (2001–2005), the goal was to make the site accessible to visitors in preparation for its nomination as a World Heritage Site. Much of the work focused on the four bastions and former cistern. Using a 1755 plan of the fort, various rooms were identified and marked with signs. In 2009, US Peace Corps volunteer Chris Honeycutt received funds through the US Embassy

Ambassador grant programme to curb erosion through mangrove planting and sea-wall construction. Unfortunately, the mangrove did not take, but the sea wall has held and prevented further damage to the cistern and northeast bastion. These efforts included an archaeological and architectural survey of the fort that provided further information for interpretation by guides (Gijanto 2009). In 2011, after being petitioned by American artist Chaz Guest, President Jammeh changed the name of James Island to Kunta Kinteh Island, thus adding further credibility to the *Roots* narrative of the history of Juffure and James Island. This was followed by a revitalized *Roots festival* in June 2014 where guest was the official US Ambassador to the event.

The renaming of the Island also followed a general reassessment of the *Roots* heritage area in Juffure and Albreda by the NCAC and various stakeholders (Ceesey 2012). Long-term issues such as sanitation and a general lack of signage and designated tourist information area have negatively impacted the visitor experience. This site revamp is the first major overhaul since the 2003 project. It is believed that these efforts will enhance the tourist experience while ensuring the protection of the sites.

The most current iteration of the Island and surrounding sites' management plan (2014–2018) coincided with the renaming of the Island and reinstitution of the *Roots* festival. In addition to conservation, two key objectives of the initial management plan were to increase awareness and visitor experience at the sites as well as to generate development within local communities affiliated with the sites. These objectives went largely unmet owing to lack of regular funding, as revealed by the 2014 review and development of a second management plan. The newest management plan seeks to build upon the conservation accomplishments in addition to the strides made towards promotion of the UNESCO area sites in Niumi and Banjul.

As in the past, the greatest threat to these sites, particularly James Island and the CFAO building at Albreda, is water erosion and tree growth. All sites are subject to further degradation from the salty climate. Thus, the current plan incorporates continued conservation of all sites. However, the bulk of the proposed activities are aimed at revenue generation, benefits to the local communities and improving the tourist experience. The local communities are central to future projects. Plans at Juffure and Albreda include hiring and training a destination manager, and improving the knowledge and performance of local guides. The latter is also aimed at improving the tourist experience.

Fort Bullen

Fort Bullen, part of the designated World Heritage area, was managed by the NCAC until 2007 when it briefly was placed under the control of the Gambian military for undisclosed reasons. During the military's occupation of the site, several areas were excavated and portions of the fort altered without consultation with the NCAC. Prior to this shift, little interpretive or restorative work was attempted at the site. The

fort's location in Barra, the major crossing point of the river between the north bank and Banjul, can be intimidating to tourists seeking a relaxing visit to a heritage site. Its location was also somewhat problematic for tour companies who brought visitors directly to the central Niumi area of Juffure/Albreda by boat from Banjul. Additionally, it was not included in the initial wave of site interpretation that focused on the African diaspora market because it was not part of the slave trade. The fort was constructed in 1827 as part of the official British policy to block the slave trade and grow "legitimate" trade on the river. As such, it was of little value in the plan to grow diaspora tourism. Still, the site was part of the 59 monuments identified in the 1978 survey.

In 2012 the NCAC was once again given control of the fort and began refurbishing the building, restoring the associated caretaker's cottage and installing a museum financed by the British High Commission, just 1 year before the country's exit from the Commonwealth. The museum's focus is the history of British abolition efforts on the river, highlighting the role of the Royal Navy—a departure from the narrative at James Island emphasizing the evil nature of the British as perpetrators of the slave trade. In addition to presenting a different image of British history in the area, it is hoped that this will boost tourism on the north bank and generate revenue locally. Unfortunately, the precarious nature of the Barra-Banjul ferry including a plague of mechanical failures has inhibited visitation since the museum opened in April 2013. However, this marks a shift in emphasis of the NCAC from slave trade to the abolitionist narrative in heritage tourism. To date, no surveys or other archaeological work have been carried out at the fort to assist in the site interpretation.

As part of the new management plan, efforts are underway to train tour guides for the fort. Because guides have not been a part of the interpretation of the site in the past, the NCAC must first identify qualified persons, develop an interpretative script and begin training.

Upcountry Sites

The two major areas that receive tourists today are Janjanbureh (formerly Georgetown) and the stone circle at Wassu. The only heritage site included in the 1978 survey and later 1983 NCAC plan is the misidentified slave house. The ruins of the former Maurel Frères French trading company warehouse were constructed in the late nineteenth century as part of the legitimate trade on the river. Because the structure was made of local laterite, many believed that it was an eighteenth-century building. Besides interpretive signs, little has formally been done with the site to encourage tourism and it is locally managed by a private family.

Alternatively, the stone circle sites have received significant attention from foreign researchers and the NCAC. In 2006, Wassu along with Ker Batch (Gambia), Sine Ngayène (Senegal) and Wanar (Senegal) was named as part of the "Stone Circles of Senegambia" World Heritage designation by UNESCO. This is the second such designation for The Gambia, and its first shared one. Numerous sites

ranging from one to several dozen stones have been catalogued at individual sites (see Parker 1923). Wassu and Ker Batch are the two largest stone circle sites in the Gambia and are the only ones maintained by the NCAC as heritage sites.

Much of the interpretation of these sites is drawn from archaeological investigations at each as well as analogies drawn from work completed at sites in Senegal. Though some investigations were carried out in the early twentieth century (Lawson 2003: 141–144), serious archaeological investigations of stone circles in the Senegambia began with the Anglo-Gambian Stone Circle Expedition directed by British archaeologists Paul Ozanne and F.A. Evans who conducted excavations at both Wassu and Kerbatch (Ozanne 1965). Excavations suggest that some of these sites were burial places (Ozanne 1965: 8; Dinkiralu et al. 1998: 12). At Wassu, skeletal remains were recovered and the site was dated to 750 AD. Erosion of what was likely a sand mound at Kerbatch prevented any definitive conclusions from being drawn, though human remains were found (Ozanne 1965: 9). Results from the expedition as well as research at other stone circle sites in the Senegambia were used by the NCAC with the assistance of archaeologist Matthew Hill to develop Wassu for tourism. Wassu was declared a national monument in 1995. A small museum was constructed here with dioramas of the site and excavated burial. In addition, guides are present to provide formal tours of the site. Similar efforts were made at Kerbatch in the early 2000s. However, the lack of infrastructure prevents tourists from easily accessing the site. Unlike Wassu, it is not located near the north bank road. The road that leads to the site is not properly constructed and is often impassible during the rainy season. As a result, while Wassu is often included in upcountry tours such as that run by Variety Cruises, Kerbatch is not (http://www.varietycruises.com/english/variety/index/summer-cruises/3/the-rivers-of-west-africa-dakar-dakar/82. Accessed May 14, 2014). It should be noted that compared to Niumi sites, neither stone circles attract a large number of tourists as formal tours and day trips rarely venture upcountry.

Banjul

Limited rehabilitation of historic sites under the direction of the NCAC has occurred in the capital Banjul. The exceptions are Louvel Square and the Six Gun Battery (part of the James Island World Heritage Area). Fort Louvel was among the priority sites in 1983 and received rehabilitation as a park because no standing structures remained. In 2011, the Architectural Draughts Men and Technicians Association received funding from the US Embassy to renovate the square, which had fallen into disrepair. However, lack of funds to maintain the space has resulted in further decline. An enclosure was constructed around the small green space and benches set up. Additional funds were raised to construct a space to rent out as a shop or restaurant. The rent would be used to maintain the site, but a tenant has yet to be found. The site location along the old sewer with stagnant water makes it an inhospitable place to rest and its position within the city is away from the regular tourist path

along Independence Drive and the Albert Market. As a result, neither Gambians nor tourists utilize the site.

The Six Gun battery is part of the 2003 UNESCO World Heritage designation. The battery was constructed prior to Fort Bullen as part of the British efforts to block the slave trade on the river. In 1816 construction of the capital began and the battery was soon installed and included 624 lb cannon and two field pieces. The battery is located near the State House and receives few visitors.

Historic structures that could serve as additional heritage sites are disappearing in Banjul at an alarming rate. The 2008 Banjul Heritage Project also funded through the US Embassy Ambassador grant programme catalogued standing and soon-to-be-demolished structures throughout the city (Agee and Rideout 2008). Since that time, the former Magistrates Court has been demolished and much of the historic neighbourhood of Half Die containing kirinting houses has been levelled to provide a storage area for the Ports Authority. The situation in Banjul is further complicated by the fact that there is a constant outmigration leaving many colonial buildings abandoned. Since 2008, three known sites have become government properties, with one former merchant house being recently demolished. A secondary threat is private ownership. Currently, many nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century homes that are still inhabited are being renovated but this involves using cement rather than historic materials and the removal of historic features such as frames and moulding. Current efforts of the project include documenting any remaining structures and carrying out archaeological excavations at a number of private properties with standing nineteenth-century structures.

Conclusions

When the British left The Gambia in 1965, the young country was reliant upon a single cash crop—the groundnut—and imported foodstuffs. There was a general lack of investment in industry and infrastructure, most notably education, in a nation with no natural resources to develop and foster GDP growth. Therefore, it is not surprising that government officials readily accepted tourism as a viable development tool. This decision was further bolstered by the short-lived craze of Juffure as an African diaspora destination in the late 1970s. This, as well as a desire to increase the number of visitors to the country, has encouraged the NCAC to develop a number of heritage sites for the desired tourist base. Part of the recent diversification plan highlights heritage sites and national monuments as a source of revenue from tourist excursions. As Rid et al. (2014:108) have identified, heritage and nature-seeking tourists typically visit The Gambia during the off-season. Thus, it is speculated that the development of these sites could increase overall annual visitation. In addition, it is believed that heritage tourists are more educated, and likely greater in country spenders. The NCAC has invested a large amount of time and capital in the Niumi sites related to the slave trade in an effort to grow the African diaspora tourist sector. While counter to the wishes of many at the NCAC, the renaming of

James Island renewed President Jammeh's interest in the site and the festival, allowing the reinstatement of it in 2014 rather than favouring the one at Kanilai. The renewed development of the stone circle sites as part of the UNESCO designation, the rehabilitation of Fort Bullen and the attempt to save sites in Banjul demonstrate a desire to reach a broader audience through heritage sites by the NCAC as well as recognition of the need to diversify the overall tourist population in The Gambia. At this time, despite the new management plan for James Island and Related Sites that is underway, it is unclear how progress will be affected by the current change in government.

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Chapter 14
Managing a Hybrid Institution: The Evolving Case of Robben Island World Heritage Site, Western Cape, South Africa

Pascall Taruvinga

Introduction to Robben Island World Heritage Site (RIWHS)

Robben Island, a national and World Heritage Site is a 2-km-long rocky island outcrop on Table Bay, and is located 11km off the coast of Cape Town in the Western Cape Province of the Republic of South Africa. Geologically, Robben Island was once part of the mainland now known as Cape Town. It is believed that about 900–800 million years ago, an ancient river delta entered shallow coastal waters and left sediments, which form the current base rocks. Evidence of this process can be seen by the ripple marks on the base of the oldest quarry in the south of the Island. Robben Island is the largest offshore island in South Africa with a rocky coastline and a short sandy beach (RIM 2014). The island is a pinnacle of a now-submerged mountain linked by an undersea saddle to Blouberg on the mainland. This offshore island is what is now known as Robben Island World Heritage Site (RIWHS).

The core area of RIWHS is 507 hectares while the buffer zone is a 1 nautical mile defined on the basis of the boundary that was demarcated during the Second World War. The core area encloses a combination of cultural and natural attributes testimonial to the significance of the Island as a cultural landscape. The natural values though, important, were not considered during the inscription of the site on the World Heritage List. Other important heritage elements of the site located on the mainland include the Mayibuye Archives at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and the Jetty 1, which is the original boarding place for ferries going to the island. Jetty 1 is opposite the modern boarding facility known as the Nelson Mandela Gateway at the Waterfront in Cape Town. In the overall, this multilayered cultural landscape has been used in various ways from the fifteenth century to the present day (Deacon 1996). As such, the site consists of a number of interdependent but isolated complexities and values that are distributed through space and time.

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The RIWHS is managed through an Integrated Conservation Management Plan (ICMP) and the current one is expiring in 2018. The integrated approach brings together the cultural, natural and social elements of the cultural landscape. It provides an integrated framework for protecting and conserving, as well as presenting the outstanding universal value (OUV) of the site. Managing cultural landscapes such as Robben Island, is a continuous process whose ultimate goal is to promote the conservation and utilization of cultural resources. Integrated planning approach is supposed to be responsive to the socio-economic and broader social framework in which the site is located. In the case of RIWHS, this integrative model goes beyond the mandate of conservation and it treats the site as a symbiotic system with tourism values, transportation systems and marine operations that are interdependent. The integrated approach, ideally, provides a platform for the private sector or non-state actors to be involved in the management of the site. At the same time, this intergrated approach has to be in compliance with the applicable national and international heritage laws for the site. The aim of this chapter is to evaluate the progress made in implementing the Robben Island ICMP towards meeting these national and international requirements as well as to promote socio-economic development in South Africa.

Brief History of Robben Island

From the 1400s onwards, the various uses of the Island reflect the struggles of human spirit, which began with experiences of prehistoric communities, the sailors who were stopping on the Island for refreshments, the indigenous chiefs who were banished to the Island as a result of successive waves of colonial occupation of South Africa by the English and Dutch, the isolation of lepers, the creation of a defence line on the Island during the Second World War and finally the incaceration of political prisoners for fighting against apartheid governance system. The last one is illustrated by Ex-Political Prisoners (EPPs) who served their jail terms on the Island. All these attributes have made Robben Island a celebrated and iconic World Heritage Site. The EPPs include the first black president of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, who was imprisoned at the Island for 18 years out of his 27 years in jail for fighting against the apartheid system. The history of Robben Island is also inextricably linked to the broader struggle history of South Africa as a country and the experiences of various groups of people who once stayed at the Island.

Archaeological evidence suggests that early toolmakers lived in the Western Cape about 500,000 years ago (RIM 2014; Deacon 1996). On the Island, three archaeological sites were identified, and they date back to the period before the 1400s (RIM 2014). Two of these sites are located on the western side of the Maximum Security Prison (MSP). The sites yielded stone tools consisting of irregular cores and flakes made out of quartz. Historically, the earliest written records about the Island date to the fifteenth century when Portuguese navigators travelled around the Cape of Good Hope, which was then known as the Cape of Storms. Later

in the seventeenth century, the Island served as a pantry or larder for sailors passing through the long route to the east, trading in spices and slaves (Deacon 1996). In the mid-1600s, the wave of Dutch colonisation arrived at the Cape, which began laying the foundation of what later became the apartheid system of governing the country. During this early colonial period, the Island was used as a jail by the Dutch who incarcerated African (mainly Xhosa) and Muslim leaders who were opposed to them (Mostert 1993; Peires 1989). This included the banishment of San leaders for the same reasons (Deacon 1996). Between 1846 and 1931 lepers and mentally ill individuals were also isolated on the Island as socially unacceptable members of the mainland communities, remniscent of the biblical approach on how people affected with leprous. Later, the Island was used as a military base during the Second World War in which South Africa was partly involved and this is confirmed by the famous battery guns and bunkers that are on the Island.

With the intensification of apartheid governance system in South Africa, the first prison to be established on the Island was for common-law prisoners followed by the maximum security prison for political prisoners, a process that started with the Rivonia Trialists who sent to the island to serve their sentences. From a political perspective, the symbolic value of Robben Island lies in its sombre history; firstly as a place for banishment and secondly, as a place of isolation and imprisonment for those considered socially and politically undesirable by the apartheid government of South Africa (RIM 1998). Between the 1960s and the early 1990s, more than 3500 individual political prisoners from different political organisations or affiliations were incarcerated on the Island. With the inevitable looming of democracy in South Africa, due to both internal and external push, as well as the endorsement opposition political parties in South Africa, prisoners began to be released from Robben Island. The last group of political prisoners were released from the Island in May 1991, while common-law prisoners left the Island in 1996. In the same year, the Island ceased to be a jail. The reunion of political prisoners at Robben Island in 1995 and under the guidance of Nelson Mandela, Robben Island became well known when the culminated in the decision to turn the Island into a museum, which only became a reality in 1997. The Island was subsequently proclaimed as a World Heritage Site in 1999. The OUV of the site illustrates the "triumph of human spirit over great adversity and injustice", being a deep reflection of the nationwide protracted struggle against apartheid in South Africa, and how black people opposed to apartheid suffered in many jails around the country.

Historically, Robben Island became well known when the Rivonia Trialists were transferred from Pretoria to serve their sentences Robben Island Maximum Security Prison. This was the first wave of prisoners from different political parties to be incarcerated on the Island. Today, in their individual and collective capacities, the prisoners (some who are still living) share memories that range from hardships, resilience and triumph over one of the most inhumane governance systems ever to be experienced in Africa. The inhuman apartheid regime was eventually rejected by the South African people through the first and free democratic election held in April 1994. Nelson Mandela, one of the political prisoners, became the first black president of South Africa. The cultural landscape, testifies to the way in which human

spirit triumphed over diverse forms of oppression in the country. The site bears powerful testimony to a great tragedy in the history of human society and is indeed an exceptional symbol of reconciliation and triumph of freedom over oppression, exploitation and racism.

In addition to the above-outlined multilayered cultural values, the site also has natural heritage values. It is home to threatened and endangered sea bird populations, among them the penguins. Prior to human habitation on the Island, it is suggested that its environs (present-day Table Bay) would have been grassy savannah inhabited by lions, antelope, hippopotamus, giant buffalo, extinct elephants and other smaller animals. Fossilised eland and now-extinct rhebok bones (both mammals) were found in the north-eastern side of the Island.

The above multiple and multi-layered define the management approach of the Island as a cultural landscape (Taruvinga 2014a). As a result, the site has multiple and multilayered stakeholders, many of them with conflicting demands and expectations. The involvement of stakeholders in the management of the World Heritage sites is very important and this should take a more participatory relationship than being once off consultations during preparations to nominate the sites on the World Heritage List (IUCN 2011; Chirikure and Pwiti 2008; Chirikure 2013, 2014; Taruvinga 2014b). Given their geographical scales and locations, cultural landscapes are often complex systems that require an integrated management and inclusive stakeholder approach to deal with different operating land-use systems and related multiple ownerships (Taruvinga 2014b).

Robben Island as a Hybrid Institution: Conservation, Tourism and Social Responsibilities

Today, Robben Island can be viewed as a hybrid institution with multiple responsibilities of conservation, tourism and social corporate duty (Taruvinga 2015). For any heritage institution, conservation is the most important aspect and it revolves around sustaining the significance or the OUV of the site. Social corporate responsibility emanates from meeting the needs of society and is largely a private sector concept. For Robben Island, social corporate responsibility emanates from the site being a "living museum" given its lifelong relationship with all the EPPs. The site needs to cater for the socio-economic needs of EPPs. From a tourism perspective, Robben Island is a popular domestic and international tourist destination, which offers transformational experience to visitors. It attracts a large number of international and local tourists. Tourist arrivals have been steadily increasing over the years (Fig. 14.1). The site is one of the few heritage institutions in sub-Saharan Africa, which runs a complex marine operation to support tourism when compared with similar sites such as Goree Island (Senegal) and Lamu in Kenya where this service is outsourced (RIM 2013a). The Island, being the "core area" of the World Heritage Site, accommodates all these responsibilities in a single confined space compared with other sites whose size are large enough to absorb development pressure by off-load in them into the

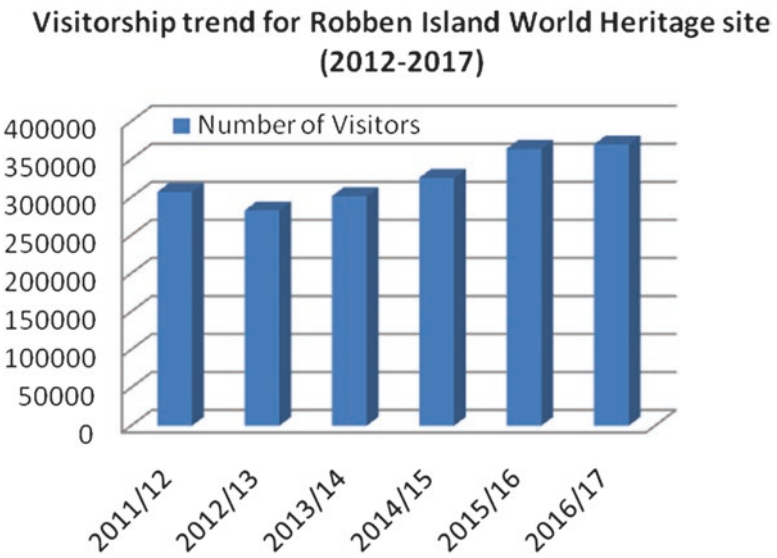


Fig. 14.1 Visitor trends for Robben Island World Heritage Site (2012–2016). Source: Robben Island Museum

buffer zone. In order to attain sustainability for these responsibilities, the management of heritage sites needs to focus beyond non-creative solutions that are usually preferred by state actors (Taruvinga 2016).

Contextualisation of Management Approach for RIWHS

RIWHS is managed through a plethora of national and international legislative frameworks, which covers cultural, natural and municipal aspects of the site. Municipal aspects include power generation, water desalination and sewerage reticulation as the Island does not get such services from the mainland. Key legislation include but not limited to the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) of 1999, the Cultural Institutions Act of 1998, the South African World Heritage Convention Act of 1999, Cape Nature and Environmental Conservation Ordinance of 1974, Conservation of Agriculture Resources Act of 1983, Marine Living Resource Act of 1998, the 1989 Environment Conservation Act, National Archives of South Africa Act 43 of 1996, Maritime Zones Act 15 of 1994, Disaster Management Act 57 of 2002 and many others. These laws bring together various government departments as legal stakeholders of the site, each with a specific responsibility (Taruvinga 2014b). This requires effective coordination by the management authority of the site to ensure that all stakeholders contribute to the protection and sustenance of the OUV of the site.

In the past, most of these stakeholders operated in silos; for instance the Department of Public Works (DPW), which is responsible for maintaining the built environment as the legal custodian of all government owned infrastructure, did not have a clearer understanding of the significance of the Island and this has led to poor maintenance of the site (Taruvinga 2014b, 2015). Also, most of these government departments were not consulted at the time of inscription nor were their responsibilities considered in the first conservation plan for the site. As of now, Robben Island Museum (RIM) is formalising relationships (through Memorandum of Understandings or Agreements) with some of them in order to garner their support in protecting the site.

2nd Intergrated Conservation Management Plan (ICMP) for RIWHS, 2013–2018

The 2nd ICMP (Fig. 14.2) of the site was developed and approved by the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA) and UNESCO in 2013. The objectives of the 2nd ICMP were set to be achieved over a period of 5 years, beginning from 2013 to 2018. The ICMP represents a comprehensive revision of the 1st ICMP. As a management tool, the 2nd ICMP presents an approach, principles and actions aimed at promoting the conservation of the site and its sustainable use through tourism. The "integrated" aspect of the 2nd ICMP is derived from the fact that all its elements and contents, (including subsidiary management plans), governance structures and operating frameworks, are supposed to be treated in a holistic and integrated manner for the efficient and effective management of this cultural landscape (RIM 2013b).

The methodology used in developing the 2nd ICMP was premised on the vision, mission, and values of RIM, stakeholder input and SWOT analysis of all the operational spheres of the institution, which included reviewing the 1st ICMP. The process ensured that the leading document, which is the operational management plan, links

Fig. 14.2 The RIM Management Planning Framework of the RIWHS (2nd ICMP; Robben Island Museum)

to all the various and specific sub-plans of the ICMP. This methodology recognised that management planning is a continuous process, which includes relevant stakeholders until common ground is established. The planning process adopted a futuristic approach, which would allow the ICMP to respond to the evolving and changing circumstances of the broader society and its environment.

The consultation of stakeholders was critical in the process of preparing the 2nd ICMP. Many stakeholder consultation workshops were conducted by the management authority. The stakeholders consulted included the National Department of Public Works (DPW), the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), the Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA), the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), the Ex-Political Prisoners Association (EPPA), the South African National Parks Board (SANParks), the Western Cape Provincial Department of Environmental Affairs and the Development Planning (DP), the Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality, the University of Cape Town (UCT), the University of the Western Cape (UWC), the University of Stellenbosch (US), Cape Nature and Earth Watch and many others. Also consulted were experts in institutional management, interpretation, education and environmental management and other fields relevant to the site. This deepened insights into the evolving industry trends and practices in various areas of the World Heritage Site.

The 2nd ICMP document comprises a centrally positioned Operational Management Plan (OMP), which outlines strategies for implementing the three detailed specific management plans; the Interpretation Plan (IP), the Visitor Management Plan (VMP) and the Natural Environment Management Plan (NEMP). All these plans constitute the Implementation Plan (IP). The OMP provides policy reference framework and prioritised strategies for the proper management of the site through incorporating all the components of the site. On the launch day of the ICMP, the Minister of Arts and Culture, Paul Mashatile, aptly summarised that the Government of South Africa was "mindful of the enormous responsibility placed on us to protect and conserve Robben Island World Heritage Site for the benefit of humanity" (RIM 2013c: 1). The 2nd ICMP was to be monitored, evaluated and reviewed on a yearly basis to ensure that the set objectives are realised.

To achieve the management objectives of the World Heritage Site, the 2nd ICMP was positioned as the RIM's turnaround strategy that required the support of all relevant stakeholders including the lead Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) and the RIM Council as the Management Authority (Fig. 14.3). Enablers identified in the Strategic Plan of the 2nd ICMP were considered critical to maintaining the significance and promotion of sustainable utilisation of the site as a hybrid institution.

Progress on the Implementation of the 2nd ICMP

The RIM is still in the process of implementing the 2nd ICMP until 2018, after which it will be reviewed. RIWHS submits a State of Conservation Report (SOC) as required in terms of Paragraph 169 of the *Operational Guidelines for the*

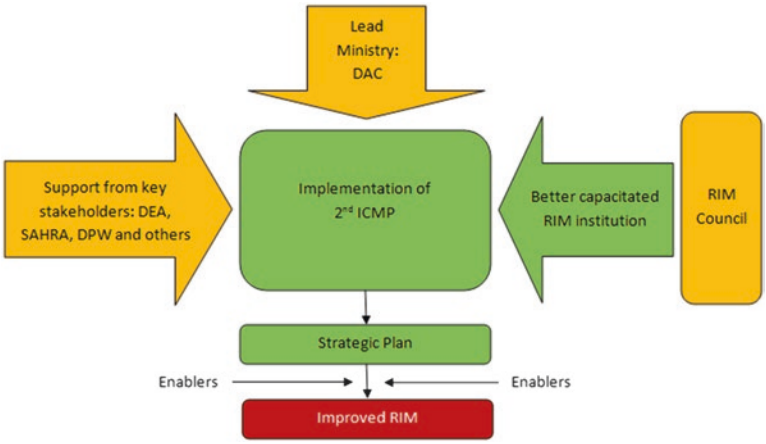
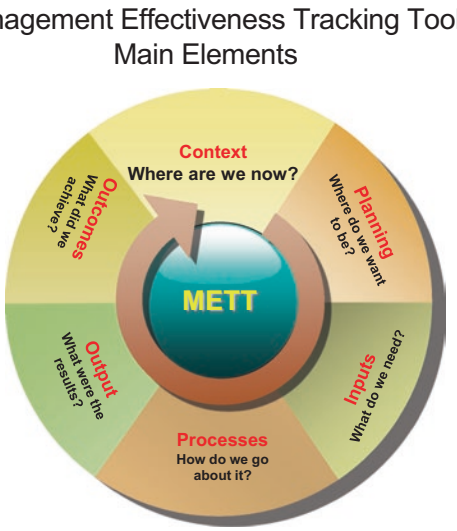


Fig. 14.3 The positioning of the 2nd ICMP in the RIM turnaround strategy (2nd ICMP; Robben Island Museum)

Fig. 14.4 Management effectiveness tracking tool (DEA 2014)



Implementation of the World Heritage Convention and the South African World Heritage Convention to the Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA) via the Department of Arts and Culture. The SOC reporting is aligned to the RIM annual performance reporting to the Government of South Africa as a public entity.

As part of the compliance matrix to the DEA, RIWHS has adopted the Management Effectiveness Tracking Tool (METT), which is mainly used in assessing the effectiveness of management systems in protected areas in South Africa (Fig. 14.4). The tool was developed by the Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA) as a way of monitoring the management effectiveness of World Heritage

Sites in South Africa. Its application on cultural sites gives valuable information towards improving management systems.

The METT assesses the following elements: *context* (the legal, physical, biological, cultural and heritage environment of the site), *planning* (all aspects of broad planning, which set the longer term vision and objectives for the site), *inputs* (allocation of resources and establishment of information-generating programmes), *processes* (key management actions and practices), *outputs* (key products, services and implementation actions) and *outcomes* (results or consequences measured against the set objectives and values of the site). As such, all management authorities for World Heritage Sites in South Africa complete the tool and submit it to the DEA. The results are critical in identifying areas requiring serious attention by the management authority of each site. The METT should not be confused by a performance measurement tool. The RIM is using this tool to track the effectiveness of strategies and resources used in implementing the 2nd ICMP.

The METT analysis for 2014/2015 shows that RIWHS is among the top 5 World Heritage Sites in South Africa that have strong management plans and implementation effectiveness. In With 67% Robben Island was ranked third, the Maloti-Drakensberg second with 76% while Mapungubwe with 81% was ranked first. This ranking is despite the fact that the Maloti-Drakensberg and Mapungubwe have a long history of management as national parks prior to their inscription on the World Heritage List. Since 2013, RIWHS has been implementing elements that relate to the context, process and outputs fairly well. However, the planning process and inputs allocated to the 2nd ICMP remain a challenge due to various reasons that shall be discussed later in this chapter.

The implementation of the 2nd ICMP has mixed results as shown in the table (Table 14.1). The analysis categorises performance under the following categories: completed projects (*yes*), completed projects but continuing in the following years of the ICMP (*yes and recurring*), incomplete projects and being carried forward (*partial*), projects not done (*no*), projects to be implemented in the following years of the ICMP (*pending*) and projects deferred permanently (*suspended*).

The above reflects that there has been some improvement in the delivery of targets by the RIM. As shown in Fig. 14.5, 38% of the set targets were achieved while 15% of recurring targets were also implemented, bringing the total of achieved targets to 53%. 27% of the targets were partially achieved while 15% were not achieved at all. Only 1% of the targets were suspended while 4% are pending. The 38% achievement is a positive shift from the 26% achieved in the 2015/2016 financial year. Compared with 2015/2016, targets not achieved have been reduced from 37 to 15%. This scenario is attributed to inconsistent funding and cyclical or seasonal revenue flow for the RIM. Revenue flow is dependent on the ferry operation, which is managed by the RIM. The RIM has secured alternative funding for some programmes, e.g. from the National Department of Tourism (NDT) and from the African World Heritage Fund (AWHF). Lack of skills and capacity within the RIM is also affecting the implementation of the 2nd ICMP. Furthermore, the RIM is undertaking a reorganisational review of the institution in order to have a functional structure that is supported with appropriate skills and that will be linked to the needs of the ICMP. Prioritisation

Table 14.1 Management effectiveness tracking tool analysis for 2014/2015

METT scores for 2014–2015						
Name of World Heritage Site	Context(%)	Planning(%)	Inputs (%)	Process (%)	Outputs (%)	METT score (%)
Baviaanskloof	94	75	91	75	88	85
Boland Mountain Complex	71	65	63	63	67	66
Boosmansbos Wilderness Area	75	57	58	54	67	62
Cederberg Wilderness	61	80	58	65	68	66
Cradle of Humankind	49	50	43	51	59	50
De Hoop Nature Reserve	76	57	56	61	57	61
Grootwinterhoek	84	61	63	70	72	70
Makapan Valley	58	57	36	35	46	46
Maloti-Drakensberg	83	65	58	81	91	76
Mapungubwe	84	80	79	79	84	81
Robben Island	87	52	58	67	72	67
Swartberg Complex	76	72	63	64	67	68
Table Mountain	89	87	83	70	88	83
Taung Skull	68	37	37	36	54	46
Vredefort Dome	47	54	19	19	41	36
Average METT score for WHS						64

Source: Department of Environmental Affairs

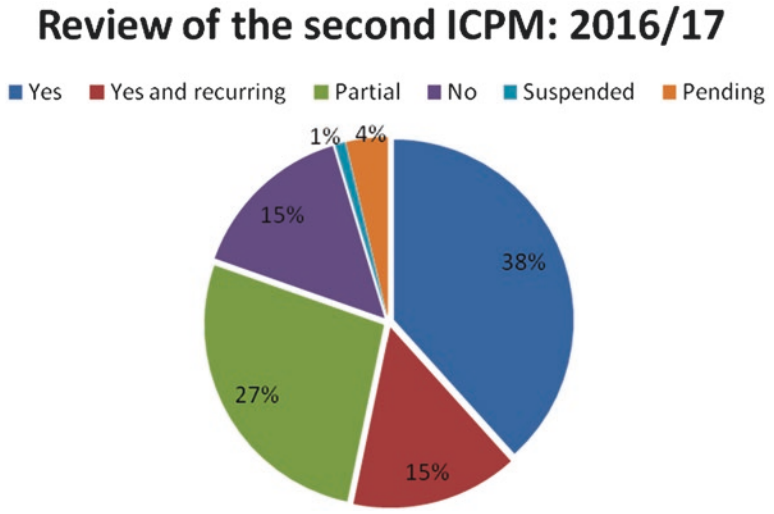


Fig. 14.5 Progress made in implementing the 2nd ICMP as of 2015/16 financial year

remains focussed on offering an integrated, holistic and inclusive narrative to tourists, conservation programmes and improving the efficiency of ferry services in partnership with the private sector to support tourism initiatives.

Opportunities and Constraints of the 2nd ICMP

The implementation of the 2nd ICMP has both opportunities and constraints. Out of these opportunities and constraints valuable lessons can be drawn, which is the focus of this section. The "integrated approach" with enablers, which links the various components and the various mandates of the site under the custody of different stakeholders, is an important element in managing cultural landscapes in Africa. The approach promotes active participation, dialogue and collective decision-making processes among the stakeholders.

However, this is not immune to stakeholder conflicts but it provides a framework for resolving such matters. In the case of Robben Island, the relationship with the Department of Public Works (DPW), which is the custodian of all government buildings, had broken down at some point due to poor maintenance of infrastructure and municipal facilities at the site. The matter attracted a reactive monitoring mission from UNESCO in 2011 (Assom and Burke 2011). In addition, the office of the Public Protector (South Africa) also launched an investigation on the same issue in 2013. The dysfunctional link between Robben Island Museum and the DPW had become so wide from a planning process and needed a strategy to correct the problem. This matter was resolved through the signing of a tripartite agreement, which now binds DAC, DPW and RIM on this very important area. Whether this approach will work or not its a function of time, and will need to be assessed against the set deliverables.

The integrated approach has resulted in other players contributing to the conservation of the site, among them but not limited to Ex Political Prisoners Association (EPPA), University of Stellenbosch, University of Cape Town (UCT), University of Western Cape (UWC) and other institutions. The integrated approach ensures that adequate focus and resources are channelled towards set targets and stakeholders augment this by bringing in extra technical and financial resources. The integrated approach also allows the optimal use of technical and financial resources towards meeting the targets of the 2nd ICMP, as well as aligning implementation to the seasonal flow of resources. It also provides a framework for performance management against rampant poor monitoring systems at most World Heritage Sites where conservation plans are not successfully implemented. However, the integrated approach requires coordination across stakeholders and their respective functions and an extremely disciplined Management Authority, of which these ingredients lack in most heritage institutions given their bias towards traditional and ensconced responsibilities. Robben Island is not an exception in this analysis and bias has been towards sustaining tourism, which is the main revenue stream. Though this is justifiable in order to increase revenue for operational activities, it should be made subserviant to conservation and

retaining the authenticity and integrity of the site. RIWHS has developed a Carrrying Capacity Framework and introduced impact monitoring tools across all tourism programmes and adaptive reuse initiatives. RIWHS needs to adopt a focussed integrated approach, which links priority areas with conservation, tourism and promotion of socio-economic development which is relevant to the broader society.

The integrated management approach assumes that financial resources are always available and stakeholders are ever willing to meet their respective commitments in this regard. The reality of this is fraught with many unexpected governance challenges and administrative bottlenecks. For example at RIWHS, an initial amount of R201 million was estimated for the implementation of the 2nd ICMP until 2018 but this has not been matched with the actual allocations over the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) years from 2013 to 2014, which translate to an average of R3.5 million per annum (this excludes staff compensation). The current funding model of the site mainly supported by a grant from the DAC and own revenue from tourism initiatives, has not been favourable to the implementation of the 2nd ICMP. Tourism revenue flow is seasonal and is dependent on the ferry operation, which rarely operated smoothly between 2014 and 2016. The constant breakdown of the RIM-owned ferries has resulted in hiring private boats under a relatively expensive contractual arrangement. This implies a decline in revenue with serious consequences on the financial support that can be allocated to the implementation of the 2nd ICMP. Without an adequate baseline budget for heritage programmes, some programmes are continuously deferred to outer financial years at most World Heritage Sites in Africa. In the case of RIWHS, alternative funding has been sought to support implementation of the 2nd ICMP. The National Department of Tourism (NDT) is funding a destination development project and a retrofitting solar project to the tune of a combined R35 million capital outlay. Universities also provide funding for research on the Island and offer probono services through students in training. The African World Heritage Fund (AWHF) has financed the development of the Integrated Disaster Risk Plan (IDRP) and many other joint programmes with RIWHS. Joint and partner-financed programmes are also implemented in partnership with Freedom Park Trust, Department of Correctional Services, City of Cape Town and many other institutions. Partnerships have become central in augmenting dwindling national or central government allocations for heritage conservation on the African continent. RIM has also adopted adaptive reuse of infrastructure in order to diversify tourism products and generate extra revenue to augment current resources. Adaptive reuse is used to further the conservation of infrastructure, buildings and facilities at heritage sites that could have not been used in the absence of creative thinking. If you want to use the building you maintain it and at heritage sites this should be done in compliance to conservation protocols.

In response to the increasing cost of operational services, which are mainly supportive systems such as ferries, municipal services and landscaping, RIWHS has embarked on the following mitigation measures: installation of alternative sources of energy in the form of a one hectare photovoltaic solar plant in order to reduce reliance on diesel-powered electricity. RIWHS has also installed efficient systems

for sewage, waste processing and water desalination plants at the island. This is all designed to reduce carbon footprint, any form of pollution and expenditure on municipal services. All this is expected to improve the funding base for the protection and conservation of the site.

Another challenge that has bedevilled the implementation of the 2nd ICMP is the parallel action that was taken to resolve the UNESCO 2011 recommendations. The recommendations were made on the eve of approving the 2nd ICMP owing to the poor maintenance of the site, lack of prioritisation for conservation and capacity to implement projects. Resolving these matters was critical in averting the possibility of the site being placed on further reactive monitoring missions, which is an expensive and antagonising process as it comes with time-bound mitigations that are not aligned to the resourcing capacity of the management authority of the site. Since 2011, RIWHS has recorded considerable progress in stabilising the institutional and managerial aspects of the management authority, finalised the 2nd ICMP and appointed skilled personnel for the departments of heritage, education, infrastructure and marketing-tourism. RIWHS has since reinforced the maintenance of built environment in partnership with the DPW. An organisational review to ensure that effectiveness and efficiency are attained using a structure aligned to the strategy on Robben Island has also been carried out. However, the RIWHS continues to suffer from the lack of skilled staff at junior levels as a result of the staff absorption strategy that was employed in 2010, during which period casual and seasonal workers were made permanent without going through a skills audit process. To mitigate this anomaly, RIWHS is up-skilling employees who have the capacity to upgrade themselves through various strategies such as study bursaries for both graduate and postgraduate studies and technical skill transfer through exchange programmes.

Another major lesson from RIWHS is that starting with too many targets may result in non-implementation due to non-matching financial and technical resources. The setting of targets for management plans should adopt an incremental approach, which should be aligned to projected resource injection and the growing capacity of the heritage site to implement the ICMP. Implementation of the 2nd ICMP targets has been hamstrung by lack of capacity, inconsistent budget, problematic governance arrangement with other government departments such as DPW and operational challenges associated with management of ferries. The targets should have been aligned to the strategy of building internal capacities and this would have avoided reliance on consultancy, which is a generally expensive strategy. While using consultancies is a noble and efficient approach in Africa, it has the inevitable weakness of having low internal buy-in by staff due to lack of ownership of the process and is equally expensive, thereby draining the limited financial resources available. Also consultancies have a tendency of creating dependency rather than building capacity for the clients to ensure it can be an internally driven process.

Another valuable lesson from RIWHS is that the integrative approach has allowed the management of the what may be termed local values alongside the defined OUV value of the site. Often at most World Heritage Sites, local values are not prioritised as focus is on maintaining the prestigious OUVs of the sites. Though Robben Island was inscribed on the strength of the political history, and in particular

the incarceration of political prisoners on the island, the site has other cultural and natural values, which were considered in the 2nd ICMP. The Island is a breeding place for a threatened colony of penguins and is home to many other protected marine species. The integrative approach has promoted conservation that is balanced where no value is pitied against the other and considered to be of less importance. The ICMP also covers banishment landscapes, leprosy landscape, World War 2 landscape, fauna and flora, including the marine resources in the nautical mile buffer zone of the site. The site is likely to be declared a Marine Protected Area in terms of Phakisa economy strategy, which is designed to boost community livelihoods on the shoreline of South Africa. Tourism offerings are still yet to optimally uitilise all these resources in a sustainable manner for the benefit of the public. This will bring added and beneficial buffering mechanism to the RIWHS. The disaster risk planning and mitigation at the site also take this integrative approach, which brings together different stakeholders and capacities that the site would ordinarily not have access to.

The RIWHS, just like many World Heritage Sites in Africa, still has the challenge of finding space for community participation in a manner that promotes sustainable livelihoods. The RIWHS is a contested landscape given the multiple and multilayered values that it possesses. The main players are the EPP who are the social custodians of the OUV of the site. In addition, the site has descendants of San communities and traditional chiefs that were all banished to the Island for resisting colonialism, veterans of the World War 2 and the descendants of lepers. All these stakeholders desire to be involved in the management and sustainable uitilisation of the site and this makes the Island a highly contested landscape. Even within the political landscape of the site, they are internal contestations as the struggle against apartheid was a process led by different political organisations with different philosophies and strategies, yet they were all fighting a common enemy. Meeting the expectations of all these community members is a mammoth task given the costly accessibility of the Island due to its location faraway from the mainland. The RIWHS has made progress with EPPs by moving towards establishing an Ex Political Prisoners Advisory Committee (EPPAC), which will be a subcommittee of the RIM Council. The EPPAC will assist the RIWHS in (a) protecting and conserving the site for present and future generations; (b) protecting intellectual property rights vested in EPP's life histories; (c) succession planning for a new generation of tour guides who should be able to transmit the social memory beyond the lives of EPPs; (d) developing and enhancing the narratives of tour guides and delivery thereof to ensure that it is holistic and without bias; (e) supporting memorialisation of their heritage and (f) advising appropriate research agenda to ensure that RIM has a broad spectrum of information relating to the vast history of the Island extending beyond its use as a prison. Community participation at most heritage sites in Africa remains constrained by legal framework and the absence of social corporate responsibility approach when compared with the private sector. Through this integrative approach, heritage institutions have an opportunity to develop creative ways of involving communities within and outside the sites. However this also needs the support of non-state actors who are innovative and creative compared to state actors.

Managing cultural landscape like Robben Island is a complex process. As the site is managed, the emerging challenges and opportunities are many and they vary. The management system of the RIWHS has attempted to balance conservation, tourism and social responsibility of the site even though this is quite problematic. The World Heritage Site, therefore requires cross-cutting disciplinary and integrated management approach. The management of the site should have the fluidity of being responsive to the dynamic socio-economic, political and business environment in which it is operating without losing its traditional responsibility of conservation.

Conclusion

Robben Island is at a critical juncture and its management is far from what it should be and the RIWHS is also facing many challenges, which in part stem from its earlier management and legacy issues (Mhkize 2013). Managing RIWHS will remain a contested space and therefore, future planning processes have to be adaptive and responsive to the emerging socio-economic context of the site. The next ICMP should derive its strategic niche by critical addressing all the inadequacies of the current. The future of cultural landscapes lies in implementing responsive intergrated management approach supported by monitoring tools such as the Management Effectiveness Tracking Tool (METT). The pioneering of the latter at cultural sites should be heralded as a positive thing which should be infused into planning processes of such sites.

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Chapter 15
National Identities, New Actors, and Management of World Heritage Sites: The Case of Ouro Preto and a Jesuit Mission of the Guaranis in Brazil

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National Identities, World Heritage, and Global Governance

This chapter discusses the relationship between World Heritage Sites and management approaches found within internal contexts—the nation state—and external contexts—the international organizations. The focus of analysis is two examples, which are long enshrined within Brazil's rich architectural heritage and that also form part of the UNESCO World Heritage List (WHL): the city of *Ouro Preto* in the state of Minas Gerais and the ruins of the Jesuit mission of the Guaraní of *São Miguel das Missões* in the southern Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul.

The chapter is composed of three interconnected sections. Firstly, it seeks to bring a contemporary view of the concept of cultural heritage, expanding this concept to include recent considerations regarding the idea of World Heritage, and also examining the classificatory mechanisms utilized in international heritage directives and regulations. Secondly, the chapter seeks to examine and understand the process of declaration as cultural heritage of the two sites in question, keeping in mind the importance of local and national identity politics in the preservation of the sites. Thirdly and finally, the chapter seeks to take into account contemporary conflicts that have emerged from the consolidation of architectural heritage, revealing new protagonists in the use and resignification of the sites in question.

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Heritage, a Concept Under Construction

From being considered a founding element of the nation state to the idea of heritage as a means of claiming and recognizing social difference, there are innumerable forms and expressions that tackle the issue of heritage in our time. It is possible to associate this phenomenon with a wider resurgence of memory as an important vector that cuts across different cultural contexts and establishes new relationships with time. In the heritage of contemporary societies, the fragility of the human condition is juxtaposed with its perennial continuity. However, this could be considered as the prime contribution of modernity—the mission to declare elements as heritage seeks to give permanency to physical objects and spaces, characterizing what Mariannick Jade (2009) calls the Act of Heritage. This quest to achieve the permanency and conservation of physical space and objects that would otherwise inevitably disappear or become obsolete is coupled with the affirmation that it is imperative to safeguard these elements and transform them into emblems of heritage. Together, both ideas are foundations of heritage theory.

When seen as a social tool (Tornatore 2010), heritage often plays apparently contradictory roles. It can be at the core of emancipative urban claims or it can become a factor of conflict, dissention and exclusion. The processes of declaration of heritage reveal that claims related to memory and heritage are often at the root of efforts for recognition, autonomy and historical rights. Many times these efforts are articulated within the contexts of struggles for the future. A clear example of this is the political repercussions and implications of a recent Resolution adopted by UNESCO in relation to Islamic and Jewish holy sites in the city of Jerusalem, which openly questioned Israeli control over an important cultural World Heritage Site. The text of the Resolution, voted in October of 2016 by 24 member states, references solely to the Arabic names of certain sacred places such as referring to the Temple of the Mount as *Al-Haram Al-Sharif.*[1] In this way, the Resolution instituted, by way of geo-historic references, a hierarchy of legitimacy utilizing place names to affirm or suppress cultural identities. This provoked the condemnation of Israel, which immediately suspended the nation's cooperation with UNESCO.

The situation described above does not greatly differ from other heritage disputes between states, societies, groups, or individuals. This drives us to consider that there is only a fine line between the past and the present, which makes it difficult to discern which values are at the root of heritage initiatives.

In the legal realm, heritage is held to be one of the foundations of the nation state by reaffirming the need for belief in a shared collective past that takes precedence over individual rights. It is precisely this insertion into the legal and cultural realms that reaffirms the inalienable character of heritage. The imperative to protect and educate about heritage is carried out by the government, possibly the only actor able to transcend the logic of individual private property and to act as mediator between past, present, and future.

[1] http://whc.unesco.org/fr/decisions/6243/.

The two case studies examined in this analysis refer to sites that are included on the UNESCO's WHL. This categorization stems from the 1972 UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Natural and Cultural Heritage, the regulatory framework for actions, and international norms on heritage in contemporary society. In its fundamental ideas, the Convention declared that natural and cultural heritage is endangered due to natural phenomena as well as social and economic development, which alters cultural landscapes. The heritage elements that the Convention referred to were interpreted as possessing exceptional universal value, thereby tasking the international community with the duty to ensure, together with individual nations, adequate conditions for the preservation and protection of this heritage. With the objectives of identifying, mapping, and disseminating cultural heritage of exceptional universal value, the World Heritage Committee was created, which in turn instated the WHL. This list is an inventory of cultural and natural heritage defined as being of universal value according to the criteria established by the Committee.

The 1972 UNESCO Convention can be considered as the foundational framework in the area of heritage. It has political and economic repercussions for the member states both in terms of the mobilization of national and international social actors, scientific experts, and heritage institutions and in terms of the financial resources that are negotiated as part of heritage protection and conservation initiatives.

In fomenting international cooperation, promoting socioeconomic development in local regions and communities, and establishing heritage protection mechanisms, the 1972 Convention is a successful instrument that leads nation states to develop heritage protection policies without using coercive methods, according to João Batista Lanari Bo (2003). However, after more than 40 years of existence, it is necessary to make considerations and even revisions in the Convention's capacity for action regarding world cultural heritage. The first aspect to be considered is the incessant pressure of economic development as expressed in accelerated urban growth that is oftentimes disorderly and irregular. Population growth that is coupled with the increase in consumption of goods is an economic factor that, in innumerable cases, impacts natural and cultural environments. The risks being faced by World Heritage Sites are, in the majority of the cases, caused by economic development projects that lack planning and adequate protective measures.

At the same time, a key element in the perspectives centered on economic development has been tourism, which was affected by the classification of world cultural heritage sites based on their qualities of authenticity, singularity, and representativeness. Even though tourism development was not one of the original intentions of the World Heritage Convention, it came as a consequence and brought with it possibilities to create sustainable economies as well as posed as a risk factor for local identities and inevitably the preservation of the elements of cultural heritage themselves.

Another important point to be brought into consideration is the growing complexity involved in heritage-based claims and the meanings at play within local contexts. These factors behoove us to reflect on the reality that heritage-based claims related to memorial projects of limited area and scope are proliferating at a

much greater proportion than the so-called World Heritage Sites. Also, we are forced to ask ourselves if international organizations have truly been effective in the control and evaluation of individual nations when faced with the great diversity involved in elements of world heritage. It is equally as important to reflect on the values and criteria involved in the selection of elements of cultural heritage purported to represent the memory of all humanity, and to also reflect if it is actually possible to conceive of a memorial system so wide and far removed from local social actors. Last but not least is the fundamental need to reflect on the role that world heritage plays as elements of our human identity. In current times, the emergence of plural memories has been accompanied by the revival and reinvention of traditions that seek to link the past and the present, giving form to social collective identities. Heritage, a political expression of memory (Candau 2012), tends to be expressed in those very concrete terms when building collective memory, even though it derives from intangible cultural expressions. In this sense, universal heritage can be seen as impossible to achieve if it is not given meaning by the local subjects immersed in their own social identities.

In this sense, as Sophia Labadi's (2013) book examines, UNESCO Outstanding Universal Value criteria have been used as instrumental in nation-building and nationalistic projects in a European point of view that is absorbed even by non-European nations. In these nations, social and cultural minorities have been used to create alternative discourses to the pretense European cultural superiority, but at the same time these same minorities—as indigenous groups or women, for example—continue to be marginalized by state politics. Even local population, that is claimed to UNESCO as an important category in the management of World Heritage Sites, are often regarded as a threat to the conservation of the sites. The author still underlies that despite that the concept of authenticity has been revised and relativized in the Nara Document on authenticity in 1994, these conceptual reviews have had little impact on nominations to World Heritage Sites.

However, our reflections should lead us to consider that, though contradictory in its application, universal heritage should be adopted as a category of analysis that is able to counter essentialist approaches to claiming the past. It becomes an important reference point in the relation of otherness and the search for similarity,[2] giving possibility to openness and dialogue as opposed to rupture and close-mindedness.

One of the conditions of the World Heritage Convention that were imposed on the member states was the imperative for each nation to be responsible to draft and carry out management plans for the heritage sites located within their respective territories. This does not solely imply the adoption of management methods but also the assurance that the plan involves different social actors. The examples of the heritage sites of *Ouro Preto* and *São Miguel das Missões* can be analyzed in the terms and conditions brought to the fore by the 1972 Convention, especially as it relates to issues of heritage management and community participation.

[2] In the sense of the concept of *resemblance* proposed by Octave Debary (2016).

The Case of Ouro Preto and *São Miguel das Missões*: From Modernist Discourses to National Heritage

The dawn of the twentieth century brought deep transformations to the areas of Brazilian art and architecture. The introduction of Modernism, with the 1922 *Semana de Arte Moderna* (Modern Art Week)[3] as its inaugural event, came to favor nationalist rhetoric whose primary pillar was the search for "*Brazilianness*." The Modernist Mário de Andrade (1893–1945) was a key personality in the construction of these discourses about identity that came to hold the Baroque art and architecture of the state of Minas Gerais-and particularly of *Ouro Preto* as a defining element. Primarily through the body of work of Antônio Francisco de Lisboa *"o Aleijadinho,"*[4] a vanguard figure of the Baroque period in Minas Gerais, Mário de Andrade saw the genius of mixed-race people in the conformation of Brazilian architecture. This is related to the interpretation of popular aesthetics that was the linkage between universal and modern elements (Andrade 1920; Gomes Junior 1998; Avancini 1998; Nogueira 2005).

The importance of *Ouro Preto* in the early discussions of "*Brazilianness*" eventually became materialized in law. On July 12th, 1933, during the government of Getúlio Vargas (1930–1945)[5] law number 22.928 was decreed that turned *Ouro Preto* into a national monument (Brasil 1933). As a consequence of that law, the *Inspetoria de Monumentos Nacionais* (National Monument Inspection Agency) (1934–1937) was created and was active, above all, in the restoration and conservation of *Ouro Preto*. This would be the first federal agency with the expressed purpose of preserving national cultural heritage.

In 1938, under the auspices of the *Secretaria do Patrimônio Artístico e Histórico Nacional (SPHAN)* (Secretariat for National Historical and Artistic Heritage), the precursor to the current institute of the same name (IPHAN), *Ouro Preto* was declared as national heritage and therefore began to enjoy the benefits of protection that status entails. By way of Law Number 25 from November 30th, 1937, all of the elements declared as national heritage come to belong to the nation, to their respective states and municipalities. This prohibits the destruction, demolition, mutilation, repair, painting, or restoration of these places without the expressed prior permission of the SPHAN. Also, this law prohibits new constructions next to the building declared as national heritage that could possibly diminish its visibility (SPHAN 1937).

[3] This took place in the municipal theatre of São Paulo on February 13th, 15th, and 17th of 1922. It brought together artists forming part of the vanguard of Modernism and presented paintings, sculpture, literature, and other works, generating important societal repercussions.

[4] Antônio Francisco de Lisboa, *"o Aleijadinho"* (The Little Cripple) (1738–1814), was a celebrated Brazilian Baroque sculptor who worked in the state of Minas Gerais. Evidence points to him being the son of a Portuguese architectural foreman and an enslaved woman. Roughly at the age of 40 he was stricken by a disease that ended up deforming his body, giving origin to his now-famous nickname. Even with this affliction, the artist continued to produce until his death and left an abundant body of work in the region.

[5] Having risen to power via a *coup d'état,* in 1937 Vargas founded a government of fascist character that was referred to as the *Estado Novo* (New State).

In the same formation period of heritage policy of the Estado Novo (New State) in the 1930s and 1940s, the architectural remains of the Jesuit missions to the Guaranis,[6] in the northeastern region of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, were taken into consideration by the Modernists who were evaluating the heritage elements that were worthy to form part of the rhetoric of the nationalist period.

Already in 1922, the place where the ruins of the settlement of *São Miguel* were located had been declared as a "historical place" by the state government of Rio Grande do Sul (Meira 2008), through the *Comissão de Terras da Secretaria de Obras Públicas* (Land Commission of the Secretariat of Public Works), which between 1925 and 1927 began cleaning and preparing the ruins of the church of the historical settlement (Stello 2005). The official reports of the project highlighted the great importance of the place as an "architectural and artistic testimony of our best efforts, especially that of the Jesuits, to help and protect the savages."[7]

The inclusion of *São Miguel* in the inventory of national heritage occurred between the years of 1936 and 1937, with its official declaration as national heritage taking place in 1938 at the same time that SPHAN was instated. During that period, the Modernist writer from Rio Grande do Sul, Augusto Meyer, was responsible for producing the inventory and documentation of cultural heritage present in that state (Meira 2008).

The year 1937 was a landmark year for the research and preservation of this element of national heritage, with the arrival of Lúcio Costa[8] (1902–1988) to the region of the old Jesuit missions. He aimed to document *São Miguel* prior to its official declaration as national heritage, and from this experience he not only produced an official document that justified the inclusion of the ruins as national heritage, but also gave birth to a series of measures that would guide conservation policy for the site, eventually leading to the creation of the *Museu das Missões* (Museum of the Missions) (Bauer 2006).

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[6] The missions formed an integral part of the colonial and evangelical efforts of the Jesuits with the local indigenous populations, primarily made up of members of the Guarani ethnic group, in the 17th and 18th centuries. These Jesuit-Guarani missions were part of the Province of Paraguay, under the administration of the Spanish Crown. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, 30 Jesuit settlements or missions were spread across a macro-region that today encompasses territories located in Brazil, Argentina, and Paraguay between the Paraná and Uruguay rivers. The remains of seven settlements are located in Brazil and are known as the *Sete Povos das Missões* (7 Settlements of the Missions): *São Borja, São Nicolau, São Miguel, São Luiz Gonzaga, São Lourenço, São João Batista*, and *Santo Ângelo*. The Treaty of Madrid signed in 1750 by the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns established the exchange of these seven settlements then located in Spanish territory, for *Colônia de Sacramento*, located in Portuguese-held territory. This generated animosity on behalf of the indigenous populations and the Jesuits towards the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns and was the detonating factor for the *Guerra Guaranítica* (Guarani War) (1753–1756). The actions of these groups served to provide justification for anti-Jesuit rhetoric and eventually the order's expulsion for colonial territory.

[7] Relatório da Secretaria de Obras Públicas. Officinas Graphicas d'A Federação: Porto Alegre, 1926.

[8] Lucio Costa was a Brazilian modernist architect and urban planner, best known for his pilot plan for Brasília. He joined the newly created SPHAN in 1937.

However, in the period of initial implementation of heritage policies, the indigenous inhabitants, mixed-race populations (Golin 2012), and European immigrants did not appear in the construction of the heritage narrative regarding the missions. The primary foundation of this narrative focused on the Jesuits[9] and the aborigines as simple accomplices and was solely concentrated on the remote colonial past.

Ouro Preto and *São Miguel das Missões* as World Heritage Sites: Challenges and Conflicts in Site Management

UNESCO declared *Ouro Preto* as a World Heritage Site in 1980—Brazil's first contribution to that list. The Dossier for the candidacy of the site (BRASIL 1979) emphasized, once again, the influence of Aleijadinho as a "peerless figure." Once again, the peculiarities of Brazilian Baroque architecture are held up to be the defining elements of the heritage value of *Ouro Preto*. In 1983 *São Miguel das Missões* was included in UNESCO's WHL with the justification that the architectural complex's temple displayed exceptional characteristics of adaption to the local environment and that it was "one of the most important marks of civilization in the conquest and development of South America" (IPHAN 2014b). For being declared as national heritage, both sites are administered by the *Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional* (IPHAN) (National Artistic and Historic Heritage Institute) that prohibits the destruction or restoration of these places without the expressed prior permission of the organization.

UNESCO has been present in Brazil since 1964 and the start of its activities at its office in the nation's capital was in the year 1972. Its main objective is to help formulate and develop public policy in partnership with government authorities and civil society. In the case of the World Heritage Sites in Brazil, UNESCO's work is conducted in partnership with the IPHAN, as well as federal, state, and municipal authorities.[10]

Ouro Preto, as we have seen, is a paradigm of the construction of national identity and cultural heritage. The actions taken in the preservation and valorization of the city reveal the way that public heritage policies are developed in Brazil (Chuva 2009). In this way, the involvement of UNESCO and national institutions in the management of the site came to be an emblematic example for the country (IPHAN 2012; ICOMOS 1980).

Although the first laws protecting the complex of colonial houses in *Ouro Preto* stem from the early 1930s, the city only came to formulate a Municipal Master

[9] In the article *"A arquitetura dos Jesuítas no Brasil"* (Jesuit Architecture in Brazil), which was published in 1941 in the magazine of the SPHAN, Lúcio Costa credits the Jesuits and the architecture influenced by them to be the oldest foundational elements that inspired the architecture of Brazilian cities (Costa 1941).

[10] For more information: https://nacoesunidas.org/agencia/unesco/.

Plan in 1996. This reveals the difficulties experienced in the preservation of the site. Even more, the endemic infrastructure and urban management issues that, for decades, have seriously compromised the landscape of the site continue to present challenges (UNESCO 2014).

Since the time of Ouro Preto's candidacy for UNESCO's WHL in 1979, the presence of working-class neighborhoods on the neighboring hills were cited as elements detrimental to the landscape of the site. Landslides produced by the geological characteristics of the area were also cited as persistent threats to the cultural heritage site (IPHAN 1979).

These same problems were reported in subsequent decades as well. In 1990 we can cite the government initiatives regarding environmental protection that, with the increased legal protection of the lands surrounding the site, permitted the use of eminent domain for the larger public good. Also cited is the construction of retaining walls to avoid landslides during torrential rainstorms that occur in the area. Even more, the construction of homes on the neighboring hills continued to threaten the landscape and increase the chance of landslides (UNESCO 1990).

In 1994, *Ouro Preto* received UNESCO's approval to fund technical cooperation in the development of a pilot project that aimed to relocate residents living on one of the slopes in the area as well as buttress the area to avoid future landslides. The slope, consolidated 15 years prior, placed a portion of the heritage site at risk (UNESCO 1994). In 2002 UNESCO's Brasília office and a federal bank financed a conference on Urban Cultural Heritage. The conference focused on urban heritage policies and produced a document (Motion to Preserve *Ouro Preto*) that gave testimony to the fragile state of conservation of the city's architectural heritage, as well as the lack of administrative resources (UNESCO 2003). As a consequence, an ICOMOS Monitoring Mission was sent to the region. The mission bore witness to the problems experienced in the definition of the protected area of the city, and the ongoing conflict between the local administrative authorities and IPHAN in the implementation of the Historical Centre management plan. Although IPHAN was responsible for protection of the site, the institution lacked the means, technical personnel, and financial resources to do so. Once again, urban sprawl on the hills around the city was cited as a threat to the urban heritage landscape. Even more, the mission cited the occurrence of a fire, which severely damaged one of the historic buildings in *Tiradentes* Square at the heart of the area declared as cultural heritage. This unfortunate event has called the mission's attention to the fact that the site did not possess an emergency plan in the event of such disasters (UNESCO 2003).

The 2003 report attests that the city's 1996 master plan had never been implemented. However, the latest report, from 2014, documents some advances of the administration, such as the revision of the master plan 10 years after its creation, and the launching of urban planning strategies outside of the heritage site, which include housing projects and creation of a Municipal Public Engineering and Architectural Service. The objective of this service is to provide technical assistance to low-income people residing in the area of the historic city center. However, once again, the same report expresses concern for the state of conservation of the houses and churches of the historic center in the face of urban growth as well as the impact of tourism (UNESCO 2003).

Therefore, a distancing was observed between the city's residents and the heritage site. The preservation of the city's colonial elements, grounded in legal documents that justify their authenticity and preservation, leads to the overvaluing of heritage and tourist sites to the detriment of the needs of the city's residents. There is a disconnect between the site's preservation initiatives and the city's urban growth that perennially places the heritage site at risk. This disconnect has produced an inversion of values in which the state, primarily through IPHAN, assumes the role of local protector and the local population demonstrates certain hostility to heritage preservation policies (Castriota 1999; Salgueiro 1996).

The case of the Missions offers an interesting counterpoint to the experience of *Ouro Preto*. Firstly, in contrast to *Ouro Preto*, whose conservation of its historic city center is cited as a reason for its declaration as cultural heritage, the *Missão de São Miguel* was already in a ruin state when the first conservation attempts were realized in the 1920s. Even more, the site's nomination was part of a larger process that also involved other Jesuit-Guarani missions in Argentine territory[11] and later in Paraguay, conforming to a transnational heritage complex.

Even though the architectural heritage site was built by Native Americans under guidance of the Jesuits, as it was referred to in the nomination of the site for World Heritage status in 1983 (ICOMOS 1983), the presence of Native Americans, as previously mentioned, did not obtain visibility for most of the twentieth century. Attention was drawn mostly to architectural and artistic values as expressed in the ruins and urban design of the settlements (Fabre 2013). However, in a 2016 UNESCO report, within the statements of outstanding universal value regarding the Jesuit-Guarani missions, the cultural exchange and interaction that occurred between Native Americans and Jesuits are considered to be one of the values of the site (UNESCO 2016).

The same report praises the interaction between IPHAN and the municipality, allowing the institute to define, since the 1980s, policies for the preservation of the *São Miguel das Missões* site through the city's Municipal Urban Plan. In fact, dialogue between IPHAN and local authorities allowed, for example, for the creation in 1994 of a plan to de-occupy areas that had been informally occupied around the site. The plan was implemented in 1995 and concluded in 2008 (Stello 2010). The same 2016 report states the existence of preparations of a management plan for the National Historic Park of *Missões* as well as objectives such as the sustainable development of the area.

In 2009 this elaboration process enabled all Jesuit missions in Brazil recognized as national heritage, including *São Miguel das Missões*, to be declared as the *Parque Nacional das Missões* (*Missões* National Park). This initiative set in motion a series of scientific projects (inventories, studies, and conferences), and enabled investments on behalf of the federal government in collaboration with UNESCO, all aiming to produce documentation and develop methodologies and best practices for the shared

[11] In 1983 the following sites were declared as cultural heritage: *São Miguel das Missões* (Brazil) and *San Ignacio Mini, Santa Ana, Nuestra Señora de Loreto*, and *Santa Maria Mayor* (Argentina). In 1993 La Santísima Trinidad de Paraná and Jesús de Tavarangue (Paraguay) were included in the UNESCO list.

management of the *Sete Povos das Missões*. The objectives of these initiatives are to expand efforts to value the sites' tangible and intangible cultural heritage and develop management models for application in other Brazilian national parks.[12]

Besides that, the cross-border aspect of the Jesuit-Guarani missions and the shared management responsibilities among the neighboring countries also manifested themselves in the beginning of the twenty-first century. Such measures occurred at the same time as the deepening of transnational relations within *Mercosul*[13] and made certain initiatives possible such as the publication of the *"Manual básico de Conservação para as Missões Jesuíticas dos Guarani"* (Basic Conservation Manual of Jesuit-Guarani Missions) edited by the World Monuments Fund in 2009.[14] This manual emphasizes the existing material heritage elements and offers guidance on numerous subjects for professionals in the areas of conservation and restoration. Most recently, these joint initiatives enabled the official recognition of the Jesuit missions as cultural heritage of *Mercosul* at a meeting of the Cultural Heritage Commission of the bloc[15] in 2015.

On the other hand, the Native American presence at the site has been highlighted via government programs and via academics aiming to encourage indigenous traditions related to the site. A project of note in this context is the production of the *Inventário Nacional de Referências Culturais da Comunidade Mbyá-Guarani em São Miguel Arcanjo* (National Inventory of Cultural References of the Mbyá-Guarani Community in *São Miguel Arcanjo*), which was initiated in 2004 and aims to document the cultural references that indigenous group has of the site, and the installation of the *Ponto de Memória*[16] program that has encouraged grassroots initiatives in the area of museology and cultural spaces (Vivian 2012). In 2014, the site was inscribed in the Livro *dos Lugares do Patrimônio Imaterial Brasileiro* (Book of the Places of Brazilian Intangible Cultural Heritage) by IPHAN[17] because of these initiatives. Safeguarding efforts emphasize the recognition of the importance of the site within the cosmology of the M'byá Guarani that live in the region. The same

[12] IPHAN:http://portal.iphan.gov.br/noticias/detalhes/3948/estudo-e-iniciado-visando-a-gestao-do-parque-historico-nacional-das-missoes.

[13] *Mercado Comum do Sul* (Southern Common Market) is an economic bloc in South America that was formed in 1991 and currently consists of the following member states: Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Venezuela.

[14] See CUSTÓDIO, Luiz Antônio Bolcato (org.). *Manual básico de Conservação para as Missões Jesuíticas dos Guarani. Programa de capacitação para a conservação, gestão e desenvolvimento sustentável das Missões Jesuítics dos Guarani*. World Monuments Fund, 2009.

[15] IPHAN. Missões Jesuítas Guaranis, Moxos e Chiquitos são declaradas bens culturais do MERCOSUL.27/05/2015.http://portal.iphan.gov.br/noticias/detalhes/2283/missoes-jesuitas-guaranis-moxos-e-chiquitos-e-declarado-bem-cultural-do-mercosul.

[16] The *Ponto de Memória* (Point of Memory) Program is a project related to the *Cultura Viva* (Living Culture) Program of the *Ministério da Cultura* (Ministry of Culture) together with other federal government entities. It aims to assist grassroots initiatives regarding memory by groups that have been excluded from official memorial spaces and by their own initiative have created their own spaces for the promotion of their identity and linkages with the past (Vivian 2012).

[17] More information: IPHAN. Tava Lugar de referência para o Povo Guarani. http://portal.iphan.gov.br/pagina/detalhes/507/.

efforts also defend that group's right to move freely in the region and sell artisan goods within the historical site as well as the active participation of this ethnic group in the development of public policies regarding World Heritage (IPHAN, 2014a, p. 48–49). The ruins were also included in a circuit of religious tourism, the *Caminho das Missões* (Path of the Missions), which is inspired from the *Route of Santiago de Compostela* and includes Christian and Guarani elements (Alves 2007).

It can be perceived, thus, that the Jesuit-Guarani mission can be viewed, within the framework of Brazilian World Heritage Sites, as an example of challenging hegemonic rhetoric and valuing of other protagonists in a context defined, in its beginnings, by nationalist discourses supported by colonial imagery. Although the site's management is not ideal, a positive tendency can be observed of including new elements to the official rhetoric that led to declaration of the missions as national cultural heritage. In this way, this diverse and complex heritage site, that gathers together a series of different interpretations and uses of its identity, presents itself to be a testing ground for Brazilian heritage policy and also a challenge for the construction of more democratic and plural methods of conservation and management of World Heritage.

Brief Conclusion

The experiences of *Ouro Preto* and *São Miguel das Missões* bring with them the necessity to fully comprehend the contemporary challenges in global governance of heritage sites. The forms that cultural heritage assumes within the context of social interactions transcend the commonly-held, idealized models. These forms also reflect local conflicts and dissentions that attribute meaning and importance that surpass universal pretensions and global efforts to normalize heritage management. These dynamics reveal realities in which actors and agents in the area of cultural heritage are able to conduct truly meaningful, shared, and participative heritage management.

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Chapter 16
The Case Study of the Town of Bamberg (Germany) Concerning the Combination of Management Plans with Participation Strategies in Urban World Heritage Properties

Michael Kloos and Patricia Alberth

Introduction

The introduction of the concept of cultural landscapes in the year 1992 caused a "major shift in development" and in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Local communities were to be conceived as "partners in site management," a fact which was also reflected by the addition of a fifth "C" for "Communities" in UNESCO's World Heritage Strategic Objectives. Hence, community involvement and stakeholder participation were seen as a "mainstream approach for heritage management today" (Rössler 2012). Accordingly, management plans for World Heritage properties should be built on the basis of a "shared understanding of the property" and the "involvement of partners and stakeholders." They should also show how the outstanding universal value (OUV) of World Heritage properties can be preserved, "preferably through participatory means" (UNESCO 2012). In short, management plans for UNESCO World Heritage properties should be based on a wide range of participation strategies.

However, especially in UNESCO World Heritage properties located in urban agglomerations, this paradigm shift also generated a large number of new questions. Since urban UNESCO World Heritage Sites differ in size, location, and character, the question arises as to how related management and participation strategies can be adapted to these circumstances so as to meet different needs and wishes? Who represents "local communities" in the urban context, especially in cities with large numbers of inhabitants, and how can important stakeholders be identified and

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Fig. 16.1 Old Town Hall © City of Bamberg/Jürgen Schraudner

reached? How are strategies of management plans affected by the point in time that urban sites are inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List? And finally, the question arises as to whether urban communities are at all interested in participating in the management of World Heritage Sites.

In the following sections, those questions shall be looked into for the case of Bamberg. The City of Bamberg (Germany), a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1993, applies participation strategies as part of its site management. The site's OUV refers to its medieval layout and exceptionally well-preserved medieval and baroque buildings. The city is centered on key buildings, such as the Old Town Hall (Fig. 16.1) above the river and the Imperial Cathedral—symbolic buildings that characterize the place.

The World Heritage Site "Town of Bamberg"

Bamberg's World Heritage includes several historic districts, which differ from each other in terms of their shape, morphologic structure, and inhabitants: the City on the Hills (Fig. 16.2), coined by the Cathedral, which dominates the city's silhouette until today, is the traditional bishop's see; the Island District (Fig. 16.3) with Bamberg's well-known Town Hall and located between two courses of the river Regnitz has always been Bamberg's civic center and still forms the node of Bamberg's trade and market activities; and the Market Gardeners' District, which is

Fig. 16.2 City on the Hills with Bamberg Cathedral © City of Bamberg

Fig. 16.3 Island District with Little Venice, the former fishermen's settlement along Regnitz River © City of Bamberg/Hannah Röhlen

Fig. 16.4 View from the Market Gardeners' District with its fragmented vegetable fields towards the City on the Hills © City of Bamberg/Jürgen Schraudner

located to the north of the Island District, where vegetables have been grown since the Middle Ages inside the town's ramparts (Fig. 16.4). This tradition of "urban farming" has been kept alive until nowadays. All three districts belong to the 142-hectare UNESCO World Heritage site and represent in a unique way the central European town built up on an early medieval layout. The city map of 1602 by Petrus Zweidler, to a large extent, can still be applied today (Fig. 16.5). The townscape can be traced back to the founder and patron of Bamberg, Emperor Henry II (973–1024). He put Bamberg at the religious and political center of the bishopric founded in 100 AD. The site's OUV as acknowledged by the World Heritage Committee reads as follows:

> *Criterion (ii):* *The layout and architecture of medieval and baroque Bamberg exerted a strong influence on urban form and evolution in the lands of central Europe from the 11th century onwards.*
>
> *Criterion (iv):* *Bamberg is an outstanding and representative example of an early medieval town in central Europe, both in its plan and its surviving ecclesiastical and secular buildings.*

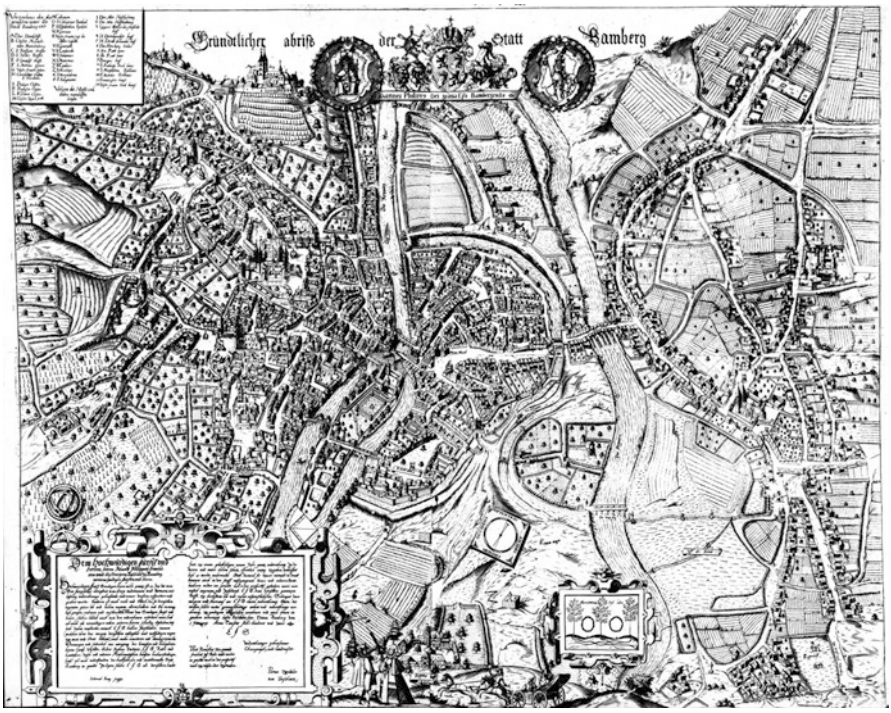

Fig. 16.5 City map of 1602 by Petrus Zweidler

Bamberg World Heritage Office and Bamberg's World Heritage Management Plan

When the "Town of Bamberg" was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1993, neither a visible management structure nor a management plan was required according to the *Operational Guidelines*. More than 10 years after its inscription, in 2005, an office was installed at the municipal level to implement the World Heritage Convention in Bamberg, to locally coordinate World Heritage matters, and to represent the site. The World Heritage Office works in close collaboration with the local tourism department, museums, heritage conservation team, local World Heritage Foundation, and educational institutions.

Bamberg's first World Heritage management plan dates back to 2004. While this plan was rather compact, advanced international standards and recent developments called for a new planning document that considers local regulations and bodies. Correspondingly, the World Heritage Office launched a new planning process in November 2015. It is the goal of the new management plan to identify the core values of the site, to recognize challenges and threats, and to set out policies and measures to preserve and enhance the site (cf. Ringbeck 2008). Furthermore, the

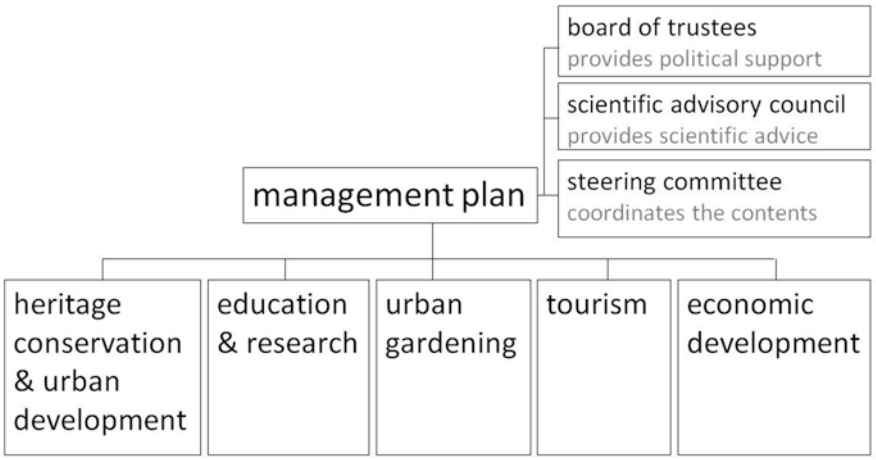

Fig. 16.6 Organizational framework of Bamberg's new World Heritage management plan © City of Bamberg/Patricia Alberth

management plan is meant to promote awareness of the World Heritage Site and encourage involvement in its management (cf. UNESCO 2013).

Consequently, it was a crucial starting point to involve Bamberg's inhabitants in the elaboration of the new management plan. Bamberg is characterized by a very committed civic society. The city, which has some 73,331 inhabitants (as of 31 December 2015), counts several hundred associations, many of them directly or indirectly involved in the management of the World Heritage Site. The World Heritage Office attempts to involve them in major decisions concerning the development of the World Heritage Site. As a result, participation of these important stakeholders has also been a crucial starting point in the elaboration of the World Heritage management plan.

Step 1: Setting Up a Governance Framework to Stimulate Integration and Participation

In the case of Bamberg, due to varied ownership and use, a variety of entities are involved in managing the property as well as its buffer zone. Therefore, decision-making processes prove to be complex. Hence, it was decided to establish a scientific advisory council with representatives with a political, scientific, and cultural background to accompany and to support the compilation of the management plan (Fig. 16.6). The entire process was accompanied by this scientific advisory council. A board of trustees consisting of representatives from the City of Bamberg, the District of Bamberg, members of the City Council, and the Government of Upper

Franconia supported the development of the management plan on a political level. Both the scientific advisory board and the board of trustees were meant to support a steering group, which consisted of the heads of Bamberg's main administrative departments. This steering group was supposed to manage the content-related work in close contact with Bamberg's inhabitants.

Step 2: Identifying Future Questions for Bamberg's World Heritage Management

To generate a basis for the participation process of the management plan, some 20 confidential interviews with relevant stakeholders of Bamberg's civic society and municipal administration with particular relevance for the town's World Heritage management served as a means for first orientation. In addition, these interviews served as a first basis to identify strengths, weaknesses, chances, and threats with regard to Bamberg's World Heritage. These interviews clearly underscored that Bamberg's World Heritage has developed into a strong identity builder in the town during the past 20 years. It is widely recognized that Bamberg's World Heritage is also a vital element with regard to social and economic functions. In 2015, the city recorded more than 650,000 overnight stays. The local retail trade benefits largely from the booming tourism, which is widely promoted by Bamberg Tourismus & Kongress Service, an independent merchandising agency. A crucial element of the agency's merchandising strategy is the slogan "Faszination Weltkulturerbe" ("Fascination World Cultural Heritage"). This shows that Bamberg's World Heritage status is seen as a main asset for tourist marketing at present. Employers also use Bamberg's World Heritage status to attract qualified work force to the town located in the region of Franconia/Northern Bavaria. Here, unemployment rates are relatively low, thus generating a strong competition between various towns to attract qualified workforce. Hence, Bamberg's promotion of economic development and employers use its World Heritage status as a unique selling point to recruit both enterprises and skilled workers.

However, this economical and touristic attractiveness of Bamberg as a World Heritage city has also a dark side. In general, Bamberg's attractiveness causes the need for building activities, especially during the current period of low interest rates, which generate continuous transformations in the town's historic urban building stock. Therefore, there is a "lingering" pressure to change. Bamberg also faces pressure to change due to planned building activities particularly at the "fringe" of the World Heritage area. It was consequently decided to focus on these questions during the elaboration process of the management plan.

Increasing visitor numbers has become a cause of concern among the local population and has regularly been addressed by the local newspaper (Fig. 16.7). It is in particular large groups from river cruise ships that congest the narrow medieval alleys of Bamberg throughout the year from Easter to Christmas. During their short

Fig. 16.7 Increasing visitor numbers causes concern in Bamberg © City of Bamberg

stay in Bamberg, they frequent the touristic highlights such as the Old Town Hall and the Cathedral. In 2015, some 874 river cruise ships with a total of 145,907 passengers embarked in Bamberg according to the Bamberg Tourismus & Kongress Service. Hence, there is a clear need for action to reconcile tourism development and the protection of the World Heritage Site.

Another current discussion point in Bamberg is that not all parts of the town equally benefit from the World Heritage status at the moment. Urban market gardening, which has been carried out in Bamberg since the Middle Ages and which has been an important element of Europe-wide trade in seeds and liquorice root once, formed a significant part of the local economy. In 2014 "urban market gardening in Bamberg" was included in the Bavarian State Register of Intangible Cultural Heritage. In 2016, it was included in the National Register of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Germany. There were once more than 500 gardening businesses but only around 40 are active today.

Many of Bamberg's market gardeners meanwhile operate only outside of the town's medieval area since the small plots inside the historic town are labor intensive and do not allow to run cost-efficient machinery. Consequently, it is challenging to convince the younger generation of gardeners to follow up the tradition of urban gardening in the city. The Market Gardeners' District, an integral part of the World Heritage Site, was established in the High Middle Ages around the Steinweg (today Königstraße), which was then an important trade route. Today, however, this district of the town is located in the periphery of the local economic activities. This

causes difficulties to integrate the Market Gardeners' District into the town's tourist routes. Bamberg's World Heritage management has been recognizing this problem for several years and supports the market gardeners whenever possible. Hence, the World Heritage Office is increasingly seen as a partner in tackling current difficulties by the market gardeners. Consequently, it was obvious that Bamberg's new World Heritage management plan had to focus on these questions in the Market Gardeners' District so as to sustain the site's OUV.

Despite the above-mentioned questions, there is a large consensus in Bamberg that the town's heritage contributes to the local identity. Bamberg's historic heritage is embedded in the local school education with a high demand for corresponding teaching methods that needs to be met. It further turned out that stakeholders in heritage education are not well connected and partly even do not know about each other. As a result, the development of the management plan will strengthen educational collaboration projects aiming at raising awareness about heritage values.

Step 3: Organizing the Working and Participation Process on Bamberg's New Management Plan

Against the background of the identified strengths, opportunities, weaknesses, and threats, and in order to develop measures and recommendations for the future management of the property, the following five working groups were established:

- Heritage conservation and urban development
- Education and research
- Urban gardening
- World Heritage and tourism
- World Heritage and economic development

A public kickoff meeting was held so as to inform a wider range of citizens about the upcoming working process on Bamberg's World Heritage management plan (Fig. 16.8). This meeting served also as a platform to inform Bamberg's citizens about the possibilities to join the various working groups so as to contribute with their own ideas to the management plan. Afterwards, over a span of 8 months these working groups met severally to discuss the above-mentioned current challenges and effective ways of facing them. This process allowed inviting stakeholders from the following fields to contribute to the working groups:

- Bavarian State Conservation Office and other state agencies
- Educational institutions
- Civic associations
- Crafts enterprises
- Restaurant and hotel businesses
- Churches
- Museums

Fig. 16.8 Management plan kickoff meeting in November 2015 © City of Bamberg/Jürgen Schraudner

- City administration
- University of Bamberg
- World Heritage Foundation Bamberg
- City marketing
- Owners of historical buildings
- Gardeners
- Tour guides
- Small- and medium-sized companies

The working process resulted in a wide range of ideas generated by the various members of the working groups. Two public meetings served as a forum to exchange these ideas between both the five working groups and the public. Additionally, the members of the steering committee presented the intermediate and final results of the working groups to the scientific advisory council, which then could give an external view and advice on the compiled ideas and recommendations.

Step 4: Compiling Results from the Participation Process

While the above-described issues might appear serious it has to be stated that since its inscription in 1993, Bamberg's state of conservation has never been addressed by the World Heritage Committee. This has not been the case for all German sites

as we well remember. From 2004 to 2006, Cologne Cathedral was placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger due to plans to build high-rise tower blocks that threatened the site's visual integrity. The Dresden Elbe Valley was even delisted by UNESCO in 2009 due to the construction of the Waldschlösschen Bridge crossing the World Heritage area (Decision 33 COM 7A.26). Nevertheless, the participation process revealed that Bamberg's World Heritage will also face serious challenges in the near future. Such risks and threats with regard to Bamberg's World Heritage are not so much based on frictions caused by tensions between urban development and conservation but rather on the ongoing socioeconomical change. A particular danger for Bamberg's World Heritage is that such "lingering" transformations occur slowly, making them nearly invisible for both the town's inhabitants and visitors.

One example for such social-economical changes is that the tradition of market gardening in Bamberg is currently at stake. But if it will not be possible to sustain the tradition of market gardening in the future, the OUV of Bamberg's World Heritage property could be seriously compromised. A second example for pressure caused by socioeconomical change in Bamberg is the increasing difficulty to sustain the town's high standards of conservation. Bamberg's very successful conservation tradition is rooted in the so-called Bamberg Model (Bamberger Modell). Owners of historic building stock are subsidized by the so-called World Cultural Heritage Foundation (*Weltkulturerbestiftung*). Nowadays, however, this foundation is no longer able to sustain this financing system due to too low interest rates on the financial market. Consequently, urban conservation in Bamberg increasingly focuses on "lighthouse projects" financed on the basis of national and regional subsidies rather than on a balanced support of historic buildings of private owners. Hence, it is unclear at present whether Bamberg's high conservation standards can be kept in the future. It will also be a challenge for the city of Bamberg to sustain the enthusiasm of Bamberg's citizens for the city's conservation policy.

Conclusion: Lessons Learned from Bamberg's Participation Process

It is a particularly interesting element of Bamberg's World Heritage that it has developed into an "umbrella brand" in both the city's touristic and merchandising activities and conservation policy. An important reason for this phenomenon can be seen in Bamberg's size. With some 73,331 inhabitants, Bamberg is a relatively small city, making it possible to use the town's World Heritage status to label nearly all of the town's cultural and even economical activities. In addition, Bamberg's relatively stable economic development and the support of the Federal State of Bavaria still allow to sustain very high standards of the town's conservation policy.

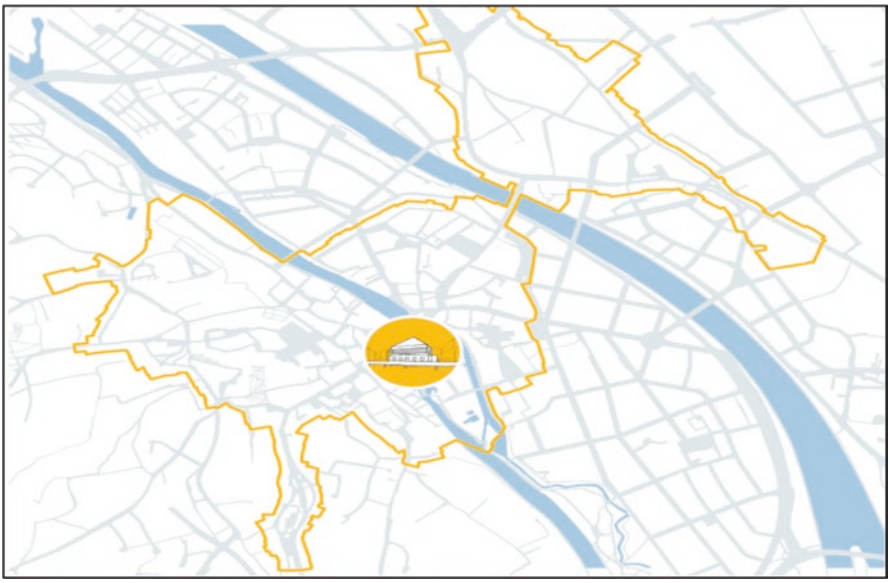

Fig. 16.9 The new Visitor Centre will be located at the heart of the World Heritage site © hneun Berlin

Fig. 16.10 Bamberg's gardening tradition and religious practice have been closely intertwined © Ronald Rinklef

One of the consequences of this development is that Bamberg's City Council decided recently to develop a new World Heritage Visitor Centre at the heart of the city (Fig. 16.9). The new building will house an exhibition, a shop, a restaurant, as well as the staff of the World Heritage Office. The exhibition will focus on the rationale behind Bamberg's inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List and embed the city in an international context. In addition, information will be provided on the city's Memory of the World and its intangible cultural heritage with the local gardening tradition (Fig. 16.10). While the contents of the exhibition will be prepared by a professional agency, consultation and information meetings aim at involving the local community in the project (cf. Arnstein 1969). In general, the participation process of Bamberg's new management plan was particularly designed for Bamberg's current situation. But despite a thorough scoping process that was carried out, which aimed to integrate the wide range of stakeholders in the elaboration of the new management plan, there were also deficits in the participation process. While the educational and cultural sector showed great interest in the project, businesses were hardly represented. During the elaboration process, it became also clear that it was mainly a core group of "professionals" with a stark interest for Bamberg's World Heritage that appeared regularly to the scheduled meetings and events while other groups of Bamberg's civic society were underrepresented. Especially the scheduling of meetings turned out to be challenging as some stakeholders participated during their working hours while others were only available after work.

Besides that, it was not possible to generate a fully transparent discussion with all stakeholders during the participation process of the management plan. One example for this is the current transformations in the "City on the Hills" with its traditional bishop's see. Although it is known that this area could be object to significant transformations in the near future due to demographical changes, it appeared not to be possible to generate a transparent discussion about future development perspectives of this important part of Bamberg's World Heritage during the process of the management plan.

To conclude, it can be stated that Bamberg's participation process was an essential element within the elaboration of the new World Heritage management plan. Nevertheless, participation in urban UNESCO World Heritage sites should not be seen as a "universal remedy," but rather as a well-adapted means to support necessary steps to sustain their OUV. Pertinent manuals for World Heritage management plans generally appeal for participation (Ringbeck 2008; UNESCO 2013). However, it is barely explained in such manuals that participation processes have to be adapted to the respective site, how scoping processes work in detail, and which elements they have to contain. There is also hardly any literature with relation to urban World Heritage Sites, which informs about the fact that participation processes can differ crucially from each other. They can be designed in an open and transparent bottom-up manner, but they can also be conceived and used as an "alibi" to justify top-down decisions, which are already taken prior to such processes.

Against this background, the following future steps and research activities could be helpful:

1. Case studies with thorough examinations of various participation processes in urban UNESCO World Heritage properties could be a helpful element for both World Heritage managers and consultants to gain more experience in the subject of governance of urban World Heritage Sites in general and participation processes in particular.
2. Scientific analysis with regard to the efficiency of participation processes could help to supplement pertinent World Heritage manuals. In this context, special emphasis should be laid that participation processes are barely differentiated at the moment in World Heritage-related literature.
3. Educational activities of universities and other institutes of higher education should focus on both the necessity of participation processes in urban UNESCO World Heritage Sites and means and instruments to implement such processes.

Additionally, the practical implementation of participation processes should be investigated and trained.

In general, it should be noted in this context that World Heritage management develops more and more into central discipline of urban planning and development (Ripp and Rodwell 2016; Kloos 2017). As a consequence, the City of Bamberg applies participation strategies in its current World Heritage project in order to involve different stakeholder groups. The levels of participation range widely depending on the expected output. The working groups within the framework of the development of the World Heritage management plan truly shape the future of the site by also implanting their measures. With the Visitor Centre on the other hand, the influence of the stakeholders is much more limited as its contents are based on a highly professional concept.

Community involvement is crucial where spaces such as urban sites are shaped and used by different groups. However, it needs to be kept in mind that the interests of local stakeholders may vary widely. In order to resolve possible conflicts of interest they need to be addressed early. Furthermore, it is recommended to communicate clearly the objectives of any participatory approaches so as to align expectations with feasible outcomes.

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Part III
Analysis, Discussion and Conclusion

Chapter 17
Making Sense of Site Management

Maria Lusiani, Paolo Ferri, and Luca Zan

Introduction

Site management for cultural World Heritage Sites is now well established as a practice. A comprehensive reading of the chapters included in this book shows that several managerial terms and concepts are by now integrated with the overall discourse in and around World Heritage Sites, and have entered the field in a gradual, dynamic, sometimes confusing, but certainly manifold manner.

As scholars in management studies with an interest in heritage management, we conduct a textual analysis of the 13 case studies included in this book to reconstruct what it is that experts in the World Heritage field talk about when they discuss (site) management. One management studies tradition defines management quite pragmatically as a matter of "addressing attention" (March 1978). Following this lead, we intend to explore where the attention is addressed and where it is not addressed (highlights and blind spots) in this book.

To conduct our study we first performed an in-depth analysis of each chapter, inductively reconstructing the main topics addressed by each contribution. In performing this explorative analysis, we noted that three main recurrent discourses seemed to emerge as authors talked about site management practices: discourses of "participation," "development," and "administrative complexity." We then coded and categorized the contributions according to these emerging discourses, which also allows for a cross-chapter comparison.

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We articulate our contribution in three main parts. First, we present the results of our analysis describing the three main discourses of site management. Next, we deepen these three discourses by sharing our own view on each. Finally, we move the attention to the blind spots, namely a few issues that remain implicit or silent across the book and that, in our view, deserve more attention. We then conclude with a short reflection on the crossroads between management and heritage disciplines and on the possible avenues for merging perspectives.

Three Main Discourses of Site Management

Our textual analysis aims to trace where authors' attention lies in relation to site management and planning experiences in distinct World Heritage Sites. Note that the object of our analysis is the authors' interpretation of each case. We do not discuss the administration of each site, nor whether its managers focus on or ignore specific issues in the realm of practice.

The picture that our analysis returns is multifaceted and variegated. Some contributions stress the issue of inclusion of local communities and diverse views as an inherent part of managing World Heritage Sites (we label this "participation discourse"); others focus on the instrumental nature of site management as a driver for local development (we label this "development discourse"); yet others address their attention to the problem of coordinating multiple administrative layers, jurisdictions, and agendas (we label this "administrative complexity" discourse).

Table 17.1 presents an overview of the case studies included in this book (Chaps. 4–16) along with our coding of the main prevailing discourse(s). Clearly, these three main discourses are interconnected and overlapping, and are often mobilized together in the same contribution. Yet each discourse also has distinctive elements that deserve to be singled out.

Participation of Local Communities

UNESCO's approach to local community participation has changed dramatically from the 1970s up to now, which is well described by Cameron and Rössler in Chap. 1. While at the beginning, participation was either not mentioned or explicitly advised against (see "*Operational Guidelines* 1988" in Cameron and Rössler), starting from the 1990s, and following the 1994 Nara document on authenticity, increasing attention has been given to "conservation and management based on values ascribed to the property by all stakeholders, not just experts" (Cameron and Rössler, Chap. 1).

For the case studies presented in this book, the issue of how to stimulate participation of "those who live on the land" in the use and care of World Heritage Sites is

Table 17.1 Emerging discourses of World Heritage Sites

Chapter	Title	Authors	Main discourses		
			Participation	Development	Administrative complexity
4	From Archaeological Site to World Heritage Site: The Emergence of Social Management at Monte Alban, Mexico	Robles García and Corbett			X
5	Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, Canada and Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site, United States	Doershuk	X		
6	Pragmatic Approaches to World Heritage Management: Along the Central Asian Silk Roads	Vileikis et al.		X	
7	"Huaihaiwei Yangzhou": Site Management Planning and the Establishment of Yangzhou Archaeological Site Park in China	Renyu and Xi		X	
8	Integrated Management of Archaeological and Rural Landscape: Feasibility Project for Gordion Archaeological Park	Naycı and Demirdelen		X	X
9	Conservation Issues, Management Initiatives and the Challenges for Implementing Khami World Heritage Site Management Plans in Zimbabwe	Makuvaza and Makuvaza			X
10	Concerning Heritage: Lessons from Rock Art Management in the Maloti-Drakensberg Park World Heritage Site	Laue et al.	X		X
11	Managing the Rock Art of the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg: Progress, Blind Spots and Challenges	Mazel			X
12	Conservation, Stakeholders and Local Politics: The Management of the Matobo Hills World Heritage Site, South Western Zimbabwe	Hubbard et al.	X		X
13	Stone Circles and Atlantic Forts: Tourism and Management of Gambia's World Heritage Sites	Gijanto and Ceesey		X	
14	Managing a Hybrid Institution: The Evolving Case of Robben Island World Heritage Site, Western Cape, South Africa	Taruvinga	X		X
15	National Identities, New Actors and Management of World Heritage Sites: The Case of OuroPreto and a Jesuit Mission of the Guaranis in Brazil	Soares Poloni et al.	X		X
16	The Case Study of the Town of Bamberg (Germany) Concerning the Combination of Management Plans with Participation Strategies in Urban World Heritage Properties	Kloos and Alberth	X		

often addressed, although it constitutes the main topic in only two instances (Chaps. 5 and 16).

Evidence from the sites suggests that communities' involvement has increasingly gained importance in the process of site designation and management, thus mirroring the aforementioned trends at the UNESCO policy level. For instance, Soares Poloni et al. (Chap. 15) argue that while in the Brazilian site of Sao Miguel das Missios "the presence of Native Americans, did not obtain visibility for most of the twentieth century," more recently governmental programs are promoting Indigenous traditions related to the site. Similarly, at the German site of Bamberg (Kloos and Alberth, Chap. 16) inhabitants' consultation started in 2015, despite the fact that the site has been part of the World Heritage List since 1993. At the same time, the absence of participation is seldom ignored in the case studies, and is addressed as a gap to be filled to achieve contemporary site management standards.

Amid an increased awareness of the relevance of local communities' participation, experiences presented in this book show different degrees of success. According to Kloos and Alberth, the case of Bamberg (Chap. 16) can be seen as best practice community involvement, with the authors providing an in-depth analysis of the participatory process behind the formulation of the management plan for the city. On the other hand, Doershuk's (Chap. 5) analysis of the involvement of Indigenous peoples at Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump (Canada) and Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site (USA) reveals light and shadow. For instance, the author notes how, although not included in the executive decision-making process, a committee of Indigenous elders who live near the site is consulted on matters relating to Indigenous history. Moreover, Black Foot people are active in the operation of the site, working as guides or sales personnel. On the other hand, at the Cahokia site (USA) Indigenous Americans were not involved in the 1980 master management plan and, despite some progress in this regard, the 2008 update still does not pay enough attention to the involvement of Indigenous American tribes.

Disappointment regarding the effectiveness of community participation emerges for authors analyzing African World Heritage Sites. For instance, in Matobo Hills, Zimbabwe (Hubbard et al., Chap. 12) "communities are largely alienated from profit-making ventures yet they are expected to support conservation." At the rock art site of Maloti-Drakensberg, South Africa (Laue et al., Chap. 10), locals are even denied access to heritage. According to the authors, this is a paradox, as "the best barrier for a rock art site is not a physical barrier but rather a local community that has a vested interest in the site, both an economic and/or an emotional link."

Development

A second discourse emerging from the case studies is "development." This issue is discussed in many chapters, thus confirming the centrality of the topic in debates about heritage; yet four chapters address it as *the* crucial problem (Chaps. 6, 7, 8,

and 13). Two different approaches emerge here in framing the issue: tourism and archaeological parks.

Gijanto and Ceesey (Chap. 13) analyze the relationship between tourism development and heritage in Gambia, in terms of policy agenda and institutional arrangements, namely the changing institutional relationships between the National Centre for Arts and Culture and the Ministry of Tourism. What is interesting to note here is the instrumental view of heritage in tourism development programs. From a tourism development perspective, the slave road in Gambia has the same function as any other theme park: increasing (Western) tourist numbers. Issues like identity, community, and conflict are not part of this discourse.

The topic of archeological parks is presented in the other three chapters, though in very different ways. The Gordion case (Naycı and Demirdelen, Chap. 8) discusses the concept of archeological park as a framework to manage large, territorial scale sites, and as a visitor interpretation approach. The authors suggest that the creation of an archeological park in Gordion could be successful in creating alternative sources of income for the local population, thus relieving the pressure of agriculture and husbandry on tangible heritage, and stimulating intangible heritage-related economic activities.

However, actually creating an archeological park brings its own pressures, and the three projects along the Silk Road (Vileikis et al., Chap. 6) emerge as examples of very problematic practices. At Taraz, Kazakhstan, the archeo-park was part of a city branding initiative within the broader international Silk Road project. The plan implied removing economic activities from the city center, which would have affected one-third of the population (almost 150,000 people), thus making, quite understandably, the decision highly "unpopular." Changes in the city administration during the process of site nomination made things even worse, transforming the project into an urban regeneration initiative with several reconstructions, thus jeopardizing the possibilities for inclusion in the World Heritage List. The various cases in Uzbekistan show the difficulties of site planning in relation to urban development. Here the case of Shakhrisyabz is of particular interest: despite the intention of the government to preserve cultural identity and promote tourism, "cultural heritage was not properly understood and integrated in this level of planning," eventually leading to the site's inscription in the list of sites in danger. Similarly, at Talgar, ICOMOS raised concerns about the development of infrastructure and the construction of a bridge, leading the World Heritage Committee to initiate a process to stop the construction.

Compared with the previous cases, the experience of Yangzhou (Renyu and Xi, Chap. 7) is much less naïve. The chapter describes a comprehensive approach, starting from the definition of site meanings, and with the overall goal of tourism promotion. What seems to be different in this case is the support given by the Chinese Government to heritage professionals rather than to tourism departments (Gambia) or real estate developers (Silk Road sites). The Yangzhou project is, in fact, part of a broader initiative concerning large archaeological sites in China (*dayizhi*) developed within the 11th and 12th Five-Year plans by the State Administration for Cultural Heritage (see Zan et al. Forthcoming, for an in-depth analysis).

Administrative Complexity

As we can see from Table 17.1, the issue of administrative complexity is a major component of the World Heritage Site management discourse. What emerges is a widespread view that site management deals with challenges relating to administrative complexity, which include issues of coordinating social relations, managing conflict, power structures, organizing, managing stakeholders, and the like.

Some contributions are quite explicit about this discourse when it comes to site management. For example, Robles García and Corbett (Chap. 4) refer to site management at Monte Alban in Oaxaca, Mexico, as "social management, as its core reflects the need to coordinate relationships with individuals, groups, agencies, vendors and other stakeholders." Through the case study on Monte Alban, the authors conclude that successful site management does not mean achieving greater technical capacity, "but the ability to coordinate multidisciplinary teams and collaborate with other sectors and jurisdictions," illustrating the evolution of the role of site manager, from archaeological supervision to the essential work of managing complex interrelationships. This view is echoed in several other contributions: Naycı and Demirdelen (Chap. 8), Laue et al. (Chap. 10), and Taruvinga (Chap. 14). The latter depicts the case of Robben Island World Heritage Site as a "hybrid institution" for its simultaneous conservation, tourism, and social mandates "requiring an integrated management system so as to bring together all the three mandates." In other words, the inherently multidimensional nature of World Heritage Sites inevitably involves a form of administration that plays simultaneously on different dimensions, speaks different languages, and deals with a multitude of professions and interest groups.

The contributions that mostly embody discourse of administrative complexity are also the ones that tend to highlight various interdependencies, conflicts, and tensions in their reconstruction of the cases: "Management is something that, at the same time, helps solving some tensions, while exposing or amplifying others" (Hubbard et al., Chap. 12).

A typical tension is the one between the dual nature of many of these sites (especially for cultural landscape sites). Hubbard et al. (Chap. 12) show the lack of an integrated approach in accounting for the cultural and natural components of Matobo Hills World Heritage Site (for example reflected in separated and unbalanced sections of the site plans, with 10 pages dedicated to cultural issues, versus 20 pages on environmental issues in the Matobo Hills plan 2004–2009).

Another typical tension is the one between conservation and exploitation. Laue et al. (Chap. 10) and also Mazel (Chap. 11) make a clear point about this in their cases on the rock art management in the Maloti-Drakensberg Park and uKhahlamba-Drakensberg World Heritage Site: both chapters illustrate how the emphasis is on preservation of the rock art, at the expense of a discourse about marketing and promotion. The authors argue that one thing cannot go without the other: the protection of cultural heritage is interlinked with income generated by tourism.

Yet more notably, the issue of institutional fragmentation is central to all these contributions. Just to mention one example, in their analysis of Monte Alban, Robles García and Corbett (Chap. 4) show the recent multiplication of jurisdictions in the form of several secretariats and commissions, to the point that "by 2014 INAH [Intituto Nacional de Antropologia e Historia, the main legal authority over the site] found it interacted with at least fifty agencies and organizations on a periodic or recurring basis." Some of these chapters also address the administrative solutions—and their shortcomings—that have been attempted to tackle such institutional fragmentation. For instance, Laue et al. (Chap. 10) criticize the dysfunctional effects of the dual-entity solution in place at the Maloti-Drakensberg Park in South Africa, with one entity entitled with ownership and management of the site on the one side, and one entity in charge of conservation of rock art, on the other. Even more interestingly, Hubbard et al. (Chap. 12) show how the creation of a "super partes" management committee for Matobo Hills World Heritage Site in Zimbabwe "unintendedly helped to perpetuate the fragmented management system of the landscape," because it was only formally delegated with decision making, while actual authority still depended on the will of each delegating organization (local, regional governments, and the like).

Another interesting point to highlight in the discourse of administrative complexity is that many expectations are devolved to the plan as the tool for integration. Robles García and Corbett (Chap. 4) on Monte Alban site state that "despite early skepticism, the value of site management plans proved such that today they are required as they help structure encounters on the site-society interface by organizing relationships across boundaries." Taruvinga (Chap. 14) on the Robben Island case conceives the site management plan as a tool for managing a hybrid institution: a clear definition of needs from a multilayered value site (social, cultural, and recently natural value). Similarly, Laue et al. (Chap. 10) on the Maloti-Drakensberg Park present the "Joint Management Plan" as the solution to involve one of the entities in the cultural heritage of the park, and as the tool to integrate conflicting logics (environmental/cultural; preservation/promotion) and harmonize the several sectoral plans in place (management plan for rock art, cultural resource management plan, environmental management plan).

Interestingly, this general expectation of the plan as the solution to the administrative complexity issue seems to be coupled also with disillusion and criticism as the plans prove never to be implemented effectively in the end.

> A pattern emerges which highlights the apparent gap between planning and implementation. A plethora of documents have been produced, some public and institutional, others academic and/or critical. A staggering number of planning committees have been convened, workshops held (at what cost it is presumably difficult to know) and a proliferation of acronyms has resulted (Laue et al. Chap. 10).

This mismatch between formulation and implementation is indeed lamented by many and generally attributed to inexperience of staff or lack of adequate funding.

Deepening Discourses on Site Management

Clearly, site management cannot be reduced only to participation, development, and administrative complexity. However, the prominence of these discourses in the site management conversation, as it emerges in this book, should be noted. These are all issues that are far more relevant and crucial than the mainstream and usually superimposed view that sees management as just marketing, fundraising, mission statements, and SWOT analysis (Zan 2006). Instead, what is reflected here is an idiosyncratic view of management that emerges from a deep historical and contextual understanding of the field.

As management scholars, what can we add to these prevailing discourses of participation, development, and administrative complexity?

Unpacking Participation

While acknowledging the importance of local community participation in site management, we cannot avoid noticing the inner ambiguity of this term, which is used across the book to describe distinct processes that, albeit interwoven, have different implications and pertain to different fields. Based on a close reading of the chapters, three distinct loci of participation seem to emerge. The first is what we can call participation in *shaping the meanings* of the site. This relates to embracing the point(s) of view of local communities in defining authenticity and developing agreed-upon representations of heritage, consistent with the Nara document's rationale. To exemplify what participation in shaping meanings is and how it can be put into practice, we can refer to Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump (Canada) site, where "a 'committee' of native elders is consulted on all matters affecting the preservation and interpretation of native history and the use of the Buffalo Jump" (Chap. 5).

A second type of participation relates to the *governance* of the site. In short, this refers to how many actors are responsible for taking decisions relating to the site, how they are appointed, and how their influence is regulated. Unlike participation in shaping the meanings of the site, participation in the governance poses organizational, rather than cultural, problems. Moreover, while in the prior case the subjects involved in the participation process are Indigenous or descendants, when talking about governance we usually refer to institutionalized entities, like different levels of government, NGOs, unions, business representatives, and the like. Chap. 16 on Bamberg deals with this form of participation.

The last form of participation relates to *sharing the value* generated by the site. With this notion, we refer to how economic gains and opportunities are distributed among the population living within or nearby the site. The issue is often prominent in studies dealing with sites located in developing countries, where UNESCO nominations create expectations for better standards of living. Unlike prior types of participation, the process of sharing value stresses the issue of economic equity, rather than cultural or organizational complexities.

We believe that unpacking the concept of participation can foster a more critical approach to the issue. Not all types of participation are, in fact, always present or relevant. In some cases, participation across all forms is desirable, for example, when communities still live on the site (such as the Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump site). In other instances, a specific form of participation may be irrelevant; for example, involving Etruscans or Etruscan descendants in determining the meaning of an archaeological site in Italy (as an American exchange student once asked about) would be nonsense. In addition, in some contexts relatively more attention should be given to one form than to others: in developing countries where heritage sites may turn profitable given the combination of Western-level ticket prices and third-world wages, prioritizing participation in sharing the value can trigger an emotional link to heritage, which is crucial for its preservation (Laue et al., Chap. 10).

We should also remember that participation creates different kinds of conflict. Sharing the meanings can open discussions on the dark side of history, which are by definition conflictual. In any case, participation in site governance does not just happen per se; it must be orchestrated: failing to do so leads to the problems of administrative fragmentation that are well described throughout the book. Lastly, the overall issue of sharing the value is critical within initiatives that put heritage at the center of economic development initiatives.

Taking Development Seriously

Evidence from the case studies presented in this book suggests that we should be much more careful when emphasizing the link between heritage and economic development. In fact, development can endanger heritage (remember the Silk Road projects), or heritage can fail to deliver development: it is not always clear how and why top-down strategies by local governments may match the needs of potential tourists. In addition, heritage can provide economic benefits for just a few, as we have seen in the African cases. Commonly, cases are problematic, if not outright failures. This is further complicated, at least in these cases, by the marginal involvement of local communities in such processes, despite the diffusion of these concepts in the paradigms of the heritage community.

The issue is indeed complex, and we believe that adequate frameworks for dealing with the challenges of heritage and development are lacking at present. These frameworks should avoid reductionism: what we need is not just a discussion about stakeholders, often dressed in the language of political correctness. Stakeholders can be crazy—and in their variety, they can be the worst enemy for the survival of any organization, heritage included. In addition, advancing this conversation does not imply just more collaboration between the various disciplines traditionally involved in the field. It means much more, and it refers to relating heritage to (usually poor) economic, social, and environmental conditions.

From our perspective, we maintain that a holistic approach to heritage and development should put at the center the issue of trade-off between alterative

(and conflicting) uses of a heritage site: What areas are open to visitors, what areas are used for site-related commercial activities, and what areas are used for commercial activities (such as real estate development)? Possible combinations need to be conceptualized, mapped, and—above all—managed. In developing possible scenarios, more attention should be given to numbers, an aspect that is surprisingly missing from the analysis presented in this book. "Counting" would, in fact, make more explicit the assumptions and hypotheses concerning wishes and views of different stakeholders. It would also help compare alternatives by shedding light on costs and revenues under different combinations of uses.

Accepting Administrative Complexity

In the heritage sector, professionals run complex organizations as a practice: they happen to work with or within complex organizational arrangements, using practical know-how, often without any formal managerial training or robust understanding of what management is (or even of the fact that a lot of what they do is management).

And if by definition all organizations are complex arrangements, in World Heritage Sites this is all the more true, due to the extremely high levels of interdisciplinarity, multidimensional knowledge, and competences, overlapping jurisdictional powers and roles that we have reviewed. Indeed, World Heritage Sites probably represent one of the most extreme cases of "pluralistic settings" (that is, organizations characterized by diverse objectives, distributed power, often conflicting interests, etc.; see Denis et al. 2007). World Heritage Sites are not often managed by an individual entity with clear organizational boundaries. Instead, they are large—sometimes very large—complexes lying at the crossroads of multiple jurisdictions (national, regional, local, and sometimes even international). They also often respond to different departments or ministries because of their intrinsic plural nature (e.g., both cultural and natural heritage site). Moreover, these sites are in some cases formally administered by preexisting entities (e.g., a park entity, or a museum department) or management committees established ad hoc, while also regulated by supernational frameworks and recommendations (UNESCO primarily). It is therefore not surprising that in this book what emerges is a widespread underlying view of management as dealing with administrative complexity and the challenges posed by this, addressing issues of coordinating social relations, managing conflicts, power structures, organizing, orchestrating stakeholders, and the like.

What is probably more surprising is the general expectation of "salvation" that seems to be devolved to the plans, together with the inevitable consequent discomfort for the systematic non-accomplishment of the plans. Welcome to the club! There is a long tradition in management studies that points out the bounded nature of human rationality and the limited value of management tools, like plans, as technologies of rationality (Simon 1947; Cyert and March 1963). This literature acknowledges the intrinsically messy nature of decision-making processes, including notions of

uncertainty, ambiguity, and emergent behavior, as opposed to the "Olympic rationality" (Simon 1983) that instead constitutes the rhetoric (but just the rhetoric) of plans. Planning is not the elimination of uncertainty, ambiguity, and emergence. The production of plans is part of the messy, ambiguous, and ever-evolving decision-making processes that could actually be useful because they help address and monitor the ambiguities, complex interdependencies, consistencies, and potential inconsistencies between means and ends, objectives and resources, or even multiple needs and interests that characterize strategizing and organizing: planning is and can only be a process of learning, rather than design (Normann 1977).

Blind Spots in Site Management

Our textual analysis of site management in the case studies here collected reveals not only highlights (where the attention is addressed), but also blind spots (overlooked issues) which probably deserve more attention.

The Issue of Human Resources

In many instances, when reading the case studies presented in this book, we could not fully understand how many employees were involved in site administration, what their competences were, and to whom and for what they were accountable for. Who does what? Reporting to whom? Who is in charge of what?

This blind spot is surprising because in knowledge-intensive contexts such as heritage, one cannot talk about management without talking about the people (numbers and types of human resources) who work at a site. Conditions of feasibility and of sustainability of a site and even of success of a plan depend a lot on the availability and employability of human resources in adequate numbers and of adequate quality. Moreover, we should remember that in many countries the administration of heritage is highly intertwined with that of public administration. This means that employees are often public employees, with all the related (and often negative) consequences in terms of hiring procedures, incentive, and flexibility which cannot be overlooked (Ferri and Zan 2015; Lusiani and Zan 2015).

The Issue of Financial Resources

Another element to take into account if we want to fully talk about site management is a reconstruction of its internal economy (Lusiani and Zan 2015). Financial performance is certainly not the driver of decision making in the heritage sector—and it should not be. Yet this does not mean that financial figures can be overlooked.

Way before talking about fundraising, there are issues of financial resource needs and of sensitivity to costs that should become more central and explicit in site management. Similar to the issue of human resources, conditions of feasibility and of sustainability of a site, and even of success of a plan, depend a lot on the availability of adequate financial resources, or at least on the control of the dynamics of costs in relation to the activities in place or envisaged and of the overall financial resource needs at any moment.

Different alternative preservation activities or alternative courses of action, such as opening a visitor center, or initiating a new excavation, generate different costs. Yet discussions about the generation of alternatives that are also grounded on the implied costs are virtually absent in the field. Moreover, for any envisaged action, the discussion should always be articulated along two lines: the initial investment for the intervention and the current costs from then on. Often in heritage sites it is (relatively) easy to raise funds for an extraordinary intervention (such as the construction of a visitor center), but then there are enormous difficulties in securing resources to cover the current operational costs to run that visitor center, which often results in short-lived solutions. As trivial as it may sound, a reflection on the economic sustainability and a reconstruction of the internal economy of a site must be present in any discourse about site management and planning.

Managing by Numbers: A Call for Greater Attention

The two previous points can be subsumed as follows. "Management by numbers" is one of the features of modern management. Indeed, when we first looked at this book, we were surprised to see how little space was given to numbers (with a few exceptions for visitors' figures). The differences between a management-driven tradition of business planning and an urban-driven tradition in master planning can be astonishing, from this point of view. Although as critical management scholars, we are not seduced by the idea of developing sophisticated performance measurement systems—particularly in situations of institutional fragmentation—we call for a more open approach toward numbers in site management. There are many aspects calling for more "counting": money, human resources, and visitors, but also other issues involving professional projects. A better attitude in terms of counting would benefit site management in different ways. First, it would help anticipate consequences and future changes, making explicit hidden assumptions about them. Second, it would help site administrators to avoid solutions that "cannot fit" as soon as possible, fostering the development of more realistic and feasible scenarios. Lastly, and most importantly, counting would help learning processes, even when—as is normal—assumptions later appear to have been wrong or misleading. At least we can learn from mistakes.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we discussed three site management-related discourses emerging from the case studies collected in this book—participation, development, and administrative complexity—and we pinpointed three issues crying for further attention in the site management conversation—human resources, financial resources, and management by numbers.

The analysis confirms how the interest for management-related concepts and issues has moved across disciplinary boundaries: the majority of the authors of this book are, in fact, heritage practitioners or social scientists. The process seems to be, however, unidirectional: despite few exceptions, it is rare to find a similar attention to heritage among management scholars. It is therefore our hope that the highlights and blind spots presented in this chapter could also work as platforms to foster the engagement of our own scientific community around heritage-related issues.

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Chapter 18
Governance in UNESCO World Heritage Sites: Reframing the Role of Management Plans as a Tool to Improve Community Engagement

Matthias Ripp and Dennis Rodwell

Today's Perception of Cultural Heritage: Holistic Understanding and the Role of Communities

The framework of cultural heritage today is perceived far more broadly than by previous generations—including the pioneers of the preservation movement—as is its protection and safeguarding for future generations.

For the urban context, "Traditionally, planners viewed historic areas as a collection of monuments and buildings to be preserved as relics of the past, whose value was considered to be totally separate from their day-to-day use and city context" (Siravo 2014: 161). This materialistic approach to heritage was rooted in the physical appearance of monuments, material conditions and a traditional understanding of heritage preservation as a mainly material science, the province of conservators. Laurajane Smith has labelled this the "authorized heritage discourse" (Smith 2006). Throughout the world, but especially in Europe, this perception of cultural heritage remains very strong.

The traditional approach to the identification and delineation of cultural and natural heritage as *properties* is firmly embedded in the 1972 UNESCO *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (the *World Heritage Convention*) (UNESCO 1972). Under "Definitions", Article 1 simply embraces *monuments*, *groups of buildings* and *sites* as "cultural heritage".

Whereas the 1964 *Venice Charter*—adopted by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) in 1965 as its founding doctrinal text—with its

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passing references to "setting" and "some socially useful purpose" (ICOMOS 1965) may be interpreted, in hindsight, as presaging shift in direction, and Article 5(a) of the 1972 Convention expressed the aspiration "to adopt a general policy which aims to give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community and to integrate the protection of that heritage into comprehensive planning programmes", the major shift is far more recent.

2005, for example, saw the adoption of the *Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* (the *Faro Convention*) (Council of Europe 2005). Under "Aims of the Convention", Article 1c reads: "the conservation of cultural heritage and its sustainable use have human development and quality of life as their goal". Referring to society as "constantly evolving", "the need to put people and human values at the centre of an enlarged and cross-disciplinary concept of cultural heritage", and "the need to involve everyone in society in the ongoing process of defining and managing cultural heritage", the *Faro Convention* articulated a sea change in perceptions. And as Cameron and Rössler note in Chap. 1, the 2003 and 2005 UNESCO Conventions (UNESCO 2003; UNESCO 2005b) emphasise "the fundamental role of civil society", an issue that later editions of the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* only introduced retrospectively.[1]

The modern understanding of cultural heritage is fluid and dynamic. At core, it represents a holistic understanding that perceives cultural heritage as "a social and political construct encompassing all those places, artefacts and cultural expressions inherited from the past which, because they are seen to reflect and validate our identity as nations, communities, families and even individuals, are worthy of some form of respect and protection" (Labadi and Logan 2015: xiii). From an object-based approach, heritage is understood as a system of diverse entities with an increasingly strong emphasis on communities and the varied use of heritage by them over time (Kalman 2014; Sandholz 2017). In the context of the case studies in this book, this shift has important implications for the *management* as well as the *development* of UNESCO World Heritage Sites.

Together with today's understanding of management and communications, developed from traditional, linear cause-and-effect models to complex, systemic processes, this opens the door to different approaches to site management. Strategies for the coordination of stakeholders and community participation, all focused on generating benefits for local communities, are now centre stage for the management of World Heritage Sites (Göttler and Ripp 2017).

The shift in the relative roles of experts and host communities is epitomised by a corresponding change in emphasis in international documents. The *top-down* 1975 *European Charter* reads (at Principle 9): "The public should be properly informed [about architectural heritage] because citizens are entitled to participate in decisions affecting their environment" (Council of Europe 1975, Principle 9). By comparison, the 2014 *Florence Declaration on Heritage and Landscape as Human Values*, under

[1] UNESCO, 2005–2016, *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*.

the section "Bottom-up approach for effective conservation and management of heritage", reads: "It is important to establish an active role for communities within formal planning/management systems […] The role of heritage professionals should be recognized as being that of providing technical advice in community-led conservation initiatives and that of a facilitator when a community's engagement with its heritage is fragmented" (ICOMOS 2014, recommendation 4.2).

These documents are not specific to World Heritage and, as with most "international" texts (Ripp and Rodwell 2015, Appendix, pp. 263–271), including the 1972 Convention itself, are framed largely from a European perspective, as is the concept of *management plans*. Interpreting standardised concepts to the global spectrum of geo-cultural contexts is one of the unresolved issues manifest in the case studies in this book.

Heritage, Management and Governance

Acknowledging that heritage is now better understood as being both determined by and the responsibility of local communities, their participation from the outset is clearly essential to reach a common understanding of the objectives connected to it (Ripp and Rodwell 2016). To shape this action space for the best possible benefit, the identification and integration of all stakeholders are essential.

Definitions of *stakeholder* are various, from those institutions and individuals who have a dominant political and financial interest in a place to anyone who has physical or intellectual access to it. For the purposes of this chapter, three classifications are useful: primary, direct users (local community); secondary, indirect users (incoming traders, consumers and tourists, service providers, and other employment and visitor-related categories); and tertiary, influential (governmental, non-governmental, academia and outside investors).[2] Engaging with citizens as the primary stakeholders matches closest with the shift in roles discussed above.

The complexities and interrelationships inherent in today's comprehension of cultural heritage—community oriented, dynamic rather than static, systemic not linear—demand management systems, especially within administrations and institutions, that replace "the usual sector or one-dimensional approaches with new transversal or multidimensional ones, aligning different policy areas and resources … taking into account the role of each part in the whole structure" (European Union 2010). It is the *communities of practice* (Wenger 1998), the informal, self-generating networks that condition whether an organisation functions as a dynamic *system*, and are critical to its ability to function effectively in today's world.

[2] Credit for this classification: Tania Ali Soomro, ICOMOS-Pakistan and masters student at the Raymond Lemaire International Centre for Conservation, KU Leuven, in her presentation at the ICOMOS Theory and Philosophy International Scientific Conference, "How to Assess Built Heritage?", Florence, Italy, March 2015.

Governance that connects and integrates the economic, social, environmental and cultural dimensions of sustainability—which have a critical presence in varying degrees in all World Heritage Sites—is essential for their successful management. Systems thinking, the process of understanding how things influence one another within a whole, is central to this (Capra and Luisi 2014). In nature, examples include ecosystems in which various elements such as air, water, movement, plants and animals work together to survive or perish. In organisations, systems consist of people, structures and processes that act to make an organisation "healthy" or "unhealthy". It is an approach to problem solving that views "problems" as parts of an overall system, rather than reacting to specific parts, outcomes or events, and potentially contributing to further development of unintended consequences. It has been described as "a way of thinking that gives us the freedom to identify root causes of problems and see new opportunities" (Meadows 2009).

For this, the terminology of the *Operational Guidelines*, which explicitly provides under the section "management systems"[3] for "an appropriate management plan *or* [authors' italics] other documented management system", cannot be overemphasised. Especially in the context of the case studies in this book, it is important to distinguish between *management systems*—which reflect and are responsive to continuous, primarily dynamic processes that balance needs and opportunities within any given community—and *management plans*—which constitute a documentary tool in time, often formulated outside the host community, and are primordially static whatever the provisions for periodic revision and updating.

Whereas Chap. 1 (Christina Cameron and Mechtild Rössler) includes several references to *traditional protection* (also *knowledge*) and *management systems* (also *practices*), and recognises the "broad concept of 'management mechanisms', as opposed to the narrower 'management plan'", neither that nor Chap. 2 (Birgitta Ringbeck) adequately reflects the *operational* distinction between *systems* and *plans*. Further, neither anticipates what a *documented* management system looks like (other than general provisions),[4] nor relates the distinction to available human resources, whether at national or local level, a factor that is especially important given the widely varied geo-cultural contexts within which the 1972 Convention operates. Several of the case studies in this book evidence a struggle to accommodate the anticipation of a *management plan* where a *management system* could well be more appropriate[5] (see UNESCO 2013).

Generalised from the Italian context, the disconnection between national and international guidelines for management plans and the implementation of effective management practices at community level is a main theme of Chap. 3 (Francesco Badia). A more extreme discordance is related in relation to the Khami site in Zimbabwe by Simon and Violah Makuvaza (Chap. 9).

[3] *Operational Guidelines*, 2016, paras 108–118.

[4] *Operational Guidelines*, 2016, para 111.

[5] As Chap. 1 describes, the holistic management of sites beyond a simplistic approach to OUV is amplified in *Managing Cultural World Heritage* (World Heritage Resource Manual), 2013, Paris: World Heritage Center.

Management Plans as a Model to Enhance the Governance of Heritage Sites?

Heritage management is an extremely wide topic (Pickard 2015). The nature of objects and sites, local cultures, parameters such as location, financial situation, ownership and use render each case specific and the transferability of concepts and models difficult (Ripp and Rodwell 2015).The cluster of issues and ongoing challenges raised in this collection of case studies benefits from a positive degree of geo-cultural commonality, with most from the Africa continent, and supporting cases from the Americas, Asia and Europe.

The most important topic is the *benefit for local communities*. Allowing for the fact that the definition of communities is far from clear (Aas et al. 2005), a weakness in many narratives on heritage and development is that the preservation of objects or artefacts is often presented as the most important objective. If this narrative is reversed, to put the benefit for local communities at the forefront and heritage activities as the means, this can enhance the chances for positive results[6] (Council of Europe 2017). This benefit comes in many different forms: monetary benefit is often discussed, but there are other levels such as the use of a site for multiple community purposes, be they recreational activities, traditional practices including religion, communal spaces for social gatherings and numerous others.

John F. Doershuk (Chap. 5) cites the successful example of Cahokia Mounds State Park, the United States, where, interestingly, the founding idea of this institution in 1931 was to "preserve, restore and interpret (based on research) the cultural development of the site for the mutual benefit of the citizens of Illinois and the *world* [authors' italics]" (Illinois Department of Conservation 1980: 2). In the case of Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, Canada (also Chap. 5), a site that "intentionally does not have a comprehensive management plan", an ongoing partnership between the Blackfoot-speaking people has engaged significantly with this community in the interpretation of the site and their culture. Curricula for rock art education, outreach and community engagement feature in discussion of the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Park, South Africa, by Aron Mazel (Chap. 11).

Connected with the benefit for local communities is the *integration of different interests and stakeholders*, often referred to as the *integrated approach* (Ripp 2013; European Commission 2014). For local communities and stakeholders to benefit from their cultural heritage, the balanced integration of different interests is the first important step. Some authors have provided positive experiences in connection with their management plan. For Robben Island, South Africa, Pascall Taruvinga (Chap. 14) describes how the management system has contributed to the balance of different interests, provides an integrated framework for conservation and use, is horizontally integrated in existing broader frameworks, and seems to have been at least partially successful in overcoming a typical "silo-mentality":

[6] The COMUS Project offers an example of this (Council of Europe 2017).

> The integrated approach brings together the cultural, natural and social elements of the Island. It provides an integrated framework for protecting and conserving the outstanding universal value (OUV) of the site. The management of cultural landscapes such as Robben Island is a continuous process whose ultimate goal is to promote the conservation and utilization of cultural resources. […] This integrative model goes beyond the mandate to conserve the World Heritage Site and it treats it as a symbiotic system with values such as tourism, transportation systems and marine operations that are interdependent.

Positive experiences are also described in relation to Monte Alban, Mexico, by Nelly Robles García and Jack Corbett (Chap. 4), where their understanding of site management as *social management* values the important role of all those involved in the process (see also below). For Yangzhou City, China, Wang Renyu and Chen Xi (Chap. 7) represent the positive role that archaeological parks can play in balancing different uses and integrating the needs of different stakeholders in the Chinese context of rapid urbanisation. In the broader territorial context of the Gordion Archaeological Park, Central Anatolia, Nida Naycı and Halil Demirdelen (Chap. 8) expand upon this theme. The challenge of balancing different interests is a common thread: in the African context (Chaps. 9–14), and in the European context in Bamberg, Germany (Chap. 16).

In several examples, *basic physical needs* such as *the physical conditions of the site and accessibility* are described as challenging. This is a critical point that needs further investigation and action. The accessibility of sites includes not only basic infrastructure like roads, water and electricity, but also all the facilities that make a site welcoming for local communities as well as visitors, including shaded places in hot climates, restrooms and provision for food and drinks. In some cases the lack of such infrastructure is preventing potential tourists from visiting sites, as described in the case of Gambia by Liza Gijanto and Baba Ceesey (Chap. 13).

Factors that determine whether or not such basic needs are met range from the availability of funding to *local governance* and *policy issues*. The concept of participatory governance, and the degree to which local communities and other stakeholders are integrated into management processes, is gaining importance (Bevir 2013). Policies and implementation of "Good Governance Principles" are important to ensure the balancing of different needs, the adherence to basic principles and values like democracy, participation and other basic human rights (Shipley and Kovacs 2008). For Matobo Hills, Zimbabwe, however, Paul Hubbard et al. (Chap. 12) describe how local dynamics and "national power matrixes" were not taken sufficiently into account, even when the management plan approach followed international guidelines. Governance issues have also played a role at Ouro Preto, Brazil, concerning which Rita Juliana Soares Poloni et al. (Chap. 15) evidence how discussion and change in format of the management plan have hindered its implementation.

Several of the chapters admit that systems and policies for good conservation practice were not in place and the necessary human resources, including skilled site managers, were insufficient. Even if "Good Governance" is theoretically in place, the *integration* and *implementation* of objectives agreed in a management plan are not always easy to achieve. One obstacle can be lack of funding, as described for

Khami, Zimbabwe, by Simon and Violah Makuvaza (Chap. 9), and another, the lack of integration of management plans with other existing planning instruments, as described for Matobo Hills by Paul Hubbard et al. (Chap. 12).

Issues of security and political stability can also hinder implementation, also a lack of interaction and integration between scientific findings and practical objectives in conservation and heritage management. For Italy, Francesco Badia (Chap. 3) mentions that the development of management plans was essentially done in order to meet formal requirements, rather than focusing on the implementation of sustainable management practices. A form of "tick-box mentality", with contrived "performance indicators", this is unfortunately far too common in the World Heritage context, including in Periodic Reporting.

The idea to use world heritage management plans for *integrated and balanced development* has been explored in the URBACT II Project HerO (Heritage as Opportunity), where the overall narrative for the process of management-plan development has been directed at corresponding the stories of preservation *and* development (City of Regensburg; Ripp et al. 2011).

Archaeology is often closely related with urban development, because urban interventions at a larger scale stimulate the need to address issues of urban archaeology. For Yangzhou city, China, Wang Renyu and Chen Xi (Chap. 7) identify the need for mechanisms to integrate archaeological research with urban development.

Addressing the Central Asian Silk Roads, Ona Vileikis et al. (Chap. 6) identify "indiscriminate rapid development" and "lack of consultation with relevant bodies, quick decisions and speedy execution" as one of the main threats in Uzbekistan, equally noting that the preparation of integrated management plans under the UNESCO *historic urban landscape approach*, with its inclusive processes encompassing specialists from all fields and the community, has been a positive step for the protection of Bukhara and other historic centres in the country.

Looking at the case studies and the identified categories of issues from a helicopter view, it is evident that the complex instrument of management plans is only working for the benefit of local communities and to improve the management of sites if the preconditions and basic instruments, tools and resources are in place. This is geo-culturally and politically highly variable.

Heritage Management and Community-Based Development

As Chap. 1 relates, with the global expansion of the World Heritage List, the perceived need for standardised tools for management planning rapidly gained ground. With limited human and financial resources, the World Heritage Centre's endeavour to oversee 1073 (as of July 2017) World Heritage Sites across six continents has led to a decentralised form of control instruments, a number of which depend on quantitative data and analysis (including monitoring), which may be more appropriate for natural heritage sites than for cultural heritage sites (Krenz and Sax 1986).

Management plans have often been focused on the physical conservation of the site (Kalman 2014; Ruoss 2016). Only recently have new methodologies for management plans been developed that are concentrating more on the balancing of different needs and stakeholders (Scheffler et al. 2009; Ripp et al. 2014). As such, the narrative of using heritage as a resource for community development is rapidly gaining ground (Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015; UNESCO 2016a, b). Management plans as a methodology are therefore changing: from focusing mainly on policies for preservation and conservation to the enhancement of communication and ongoing possibilities to implement what Mark Bevir (2013) calls "participatory governance", thereby placing community needs and benefits more to the fore.

There remains a strong debate in the international heritage community, especially where urban world heritage sites are concerned and in the context first of the 2005 UNESCO *Vienna Memorandum* (UNESCO 2005a), and then of the 2011 UNESCO *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (UNESCO 2011), over concepts such as the "management of change" or, as others favour, the "management of continuity", in which the definition of values beyond OUV is more nuanced and inclusive (UNESCO 2013). The increasing focus on community development in all heritage activities is resulting in the need for tools and instruments that are able to integrate the needs of local communities much more strongly than they have been in the past (Council of Europe 2016).

The examples described in this book clearly make the case that only those management planning processes where the community has been strongly integrated from the beginning are clearly seeing benefits from their heritage.

The Human Factor: Site Managers and Community Engagement

There is no shortage of guidance by international and national organisations on heritage management, but little common understanding of heritage management in practice. Guidebooks and manuals reflect the meta-view on the subject, aiming to create conceptual frameworks, while missing key issues that can be crucial on the ground. Risks and obstacles to implementation are rarely covered. Examples of projects are commonly presented as best practice, but the selection and documentation of examples do not take sufficiently into account the transferability of the projects, the level of innovation required and the competencies and roles of coordinators.

The human factor of heritage management, in terms of resources and skills, is often not present and rarely understood. In the UNESCO World Heritage Centre's publication, *Managing Cultural World Heritage* (UNESCO 2013) for example, there are few references to heritage managers, and there is no definition of their role and qualifying skills or how to establish appropriate working conditions. And the indicative structure for management plans included by Birgitta Ringbeck in Chap. 2

(Ringbeck 2008) is not supported by guidance on how to start the process with a good scoping, how to design the process of participation, definition of the vital role of heritage managers and how implementation can be guaranteed. If heritage is understood as a key component of a complex system, the human factor deserves far more attention.

In several of the case studies throughout this book, also in the discourse analysis in "Making Sense of Site Management" by Maria Lusiani et al. (Chap. 17), we can clearly see how important this *human factor* is. Not only in the sense that without empowered specialists the complex integration of different stakeholders is very hard to achieve, but also in a deeper sense that without thorough attention to the needs of local communities and the benefits that cultural heritage can have for them, it is hard to find sufficient motivation for the elemental protection of the sites.

For Khami, Zimbabwe, Simon and Violah Makuvaza (Chap. 9) express the discordance clearly:

> At the time of developing the management plan, there were only four workers based at Khami. The administration of the site was done from the Natural History Museum in Bulawayo. Archaeologists would occasionally visit the site to update themselves on the conservation needs of the site.
>
> With no accommodation and working space, the proposal to employ a heritage manager, a civil engineer and a display artist could not be achieved.
>
> While the restoration programme at Khami generated a great deal of data, not a single book, post card, brochure or guide book was produced as a way of marketing the site to visitors as was proposed in the management plan. In addition, the new museum in which the literature was proposed to be displayed was never constructed.
>
> Lack of experience in implementing World Heritage management plans is also one of the major reasons that contribute to the failure to effectively implement the Plans.

For the Maloti-Drakensberg Park, South Africa, Ghilraen Laue et al. (Chap. 10) clarify the importance of local support:

> Making sites marketable […] entails making them relevant to people not only from overseas but within South Africa and within the local communities themselves. In turn, part of this procedure feeds recursively back into the community when local people are employed as custodians and/or field technicians. Additionally, the local public, especially custodians, are a crucial link to cultural heritage specialists in the ongoing effort to conserve heritage resources. Nowhere is an integrated approach including these factors more important.
>
> The more knowledge gained by the public, the more likely people are to value it and commit resources for its preservation and management.

In the Italian context, Francesco Badia (Chap. 3) writes of the importance of management skills and participatory governance:

> These [possible] paths [of development] are built on the concepts of accountability, participation and control in a managerial sense. However, an acquisition of broader managing skills among individuals responsible for cultural heritage is essential for the development of these concepts. These individuals often do not appear to have sufficient knowledge tools to manage the complexity arising from the integration of instances of protection and enhancement coming from the needs of the community.
>
> In the light of these results, the overall picture is rather negative: the management plan, which, if properly interpreted, could ensure a real improvement for a WHS in its purposes

> of preservation and development of cultural and natural heritage, appears more like a missed opportunity for the Italian WHSs.
>
> In addition, the study of the single Italian management plans shows the gaps also from the point of view of stakeholder participation in the prioritization of aims and decision-making processes. The actual adoption of participatory governance could also solve the problem of accountability: the adoption of participatory policies would make all stakeholders aware of the ongoing policies of preservation and development and more interested in checking out what has been effectively accomplished.

For Monte Alban, Mexico, Nelly Robles García and Jack Corbett (Chap. 4) address cross-sector and—disciplinary team—working:

> An emphasis on improved technical or disciplinary training for site/park managers, e.g. advanced degrees in archaeology for archaeologists, does not automatically prepare them for the dynamics of interaction across the site-society interface. Successful management of cross-boundary matters requires skill sets and perspectives integrating insights from several disciplines and a capacity to negotiate.
>
> Managing Monte Alban today is a multidisciplinary endeavour. No matter what the formal training of senior site staff they must be open to the perspectives and knowledge of specialists drawn from many fields.
>
> For these reasons we refer to site management at Monte Alban as *social management* [as above] as its core reflects the need to coordinate relationships with individuals, groups, agencies, vendors and other stakeholders.
>
> It is valuable to have a site director knowledgeable in archaeological techniques or the history of Zapotec civilization; it is essential to have a director with the capacity to work across organizational boundaries and address multiple constituencies. Site staff needs to appreciate the contributions all make to a team effort, not envision the site as primarily an arena that must respond to the priorities of their specialty. Creating a team is in itself an important dimension of site leadership, and overseeing its effective interaction internally as well as its engagement with interests beyond site boundaries makes for new and often daunting challenges.

In their case study of Bamberg, Germany, Michael Kloos and Patricia Alberth (Chap. 16) expand on the shortage of guidance on participatory processes:

> […] participation in urban UNESCO World Heritage sites should not be seen as a "universal remedy", but rather as a well-adapted means to support necessary steps to sustain their OUV. Pertinent manuals for World Heritage management plans generally appeal for participation […] However, it is barely explained in such manuals that participation processes have to be adapted to the respective site, how scoping processes work in detail and which elements they have to contain. There is also hardly any literature with relation to urban World Heritage Sites which informs about the fact that participation processes can differ crucially from each other. They can be designed in an open and transparent bottom-up manner, but they can also be conceived and used as an "alibi" to justify top-down decisions, which are already taken prior to such processes.

Summary and Conclusions

Respecting the *Operational Guidelines*, an important distinction needs to be emphasised between two typologies. First, a *management system*—a complete, integrated governance system that includes policies, people, sites and artefacts—is dynamic

and subject to potentially substantive change over time, acts to safeguard the values as well as the use of a site and affords priority to traditional protection systems and practices at community level. Second, a *management plan*—a tool, generally devised outside the host community, often with prescribed parameters and time-limited objectives, the concept, methodologies and language for which essentially derive from a European/Western approach to corporate management, including to hierarchies of linear working practices, monitoring and accountability.

In a strong sense, geo-cultural distinctiveness, including in regions and countries where the basics of heritage and conservation are not developed according to Eurocentric models, should guide the context for *management systems* compared to *management plans*. The international literature does not, however, underscore this.

Discordances between the structure and content of management plans and their implementation in practice are a universal concern. Several of the case studies in this book highlight discordances between the viewpoints and expectations of heritage experts and local communities, including a shortage of interdisciplinary management capacity on the part of the former, and understanding and engagement with the latter, both of which are conditions for the successful management of World Heritage Sites. In the context of Africa, the challenge and the opportunity are summed up well by Pascall Taruvinga in Chap. 14:

> The "integrated approach" with enablers, which links the various components and the various mandates of the site under the custody of different stakeholders, could be an important element in managing cultural landscapes in Africa. The approach promotes active participation, dialogue and collective decision making processes among the stakeholders. […] the integrated approach requires coordination across stakeholders and their respective functions and an extremely disciplined management authority, of which these ingredients lack in most heritage institutions given their bias towards traditional and ensconced responsibilities.

The *human factor*, the key to successful stakeholder mediation, is largely absent from the literature on World Heritage management; and knowledge—and adaptation where necessary—of local governance structures needs far closer examination. Positioning the *needs* and *benefits* to local communities today should be at the core of all heritage activities.

In short, effective governance in UNESCO World Heritage Sites demands a reframing of the role of *management plans* as a tool to significantly improve community engagement at local level and also to be aware of their limitations. Allied to this is a change of emphasis, especially in regional and national locations where they are more appropriate, in favour of the alternative provision that is set out in the *Operational Guidelines*, namely *management systems*.

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Erratum to: Concerning Heritage: Lessons from Rock Art Management in the Maloti-Drakensberg Park World Heritage Site

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The original version of this chapter had only the first affiliation details updated for Dr. Ghilraen Laue. This has been corrected and the second affiliation details also has been updated as follows:

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