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Ana Pereira Roders *Editors*

Going Beyond

Perceptions of Sustainability in Heritage Studies No. 2

Springer

Heritage Studies

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Editors

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Preface

The fifth publication in the Heritage Studies series (for the other publications please see http://heritagestudies.eu/en/category/publications/) was conceptualised in the beginning of 2015 when the chairholder of the UNESCO Chair in Heritage Studies, on the occasion of the 39th session of the World Heritage Committee in Bonn, partnered with the German UNESCO Commission and the Gerda Henkel Foundation to host an international symposium on "The Four Pillars of Sustainability for the Implementation of the UNESCO Conventions and Programmes". The background of this symposium was, on the one hand, the key theme of the World Heritage Committee, which was heritage as a driver for sustainable development, and, on the other hand, a presentation of the fourth book in the Heritage Studies series titled *Perceptions of Sustainability in Heritage Studies*.

The event was carried out in the form of think tanks in which approximately 100 participants discussed and explored the four pillars of sustainability – economic sustainability, social sustainability, environmental sustainability and cultural sustainability – with the intention to collect materials for the current publication. In light of this publication, we can gladly say that we have succeeded with our objective. Most of the essays published in this book were presented and discussed during the think tanks at the symposium in Bonn. In this respect, the book can be considered as a result of the most salient reflections of global protagonists of the discourse on the sustainable protection and use of heritage.

Therefore, we would like to take this opportunity to thank the Gerda Henkel Foundation and the German Federal Environmental Foundation (Deutsche Bundesstiftung Umwelt) for their financial support of both the implementation of the think tanks and the completion of this book. Without their generous support, neither one would have been possible.

The editors

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Paris, France — Francesco Bandarin
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This book would not have been possible without our Advisory Board, who ensures quality of the Heritage Studies series. The board, credited previously in the title pages, consists of internationally and interdisciplinary recognised experts who ensure the paradigmatic direction as well as the multidisciplinary approach of the series on the highest level. We therefore wish to thank them for their support. Their expertise, guidance and personal insights were instrumental in shaping this publication. Further details about the board members can be found on the Heritage Studies Institute website, http://heritagestudies.eu/en/expertise/advisory-board/.

The editors of this book were furthermore supported by an independent Scientific Peer Review Committee composed of recognised experts in the field of heritage research. We therefore wish to thank Marc Jacobs, Simon Makuvaza, Clara Rellensmann, Dennis Rodwell, Roslyn Russell, Ilse Schimpf-Herken, Friedrich Schipper and Minja Yang. The committee reviewed, evaluated, ranked and rated research papers based on internationally established procedures and guidelines. The editors would also like to thank Shane Cullen for his effective and constructive copy editing. Further information about the Scientific Peer Review Committee can be found on the Heritage Studies Institute website, http://heritagestudies.eu/en/.

Last but not least, we would like to thank all of our contributors for their effort and unfailing dedication throughout the stages of the publication process.

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Francesco Bandarin is the UNESCO Assistant Director-General for Culture. He is professor of urban planning and conservation at the University IUAV of Venice (currently on leave). From 2000 to 2011, he was director of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre and secretary of the World Heritage Convention. He is president of the Italian Association of the Historic Cities (ANCSA), member of the Visiting Committee of the Getty Conservation Institute in Los Angeles and member of the Steering Committee of the Aga Khan Award for Architecture. His recent publications include *The Historic Urban Landscape: Managing Heritage in an Urban Century*, 2012, and *Reconnecting the City: The Historic Urban Landscape Approach and the Future of Urban Heritage*, 2015, both co-authored with Ron van Oers and published by Wiley-Blackwell.

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Introduction

Marie-Theres Albert, Francesco Bandarin, and Ana Pereira Roders

Sustainability and sustainable development are objectives that were already adopted by the international community in the late 1980s. As paradigms they have influenced the development goals of societies, mainly in the industrialized world; ever since the results of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), the so-called Brundtland Commission was released in 1987. Sustainability and sustainable development can be seen as a reaction to the massive destruction of natural and built environments, as well as natural and historical resources, as a result of the processes of unbridled economic growth that occurred mainly in the industrialized world in the second half of the twentieth century.

Thus, this is one point of origin of this publication; sustainability and sustainable development are paradigms intended to give answers to developments directly based on the modernization processes in the developed world. The transference of those paradigms, and their implantation, to developing countries, in many cases, does not at all meet the needs and realties of their societies and their heritage.

During the last 10 years, the importance of sustainability in the protection of cultural and natural heritage has been increasingly recognized, in both research and practice. The concept has been implemented in the form of predefined

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strategies and sections, diverse documents and agreements discussed and adopted during continuously held meetings and sessions of the UN's organs, specialized agencies and expert working groups as well as via international discourses and publications of members of the non-UN and UNESCO expert society.[1] Again during the 39th session of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee in July 2015, in Bonn, a new policy document on World Heritage and Sustainable Development was adopted.[2]

Today, sustainable development as a guiding principle for the management of tangible, intangible and natural heritage, in view of the processes of modernization, is more important than ever because societies', and their members', interest in the heritage of humankind has changed since the adoption of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in 1972. That interest, previously concerned with protecting the heritage of humankind against the diverse problems of modernisation and environmental developments, today becomes more and more focused on economic development. Therefore, a *discourse on heritage and sustainability* is needed because economic development and sustainable development sometimes contradict each other. In light of this, a publication which goes beyond the current discourse is needed. But what does *beyond the current discourse* mean in regard to heritage, sustainability and sustainable development?

As this publication illustrates, today's understanding of sustainable development considers modernity as a constructive category which has to be taken as reality and used in a way that builds on a positive notion of development. Here *beyond* means first of all a reflection of the current discourse on sustainability and sustainable development concerning the tangible, intangible and natural heritage. This discourse reflects the discussion proposed in the first book, *Perceptions of Sustainability in Heritage Studies*,[3] and addresses specifically critical reflection on the popularization of the concept of sustainability.

Therefore, in this book *beyond* means to leave behind a Eurocentric interpretation of heritage, sustainability and sustainable development. Sustainability as a concept is a cultural construction based on development processes in Europe in the last century. As such, going beyond also means departing from the post-colonial interpretation[4] behind the discourse. It means to reflect the visions of experts from around the world and their specific perception on development and modernisation.

At the same time, this means opening up to a broader range of scientific and academic backgrounds. It means listening to voices from the fields of architecture as

[1] Further information in terms of additional literature, declarations, recommendations, etc. we have prepared in different annexes concerning the different types of heritage and sustainability in general and specifically.

[2] "For the integration of a sustainable development policy perspective into the processes of the World Heritage Convention". This policy document was adopted by the General Assembly of the States Parties to the Convention at its 20 Session (Paris, 2015), by its Resolution 20 GA 13.

[3] Marie-Theres Albert (ed.) *Perceptions of Sustainability in Heritage Studies*, De Gruyter 2015.

[4] Both the term Eurocentric and the term post-colonial are taken from the heritage discourse defining heritage as social process which has been initiated by Laurajane Smith and her Association of Critical Heritage Studies.

well as social sciences, cultural studies as well as conservation sciences and so on. On the one hand, it means considering the diversity of the cultures of the world, their specific problems, backgrounds, perceptions and goals. On the other hand, it also means considering the diversity in formats of expression, in terms of structuring contents and writing styles, as well as the diverse perceptions echoed by the authors. *Going beyond* is therefore a publication which offers a rich diversity of perspectives, from all around the world, and their corresponding interpretations on the relation between heritage and sustainability.

Framework Conditions and Relevance

For more than 40 years, the protection of the cultural and natural heritage of humankind has been regulated according to the UNESCO World Heritage Convention. As it has been precisely mentioned in the preamble of this convention, protection strategies are needed due to the impacts of the societal modernization processes. For instance, a staggering number of 1052 inscribed sites are witness to the enormous attractiveness of the World Heritage List. Indeed, this hype of inscription is above and beyond its original goals.

Therefore, the dangers caused by the increased uses of World Heritage properties must be mentioned. Such uses include mass tourism or any other commercial use of heritage assets. Continuous damage to tangible and natural heritage also has to be considered in relation to climate change and CO_2 emissions, e.g. the frequent desertification of cultural landscapes and the reduction in biodiversity.

Similarly, the Convention on the Intangible Heritage has to also be mentioned. Sustainability and sustainable development in the implementation of this convention have, of course, also been discussed and considered in different expert meetings and corresponding documents.[5] The impressive number of 314 elements on the *Representative List* of intangible heritage, from all around the world, and, in some cases, the justifications for their inscription also demonstrates common interests beyond sustainability. However, intangible heritage also suffers from processes of stereotyping in the non-expert community.

Also here, the implementation of this convention, with the increasing interest of commercialization of intangible heritage expressions by many stakeholders, demands for a broader discussion on sustainability, which is *beyond* the existing practices. For example, the gap between the commodification and sustainability strategies of this convention are exposed by the 38 inscriptions in the category *Urgent Safeguarding* and by the 12 *Best Practice* examples, which are exclusively based on sustainability concepts and sustainable development strategies.

Today more than ever, tangible and intangible heritage is affected by demographic changes or migration processes. The phenomena of gentrification in cities also have to

[5] See Annex Intangible Heritage and Sustainability.

be mentioned. Further, war and terrorism, as well the looting of sites for illegal sales, are damaging tangible and intangible heritage and its corresponding values.

Last but not least, the need for sustainability has become a pressing issue in the face of rapid technological change, which also affects documentary heritage preservation. Therefore, the Memory of the World Programme (MoW) must also be considered when sustainable development strategies are considered. The MoW register currently has 301 entries worldwide and can be seen as driving force in the recognition of this specific heritage. The perception of this book, namely, the *beyond* of current protection and use strategies, has thus to be discussed considering this programme.

As shown, the documentary, the tangible, intangible and natural heritage have achieved great popularity throughout the world and far beyond the realm of the expert community. The popularity of the UNESCO conventions and programmes has helped to ensure that people — regardless of their age, status or cultural affiliations — know what World Heritage, intangible heritage and the Memory of the World are and what objects and artefacts they represent. The conventions can thus be seen as a driver for the dissemination and implementation of sustainable protection concepts worldwide.

But this too has become a problem; the more popular the conventions and UNESCO programmes become, the more they risk contradicting their original goals. The protection and use of cultural and natural heritage no longer unreservedly adhere to the criteria of sustainability. In many cases it can be observed how, due to unrestricted use and financially oriented goals, World Heritage properties are being damaged or even destroyed. The inscriptions of intangible heritage have, in some cases, risked bypassing the spirit of the convention, with interest for the inscription of elements being largely linked to their economic values, rather than cultural or identity values.

Clearly, there is nothing wrong with the conventions and programmes of UNESCO but rather with how they are implemented at national and/or local levels. Thus, the aim of this publication is to search for solutions that may bring their implementation more in line with their original goals.

The heritage of humankind and its memory is today, more than ever, exposed to dangers that need to be confronted on the basis of innovative concepts of sustainability and sustainable development. This includes considering perceptions and problems and presenting sustainable solutions, not only from European perspectives but from all regions of the world. Furthermore, it includes approaches which do not exclusively follow European scientific legitimation and justification of sustainable development but also apply experiences from other parts of the world. A broad selection of non-European ideas and perceptions is presented in this publication. The editors of the publication have actively involved stakeholders and scientists, heritage experts and policy-makers from all regions of the world. The book thus provides an opportunity to reflect upon frameworks, paradigms or practical examples to go beyond the current discourse on heritage and sustainability.

Conclusions

As mentioned previously, the idea for this publication emerged from a reflection on the problems, discourses and problem-solving strategies presented in the book *Perception of Sustainability in Heritage Studies* No1. Even though these discourses were, and still are, important and should be implemented, they reflect and represent mainly the European perspective. Today, more than ever it is important to identify strategies that take as starting points the documents adopted by UNESCO and other UN organs but move beyond them in a way which considers the challenges arising from their implementation at the national and/or local levels. The goal of this publication is to identify concepts for sustainable developments coming from all parts of the world and thus broaden the current discussions and approaches on heritage and sustainability in *heritage studies*.

On this basis, this publication will present approaches to sustainable development in the area of cultural and natural heritage protection, and their corresponding impacts, in order to tackle the problems of sustainable heritage protection worldwide. The readers of this publication should be aware of the necessity to develop innovative concepts that can provide solutions to special cultural, social, ecological or economic challenges. This will also, for example, require a mobilization of new and/or alternative target groups from developing countries, as well as further resultant paradigms for the sustainability discourse.

With our publication, *going beyond* existing political commitments, theoretical perceptions, paradigms, critical reflections and methods, beyond the mainstream, we hope to foster discussion and achieve a better understanding of the role of sustainability in heritage studies.

Introductory Reflections

The initial point for this publication presented by the editors in this introduction shall provide the reader with the conceptual background of this book, including a discourse on and a justification of the *beyond*. Sustainability and beyond – what does going beyond existing approaches of sustainability mean? Why do we need to go beyond? Does it mean that existing approaches are not sufficient to understand or to reflect the diversity of the world's interpretation of sustainability in heritage studies? In this chapter we will give interpretations of questions and answers on each of the papers presented in our publication with its specific understanding of heritage, sustainable development and going *beyond.*

It argues that even though African, Asian or Latin American scientists have interpreted specific conditions for sustainable development based on development processes in their regions, it is still the "Western" world which is represented in the discourses on heritage and sustainability. G*oing beyond* means therefore to construct

alternative theories and approaches to these discourses. It means presenting varied voices and their perceptions of heritage and sustainability; thus, it means to learn to distinguish between culturally, socially, economically and environmentally founded interests, also distinguishing between those coming from developing countries on the one hand and rich countries, where resources are more abundant and shared, on the other hand. Furthermore, it means to present and reflect that varied perceptions of heritage and sustainability exist and that they can be interpreted differently and presented in distinct styles of writing and reflection or in distinct methods.

Beyond the Current: New Political Commitments

As mentioned above, the current discourse on sustainability and sustainable development is based on the perceptions of sustainability and heritage which reflect the situation of the late twentieth century and its corresponding problems and needs. Therefore, the main aims in this chapter are twofold. On the one hand, this chapter reveals and discusses how heritage and sustainable development are defined and interpreted in the latest international discourses and documents. On the other hand, this chapter also explores the role of heritage in sustainable development. The role of culture is a very important issue in the context of heritage and sustainability. The heritage of individuals and of societies cannot be understood without culture. It is therefore evident that a publication on heritage and sustainability which is going beyond the current discourse has to include a reflection on, and about, culture as a driving force for sustainable development. As such, this chapter addresses the Sustainable Developments Goals (SDGs), adopted by the United Nations in September 2015 and other future-oriented international agreements and their backgrounds, including directly and indirectly integrated concepts and functions of culture. The papers in this chapter are primarily composed of presentations and analyses of documents, as well as their critical implementation in a conflicting world. Based on this, the chapter makes clear that today, more than ever, the *beyond* of the current discourse on heritage and sustainability can greatly benefit from critical reflections on possible implementations of the conventions in varied contexts.

Michael Turner's paper *Culture as an Enabler for Sustainable Development – Challenges for the World Heritage Convention in Adopting the UN Sustainable Development Goals* is about formulating a proactive cultural policy generated from the SDG 2015 for implementation in the context of World Heritage. The four directives that guide the policy design are "diversity, poverty, peace and non-violence, employment and cultural tourism, and managing heritage" which the author in turn links to the five Strategic Objectives of the World Heritage Committee (5Cs) in order to propose a creative way forward. In his theory, the author is mindful of the reality of World Heritage as an object-based approach and not a subject-based endeavour. He further emphasizes that the link between culture and sustainability, which is understood as human-based development, is not self-evident but has to be constructed and that this link relies on the relationship between a community and its cultural and natural environment.

Marie-Theres Albert discusses, in her paper *The Potential of Culture for Sustainable Development in Heritage Studies*, the function of culture as one of the most important drivers of and for human development and within the interface of heritage and sustainability. She reflects upon the current discussion about the four pillars of sustainability and emphasizes how this relatively new paradigm has enriched not only the scientific discourse but also the discourses within the UN organs and agencies since Brundtland. Additionally to Michael Turner, she presents the Millennium Development Goals and the related social aspects. An important message in this paper is the holistic definition of culture which includes the social, the economic as well as the environmental.

Barbara Engels' paper *Natural World Heritage and the Sustainable Development Goals* discusses the opportunities and challenges for integrating the SDGs into international conventions and policy frameworks across different sectors. In her discussion, the author focuses on policy as well as on the operational levels of the World Heritage Convention, providing examples from the natural heritage context. Based on her analysis of the latest policy documents, she not only defines areas of potential synergies and opportunities for cross-sectoral collaboration in general but also more specifically promotes the idea of strengthening the linkages between natural and cultural heritage protection, when working towards the achievement of the SDGs. The author warns that the development of policies towards single-goal outcomes conflicts with the SDG framework, while she promotes the idea of integrated planning to achieve the SDGs, for which *the World Heritage system with its universal scope would offer opportunities on all levels*.

Beyond Existing Approaches: New and Innovative Theoretical Perceptions

This chapter proposes new and innovative ideas, as well as inventive concepts on the meaning and use in the interface between heritage and sustainability, and their role in those processes. It furthermore includes theoretical developments on heritage studies and sustainable development, as well as new visions of future-oriented heritage protection strategies. Thus, the *beyond* in this chapter mainly reflects an understanding of heritage which is interpreted as source for human development, illustrated with specific examples. These are digital heritage which can be considered as source for individual and intellectual sustainability, similar to the diverse constructions of intangible heritage. Furthermore in this chapter the new and innovative discourse on sustainable heritage use and protection related to the achievement of resilience is presented.

Anca Claudia Prodan's paper on *The Sustainability of Digital Documentary Heritage* investigates the relationship between sustainability and digital documents. Based on a broad literature review, she argues that approaching the notion of access, as a multifaceted concept, is a prerequisite for ensuring the sustainability of digital documentary heritage. Due to the process of technological obsolescence, especially in the case of digital documents, the notion of access is most important.

However, this notion, she argues, is mainly conceptualized as technical access. Still, the notion has many other dimensions, which are usually ignored, such as motivational access, skills and usage access and cultural access. By ignoring these dimensions, all discussions about the sustainability of digital documentary heritage risk remaining incomplete. Her argument in favour of a more sensitive, nontechnical approach to the sustainability of digital documentary heritage is innovative and requires more attention in heritage studies.

Samantha Lutz and **Gertraud Koch** in their paper *Sustainability, Sustainable Development and Culture – Diverging Concepts and Practices in European Heritage Work* reflect on diverging and, to a certain extent, contrasting meanings of sustainability presented in the heritage discourses within UNESCO's conventions and programmes. The authors include two representative examples, the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) Convention and its corresponding message of sustainability and digital heritage as part of the Memory of the World Programme (MoW). Samantha Lutz and Gertraud Koch introduce their discourse on sustainability and sustainable development based on the Brundtland report and its incorporation into UNESCO and EU programmes. The very interesting thought, and at the same time, the beyond of the current discourse on culture in sustainability and/or sustainable development can be seen as a critical reflection on the key conclusions from the COST Action IS1007 Investigating Cultural Sustainability. That publication, edited by Joost Dessein, Katriina Soini, Graham Fairclough and Lummina Horlings, defined culture as *in, for and as* sustainable development. In the context of this definition of culture, and related to the ICH programme and the MoW concept of digital heritage, the authors here discuss *existing* and *non-existing* heritage in Germany, which barely includes the heritage of people living in urban communities, migrants or refugees. In their outlook, the authors draw new perspectives on how these gaps can be addressed in the future.

Shina-Nancy Erlewein's paper on *Culture, Development and Sustainability: The Cultural Impact of Development and Culture's Role in Sustainability* discusses the interrelation of culture and sustainable development. It investigates the role culture plays in sustainable development, as well as the impact of social transformation and of technological and cultural developments on heritage. Referring to the development goals adopted in 2015, the author presents a theoretical reflection of the existing paradigms of culture, sustainable development and intangible heritage. Furthermore, Shina-Nancy Erlewein explores the case study of the Kutiyattam Sanskrit theatre, in India, highlighting its continuous development, adaptation and transformation over the past centuries, all contributing to its sustainability. The paper provides answers to the pending question of what can be sustained by intangible heritage in a radically globalized world and outlines culture's role in enhancing economic, environmental and social development goals, while, at the same time, honouring their interrelations. This paper is an important contribution to this book because it presents a scientifically justified strategy for the implementation of culture and heritage.

Matthias Ripp analyses, in his paper *From Obstacle to Resource: How Built Cultural Heritage can Contribute to Resilient Cities,* the interrelation between

urban cultural heritage and its resilience. He describes how the perception of cultural heritage as an obstacle in urban planning procedures could be changed to the understanding of cultural heritage as a viable resource factor for different kinds of beneficial urban developments and adaptations. Endurance and change, simultaneously, present a major challenge that needs to be faced in the coming years. In his paper Ripp describes categories of resilience and their specification in built urban heritage. Urban centres need to be developed and adapted to meet modern needs and respond better to changes and threats. These changes can be of sudden nature, like disasters, or occur more slowly like an economic crisis or effects of climate change. In the framework of urban development and adaptation, physical heritage was often perceived as an obstacle. The understanding of urban heritage as a resource for urban resilience goes beyond the traditional paradigm of built heritage and opens new ways to integrate it into wider processes for sustainable urban development.

Shifts in the Understanding of Heritage and Sustainability

The fact that sustainability and sustainable development are as broadly interpreted as implemented is meanwhile accepted by communities' worldwide, independently whether they are composed of social, economic or disciplinary communities. They can also be interpreted in reference to diverse cultures, religions or ethnicities. This is the key message in this chapter, in which heritage and sustainability are reflected in the replacement of the classical concept. New ideas are presented, for instance, via expanding of authenticity through spirituality, expanding the perception of heritage including processes of personal development via sport and religion. Shifts are also illustrated in the context of archaeology presented via case studies. This paper compares the alleged international standards set to understand heritage and sustainability, versus a new and innovative perception, the so-called *contextual sustainability*. Contextual sustainability is not at all understood as a norm, but it is a paradigm which demands reflection on what is valuable for saving future needs and what is not, who the stakeholders involved in sustainable processes are and how decisions influencing sustainability are being taken and by whom. The *beyond* of the classical understanding of heritage and sustainability that is found in this chapter is mostly reflected in the integration of values and needs assumed to be led by the respective target group. For the tangible heritage, these shifts might be problematic, and for the appreciation of cultural diversity, these results can and shall promote new discussion and reflections.

Sara Anas Serafi and Kalliopi Fouseki's paper *Heritage Conservation and Sustainable Development in Sacred Places: Towards a New Approach* explores a new dimension of sustainability, namely, spirituality. As such, it can be seen as a paradigm shift on the one hand and as a critical reflection on the four pillars of sustainability on the other. Based on a case study in Mecca, the authors have confirmed that spirituality can be a driving force for sustainable development and for heritage protection. In this context, the *beyond* of the current understanding of heritage and

sustainability is evident. Explained based on qualitative research, carried out as an ethnographic study, Sara Anas Serafi and Kalliopi Fouseki could confirm that as long as the worshippers identify spirituality in the religious places, modernization processes are still considered welcome, although they might damage the authenticity of the historic urban landscape.

Allison Thompson's paper *Beyond Conventional Limits: Intangible Heritage Values and Sustainability Through Sport* discusses the relationship between sport and heritage while arguing for a shift in how we approach sustainability and the intangible heritage. Taking into account the positive power of sport in both social inclusion and the enculturation process, Thompson proposes the use of interdisciplinary and contextual sports-based programming as a vehicle for heritage safeguarding. Focusing on going beyond traditional and economic-based approaches, the author explains that sport, much like intangible heritage, is deeply engrained in our culture and is crucial to not only cultural transmission but also to social sustainability.

Caitlin Curtis' paper *Contextual Sustainability in Heritage Practice: Urbanization, Neighbourliness, and Community Dialogue in Akçalar, Turkey* presents an exemplary case study exploring how community involvement can be best achieved in archaeological heritage sites and what sustainability can mean for the local population. The introduction of the paper is most interesting as it provides a critical reflection of the "ambiguous concept of sustainability" with the critical question "how can we agree on how to achieve something that we are defining differently?". Based on a case study in Turkey, in the town of Akcalar, the author gains a new and innovative perception of sustainability, termed *contextual sustainability*. Contextual sustainability is not at all understood as a norm, but as a paradigm, which demands due reflection, on what is valuable for saving future needs and what not, who are the stakeholders involved in sustainable processes and how decisions of sustainability are taken and by whom.

Best Practices and Narratives

The chapter, Best Practices and Narratives, presents essays that have a high informative value for the theme of heritage and sustainability. They provide information about the complexities of heritage protection and heritage use in countries which have not yet fully completed processes of economic, technical and infrastructural modernisation. Here we have contributions from Nepal, Indonesia, South Africa, Zambia and Argentina. These essays are less theoretically oriented; they rather represent critical yet controversial discussions on sustainable heritage protection and use in these countries. What is interesting here is that the standards reflected favour both an adoption of "Western" models of development as well as the possible implementation of urgently needed alternatives to such models. It is our opinion that discussions about the latter positions are imperative in order to assess sustainability and heritage as new and innovative constructs in these countries.

Simone Sandholz's paper, *Shaken Cityscapes: Tangible and Intangible Urban Heritage in Kathmandu, Nepal and Yogyakarta, Indonesia*, reflects upon the reciprocal influence of tangible and intangible heritage in the historic city centres of Kathmandu, in Nepal, and Yogyakarta, in Indonesia. She proposes to go *beyond* heritage and sustainability, by assessing and proposing solutions to improve current urban planning strategies. Based on interpretations of UNESCO's documents and a brief literature review on urban development, the author appeals for a paradigm shift to answer the lack of appropriate planning and legislation strategies. She highlights the 2011 UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL approach), which fosters the integration of both tangible and intangible heritage, as well as heritage management and urban planning. Sandholz's assumption is that this integration will encourage the local population to sustainably protect or – in the case of destruction, as it happened in Nepal in 2015 – rebuild their cultural heritage. The two case studies are representative illustrations of her hypothesis. The author emphasizes the common developments in both cities as well as the differences. Both cities share "urban heritage, habits and beliefs" of great importance to the local population and could use the HUL approach to promote a people-based reconstruction of their destroyed cultural heritage.

Debbie Whelan's paper *Aspects of Social Imperative: The Sustainable Historic Environment in the Developing World* is a comparison of two reconstruction projects of material heritage in post-colonial South Africa: the Georgetown Project and the Montrose House Eco-Museum Project. The paper reports upon an applied research, revealing and discussing the success and failures of the reconstruction processes, from the perspective of the local communities. The two reconstruction projects were originally developed by the author but later involved a team of experts, from different disciplines. The author used the case studies to further explore and discuss the concept of "social sustainability" and a bottom-up approach. Her main theoretical reference is Stephen McKenzie, further defining bottom-up approaches, as well as the ten guiding principles, which form the theoretical framework of the final assessment, summarizing the successes and failures of these two projects. The paper suggests what might be achieved, if social sustainability (including people in the protection process) would be implemented.

Kagosi Mwamulowe's paper, *The Dilemma of Zambia's Barotse Plains Cultural Landscape Nomination: Implications for Sustainable Development*, questions the concept of outstanding universal value and contemporary nature conservation practice. Using Zambia's Barotse Plains nomination as a case study, the paper reflects on whether the same concept of OUV and conservation practices can be applied in countries where disparate perceptions of those concepts exist. The paper is a modest conceptual note on the dilemma the cultural heritage property is facing, due to the divergent interests of various stakeholders – international, national and local. These contentious interests are represented here in the conflict between development and protection. Further, the paper dwells on the wider implication of these divergent interests in relation to sustainable development. Kagosi Mwamulowe goes beyond by suggesting that there is a need to compromise between World Heritage and local realities. The same approaches to heritage protection in a European context cannot

be applied in an African context. His empirical insight and deliberations compellingly emphasize the need for this compromise from a native's perspective.

Claudia Lozano presents a critical vision on the contemporary use of architecture in indigenous communities inscribed by UNESCO as World Heritage. The paper *Feeling Responsible for the Good Life on Earth: The Construction of Social Spaces and Sustainability in the Andes* goes *beyond,* through both a very personal partisanship in the writing style of Lozano presenting a phenomenon, and can also be demonstrated by the helplessness concerning political power and the non-existing community involvement in governmental projects of modernisation. The author uses a process of socio-economic and infrastructural development in a WH site in Argentina in which, due to interventions in the traditional system, the living conditions of the locals are changing. Claudia Lozano criticizes how social spaces of indigenous peoples are being transformed due to more modern concepts of architecture, without first considering their uses and local contexts.

Beyond the Mainstream

This chapter presents a discourse of heritage and sustainability, which is based on the specific needs and interests of indigenous people from different regions of the world, focusing on indigenous rights, migration and intangible heritage. The authors critically reflect on the Eurocentric dominance of the current concept of sustainability but also go *beyond* in revitalizing the indigenous traditions and understanding of sustainability as a concept. They criticize Western approaches for being generalizing and dominant and not at all considering the local identity. In all examples provided in this chapter, the *beyond* can be noted in diverse views of the world which is also presented as a paradigm shift: sustainability goes hand in hand with the identification of intangible values, and it is the system of the intangible values which builds up sustainability as identity from the past to the present to the future. In other words, the concept of sustainability is deeply involved in the intangible heritage of societies, and it is this knowledge which reconstructs indigenous societies on a daily basis.

Tim Frandy and **B. Marcus Cederström**'s paper *Sustainable Power: Decolonising Sustainability Through Anishinaabe Birchbark Canoe Building* is based on an educational project to revitalize the threatened art of birchbark canoe building, in the USA. Here the discussion focuses on, as the title of the paper suggests, *Decolonizing Sustainability.* In other words, the authors critically reflect on the existing Eurocentric dominance of sustainability concepts, and logically they emphasize the origin of sustainability contrasted to Western approaches. The presented strategy is to "decolonize colonial power structures" in restoring native concepts of sustainability. An important message in this paper is the identification of intangible values in the canoe building process as fundamental components of identity building for the *Anishinaabe* people. It is thus a paper which goes *beyond* traditional definitions of sustainability and expands understandings of heritage and the strong link between tangible and intangible heritage.

Richard Stoffle, **Kathleen Van Vlack**, **Richard Arnold** and **Gloria Bulletts Benson** in *Cant of Reconquest and the Struggle for Restoring Sustainability of the Southern Paiutes* provide an important contribution to the political and theoretical debates concerning the displacement of indigenous peoples in North America and the respective consequences. The authors have extensive experience conducting ethnographic field work on the cultural landscapes of the US Southwest previously inhabited by the *Paiute* people. The authors use this knowledge to critically examine the rhetoric of reconnection between Native Americans and their traditional lands, through "cant of reconquest", a term they have coined. The ambiguity of this rhetoric – in which the meaning of the word "cant" is inverted from being negative to positive – shows the complexity of the struggle faced by many Native American tribes. The authors assert that only once the reconnection is achieved can sustainability be restored. Here sustainability is understood in terms of environmentally sustainable management of the heritage properties in the Southwest, and also in terms of providing for the cultural survival of the Paiute people, whose traditions are closely linked to their traditional lands and therefore depend on their rights to access and co-manage these lands.

Robert Rode reflects, in his paper *The Past and Future of Indigenous Peoples' Heritage – Transforming the Legacies of Non-Sustainability of Protected Areas*, on the conflicts, real or assumed, between sustainable nature conservation strategies of international organizations and the rights of indigenous peoples to self-determination. The article "analyses whether and how marginalized indigenous peoples are reshaping non-sustainable practices in managing protected areas". One of the research interests is to clarify that concerns with biodiversity in conservation bear many risks for indigenous peoples, which has resulted in some regions being in a constant state of dispossession and marginalization. Robert Rode explores two case studies from Africa which demonstrate that despite gaining access to international conservation organizations, indigenous peoples' advances in participation rights-based approaches still remain subordinate, when compared to concerns with biodiversity in the conservation of protected areas. In order to prevent the marginalization of indigenous communities, a meaningful participation of indigenous peoples has to be ensured.

William Logan's paper *Hue at an Existential Crossroads: Heritage Protection and Sustainability in an Asian Developing Country Context* reflects on the history and heritage of the city of Hue in Vietnam. Logan looks at the political, economic and social development in Vietnam in order to discuss the interrelationship of World Heritage protection and sustainable development in Asia. Having been professionally and personally involved with the protection of *The Complex of Hue Monuments* over the past decades, the author provides very valuable insights into this case study. On the one hand, he points out deficiencies in the World Heritage framework to address specific challenges of countries such as Vietnam, where economic and urban developments have higher priorities than environmental protection. On the other hand, he critically discusses the need for improving local planning strategies in order to provide for effective heritage protection, which in turn can foster sustainable development based on cultural assets.

Aspects of Implementation

This chapter goes beyond through the proposition of new and innovative methodological frameworks to foster sustainability in heritage protection and use. Based on diverse backgrounds such as places, cities and heritage properties affected by earthquakes or modernization processes, the authors go *beyond* existing methodological frameworks by proposing new strategies in heritage management. Therefore, this chapter includes discussion on sustainability and sustainable development in heritage transformation processes in cities, such as integrating intangible and tangible heritage protection, while conserving natural heritage or cultural landscapes. It furthermore reflects on sustainability as a driver that fosters a holistic approach, which also includes a new dimension.

Daniel Barrera-Fernández and **Marco Hernández-Escampa**, in *Malaga* vs *Picasso. Re-branding a City Through Non-Material Heritage*, critically reflect on the phenomenon of using heritage as an inspiration for city branding, playing a vital role in today's city-centred global geography. By analysing the city branding measures of Malaga (that turn out to be based on a "weak link" to the early life of Picasso), the authors explain how an approach to economic development – although using culture as a driver – can easily fail in terms of social and cultural sustainability, when marketing interests are prioritized over residents' concerns. In this regard, the authors pinpoint the top-down approach of Malaga's branding strategy as the main reason for a lack of truthfulness and heritage diversity in the now Picasso-branded cityscape that marginalizes the local communities and their heritage.

Francesco De Pascale's paper *Geoethics and Sustainability Education Through an Open Source CIGIS Application: the Memory of Places Project in Calabria, Southern Italy, as a Case Study* is an innovative and relevant contribution to the discussion of heritage and sustainability. CIGIS is an open source GIS project, integrating multidisciplinary methods such as geohistorical, geoethical, participatory-cartographic and geographical-perceptual analysis. It goes beyond the current mediation between heritage and sustainability, through Pierre Nora's concept "the perception of *place of memory*". The author is motivated by the continuous disregard of creative heritage expressions through processes of modernization in Calabria and its growing loss of meaning for locals and tourists. De Pascale describes how this heritage can be recovered, through using CIGIS for educational purposes. Raising awareness for sustainability and heritage via an educational process is most interesting, because it transcends the traditional fields and disciplines of heritage studies into a jointly understood concept.

Mohammad Ravankhah, **Ksenia Chmutina**, **Michael Schmidt** and **Lee Bosher** present a paper on the *Integration of Cultural Heritage into Disaster Risk Management: Challenge or Opportunity for Increased Disaster Resilience.* The authors discuss the importance of disaster resilience for the management of cultural heritage, to ensure economic, environmental, social and cultural sustainability of communities that live in disaster-prone areas. By drawing on the experience of the post-disaster recovery of *Bam and its Cultural Landscape* World Heritage Site in

Iran, which was struck by an earthquake in 2003, the authors identify a number of opportunities and challenges in achieving "proactive disaster resilience". The paper makes a strong case for the integration of cultural heritage management into broader DRM schemes and vice versa, as well as for the urgent need to develop tools and methods that support the protection of cultural heritage and its multidimensional values in disaster situations.

Solmaz Yadollahi's and **Silke Weidner**'s paper, *Facilitating the Process Towards Social Sustainability: A Culture-Based Method for Mapping Historic Public Places, Applied to the Example of Tabriz Bazaar, Iran*, presents an innovative methodological contribution to urban heritage management. Their discussion offers a contribution addressing the problem highlighted in the literature review. Viewing the understanding of local culture(s) as a foundation for understanding, negotiating and moving towards social sustainability in urban planning, the paper offers a planning tool for urban heritage managers to study and map the local culture(s) of use and territory defining in historic public places. By providing a mapping system which shows the structure of control and power in such urban areas, the paper goes beyond the traditional discourse in urban heritage management in relation to social sustainability. The method presented in the paper is adapted to and applied to the Tabriz Bazaar, World Heritage property, in Iran.

Michael Kloos' paper *Heritage Impact Assessments as an Advanced Tool for a Sustainable Management of Cultural UNESCO World Heritage Sites – From Theory to Practice* interprets UNESCO's decisions to include the concepts of Cultural Landscapes, Historic Urban Landscapes and to use cultural heritage as a pillar of sustainable development as a paradigm shift with regard to the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Instead of focusing on the conservation of isolated monuments, ensembles or natural areas devoid of people, preservation strategies now have to concentrate on inhabited areas on a wider scale which often face considerable pressure to change. In this context, Heritage Impact Assessments (HIAs) are increasingly applied to assess ongoing and sudden transformations in complex cultural World Heritage properties and their environment, but such studies still show highly variable quality when implemented in praxis. Against this background, it is argued that there is a need to position heritage management more centrally in strategies of urban and regional planning and related governance policies. Consequently, the theoretical starting point of the paper is that HIAs also need to be combined closely with planning processes and participation strategies in order to avoid failures in assessment processes and to fully explore their potential to support the sustainable development of complex World Heritage sites. Both present shortcomings and potentials in the practical application of HIAs are shown on the basis of several case studies. Finally, an outline of necessary future steps in research and education with regard to the practical use of HIAs in cultural UNESCO World Heritage sites is provided.

Part I
Beyond the Current: New Political Commitments

Culture as an Enabler for Sustainable Development: Challenges for the World Heritage Convention in Adopting the UN Sustainable Development Goals

Michael Turner

Introduction

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) approved in September 2015 at the United Nations has firmly placed sustainability at the forefront of the world agenda. However, the efforts to improve the visibility of culture and cultural heritage do not seem, at a first glance, to have been successful. The debate on whether there should be a fourth pillar of culture, as indicated in Agenda 21 for culture adopted by United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG 2008), or a brace to the existing three pillars (UCLG 2010) seems to have been inadvertently resolved in favour of the latter as culture does not appear as an independent heading in any one of the 17 goals. In hindsight, this might be a more vital role for culture, permeating sustainability in all its forms.

While a closer look at the texts might reveal the paucity of the role of culture in the SDGs, it is still a major change from the 2000 Millennium Development Goals where culture and heritage were not even mentioned. High on the agenda are the effects of societal changes and the speed of transformation, which is prioritized for the coming years and is being understood through the digital revolution. The potential of crowd sourcing as a key tool for democracy is being developed by many players for the SDG awareness programmes and will be a major contributor for change. Being the marching orders for the coming 15 years, it is imperative to identify where and how the associations with cultures can give added value to sustainability.

The direct references are simple and can be summarized as a total of nine mentions for culture/cultural and a further nine for agriculture/agricultural which also brings into question the use of culture as a noun or adjective.

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The introductory chapter to the SDGs outlines the concepts of the global strategy and refers to culture in its broader context. Article 4 indicates that '[p]eople are at the centre of sustainable development and, in this regard, Rio+20 promised to strive for a world that is just, equitable and inclusive,… without distinction of any kind such as …. culture…'. Article 9 focuses on planet Earth and its ecosystems and references the resolutions of Rio + 20 affirming that 'that in order to achieve a just balance among the economic, social and environmental needs of present and future generations, it is necessary to promote harmony with nature'. It acknowledges the natural and cultural diversity of the world and recognizes that all cultures and civilizations can contribute to sustainable development.

Successively in the texts, four of the goals have more specific references. The UNESCO had branded 'culture as an enabler for sustainable development' in 2011 within its midterm strategies. However, efforts to formally adopt culture as a *driver* or *enabler* for sustainable development within the SDGs were not entirely successful. Here culture was recognized as a *contributor* that is embodied in Goal 4 ensur[ing] inclusive and equitable quality education and promot[ing] lifelong learning opportunities for all. It is further detailed in para 4.7 that by 2030 'all learners acquire knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship, and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development'.

Promoting local culture and products is a significant component of the economic policies for sustainable tourism as indicated in para 8.9 of Goal 8 for sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all. Further reference might be made here to Goal 12 – ensur[ing] sustainable consumption and production patterns where 12b.indicates the develop[ment] and implement[ation of] tools to monitor sustainable development impacts for sustainable tourism which creates jobs and in promoting local culture and products.

The most direct reference to culture is in Goal 11 where the challenges of urbanism are met. Cultural heritage is highlighted in a single target 11.4: 'strengthen[ing] efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage' to achieve the goal of making our 'cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable'.

All other implications are indirect and may be applied, at the most, through interpretation, by using cultural assets to promote well-being for all (Goal 3), build resilient infrastructure (Goal 9), combat the impacts of climate change (Goal 13), promote sustainable use of ecosystems (Goal 15) and strengthen the means of implementation for sustainable development (Goal 17). This last goal can be harnessed as a more operative activity recognizing the need for financial tools, developing partnerships in technology, capacity building and access to data and monitoring the greater participation and involvement of societies. The diversity of cultures in the world, and its influences on local capacities for goal implementation, creates an inherent need for creativity in meeting the challenge of sustainable development implementation.

Cultural Policies

A proactive cultural policy might be generated through reviewing these texts and summarizing the references into four directives, linking World Heritage to the SDGs through:

1. Acknowledging the natural and cultural diversity of the world and recognizing that all cultures and civilizations can contribute to sustainable development.
2. Acquiring knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development including, among others, education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development.
3. Developing an emphasis on sustainable tourism, focusing on cultural heritage, which reduces poverty, creates jobs and promotes local culture and products. This is at the heart of the UNESCO constitution which highlights the need to 'increase the means of communication between (their) peoples and to employ these means for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives'.
4. Strengthening efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage.

These directives can be summed up as diversity and equity, poverty, peace and non-violence, employment and cultural tourism and managing heritage and are paralleled with the achieving of the goals for inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable cities.

Both the sustainability of cultures and the cultures of sustainability need to be studied, the former being the directives regarding the tangible and intangible essence of culture, while the latter relates to the application of sustainability through the understanding of diverse cultural norms. Culture as an enabler for sustainable development uses both strands, applying local wisdom and geo-climatic knowledge to development, while the cultural heritage and resources are an essential potential for providing added value.

The key to success in the implementation of culture for sustainable development is in the better definition of cultural resources and directives to harness these resources in a sustainable manner. The US National Parks Service defines cultural resources (National Park Service, US Department of the Interior) as 'physical evidence or place of past human activity: site, object, landscape, structure; or a site, structure, landscape, object or natural feature of significance to a group of people traditionally associated with it'.

Linking Culture and Nature with People

The epitome of sustainability must surely be in the definitions of Cultural Landscapes and Urban Biospheres. Although there have been efforts to further link culture and nature, except for the criteria being bundled into a single list and some initial

rumblings of the advisory bodies in their joint IUCN ICOMOS Connecting Practices Project, (ICOMOS and IUCN 2015), 'a divide between the two fields is still often observed' with the two distinct disciplines divided between the humanities and sciences. It seems that little has changed since the Rede Lecture in 1959 by C.P. Snow on the Two Cultures. A major concerted effort to reflect on the recommendations of the IUCN ICOMOS Connecting Practices Project is needed if we are to address the issues of sustainability, social inclusion, urbanism and resilience within the imminent digital revolution.

That being said, there are 13 mentions of nature in the text of the SDGs. Here the role of the conservation of natural heritage is specifically addressed in Goal 14 – conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development and Goal 15 – protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss.

Partnerships with people and their interlinkages and integrated nature … are of crucial importance in ensuring that the purpose of the new agenda is realized and are inherently important for the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals.

World Heritage

The UNESCO Cultural Sector and the World Heritage Committee are challenged to evoke the new Sustainable Development Goals and prepare a road map that will lead the way to innovative, forward-looking and creative solutions. What is the overriding UN SDG message for World Heritage? In a nutshell, it is in para 11.4 – 'strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage'. At the outset, it should be understood that this relates to the cultural and natural heritage of the world and not specifically the cultural and natural heritage as inscribed through the World Heritage Convention. With the emphasis on the 'object' and not the 'subject', many forget that the first endeavour of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 1972) is the adoption of 'a general policy which aims to give [all] 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' (Article 5(1)). Applying this article will be critical in the realization of many of the human-related goals and their sustainability.

In 1994 sustainability received indirect recognition in the World Heritage Convention with the inclusion of Cultural Landscapes in the Operational Guidelines (*in italics*):

> 38. Cultural landscapes often reflect specific techniques of *sustainable land-use*, considering the characteristics and limits of the natural environment they are established in, and a specific spiritual relation to nature. Protection of cultural landscapes can contribute to modern techniques of *sustainable land-use* and can maintain or enhance natural values in the landscape. The continued existence of traditional forms of land-use supports biological diversity in many regions of the world. The protection of traditional cultural landscapes is therefore helpful in maintaining biological diversity.

The 2005 revision included an overview in paragraph 6 and a specific paragraph on sustainable use as paragraph 119:

> 6. Since the adoption of the Convention in 1972, the international community has embraced the concept of "sustainable development". The protection and conservation of the natural and cultural heritage are a significant contribution to sustainable development.
>
> Sustainable use
>
> 119. World Heritage properties may support a variety of ongoing and proposed uses that are ecologically and culturally sustainable. The State Party and partners must ensure that such sustainable use does not adversely impact the outstanding universal value, integrity and/or authenticity of the property. Furthermore, any uses should be ecologically and culturally sustainable. For some properties, human use would not be appropriate.

In 2011, this paragraph was upgraded and extended (*in italics*).

> Sustainable use
>
> 119. World Heritage properties may support a variety of ongoing and proposed uses that are ecologically and culturally sustainable *and which may contribute to the quality of life of communities concerned*. The State Party and its partners must ensure that such sustainable use *or any other change* does not impact adversely on the Outstanding Universal Value of the property. For some properties, human use would not be appropriate. *Legislations, policies and strategies affecting World Heritage properties should ensure the protection of the Outstanding Universal Value, support the wider conservation of natural and cultural heritage, and promote and encourage the active participation of the communities and stakeholders concerned with the property as necessary conditions to its sustainable protection, conservation, management and presentation.*

While the original paragraph change, from 2005, focused on the possible conflicts in sustainable use for properties inscribed under criteria (vii) to (x), the current challenge will be to review this together with concerns for resilience and to adopt a more proactive and integrative approach for all properties with emphasis on community participation and involvement.

Answering the Challenge

The question now is how might the World Heritage Committee provide geo-cultural indicators for culture in the SDGs? The strategic objectives are well entrenched in the processes of the Operational Guidelines, and it would be more than viable to evaluate how the SDGs be best integrated applying 'the five C's' with the aims to reach a representative, balanced and credible World Heritage List.

26. The current strategic objectives (also referred to as 'the five C's') are the following: 1. Strengthen the **credibility** of the World Heritage List 2. Ensure the effective **conservation** of World Heritage Properties 3. Promote the development of effective **capacity building** in states parties 4. Increase public awareness, involvement and support for World Heritage through **communication** 5. Enhance the role of **communities** in the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention*	In 2002 the World Heritage Committee revised its strategic objectives The *Budapest Declaration on World Heritage* (2002) is available at the following Web address: http://whc.unesco.org/en/budapestdeclaration Decision 31 COM 13B

Cross-referencing the five C's with the four major urban directives, we can develop a more integrative approach for coordinating actions for the SDGs.

	Credibility	Conservation	Capacity building	Communication	Communities
1. Diversity and equity	●			o	●
2. Poverty, peace and non-violence	●		O	●	●
3. Employment, cultural tourism		●	●	O	O
4. Managing heritage	o	●	●	o	o

One possible scenario indicating the prioritization of urban directives and their support for the different strategic objectives
● high, O medium, o low

In this scenario, *credibility* builds a more genuine base through diversity and non-violence, while *conservation* is the cultural resource management tool at the heart of safeguarding the world's cultural heritage. In acknowledging cultural diversity, the SDGs have highlighted that there is a need to harness existing texts to engage these new challenges while developing innovative tools in the emerging fields of sustainability. Is there a wider interpretation to the 'promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence?' For instance, the Nara +20 Document is a step forwards in addressing these issues, through the considerations of the diversity of heritage processes, the involvement of multiple stakeholders, managing their conflicting claims and interpretations and emphasizing the role of cultural heritage in sustainable development in the age of digital technology. Moreover, the continuing relevance of the Burra Charter should not be overlooked especially in its references to the resolution of conflicts in cultural significance. It is the Brundtland Report (WCED 1987) that highlights 'the concept of needs, in particular the essential needs of the world's poor, to which overriding priority should be given' which provides new impetus for humane urban conservation.

In light of the importance of sustainable economic growth and consumption, it must be ensured that heritage conservation is economically viable, and its sustainability can be achieved through innovative and improved management together with other reforms underlining employment and cultural tourism. Much has been written about the harnessing of local cultures on one hand and the degradation of authenticity by over-exploitation on the other; nevertheless, the extension of economic growth beyond the boundaries of the immediate property provides a great potential that will need to be tapped. Sustainable tourism is at the heart of the UNESCO Constitution as a mechanism for building peace in our minds and knowing and respecting other cultures.

To coordinate the goals, *capacity building* and awareness programmes together with stakeholder involvement will need to be high on the agenda of the World Heritage Committee, and new approaches will have to be developed through social

media, crowd sourcing and learning-for-all. Capacity building can dovetail Goal 4 for acquiring knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development through urban heritage conservation and better management. *Communication* is essential for the building of awareness and will need to be applied over the board. In this scenario, the main thrust is towards non-violence with an integrative policy to encourage cultural tourism.

The role of the *communities* will have to be reassessed to better understand their changing function. Most other conventions have a prescriptive role for community. Over the years, there has been a greater involvement of NGOs, and the establishment of the World Heritage Watch in 2015 came with a strong representation from indigenous communities, who are making their voice felt at committee sessions. It is only through community initiatives that there will be a strengthening of inclusiveness and the extending of the socio-economic benefits through creative industries, cultural tourism and employment with added environmental value. Whereas differing perspectives, among various communities, of the meaning and interpretation of any particular heritage can intensify an inherited rivalry of identities, these voices can provide a rich symphony of participation.

Urban Heritage

The focus must surely be on the role of the city, defined as urban heritage, especially as over a quarter of all inscribed properties have an urban context and embody most of the issues addressed in the SDGs. The term 'urban heritage' is used to provide a more inclusive definition than, for example, town centres or historic quarters. Moreover, the unpublished report (Turner and O'Donnell 2015) of the World Heritage Centre based on the research of Professor Ana Pereira Roders and Dr. Loes Veldpaus (Pereira-Roders and Veldpaus 2010) indicates that there are over 1600 sites of urban heritage encapsulated in the World Heritage List, a dramatic increase since 2010 due to the larger number of serial nominations and the greater application of cultural landscapes.

In anticipation of the UNHabitat III meeting, the UNESCO Global Report provides a wider perspective for the role of culture in our cities,[1] while the Hangzhou Outcomes (UNESCO 2015) is an important document providing guidance that can be adopted in the Operational Guidelines. By promoting culture and creativity in urban development, regeneration and adaptive reuse, greater importance is given to the human scale for compact and mixed-use cities.

In-depth knowledge of cultural resources can lay the foundations for a 'place-based' approach to planning, while the cultural approach, relying on 'layering the city over the city', can assist in rethinking planning models, particularly in the face of the growing variety and complexity of urban frameworks. To this end, the UNESCO 2011 Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape provides the framework

[1] For wider reading, see Hansen (2000).

for a holistic approach, which integrates the social, economic, environmental and spatial components of cities and will be a major facilitator for aligning the SDGs and the World Heritage Convention. The Historic Urban Landscape approach strives to increase diversity through the 'sustainable use of urban spaces', thereby pointing to the inclusion of previously marginalized communities.

The World Heritage Convention encourages the consultation and involvement of all stakeholders, especially in crafting the nominations for listing and the subsequent management. These guidelines need to be strengthened through the empowerment of communities.

Attributes and Indicators

Values are authenticated into the World Heritage through their attributes, while they are managed through indicators that measure the state of conservation and monitor change and threats.

The transcendental premise of any science of culture is not the fact that we attribute value to a certain 'culture' or to 'culture' in general, but rather on the circumstance of us being persons of culture, endowed with the capability and will of taking up a conscious position in relation to the world and lending it meaning (Nobre 2006)[2]. Until now, we have linked values with attributes; the next challenge is to link the attributes to indicators and in that way ensure a sustainable management programme. While the conditions of authenticity of their cultural values are truthfully and credibly can be expressed through a variety of attributes, elements such as ' spirit and feeling do not lend themselves easily to practical applications of the conditions of authenticity, but nevertheless are important indicators of character and sense of place' (Operational Guidelines 2015 para 83). These indicators are particularly important, for example, in communities maintaining tradition and cultural continuity.

'SDGs differ from their precursors, the Millennium Development Goals, in that they are meant to apply universally to all countries' (Boyer et al. 2015). We define universality as the 'appropriateness' of goals, targets and indicators for global adoption. Universality is particularly important for cities, as acknowledged in Urban SDG 11, which calls to 'make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable'.

To develop geo-cultural indicators, we will need a new taxonomy that is inclusive of socio-economic trends and sensitive to the transformations that may threaten cultural heritage values. This can be achieved through the use of impact assessment to monitor the state of conservation, thereby ensuring sustainability of development in and around a listed property, while also ensuring better integration of cultural tourism and creative industries programmes that will enhance economic stability and resilience. The SDGs provide an excellent platform and direction for an integrative approach.

[2] Quoting Weber (1904).

The second key concept of the Brundtland Report (WCED 1987) addresses 'the idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment's ability to meet present and future needs'. Modern ideas of limitations, in the context of the new digital age and the opportunities it presents, are dramatically different to those of the Brundtland Report, published some 30 years ago. How can the opportunities of the digital revolution meet the challenges of the next generations?

The determination of universal indicators will be fraught with difficulties. Some state parties have highlighted their common but differentiated responsibilities, and there is a prevailing lack of consensus on definitions and performance metrics for urban sustainability. While the SDGs aim to provide universal indicators, the World Heritage Committee can match these efforts in developing geo-cultural-related indicators that will deliver a bottom-up and grass-roots approach, supporting people and communities and resolving the issues of differentiated responsibilities. The Bangalore Outcome (Indian Institute for Human Settlements 2015) and Sustainable Development Solutions Network (Leadership Council of the Sustainable Development Solutions Network 2015)have made efforts to devise a core set of 'universal' indicators but have yet to address how universality applies to specific urban areas. The United Nations Statistical Commission recently released a review and ranking of the feasibility, suitability and relevance of proposed SDG indicators. The UN-Stats analysis, however, reflects the perspectives of national statistics offices, which are often ill-suited to see the needs or understand the scale of the city (Science for Environment Policy 2015 quoting Hiremath et al. 2013; Lynch et al. 2013; Shen et al. 2011).

Conclusions

The contribution to inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable cities is essential if the World Heritage Convention is to remain relevant over and above being a list of properties of outstanding universal value. The four components of Goal 11 are interconnected through the common denominator of culture. This was addressed in the Hangzhou meeting on culture for sustainable cities, when the outcomes provided the lead-up to the UNESCO contribution for the 2016 UNHabitat III conference. The key to create cohesiveness, ensure safety and provide for resilience and sustainability lies in diversity. The Hangzhou Outcomes recognize that bold and transformative steps are required to steer the world onto a more sustainable and resilient path and that the international development agenda includes culture as an enabler and a driver for sustainable development. They underline that sustainability is a cultural concept, which stems from the relation between a community and its cultural and natural environment. The Hangzhou meeting highlighted the fact that urban patterns are diverse and that the dynamic of change in cities is continuous, in an increasingly digital era.

'In light of today's critical environmental, social and economic challenges, working towards inclusive, people-centred and culturally sensitive urban development

paradigms is of utmost importance. We therefore recommend that this "New Urban Agenda" fully integrate cultural heritage, cultural and creative industries and an understanding of the innate imagination and collective intelligence of people. These are pre-conditions for inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable cities' and are summarized below:

Inclusive

Inclusiveness embraces the multicultural city by recognizing cultural diversity and promoting collaborative partnerships to encourage community participation and reduce inequalities through the appreciation of the rights to the city. While community partnerships and participatory processes increase commitment for inclusiveness and are instrumental in reducing inequalities, there is still an enormous gap in the application of cultural diversity for social inclusion. Inclusive public spaces can be achieved with the engagement of creative activities to foster social cohesion and ensure access to well-designed quality public spaces.

The opportunities of the digital age generate a new potential for social inclusion, extending the understanding of the community, it being a major challenge that might harness the new technologies for the benefit of the city and its citizens with social media, big data and smart, human(e) cities.

This should be applied through 'a thorough shared understanding of the property by all stakeholders, including the use of participatory planning and stakeholder consultation process(es)' (Operational Guidelines 2015 para 111).

Safe

The Hangzhou Outcomes clearly addressed the issue of safe cities, non-violence and the role of cultural heritage in achieving these goals. The overreaching outcome relates to peaceful and tolerant societies, building on the diversity of culture and heritage and its potential to foster peace, intercultural dialogue and counter-urban violence.

Violence comes in many forms; it can be identified as political terror or religious fanaticism through attacks against cultural heritage. The pillaging and intentional destruction of cultural heritage or the banning of certain traditional cultural practices weakens the foundations of our society. It raises the issue as to attacks on cultural heritage as a crime against humanity. In the face of these new threats, it is crucial to place culture at the core of peace building and intercultural dialogue in order to facilitate mutual understanding and allow diverse interpretations of heritage. Local authorities and NGOs together play a significant role in fostering intercultural dialogue. They can encourage tolerance through the creation of new urban forms that emerge from this dialogue and by designing safer urban spaces with accessibility for all. The World Heritage Committee can provide the leadership to encourage a more direct connection to the humane city.

Resilient

Resilience is linked to sustainability through the integration of heritage and traditional knowledge into innovative culture-based solutions to environmental concerns. In the outline of their book on the resilient city, Vale and Campanella (Vale and Campanella 2005) describe the city as a phoenix, able to regenerate from the ashes of destruction, cities are robust and bounce-back and it is the exception to the rule that cities are lost.

The United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR) ensuring the implementation of the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction has launched a campaign for resilient cities highlighting safer facilities, as well as sustainable urbanization principles. Urban resilience is provided through the mixed uses of the city and multiple solutions. Too often it is the underprivileged in the city that are affected by incidents that involve urban disasters and the lack of social sustainability being located in substandard areas of the city. The threats facing urban heritage need to be analysed so that a comprehensive risk assessment can be made including prioritizing the implementation and management. State parties are recommended to include risk preparedness as an element in their World Heritage site management plans and training strategies (Operational Guidelines 2015 para 118) but better indicators will have to be developed, preferably through mechanisms of the UNISDR and the resilient cities campaign.

Sustainable

Finally, the application of sustainable development requires that we see the world as a system that connects space, as well as time and people for the future of sustainability is in an integrative approach towards culture and development. It must be seen that sustainability now extends beyond the balance between location and actuality, redrawing the internal boundaries of the city to provide social inclusion. For urban heritage in determining spheres of influence, the buffer zones are important, over and above providing an added layer of protection, as they can offer the space and dimension to incorporate those cultural resources that are functionally important in supporting sustainability. The protection and conservation of the natural and cultural heritage significantly contribute to sustainable development (Operational Guidelines 2015 paragraphs 6, 119, 132).

The words of Indira Gandhi at the Stockholm Conference of 1972 ring true today:

> The inherent conflict is not between conservation and development, but between environment and reckless exploitation of man and earth in the name of efficiency... We see that however much man hankers after material goods, they can never give him full satisfaction. Thus the higher standard of living must be achieved without alienating people from their heritage and without despoiling nature of its beauty, freshness and purity so essential to our lives.

These sentiments were echoed by Amartya Sen noting that:

> … cultural matters are integral parts of the lives we lead. If development can be seen as enhancement of our living standards, then efforts geared to development can hardly ignore the world of culture. (Sen 2000)

This symbiotic relationship between culture and development, surely, is the role of culture as an enabler for sustainable development.

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The Potential of Culture for Sustainable Development in Heritage Studies

Marie-Theres Albert

Introduction

Stimulated by the work of the Australian researcher Jon Hawkes (Hawkes 2001) and further social and cultural scientists, UNESCO and other national and international organizations developed a *Policy Statement on Culture as the Fourth Pillar of Sustainable Development* to promote the inclusion of culture as an important dimension in the concept of sustainable development (UCLG 2010). Nevertheless, the concept of sustainability had already been defined in 1987 when the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), the so-called Brundtland Commission, realized that there had been a heavy deterioration of the human environment and natural resources worldwide.

But even though the Brundtland Commission defined sustainable development as holistic, and seeking to improve different sectors of human life as the overarching goal, the idea of culture as a driver for sustainable development was not included. Before 2010, sustainable development was underpinned by only three pillars, namely: economic, social and environmental sustainability. They were understood as follows.

Economic sustainability was to involve the international community in the creation and establishment of economic structures which were not so much directed to short-term profits but to a long-term development of the economy. This included public-private partnership projects and/or small- and medium-sized family-based enterprises. In line with this, states introduced laws which prescribed environment-friendly means of production and or socially acceptable conditions of employment.

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Social sustainability called for systematic community participation and strong civil society presence in policy making. Social sustainability also included widely accessible information and the consideration of ethical standards in all kinds of business and political activities. For example, it was stated that a democratic state system where people can freely express their opinion and actively influence politics with citizens' decisions would contribute to social sustainability. The concept of social sustainability was the precursor for later developed participation strategies and concepts of community involvement, which had already been defined within the global strategy of different World Heritage Committees in order to achieve a more balanced and globally accepted World Heritage List.

With environmental sustainability, the international community sought to improve human welfare by protecting natural resources like water, land, air, minerals and ecosystems. With the concept of environmental sustainability, it was expected that the use of raw materials for human needs and human waste would not exceed natural limitations. This included, for example, waste-recycling activities, the recirculation of old products or the use of public transport to save oil as a resource (Drexhage and Murphy 2010).

In this regard, and even though World Heritage and Intangible Heritage were not really mentioned in these publications, in the 1980s and 1990s, concepts for sustainable development, which pointedly emphasized the idea of culture as a driving force for sustainable development, were already elaborated. It was further recognized that participation of stakeholders in development processes, through "capacity building" and "empowerment", could realize culture's potential in this regard. The report "Our Common Future", also known as the Brundtland Report (1987), enshrined these concepts and the three pillars of sustainability as patterns to be used in local, national and global strategies for development. At the Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit in 1992, the international community confirmed the goals developed by the Brundtland Commission. It was agreed that all states had to adapt their development policies to save the environment for future generations and to reduce inequalities in terms of worldwide living standards. In other words, the *Rio Summit* consolidated the three pillars as the paradigm for sustainable development, emphasizing a balanced growth and the improvement of living standards worldwide.

The Influence of a Culture Understood as Integral Concept

In the early 1990s – due to increasing international immigration – the concept of culture became more and more holistic and at the same time essential for understanding life expressions. Culture was understood as the entirety of the life expressions of people according to the diversity of life conditions, styles and places. Therefore, the international community recognized that to achieve sustainability, there had to be much broader and more complex strategies than those predicated on the three dimensions mentioned above. Both international organizations and states realized that the diversity of cultures and their manifold cultural expressions were

as important and constituent as the economy, the environment and social life. They furthermore accepted the most important function of culture which is its immanent dynamic. They therefore recognized that culture is another basic source for human development. The inclusion of culture as the fourth pillar within the sustainable development model was decided and implemented in the international policy utilizing two main strategies.

The first strategy was the development of the cultural sector itself including tangible and intangible heritage, the sector of cultural industries and crafts and – last but not least – a huge investment in the development of cultural tourism. The second strategy was to ensure that all kinds of culture and cultural expressions had rightful places in all public policies, particularly in those which were related to education, economy, science, communication, environment, social cohesion and international cooperation (UCLG 2010, p. 4).

The innovation was that, with the four pillar model of sustainability, the world acknowledged a change in the perception of the most important components for development. For the first time ever, sustainable development was also understood in terms of its potential for human development. On the other hand, the broad understanding of culture which was already defined in the 1982 Mexico Declaration was revived. This enabled processes that did not focus on an economic valorization of living traditions alone but also rediscovered, for example, the potentials of craft traditions, of traditional knowledge about managing the environment or revitalizing the collective memory of ethnic groups with regard to identity building.

Based on the more holistic Mexico definition, culture became a medium for diverse development goals as it was defined as: "*(...) the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs*" (UNESCO 1982, p. 1, preamble).

It was this understanding of culture that included a set of variable practices that help people to live their lives by giving them orientation and identity. Today culture is continually created and re-created by people in interaction with each other. People use their cultural practices to structure and understand their social world and to communicate with other people. As such, culture is the unavoidable base for dialogue, for peace and for progress as it is intrinsically connected to human development (see: Albert and Gauer-Lietz 2006; Albert et al. 2010, 2013; Albert 2015; Albert and Ringbeck 2015).

While UNESCO emphasized the duty to promote the continuity of the cultures of the past, it also encouraged the dialogue of old traditions with new creativity, contributing to the preservation of identity and diversity and to the creation of new cultural expressions. Therewith, culture has been identified as an inexhaustible resource, nourishing society and economy. As a fourth pillar for sustainable development, culture creates bridges with the other three dimensions of sustainable development and contributes to a broader understanding of sustainable human development itself.

Culture: Understood as a Dynamic Category and Expression of Life: As Tool for Sustainable Development

Even though UNESCO's understanding of culture had already defined it as a tool for development in 1982, it took another 20 years until its power for development was understood. It started with the "Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development" (see UNESCO 1995) in which a broad understanding of culture as the expression of human life was defined and developed. A kind of reflection on culture as tool for development was already present in the Millennium Development Goals in 2000. The 2005 World Summit Outcome Document, adopted by the UN General Assembly, acknowledged that the world's cultural diversity had to be recognized because culture contributes to the enrichment of humankind. Since then cultural expressions as a constituent for all development is included in each of the eight Millennium Development Goals.

The Millennium Development Goals were based on agreements by 191 countries and the world's leading development institutions. They declared that they wanted to achieve a better and a more sustainable world. Adopted in September 2000, the eight goals were to be reached by 2015.

Even though the goals themselves were not expressed in terms of culture, the broad concept of culture was encompassed as fourth pillar and included in the definition of the goals. Goal one, to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, was the most important. For all state parties involved, it was important to emphasize that poverty was not anymore seen as a lack of income alone but as a lack of possibilities and opportunities for people, societies and cultures to live their life the way they wanted to live. Based on the previous definitions, UNESCO's understanding of culture comprised the life expressions of human beings, and the concept of poverty reduction had therefore to be based on this understanding.

The goal aimed to achieve, between 2000 and 2015, (a) "halving the proportion of people whose income is less than $1 a day" (UN 2014, p. 8), (b) "achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all, including women and young people" (UN 2014, p. 10) and (c) halving "the proportion of people suffering from hunger" (UN 2014, p. 12). The international community cooperated in developing national nutrition plans and policies. But, despite some improvements in children's nutritional status, in 2012, about 15% or 99 million children under 5 years of age in the world remained underweight,[1] mainly in the UN region of Sub-Saharan Africa (25%), Southern Asia (17%), followed by Oceania (12%), Eastern and South-Eastern Asia (both 11%), Western Asia (6%), Latin America and the Caribbean (8%) and Caucasus and Central Asia (7%) (UN 2014, p. 12). Based on a holistic understanding of culture and regarding the fourth pillar, these figures were beyond the development goals.

Similar to the holistic understanding of culture concerning life expressions, education was also interpreted within this broad and holistic concept of culture.

[1] The following numbers represent the proportion of undernourished people between 2011 and 2013.

Worldwide, many children are still denied their right to primary education. The second goal was defined in order to achieve universal primary education (UN 2014, p. 16). With this goal, the international community wanted to ensure that, by 2015, boys and girls everywhere in the world shall have the chance to complete a full course of primary schooling. However, in 2014, this goal had only been partly achieved. In developing regions, universal primary education increased by 7% between 2000 and 2012 to 90% (UN 2014, p. 17). However, globally, 781 million adults and 126 million youth still lack basic reading and writing skills, and more than 60% of them are women (UN 2014, p. 16). How human development can be achieved with such a high number of illiterate people is still an open question and a challenge for the Sustainable Development Goals.

The third goal was directly related to the second and has also had relatively little success. The goal aimed to promote gender equality and empowerment of women (UN 2014, p. 20). This goal, like the other ones, was based on the overall understanding that sustainable development needs human development in general and that this could only be achieved by the empowerment of the human being. Therefore, this goal aimed to improve women's social, economic and political participation within a culture or society, mainly in developing countries. Even though the UN member states work towards the building of gender-equitable societies in which girl's education is a fundamental target to achieve gender equality, girls still account for 55% of the out-of-school population (WHO 2014a). "In Southern Asia, only 74 girls were enrolled in primary school for every 100 boys in 1990" and "in Sub-Saharan Africa, Oceania and Western Asia, girls still face barriers to entering both primary and secondary school" (UN 2014, p. 20). Also, the income of women in comparison to men is still lower in all countries for which data is available.

Culture understood holistically and expressed as a fundamental condition of humanity is contradicted by child mortality. Therefore, the fourth goal aimed to reduce child mortality. More specifically, the goal is to "reduce by two thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate" (UN 2014, p. 24). Yet in 2012, 6.6 million children under the age of 5 died (UN 2014, p. 24). Reducing child mortality requires effective and affordable interventions such as caring for newborns and their mothers; improving infant and young child nutrition; vaccines; prevention and case management of pneumonia, diarrhoea and sepsis; malaria control; and prevention and care of HIV/AIDS (WHO 2013a). It was hoped that in countries with high mortality, these interventions could reduce the number of deaths by more than half (WHO 2013a) and thus enrich the cultural and social life conditions.

Goal five aimed to improve maternal health (UN 2014, p. 28). With goal five, similar to goal four, the international community wanted to reduce the mortality rate. In addressing this, the UN state parties agreed upon achieving universal access to reproductive health, which must always be understood as improving the cultural and social life conditions. Since 2000, the UN member states worked on strengthening health systems and coordinating research with a focus on improving maternal health in pregnancy and during and after childbirth. Nevertheless, in 2013, an estimated number of 300,000 women worldwide died during pregnancy and childbirth. Even though this is a decline of 45% since 1990, the rate is still alarming. Most of

them died because they had no access to skilled routine and emergency care (UN 2014, p. 28).

The sixth goal, combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, is also a challenge to the environment and a challenge of education and thus a challenge to culture as the fourth pillar for development. This sixth goal also was not successfully achieved (UN 2014, p. 34) even though the international community developed a complex system for preventing HIV infection and providing the best care for people living with HIV/AIDS and their families. In fact, it can be stated that although the incidence of HIV is declining steadily in most regions, "at the end of 2012, still 35.3 million people were living with HIV" (WHO 2014b). In the same year, "some 2.3 million people became newly infected, and 1.7 million died of AIDS, including 230.000 children" (WHO 2014b). Also the incidence for malaria and tuberculosis is falling very slowly (WHO 2014b).

The seventh goal is directly related to the UN understanding of environmental sustainable development which exclusively depends on a cultural understanding of life condition. This goal states: "*Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes and reverse the loss of environmental resources*" (UN 2014, p. 40). *Reduce biodiversity loss, achieving, by 2010, a significant reduction in the rate of loss*" (UN 2014, p. 42). *Halve, by 2015, the proportion of the population without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation*" (UN 2014 p. 43) and*: Achieve, by 2020, a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers*" (UN 2014, p. 46).

The UN member states cooperated to integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes and to reverse the loss of environmental resources. They also included educational and cultural activities to train people in concepts of diversity, to stop the loss of biodiversity and to provide people with clean drinking water. Meanwhile and since 1990 "over 2.3 billion people have gained access to an improved source of drinking water", "but 748 million people still draw their water from an unimproved source" (UN 2014, p. 40).

The last goal is defined as developing a global partnership for development (UN 2014, p. 48). This goal aimed at the establishment of a rule-based, predictable and non-discriminatory trading and financial system in which especially the social and cultural and economic needs of the least developed countries were addressed. It included resolutions for the debt problems of developing countries and the worldwide availability of new technologies and the cultural and scientific capacities to develop and implement these technologies. To reach this goal, the UN member states promoted debt relief, developed IT infrastructure, expanded trade agreements, improved access to affordable drugs and increased poverty-reducing expenditures (WHO 2013b). Evaluating this goal, it can be stated that some improvements were achieved, but the general situation of developing countries, and even more in the least developed, countries has not changed and the "debt burden on developing countries remains stable at about 3% of export revenue" (UN 2014, p. 48). In comparison to the developed world, it is mainly some of the poorest countries in Africa that remain in a similar situation as in 1990.

The development goals were constantly evaluated, and it became evident that they were only partly achieved. Therefore, a new agreement "The Future We Want" (UN 2012) was worked out, and in the Rio + 20 Conference in 2012, it was adopted. This agreement was discussed as the post-2015 strategy, and in July 2014, a first set of 17 goals were proposed by the UN General Assembly's Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals. As already discussed in the paper of Michael Turner in this edition, these SDGs include culture as the fourth pillar of sustainability. Whether or not they will be successful depends on the measure taken for their implementation.[2]

Meanwhile, these goals have been approved by the UN and have been brought to the international agenda in 2015. As in all the other goals, these also interpret the potential of culture as an enabler for social, economic and environmental sustainable development. The goals were determined in meetings held in Hangzhou, China, in 15–17 May 2013. With the contents and reflections in this conference, the community went a step further, including the challenges of current development such as population growth, urbanization or different kind of and reasons for disaster. The conference was financed by the Chinese government and organized in cooperation with UNESCO. Representatives of cultural institutions met to present and discuss the manifold contributions of culture to development.

In plenary sessions, the participants of the conference examined whether sustainable development could be achieved regardless of culture, how culture makes the difference in peace and reconciliation politics, how it should be applied in local governance and in which ways culture contributes to economic growth and social cohesion. The outcome of this conference was the *Hangzhou Declaration*, which advocates for placing culture at the heart of public policy. It was stated in the Hangzhou Declaration (2013) that "(…) in the face of mounting challenges such as population growth, urbanization, environmental degradation, disasters, climate change, increasing inequalities and persisting poverty, there is an urgent need for new approaches, to be defined and measured in a way which accounts for the

[2] *Goal 1: End poverty in all its forms everywhere, Goal 2: End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition, and promote sustainable agriculture, Goal 3: Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages, Goal 4: Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all, Goal 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls, Goal 6: Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all, Goal 7: Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable, and modern energy for all, Goal 8: Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all, Goal 9: Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation, Goal 10: Reduce inequality within and among countries, Goal 11: Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable, Goal 12: Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns, Goal 13: Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts, Goal 14: Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development, Goal 15: Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss, Goal 16: Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels, Goal 17: Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development* (UN 2014b, p. 5).

broader picture of human progress and which emphasize harmony among peoples and between humans and nature, equity, dignity, well-being and sustainability" (UNESCO 2013, p. 2).

The Hangzhou Declaration was a key step in UNESCO's advocacy to integrate culture into sustainable development strategies because it was in this declaration that culture was defined as a source for human development and thus as indispensable for the protection and use of the heritage of humankind.

Heritage, Sustainability and Cultural Tourism

Tourism, in general, became a mass phenomenon in the second half of the twentieth century and functioned as an industry fully integrated into the international market economy. Without question, it became an important source of income for many states: "We believe that tourism, which brings individuals and human communities into contact, and through them cultures and civilizations, has an important role to play in facilitating dialogue among cultures. Tourism also has the capacity to assist the world's inhabitants to live better together and thereby contribute to the construction of peace in the minds of men and women (…)" (UNESCO 2006, p. 4).

However, UNESCO also identified the "*greatest paradox of tourism*" in its "capacity to generate so many benefits and yet, at the same time, create pressures and problems" (UNESCO 2006, 9). For example, some World Heritage Sites suffer fatal effects on the environment, on tangible and intangible heritage and on local populations due to cultural tourism. Some heritage sites have mutated into sites of commerce with mostly economic interests, rather than cultural, at their centre.

Tourism has become a topic for reflection and action. The aim of UNESCO's tourism, culture and development agenda is to contribute to the creation of a type of tourism that recognizes the principles of cultural diversity, the preservation of cultural and natural resources, their mobilization for sustainable development and poverty alleviation and the expression of socially differentiated cultural identities. As UNESCO understands culture as a means of sustainable development, it is promoting cultural tourism as a tool for sustainable development and not as a goal in itself.

Heritage, Sustainability, Culture and Creative Industries

The cultural industries include publishing, music, cinema, crafts and design. They continue to grow steadily. In the European Union, the "creative industries represent approximately 8.3 million full time equivalent jobs, or 3.8% of total European workforce" (Forum D'Avignon 2014, p. 5). "Creative industries are increasingly a source of growth in the EU" (EC 2010, p. 13). "The economic performance of the cultural and creative sectors is recognised: in the EU they account for 3.3% of GDP and employ 6.7 million people (3 % of total employment)" (EC 2012, p. 2).

The European Commission is convinced that the cultural and creative industries are important drivers of economic and social innovation and thus of sustainable development. The European Competitiveness Report (2010) highlighted that creative industries are increasingly a source of growth in the EU. They account for 3.3% of the European GDP and make up 3% of overall employment (EC 2012, p. 2). Examples such as implementing heritage productions via publishing and film industries, software and games industries or literature and music bear a huge innovative potential that also incorporates other economic sectors.

Heritage, Sustainability and the 2003 ICH Convention

This Convention does not only define intangible cultural heritage as a "mainspring of cultural diversity", it also perceives it to be "a guarantee of sustainable development" (UNESCO 2003, preamble). Therefore, the direct connection between intangible cultural heritage and sustainable development provides new opportunities and strategies for the stimulation and implementation of sustainable development. Still, despite its evident benefits, intangible cultural heritage is frequently overlooked in development circles and policies. It is reduced to folklore and rituals and its potentials seen as relevant only to the economics of tourism and handicrafts. In some cases, it is even associated with harmful, static and archaic customs.

However, the 2003 Convention demonstrates – mainly – in the section of "Best Practices" that it has the potential to improve the living conditions of people. They established a network between traditional healthcare providers and regional development bodies for the promotion of holistic healthcare products. With that, they want to raise the regional awareness on natural healthcare and healthy nutrition. The healthcare providers exchange their traditional medical knowledge and work together to develop new recipes and medical products. Through this, they intend to improve the people's health status and their body awareness. This, in turn, improves the living quality and brings in economic benefits from the growing demand for natural healthcare products. In that sense, the 2003 Convention can be the basis for innovative projects fostering sustainable development, mainly based on the holistic concept of culture, which is the only concept of culture acceptable for human development.

Heritage, Sustainability and the 2005 Cultural Diversity Convention

Another convention that has been adopted and is based on culture as a driver for sustainable development is the *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*, adopted in 2005. This convention entered into force on 18 March 2007 after more than 30 state parties had ratified the Convention. The main goal of this convention is to protect the diversity of cultures including their products. In contrast to other conventions, the 2005 convention has been

adopted mainly in order to minimize the effects of the liberalization of the world market on cultural products. In other words, the 2005 convention is not protecting an intangible cultural heritage as cultural good but as a product, and this is due to the historical development of the world economy.

Regarding this, two instruments have to be mentioned. First of all the "General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade" (GATT), which was founded in 1947, shortly after the world community created the United Nations. The GATT is a part of the UN system, which was instrumental in opening national economies to investment and international capital. The second important agent in terms of global modernization and economic development was the WTO (World Trade Organization). The WTO was founded to make sure that countries opened themselves to foreign investment and means of production, goods and services. Both instruments were effective in terms of managing the global market. However, they were not really appropriate in keeping the diversity of cultural expressions, on either an international or national level, alive.

The increased liberalization of trade and services, as envisioned by GATT and WTO, implied that many public measures for the support of national and cultural products, as well as for services, had to be either cancelled or made accessible as free products of the world market for all member states of the WTO. Through the integration of cultural products into the international trade system, culture and cultural products had become, like all the products of the world market, commodities which had to be sold as any other products, without considering their social or identity building function. This could threaten normal cultural standards, such as cultural services under public law (radio, museums, theatres or orchestras) through taxes, i.e. libraries with a potential effect of giving away public jobs in the cultural sector, including the prices for financial assistance, scholarships or specific tax regulations. And as consequence, this would have destroyed the cultural diversity of our world.

Culture as fourth pillar of sustainable development needs diversity, and it is precisely for this reason that this convention has pushed this function of culture further.

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Natural World Heritage and the Sustainable Development Goals

Barbara Engels

Introduction

The Sustainable Developments Goals (SGDs) were adopted by the United Nations in September 2015 as the international instrument that will pave the way for the United Nations 2030 development agenda. It is expected that international conventions in the UN system respond to the SDGs. International environmental conventions (Convention on Biodiversity, CITES, RAMSAR, Bonn Convention, World Heritage Convention) are especially suited to take up the SDG framework as they closely link to the ecological dimension of sustainability as well as, to some extent, the other dimensions. Martinez and Mueller (2015) analysed the linkages between the Convention on Biodiversity (CBD) and the SDG framework and identified how the CBD's Aichi targets correspond to the SDGs.

The World Heritage Convention is, above all, a convention which focuses on cultural and natural heritage preservation (UNESCO, 1972). A sustainable development perspective has only recently been integrated into the implementation of the convention (Engels 2015), acknowledging that sustainable use of cultural and natural heritage is a key factor for long-term preservation. On the other hand, in contrast to their predecessors, the Millennium Development Goals, the SDGs have for the first time explicitly included the role of cultural heritage for sustainability.

Therefore, linkages between the World Heritage Convention and the SDGs seem evident. This contribution explores these linkages in a multilevel policy analysis:

First, it examines the contextual level of the SDGs in the field of natural heritage and resource conservation, as this relates explicitly to the ecological dimension of sustainable development but furthermore contributes to both the economic and social dimension of sustainability.

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Secondly, on the policy level, the paper analyses the World Heritage Convention and its recent policy documents concerning their alignment with the SGDs and the Post-2015 Development Agenda (UNEP 2015). More specifically it compares the 17 SDGs with the 2015 World Heritage Policy Document on Sustainable Development (UNESCO 2016).

In a further step, on the operational level, the relevance of (Natural) World Heritage for achieving the 17 SDGs and the associated 169 targets is examined. The paper highlights how natural World Heritage can contribute to the implementation of the SDGs on a local or national level. Selected examples of natural World Heritage properties are presented to illustrate these possible contributions.

The concluding "Outlook" explores potential challenges and opportunities for integrating the heritage perspective within the sustainable development discussion.

The Context: The Sustainable Development Goals and International Natural Resource Conservation

In September 2015, the United Nations adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). These 17 internationally agreed goals are intended to steer the international development agenda until 2030 and form the core of the Post-2015 Development Agenda (UNEP 2015). In contrast to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which addressed developing countries only, the SDGs are universal, and all countries will be accountable for their implementation. They are part of the UN General Assembly's document "Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development" which also includes a section on "Means of implementation and the Global Partnership" (UN 2015). The 17 goals are underpinned with 169 more detailed targets including time lines. An indicators' framework, to be developed in early 2016, will supplement the SDGs. The content of the SDGs covers a broad range of development sectors from poverty reduction to the well-being of people and include many goals directly (goals 14 and 15) or indirectly (e.g. gaols 2, 6, 8 12, etc.) related to natural resource conservation (see Fig. 1).

A UNEP International Resource Panel Report notes: "One of the great strengths of the SDG framework (…) is the recognition of the intimate link between human well-being, economic prosperity and a healthy environment" (UNEP 2015). This report also states "that 12 of the 17 Goals promote human well-being through sustainable use of natural resources" and highlights the close interlinkages between the different goals. Therefore, it concludes that the goals need to be implemented in conjunction rather than in isolation. It further asserts that the natural resource perspective is far more than only the environmental pillar of sustainable development. Whilst the protection of natural resources (or the environment in general) has been recognised as one of the pillars of sustainable development from the beginning, the Rio + 20 Summit in 2012, in its outcome document "The Future we want", has for the first time acknowledged the role of heritage in sustainable development (UNCSD 2012).

Fig. 1 The sustainable development goals (Author: United Nations, http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/news/communications-material/)

It has to be noted that the text of the sustainable development goals, although described as "aspirational" (Paragraph 55, UNEP 2015), is legally strong in the terms it uses, building on internationally agreed precise goals, including some of the Convention on Biodiversity's Aichi targets (Martinez and Mueller 2015). However, successful implementation of the SDGs will depend on (a) how they are translated into national legal terms, (b) how they can be connected with existing legislation (including existing international conventions and programmes) and (c) how future legislation and policy is influenced by the SDGs. This includes the biodiversity-related conventions,[1] including the World Heritage Convention. Therefore, it is crucial to examine selected international policy frameworks and conventions to determine their links to the SDGs and contribution to their implementation.

On the occasion of the adoption of the SDGs, the Liaison Group of the Biodiversity-Related Conventions stated that these conventions "can contribute significantly to the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals" (UNEP-CBD 2015). However, the implementation of the SDGs will also need a coherent approach by the different conventions and policies. The UNEP International Resources Panel states, as a recommendation, that the international community should "create coherence and coordination among policy strategies for achieving

[1] These are World Heritage Convention (WHC), Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), RAMSAR Convention on Wetlands, Convention of International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES), International Plant Protection Convention (IPPC), International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture (ITGRFA) and Convention on Migratory Species of Wild Animals (CMS).

multiple SDGs in order to achieve co-benefits and to avoid counterproductive results", as the various goals may create competing resource demands (UNEP 2015).

In the context of the World Heritage Convention, it seems adequate to examine how the SDGs and their targets are already embedded within the convention itself, its Operational Guidelines and other policies, as well as to identify gaps that need to be closed.

Links Between World Heritage and the SDGs: The Policy Level

The SDGs and the World Heritage Convention present two complementary approaches: The World Heritage Convention acknowledges the need for sustainable development as the key to safeguard the world's natural and cultural heritage, whilst the SDGs "are based on an integrated approach where the role of nature in sustainable development is explicitly recognised and articulated" (Martinez and Mueller 2015). The SDGs do not only encompass important goals related to natural resources, they – for the first time – include targets related to cultural heritage. Target 11.4 even goes a step further: it links natural and cultural heritage by calling for "making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable by strengthening efforts to protect natural and cultural heritage". Here a link with the World Heritage Convention (Articles 4 and 5) is clearly evident, but this can also be seen as a strong call to enhance the collaboration between nature and culture when implementing the convention (ICOMOS 2015).

In the last 40 years the World Heritage Convention has proven its importance and strengths with regard to natural resource preservation: it has contributed to safeguarding some of the world's most iconic natural sites, such as Lake Baikal and the Serengeti, from adverse development impacts. Although the World Heritage Convention's primary focus is on preservation of the world's natural and cultural heritage, over time the convention has developed towards an inclusive approach to sustainable development (Engels 2015). This includes the addition of "sustainable use" in the convention's Operational Guidelines (paragraphs 6, 112, 119, and 132) and an in-depth discussion of the concept by the World Heritage decision-making bodies – the World Heritage Committee and the General Assembly.

Parallel to the development process of the SDGs, the World Heritage Committee has asked for the development of a policy for the integration of a sustainable development perspective into the convention. As a result, in November 2015 the General Assembly of the World Heritage Convention adopted a "Policy for the integration of a sustainable development perspective into the processes of the World Heritage Convention" (GA of the World Heritage Convention 2015). This policy document calls on its members – the States Parties – to "recognise (…) that World Heritage conservation and management strategies that incorporate a sustainable development perspective embrace not only the OUV but also the well-being of present and future generations" (Paragraph 6, GA of the World Heritage Convention 2015).

Furthermore, the resolution recognises that if "the heritage sector does not fully embrace sustainable development (…) it will find itself a victim of, rather than a catalyst for, change" (Paragraph 5, GA of the World Heritage Convention 2015).

The policy document, which has been developed in a process almost parallel to the SDGs, addresses the majority of the SDGs in the specific context of the World Heritage Convention (Table 1). However, the targets related to poverty reduction and stopping hunger (Goals 1 & 2) are only addressed in a very general manner. Given that there is no direct link between World Heritage and energy or industrialisation, it is not surprising that Goals 7 and 9 are not addressed at all. Notwithstanding the relevance of this policy document, it doesn't provide practical guidance on how to balance heritage protection and sustainable development. It will therefore only be effective when translated into the convention's Operational Guidelines and supplemented by clear guidance for national stakeholders and site managers. To enable governments to ensure that their heritage conservation and management policies and programmes are aligned with broader sustainable development goals, further guidelines and tools and are needed.

As Martinez and Mueller (2015) have stated, the SDGs include an important goal on governance. Goal 16 ("Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels") is important as "the issues included in this goal significantly affect the impact of all the others". Governance issues are also highly relevant within the World Heritage system. The convention has over time developed a coherent governance approach: its Operational Guidelines (UNESCO 1994, rev. edn) are steering the implementation of the convention and have broadened the range of stakeholders involved in the convention's processes to include governments, scientific advisory bodies (IUCN, ICOMOS and ICCROM), civil society and communities. Finally, the last amendments of the Operational Guidelines in 2015 have strengthened the role of indigenous peoples in the application of the Convention. This governance framework can be regarded as very relevant to the implementation of SDG 16.

Links Between World Heritage and the SDGs: The Operational Level

Besides the policy level addressed in the last chapter, linkages between the SDGs and the World Heritage Convention can also be found on the operational level. On this level concrete contributions of the convention to the implementation of the SDGs can be recognised. For this exercise, it is worth not only looking into the 17 SDGs but also their 169 detailed targets. A rough analysis of the SDGs suggests that all of the 17 SDGs have a direct or inherent link to the World Heritage Convention. However, given the specific focus of the Convention, it is no surprise that the direct linkages are concentrated on only part of the SDGs and subsequent targets. Next, this paper will further explore the linkages between natural World Heritage and the SDGs.

Table 1 Comparison of the SDGs vs. the World Heritage Policy document

Sustainable development goals	Resolution world heritage and sustainable development
1: End poverty in all its forms everywhere	Paragraph 27: Contribution of World Heritage properties to poverty alleviation
2: End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture	Paragraph 19: World Heritage properties providing food as part of ecosystem services
3: Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages	Paragraph 19: Enhancing quality of life and well-being
4: Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all	Addressed in various paragraphs noting the need for education for sustainable development
5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls	Paragraphs 17 and 23 (Inclusive social development / achieving gender equality)
6: Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all	Paragraph 19: World Heritage properties providing water and sanitation as part of ecosystem services
7: Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all	Reference is only made to the promotion of renewable energy use (paragraph 15)
8: Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all	Paragraphs 24 and 25: Ensuring growth, employment, income and livelihoods; contribution of WH properties to employment and economic growth
9: Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialisation and foster innovation	No concrete reference
10: Reduce inequality within and amongst countries	No concrete reference
11: Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable	Protection and safeguarding of the world cultural and natural heritage as a specific target included in this Goal
12: Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns	Paragraph 15 (Environmental sustainability, protecting biological diversity and ecosystem services and benefits)
13: Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts	Paragraph 14 and 16 (Environmental sustainability, resilience to disasters and climate change
14: Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development	Direct link to natural heritage (Articles 4 and 5 of the Convention), Paragraph 15
15: Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss	Direct link to natural heritage (Articles 4 and 5 of the Convention), Paragraph 15
16: Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels	Paragraphs 13 and 28 (Fostering Peace and Security)
17: Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalise the global partnership for sustainable development	No concrete reference

The most fundamental contribution of natural World Heritage obviously lies in the preservation of natural resources, including outstanding sites containing some of the richest combinations of terrestrial and marine biodiversity. To date, 203 natural and 35 mixed World Heritage sites, including 49 marine sites, cover 286 million hectares of land and sea (IUCN 2016). More than 70% of these sites are inscribed precisely for their biodiversity values (inscription under criteria ix and/or x) and can be recognised as a direct contribution to Goal 15 "Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss". But, many sites also inscribed under criteria vii and viii, and even sites inscribed as cultural landscapes, often contain important biodiversity values. Bertzky et al. (2013) state: "the existing network of biodiversity World Heritage sites encompasses many outstanding protected areas that represent a wide range of global biodiversity conservation priorities". Their analysis also concludes that a number of globally important priority areas for biodiversity conservation are not included in the existing network of biodiversity World Heritage sites (Bertzky et al. 2013). This identifies a further contribution of the World Heritage system to biodiversity preservation and thus links to Goal 15.

Presently, marine World Heritage sites account for 9,5% of the total sea area covered by all recorded marine protected areas (IUCN 2016). These sites include large iconic places such as the Phoenix Islands Protected Area (Kiribati) with 40.8 million hectares and Papahānaumokuākea (Hawai'i/USA) with 36.5 million hectares. Their protection constitutes a direct contribution to Goal 14 "Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development".

Besides its intrinsic value for present and future generations (Articles 4 and 5 of the Convention) and the preservation of biodiversity values (Goals 14 and 15), the relevance of natural World Heritage sites can be found in their contribution to the economic and social dimensions of sustainable development. Well-protected natural World Heritage properties can provide ecosystem services and benefits – many of which are reflected in the SDGs. These include the provision of food, clean air or water, health benefits, flood prevention or carbon sequestration as well as cultural services.

A recent IUCN study has examined, in the first global assessment of its kind, the ecosystem services and benefits provided by natural and Mixed World Heritage sites based on the analysis of IUCN'S first Conservation Outlook assessment providing detailed site-level data (IUCN 2014). Many of the identified benefits can be directly linked to the SDGs and targets. The study identifies carbon sequestration (target 13.1), soil stabilisation (target 15.3) and flood prevention (target 15.3) as important ecosystem services provided by about half of all natural sites (IUCN 2014). The significant role of natural World Heritage sites in climate change mitigation is underlined by the results of a quantitative analysis: natural World Heritage sites in the pan-tropics are estimated to harbour 5.7 billion tons of forest biomass, with a 10% tree cover threshold and have a higher forest biomass carbon density on average than the remaining protected area network (IUCN 2014). In relation to water provision (targets 6.1, 6.3, 6.5, 6.6), the role of World Heritage can be illustrated by

the example of Morne Trois Pitons National Park (Dominica): the park provides 60% of the water supply to nearby communities outside of its boundaries. This includes drinking water supply but also water for farming, fishing and bathing (IUCN 2014).

Food provision (target 2.4 referring to "sustainable food production") is reported for 30% of all sites including legal subsistence hunting, collection of wild plants and mushrooms, permissible fishing, traditional agriculture or livestock grazing and fodder collection. The relatively low percentage can possibly be explained by the fact that in many natural sites, hunting or natural resource collection is forbidden for conservation purposes (IUCN 2014). Gunung Mulu National Park in Malaysia presents an example where indigenous tribes are given rights for subsistence hunting and harvesting of plants, which allows them not only access to their main food sources but also to maintain their traditional way of life – an important social benefit (IUCN 2014).

World Heritage sites may also present an important asset for sustainable economic development, by attracting investments and stimulating creation or maintenance of locally based jobs (target 8.3). The mentioned IUCN benefits study finds contribution to the local economy amongst the highest reported benefits (for 65% of all natural sites). This includes not only local job creation in tourism but often also attraction of external investment (investments in tourism infrastructure, research or ecosystem management) (IUCN 2014).

Targets 8.9 and 12.b relate to sustainable tourism, calling for promotion of "sustainable tourism that creates jobs and promotes local culture and products" (Target 8.9) and for developing tools to monitor sustainable tourism impacts (Target 12.b). A recent analysis of ecosystem services of all natural World Heritage sites (IUCN 2014) has shown that for 93% of the sites "recreation and tourism" are seen as clear benefits (IUCN 2014; Engels and Strasdas 2016). Sustainable tourism development in natural World Heritage sites, considering the global coverage and that World Heritage sites are often major tourism destinations, can considerably contribute to the SDGs and fulfil a model role. With its sustainable tourism programme, the World Heritage Convention is addressing the importance of sustainable tourism in the context of World Heritage sites. An excellent example of how application of the Convention has triggered sustainable tourism development is the case of the Wadden Sea (Denmark, Germany, Netherlands). Following the inscription of the Dutch-German part in 2009, the stakeholders have engaged in a multilevel process to develop a joint trilateral tourism strategy and steer the future tourism development of Northern Europe's most visited coastal nature attraction (Engels 2015; IUCN 2014).

The social dimension is also well covered by the SDGs, and natural World Heritage sites have already demonstrated an important contribution towards achieving the respective targets. Many natural World Heritage sites include significant cultural and spiritual values and may have great meaning for the survival of cultures. The World Heritage List includes important sacred natural sites, which may be defined as areas of special spiritual significance to people and communities

(examples include the Great Himalayan National Park/India, Golden Mountains of Altai/Russian Federation or Sacred Mijikenda Kaya Forests/Kenya). Also, many natural World Heritage sites present important aesthetic values (93% of the sites; IUCN 2014). Target 11.4 calls upon governments to "Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage". With their spiritual and cultural values, natural sites present the inherent link between nature and culture and contribute significantly to this target. Furthermore, natural sites provide extensive recreational and health benefits (often linked to provision of classical ecosystem services such as clean air or water provision but also to the collection of medicinal plants for local use) and can thus be associated with Goal 3.

Many natural sites also play an important role as a resource for knowledge building as well as contributing to education (links to targets 4.7, 4a). An excellent example is the case of Sian Ka'an in Mexico. The World Heritage site contributes to the conservation and development of indigenous Mayan knowledge and traditions, combining scientific knowledge with the development of management strategies and providing local educational facilities (IUCN 2014). The World Heritage site of Škocjan Caves (Slovenia) interacts with schools and has established a broad learning network. The park engages widely with the local population for safeguarding and revitalising local cultural practices related to the parks values (Galla 2012). Target 12.3 reads as follows: "By 2030, ensure that people everywhere have the relevant information and awareness for sustainable development and lifestyles in harmony with nature". The two mentioned case studies, as well as many other natural sites (93% recorded by IUCN 2014), contribute widely to this target.

In conclusion, the above examples illustrate specific contributions of natural World Heritage sites to the SDGs and targets. Other relevant case studies exist and have been collected by IUCN (2014) and Galla (2012). Furthermore, it has to be noted that benefits are always site-specific and need to be identified case by case. Site managers need to be aware of this and also the fact that there may be trade-offs between different ecosystem services and the benefits (IUCN 2014).

Expertise and solid economic assessment are certainly useful tools to help site managers and governments make informed decisions on development in and around World Heritage sites. However, so far only limited economic evaluation studies of ecosystem services and benefits in World Heritage sites exist. IUCN (2014), as an outcome of their benefits study, recommends: "Decision making processes should balance economic evaluation and non-monetary values, such as the cultural and spiritual values." In addition, it needs to be noted that not all economic development (extractive industries related to oil, gas and minerals) is compatible with World Heritage status. At its 37th Session in 2013, the World Heritage Committee urged all States Parties to the Convention and leading industry stakeholders "to respect the "No-go" commitment by not permitting extractive activities within World Heritage properties, and by making every effort to ensure that extractives companies located in their territory (...)" (Decision 37COM 7 (§8), UNESCO 2013). All other development options need to be assessed concerning their potential negative impacts on OUV.

Outlook

The implementation of the SDG framework will need considerable action on an international, national and subnational level. As Martinez and Mueller (2015) have called for, the "integrated approach (of the SDGs) must be translated into concrete planning and governance". The analyses above demonstrate that the World Heritage Convention, with its universal scope, offers opportunities to contribute to the SDG implementation on all levels. Site level experiences in particular can be used as models for other protected areas and heritage sites worldwide. As the World Heritage Convention's approach goes far beyond the preservation of sites listed on the World Heritage list, its contribution to the SDGs is much broader.

From the World Heritage Convention's perspective, the SDG framework presents opportunities and challenges: if the convention's processes can be aligned with this new framework, it can present a strong opportunity to work with relevant development sectors towards the proposed integrated approach. This will probably result in greater support for the convention and thus for the conservation of natural and cultural heritage. To realise this alignment, it will be necessary to further identify the convention's contribution to SDG implementation, especially for the cultural sector, and to build stronger cooperation with the development sector. In addition, when integrating the sustainable development policy guidelines into the convention's processes and Operational Guidelines, the SDG framework should be taken into account. This includes the need to develop further guidance for States Parties and site managers on how to implement the sustainable development policy as well as capacity-building activities (Paragraph 11, GA of the World Heritage Convention 2015).

The SDG framework also presents an opportunity for the World Heritage Convention to strengthen the synergies between natural and cultural heritage (preservation) by focusing on their joint contribution to the SDGs. The existing benefit analysis (IUCN 2014) has already identified the cultural values of natural sites as an important ecosystem service. This suggests a much stronger approach to nature-culture relationships within the Convention. The IUCN-ICOMOS "Connecting practice" project, which was completed in 2015, noted the joint long-term aim of both IUCN and ICOMOS to "influence a shift in conceptual and practical arrangements for the consideration of culture and nature within the implementation of the World Heritage Convention" (ICOMOS and IUCN 2015). The SDG framework might give new impetus for working towards this goal.

It has to be mentioned that due to the integrated structure of the SDG framework, it will be crucial to address the goals in an integrated manner. The UNEP International resource panel has suggested, in its report, that policy strategies addressing single goal outcomes "are unlikely to be successful" (UNEP 2015) because, for example, many of the SDGs (especially goals 2, 6 and 7) depend on the same land systems which are also subject to conservation goals (Goal 15). This is of special importance for the World Heritage Convention, as its focus on natural and cultural heritage preservation will have to take these dependencies into account.

To conclude, implementing the SDGs in the Post-2015 Development Agenda will require joint policy strategies. On the international level, the World Heritage Convention can serve as a valuable instrument for creating synergies between conservation and sustainable development whilst contributing to the implementation on both institutional and site level. Natural World Heritage sites have already proven that they can be used as models for SDG implementation on a local level. Furthermore, as the UNESCO World Heritage Centre itself states: "World Heritage may provide a platform to develop and test new approaches that demonstrate the relevance of heritage for sustainable development, with a view to its integration in the UN Post-2015 development agenda" (UNESCO 2016). With the adoption of its sustainable development policy, the Convention has taken a step towards this integrated approach. The successful implementation is likely to benefit the preservation of sites and can mutually benefit the aims of the Convention itself.

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Part II
Beyond Existing Approaches: New and Innovative Theoretical Perceptions

The Sustainability of Digital Documentary Heritage

Anca Claudia Prodan

Introduction

The aim of this article is to discuss the implications of the concept of sustainability in relation to digital documentary heritage. Although the concept of sustainability is not widely used in this context, its underlying meaning – the ability to be maintained over time – is embodied in the notion of preservation, defined as all measures necessary to keep a resource permanently accessible (Edmondson 2002, p. 12). Especially in regard to digital documents, access holds a very important position, being considered the end purpose of preservation. Ensuring access to information has been a key objective of UNESCO since its creation in 1945, the importance of this objective being reflected in many of its activities, most recently in the proclamation of 28 September as the International Day for the Universal Access to Information. This is considered a human right, being specified in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (United Nations 1948) in Article 19, which reads: "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom … to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers". The same principle also underpins activities developed in the context of the UNESCO Memory of the World (MoW) Programme, concerned with documentary heritage.

This paper is based on research carried out in the context of a doctoral dissertation. See Anca Claudia Prodan, *The Digital "Memory of the World": An Exploration of Documentary Practices in the Age of Digital Technology*, available at https://opus4.kobv.de/opus4-btu/frontdoor/index/index/docId/3013; parts of this paper were presented at the conference "The Memory of the World in the Digital Age: Digitization and Preservation", organized by UNESCO and the University of British Columbia in 2012, and were published in the conference proceedings.

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With the development of digital technology[1] and its proliferation around the world, for the first time in human history, the objective of universal access seems to be achievable. Age-old documents that were locked in archives, or otherwise physically accessible only to a few people, can now be accessed by the entire world. Indeed, an ancient manuscript, which has become too fragile to be exhibited, or even touched, can still be digitized, providing digital access to it, while ensuring the preservation of the original document. The Internet even helps increase knowledge about the existence of that document by facilitating its dissemination. Yet, due to the process of obsolescence, digital technology, beyond the possibilities it offers for accessing documents, also triggers challenges regarding their preservation. Computer hardware and software change so often and rapidly that documents produced just a few years ago are incompatible with newer technologies, making them technically inaccessible. Ironically, the age-old manuscript is believed to survive hundreds of years, if cared for properly, but its digital copy is not expected to live longer than ten years. This is a serious problem, especially for those "born-digital" (UNESCO 2003) documents that were produced with computer technology and thus exist only in digital form. Some authors even go so far as to warn against a digital dark ages (Kuny 1997), with future generations inheriting a huge amount of information from generations that preceded ours, yet no information from our "information age". Although the international community of librarians, archivists and information experts has been trying to develop measures to counteract the problems triggered by technological obsolescence, no clear-cut solution has yet been found to ensure the sustainability of digital documents.

Starting from the observation that access to documents is central but most often understood only in technical terms, this article argues that reconsidering access as a multifaceted concept is necessary in order to conceptualize the requirements of sustainability in the context of digital documentary heritage. First, the field of documentary heritage is introduced, placing emphasis on digital documents and their characteristics. Second, the current meanings of sustainability in this context are clarified, relating it to the notions of preservation and access. Third, the limits of approaching access in physical terms are highlighted and why it is a multifaceted concept is explained. Finally, the paper concludes by suggesting that reconsidering the notion of access is necessary for achieving sustainability of digital documentary heritage.

The Preservation of Documentary Heritage

Amongst international heritage-related initiatives developed by UNESCO, the Memory of the World (MoW) Programme covers the field of documentary heritage. MoW was launched in 1992 and it was intended as a large-scale initiative meant to

[1] For the purpose of this article, digital technology is used as a generic term to refer to computer and Internet technologies.

supplement the activities of heritage institutions such as libraries and archives, which seemed to be insufficient. In addition to conservation activities, storing and cataloguing, or accessibility arrangements carried out by heritage institutions, there emerged the need for large-scale awareness-raising measures to sensitize governments and the public at large to the relevance and needs of documentary heritage so as to attract funds and other forms of support. Consequently, MoW was established not just to facilitate preservation and assist access but also to increase awareness worldwide about the existence and value of documents by raising them above their relevance as sources of information and declaring them heritage of humanity (Edmondson 2002, p. 8). Thus, MoW was designed as an all-inclusive programme covering documents from all times and places, and in all formats and media, ranging from palm leaves to digital files.

When MoW was established, the main concerns that motivated its creation revolved around the poor state of conservation of documents due to natural causes of decay as well as man-made causes, such as armed conflict or looting, but the process of technological obsolescence was less of an issue. In the very first draft of general guidelines (Arnoult 1993, p. 4), which offered the basis for implementing MoW,[2] it was acknowledged that computer discs become obsolete very quickly and that they must be kept if access to information is to be maintained, but this was just a minor reference, and nobody could have foreseen the scale of the problems that would emerge as computer and Internet technology developed. Despite some warnings, the potential shortcomings were obscured by the benefits offered in terms of access. Only the later-adopted 2003 UNESCO Charter on the Preservation of Digital Heritage (herewith simply the Charter) aimed to alert governments, industry and the public about the problems triggered by digital technology.

At first glance, the Charter and its underlying notion of digital heritage seem to be an addition to UNESCO's body of heritage concepts and programmes, next to world heritage, underwater, intangible or documentary heritage, acting as a programme in its own right, but in fact the Charter is an offshoot of MoW. The link between them is not obvious to the general public, and despite the *Guidelines for the Preservation of Digital Heritage* (National Library of Australia 2003), which operates in connection to the Charter, bearing the MoW logo on the cover, no explanation about its relation to MoW is provided; the MoW programme is not even mentioned. The link has become explicit only recently with several activities. One example is the adoption in 2012 of the UNESCO/UBC[3] Vancouver Declaration, during the conference entitled The Memory of the World in the Digital Age: Digitization and Preservation. Another example is the launching of the UNESCO/PERSIST project aimed at developing solutions for the sustainability of digital documentary heritage. Still another example is the unanimous adoption by the General Conference of UNESCO in November 2015 of the Recommendation concerning

[2] First guidelines were suggested in 1993 by Arnoult. They served as basis for drafting the first official guidelines, which were adopted in 1995. They were revised in 2002, this still being the version used today.

[3] The University of British Columbia.

the Preservation of, and Access to, Documentary Heritage including in Digital Form, which provides a reference framework for dealing with both digital and nondigital documentary heritages. However, the

Charter (UNESCO 2003) was the first to introduce the notion of digital heritage, defining it very broadly as that which encompasses "cultural, educational, scientific and administrative resources, as well as technical, legal, medical and other kinds of information created digitally, or converted into digital form from existing analogue resources". Although conceptually digital heritage is just a subtype of documentary heritage, from a technical perspective, there are important differences between digital and nondigital or traditional documents, with consequences for preservation and access.

A nondigital document has two dimensions, the informational content and the physical carrier holding the information, and they are considered to form a unity (Edmondson 2002, p. 8). A digital document has three dimensions: first, it is a physical object, consisting of inscriptions on a physical carrier, namely, the digital code of 0 s and 1 s recorded on a physical entity; second, it is a logical object consisting of computer-readable code; and third, it is a conceptual object that makes sense to people, this referring to what is being displayed on the computer screen (National Library of Australia 2003, p. 8).[4] The conceptual difference between digital and traditional documents has far-reaching practical implications. In the case of traditional readable documents such as a printed book, the preservation of the carrier, i.e. paper, was necessary because the information was recorded on it, with access to the book implying physical access to the carrier. In the case of machine-readable documents such as a digital book recorded on a CD-ROM, the preservation of the carrier, i.e. CD-ROM, is necessary, but having access to it does not guarantee access to the digital book. The machine that "reads" the CD-ROM, i.e. computer, is also necessary. Given that computer technology, which is a combination of hardware and software, changes very often, it is assumed that preserving content requires transferring it constantly from one carrier to another, rather than preserving the carrier, leading to what some authors call a new preservation paradigm.[5]

There is one further characteristic that illustrates the difference between digital and traditional documents, namely, that the former are not "stable and fixed in the way we think of photographs or films or books", as noted by Uricchio (2007, p. 16). Discussing social media, which is a term used to refer to various software applications that allow people to share resources and discuss via the Internet, Uricchio (2007, p. 17) argues that "blogs and wikis are not only highly dynamic as texts; they are examples of networked and collaborative cultural production". Also John

[4] From a purely technical perspective, scholars speak about the above-mentioned dimensions, but the *Guidelines for the Preservation of Digital Heritage* focusing on digital heritage rather than digital documents notes a fourth dimension, i.e. "bundles of essential elements that embody the message, purpose, or features for which the material was chosen for preservation" (National Library of Australia 2003: 35).

[5] It should be specified that this method, known as migration, is not the only one, with emulation, or technology preservation representing further examples. However, usually authors refer to this method in order to illustrate changes triggered by digital technology.

Mackenzie Owen (2007, p. 48) notes similar aspects as being fundamental to digital objects, sharing the view that they are fluid and dynamic, interactive and collaborative. Both authors note that these are defining characteristics of digital documents, arguing that the changes they undergo, as well as their collaborative and interactive nature, are part of the document. In a preservation context, they argue that these aspects must also be preserved as part of the digital object (Uricchio 2007, p. 17; Owen 2007, p. 48). This creates many challenges because so far all preservation activities have been constructed around a finite product, and dealing with something that is constantly changing is difficult to conceptualize, let alone address practically. Yola de Lusenet (2007, p. 175), acknowledging that digital documents are constantly changing and interactive, has even suggested that the preservation of digital heritage is much closer to the safeguarding of intangible heritage – constantly recreated by communities – than the traditional method of preservation based on conserving the carrier. As these examples suggest, digital technology is not just a tool for producing documents in digital form but one that has profoundly altered the entire field of preservation, from concepts to practices. This has implications for the sustainability of digital documentary heritage.

Sustainability and Digital Preservation

The notion of sustainability has become prominent in the field of heritage, being a guiding principle in the management of world heritage sites as well as in the promotion of intangible cultural heritage. With a few exceptions, as discussed below, the concept of sustainability is seldom mentioned explicitly in relation to documentary heritage, although it is now increasingly employed in relation to digital documents. But despite the absence of the term, sustainability considerations are not missing, being implied in several notions such as long-term preservation, permanent access, digital continuity, or digital longevity. The underlying meaning of these concepts resembles the notion of sustainability, understood as the ability of documents to be maintained over time.

Maintaining traditional documents over time requires, as already noted, conserving the carrier, but in the context of MoW, preservation is defined very broadly as "the sum total of the steps necessary to ensure the permanent accessibility – forever – of documentary heritage" (Edmondson 2002. p. 12). Conservation is included in preservation, and it refers to those "actions, involving minimal technical intervention, required to prevent further deterioration to original materials" (Edmondson 2002, p. 12). In the case of digital documents, speaking about conservation does not make sense. Instead, the notion of access becomes crucial. Regardless of the type of document, ensuring access is important because documents contain information, the function of which is fulfilled only when people receive it. Thus, as the general guidelines for implementing MoW state, "permanent access is the goal of preservation: without this, preservation has no purpose except as an end in itself" (Edmondson 2002, p. 14). Considering the process of obsolescence, in the case of digital documents,

access becomes more important than anything else. In traditional preservation sometimes "benign neglect" was applied, meaning that documents were stored and left in proper conditions for a certain period of time (Harvey 2006). Unless they were destroyed in a disaster, the documents were found in almost the same condition.[6] Due to technological obsolescence, this method is not suitable in the case of digital documents, which have to be managed throughout their lifecycle, starting with their creation, to acquisition, identification and cataloguing, storage, preservation and finally access (Hodge 2000; de Lusenet 2007). This means that even before deciding whether a document is of heritage value and thus worthy of preservation, thought must be given to how the document will be accessed in future: the hardware and software used, the format chosen, and the creation of metadata, to name a few aspects. However, regardless of its relevance, many authors argue that sustainability is not just about access.

Meyers et al. (2012) try to extend the three pillars of sustainability – economic, environmental and social – to libraries, archives and museums, explaining how each pillar is relevant for the activities of such heritage institutions. However, they focus on sustainability as an element in the vision and management of these institutions. For the purpose of the present article, works, such as that of Kevin Bradley (2007) who links the notion of sustainability with the preservation of digital documents, are of interest. Bradley (2007, p. 151) defines "the concept of digital sustainability as encompassing the wide range of issues and concerns that contribute to the longevity of digital information". For Bradley (ibid.) digital sustainability provides the context for digital preservation because it implies also technical and sociotechnical issues associated with the creation and management of the digital item. What he suggests is that preservation is just one of the many issues that contribute to the sustainability of digital documents, arguing that in the context of archives "preservation is increasingly being defined as sustainable access" (Bradley 2007, p. 155). This view is shared also by Harvey (2006), who doesn't speak about sustainability as concept but defines digital preservation, similarly to Bradley, as "maintaining access over time to information in digital form". Corrado and Moulaison (2014, p. 67) dedicate an entire book to the topic of digital preservation giving sustainability a prominent place in their publication, even stating that "sustainability is the final goal of digital preservation initiatives".

Although there is no consensus on what sustainability implies (Corrado and Moulaison 2014, p. 72), and despite approaching the topic in slightly different ways, these authors share the view that digital preservation is not only about technical solutions to provide access, as the discussion related to obsolescence may indicate. Based on interviews with professionals involved in preservation activities, Harvey (2006) notes that there is less emphasis on technical aspects and more on risk management, on intellectual control through the use of metadata, ways of thinking and changes in understanding. Additionally, Harvey (2006) notes that social and

[6] There are exceptions, for example, audio and video tape which contain unstable chemical binders. Even if stored in proper conditions, the chemical binder degrades over time, causing the tape to break into pieces or crumble to dust. Acidic paper faces a similar situation.

institutional aspects become more important because any technical solution requires support from institutions, which adjust their direction, purpose and funding to the changes triggered by digital technology. Bradley (2007, p. 156) seems to share this view when stating that "the ability to preserve and provide access to digital information is linked to more than technical issues, and that economic, social, and other such factors will play a part in determining the useful life of any information encoded in digital form". Referring to the emergence of sustainability in an environmental context, and its relation to social and economic aspects, Bradley (2007, p. 157) argues that the same debate occurs in a "sustainable digital environment", but the word is "used to mean building an economically viable infrastructure, both social and technical […] This includes the whole socio-technical composition of the repository, the short- and long-term value of the material, the costs of undertaking an action, and the recognition that technologies do not sustain digital objects: institutions do, using the available technology". Corrado and Moulaison (2014, pp. 3–6, 68) note similar aspects as being characteristic of sustainability concerns in relation to digital preservation, not being only about technical aspects, but rather an "exercise in risk management", comprising management issues, policies, legal- and rights-related issues and financial concerns.

Indeed, it is possible to agree that sustainability of digital documents and digital preservation are not just about technical aspects of access. Nevertheless, this article argues that access concerns can be considered a prerequisite for sustainability. Specifically because digital preservation implies a life cycle management, which starts with the creation of documents, thoughts about sustainability of digital documents must include concerns about how people use digital technology. After all, it is people who create documents; documents are preserved for people; and it is people who interact with documents, using technology as a mediator. To be able to determine how people can meaningfully engage with the technology in a way that leads to the sustainability of digital documents, access concerns should be a priority. However, to this end, access must be approached as a multifaceted concept, rather than only in technical terms as has been the case. The next subchapter is dedicated to this notion.

Access as a Multifaceted Concept

The notion of access is most often understood in technical terms. Even in those accounts, which approach sustainability and preservation in broad terms, including social, economic, and legal aspects, there is a subtle understanding that the final goal is technical access to documents. Without denying the relevance of this aspect, we should acknowledge that access can be understood in many other ways. This can be illustrated through an analysis by Jan van Dijk (2009), who distinguishes four understandings of access, dividing them into hierarchical stages. He contextualizes the notion of access within the discourse on the digital divide based on a survey from Europe, but his discussion is relevant also in the field of preservation at large, regardless of geographical location.

He starts with motivational access, which reflects the first stage in appropriating digital technology. Acquiring the motivation to use a computer is a precondition, given that, as Dutton (2004, p. 19) has also remarked, even if the technology is physically available, it does not mean that it will be used. A large-scale European survey indicates various reasons why people refuse to use the Internet, such as not perceiving it as a need, not having the time for it, not liking it or having technophobe perceptions regarding the Internet and computer games as being dangerous (van Dijk 2009, p. 290). These are social, cultural or psychological reasons and have nothing to do with the availability of the technology, which van Dijk (2009, p. 291) lists as a secondary reason. Accordingly, he calls this second stage material access, which refers to having the physical infrastructure, computers, Internet connection and services. When the digital divide is discussed, examples often refer to differences between European and African countries; however, van Dijk (2009, pp. 292–3) also remarks upon important variations in material access within Europe. For example, surveys show that countries in Northern and Western Europe use digital technology more intensively than those in Southern and Eastern Europe. There are variations also within countries depending on age, gender, income and cost, lifestyles and other variables. Skills access is a third step, because even if the motivation and physical infrastructure exist, one also needs the know-how. Van Dijk (2009, pp. 294–5) speaks about "digital skills", such as the capacity to work with hardware and software; the ability to work with the formal characteristics of computers; the ability to find, select, process and evaluate information; and the capacity to use computers as the means to particular goals. The fourth stage is usage access, which van Dijk (2009, p. 297) states is the final goal of the appropriation of any new technology and refers to its actual use, including usage time, number and diversity of applications and the degree of active and creative, as opposed to passive, use.

In line with van Dijk (2009), we can state that ignorance of the aforementioned stages of access may lead to false perceptions about the digital divide, a statement that is relevant also in the field of preservation. Material access is often equated with usage access, leading to false perceptions concerning the relevance of digital technology for access to documents. While libraries and archives digitize documents on the grounds that this is what users demand, some research contradicts this argument. A project carried out in the United States at various higher education institutions studied the impact of the Internet on students' private and academic life, including observation of how they work in the library. The results showed that all students checked email, but few students consulted library websites, and even if they used the computer lab to do academic work, they used commercial search engines, not library and university websites (Jones 2002, p. 13). Thus, digital preservation and sustainability requirements may not only be about access, but access surely needs more careful reflection.

A further facet to consider is that computers are not only technological tools but at the same time cultural artefacts; they are technologies created in specific cultural contexts, which they reflect in design and functionality. Two examples are worth noting. Maja van der Velden (2010, p. 120) narrates her experience during research in a Maasai community in Africa, involving the local use of computer software that

allowed people to access as well as archive texts. The uploaded texts could be arranged into categories predefined in the software. The categories were based on potential audiences as envisioned by the programme designers, but it was open-source software. Thus, changes could be made allowing people to adapt it locally for their own needs. In addition to the predefined categories, users could add further categories that suited them best. Predefined categories included farmers and fishermen, but Maasai or pastoralist communities, the intended audience of the local volunteer involved in the research, were not included. Although he could add categories that best suited him, he refused to do so and attempted to use what was available despite not really serving his needs. As explained by van der Velden (2010), the Maasai local did not consider that adding categories was his responsibility or that he was in a position to make any changes, because he was not part of the team that created the software. From his point of view, it was inappropriate to interfere with other people's work. According to van der Velden (2010, p. 120), this indicates a different understanding of human-technology relations and "shows the need for technology designs that allow people to archive their knowledge in a manner that is appropriate to their knowledge and to their ways of knowing the world". Thus, if we agree that the computer is not simply a technical tool, we could state that in fact digital access is always cultural access.

A second example, which enforces the previous one, refers to research from the field of ethno-computing. Scholars argue that the history of computer science reflects an extension of the Western[7] system of knowledge: "computers are cultural artifacts that are designed to meet and inherently exhibit the Western understanding of logic, inference, quantification, comparison, representation, measuring, and concepts of time and space" (Tedre et al. 2003). Referring to the example of internationalization and localization software, which enable the adaptation of digital technology to different geographical locations, customs, languages and time zones, Mackenzie (2008) argues that such measures may not make computers relevant to non-Western contexts, as intended. Despite being adaptable in certain regards, the software is assumed to be universal as text and practice, which Mackenzie (2008, p. 158) disputes. As he explains, software and the way computers work rely on practices of enumerating, numbering and sorting, which anthropological studies of mathematics have demonstrated are not universal. For example, European numbering practices are in base 10, whereas Yoruba include base 5, 10 and 20 (Mackenzie 2008, p. 158). In a similar manner, Tedre et al. (2003) challenge the "universal usability"[8] of computers explaining that while the term is associated with an egalitarian opportunity to use digital technology, in essence, it ignores cultural differences. Relying on studies from the field of education, the authors (Tedre et al. 2003) maintain that non-Western students encounter more difficulties when learning how to use or build computers, not because they are incapable or less intelligent but rather because they must first learn a very different worldview and philosophy: "this Western philosophy

[7] The concept of Western, although being an overgeneralization, is employed in this context to refer to the developed countries from Europe and North America.

[8] It is a concept referring to the design of a computer so that it is usable by all people.

may be directly at odds with their perceptions of time and space, society, logic, values, problem solving methods, or even what problems are considered legitimate. Usability is often built on such metaphors and analogies that may not exist outside Western world" (Tedre et al. 2003).

Examples such as those presented above illustrate that even if heritage institutions succeed in maintaining accessibility of documents in a technical sense, this cannot be considered the final aim of preservation. We can agree with the MoW general guidelines that preservation is not an end in itself, but neither is access, which in its turn serves a higher purpose. It is, thus, legitimate to ask, what kind of access are we talking about, and what purposes technical access should serve. Unless we do this, all discussions about sustainability of digital documents, no matter how feasible they are in a technical sense, will remain incomplete.

Conclusions

Starting from some of the conceptual and practical changes triggered by digital technology, this article has attempted to link the concept of sustainability with the field of documentary heritage preservation, highlighting some implications. A review of how this link is approached by several authors demonstrated that sustainability concerns extend beyond the notion of technical access to documents. Sustainability, these authors have suggested, is just as much about risk management, legal, financial, social and institutional concerns. While this approach is not incorrect, this paper has attempted to refocus attention on access not from a technical perspective but as a multifaceted concept, to suggest that in this sense access is a prerequisite for the sustainability of digital documentary heritage. To this end, motivational access, skills and usage access, and cultural access have been discussed.

The relevance of reconsidering access as a multifaceted concept lies in it being a potential measure towards conceptualizing more comprehensively the implications of sustainability in relation to digital documentary heritage. Beyond being sources of information, documents can also be approached as heritage, being also sources of memory and identity. This motivates and underlies the mission of heritage institutions in general, and the Memory of the World Programme in particular. If approached as heritage, we cannot but realize that the sustainability of documents contributes significantly to the sustainability of human societies. Documents have always been relevant to human societies, but the sheer volume produced today in all domains, from the governmental and financial sector to the personal level, coupled with the threats of potential digital dark ages, makes their sustainability a key concern, which should extend beyond heritage institutions, to all those people, creators of digital documents. This is not to suggest that people should replace the activities of heritage institutions. But it is to argue that without people's closer involvement in the management of the life cycle of digital documents, starting with how they use digital technology to create documents, sustainability considerations will not be entirely feasible. Therefore, reconsidering access as a multifaceted concept is not just a way

to conceptualize the implications of sustainability in relation to the preservation of digital documents but perhaps also a necessary step towards conceptualizing the sustainability of human societies and their development.

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Sustainability, Sustainable Development, and Culture: Diverging Concepts and Practices in European Heritage Work

Samantha Lutz and Gertraud Koch

Introduction: Contested Concepts of Sustainability in European Heritage Work

In 1987, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) adapted the concept of sustainability within the field of cultural heritage from the Brundtland Report. This report advanced sustainability as a visionary statement and moved discussions towards the sustainable development of cultural policies. Although the Brundtland Report refers strictly to sustainable development, sustainability has also become popular, with the two terms often used synonymously. In our work, we differentiate between the two concepts by thinking of sustainability as a condition or state, the idea of which originates in the field of ecology, indicating a balance or equilibrium of all elements in this particular system. In ecology, this balance includes the genesis and decay of single elements to maintain the stability and resilience of the system. The ecological inspired idea of sustainability has gained increasing relevance since the Club of Rome report (1972) on the limits of growth, which warned of the loss of the natural bases of life because of unchecked economic growth. Sustainability has also moved from ecology and economy into other fields, such as culture. Despite its commonplace uses, it often remains unclear how the concept of sustainability can be adapted to the field of culture.

In contrast to sustainability, sustainable development addresses the processes of development and change, in which sustainability is seen as a goal rather than a state. This goal is often burdened by ambiguities on how exactly sustainability might be reached (Dessein et al. 2015; Soini and Dessein 2016). Thus, the idea of sustainable

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development tries to bring together two contradictory forces, (a) the stability of the reproduction of ecosystems and (b) the dynamic nature of social and cultural life, i.e. development emerging from economy, technology, social changes, or culture. Attempting to apply sustainability in fields outside ecology creates a paradox, as society, culture, and economy develop according to different principles than ecological systems, which are sustainable when all elements are in equilibrium. But how can the concept of an equilibrium be applied to social, cultural, and economic life at all? To cope with the paradox that there is nothing like "natural laws", or given criteria, to explain an equilibrium in society, culture, or economy, the criteria for what sustainability means in these domains need to be explicated. The goals, norms, and values that justify referring to man-made developments as sustainable, demand reflection, discussion, and commitment to the moral implications and orders. Sustainability in cultural and social life is a matter of political and moral debate rather than a goal to be achieved.

Without considering this paradox, in the first decade of the twenty-first century, the idea of sustainability was introduced as a criterion and goal into several UNESCO and European conventions, including the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO 2003a), the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Diversity of Cultural Expressions (UNESCO 2005), and the Faro Convention (CoE 2005), and has gained relevance worldwide in the course of their implementation. The relationship between sustainability and culture has not yet been addressed in these documents, their operational directives, or elsewhere in the complex and dynamic field of culture and society. Thus, sustainability remains more or less a buzzword that evokes positive values and has become ever more important in times of rapid change – still without defining how it relates to these changes. This makes it imperative to consider long-term consequences, such as unintended impacts or the irreversibility of current activities.

Due to situations of conflict and war, such as the ongoing destruction of ancient historical Iraqi cultural heritage sites and artefacts by members of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) in Mosul, which has provoked public outcry on the loss of heritage worldwide, the question of sustainability has gained new relevance. Even though these destructions of world heritage sites are condemnable acts, they point to an important issue: that is the political nature of heritage and its entanglement with social and moral orders, which differ in their meaning and their relevance depending on world views and standpoints. Which cultural heritages should be sustained is thus not always a shared commitment across nations, groups, and people. Instead, the desirability of sustaining heritage is evaluated differently depending on political standpoints and moral issues. What is discussed in respect to "dark" (cf. Lennon and Foley 2000), "dissonant" (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996), and "difficult" heritage (Macdonald 2009), such as National Socialist heritage in Germany, may be a subject in respect to sustainability too? Heritage as a valorization of particular cultural traditions is political in its nature, and the question of sustainability cannot be separated from the politics inherent to heritage.

It is thus crucial to note that the idea of sustainability in respect to heritage is as political as the heritage to be sustained itself. Similarly, questions of sustainability

are engaged for making claims and negotiating worldviews and social orders. The politics inherent in heritage may impact in some respect how sustainability is understood and enacted. The understanding of sustainability may also vary in regard to particular cultural traditions and the meaning a heritage has for different groups and people. In everyday life, we should then expect a range of meanings and practices relating to sustaining cultural heritage depending on the contexts. Rather than a particular commitment to sustainability, as outlined in the visionary statement of the Brundtland Report, it is likely that the concepts of sustainability in heritage work will vary in reference to the politics, ongoing negotiations, and particular standpoints. Particularly when new aspects of heritage are recognized in scholarly debates and heritage discourses, or valorized in UNESCO conventions and policy documents, such as the World Heritage (UNESCO 1972), Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO 2003a), or Digital Cultural Heritage (UNESCO 2003b), it must be considered how the concept of sustainability may be applied with respect to the particular nature of these new aspects.

In what follows, we briefly outline UNESCO's guiding principles of sustainability, based on Brundtland's understanding of sustainable development, that have coined local and global strategies of sustainable development in heritage work. This includes a short discussion of scholarly work on cultural sustainability, underlining the paradox between sustainability as a goal and the dynamic developments that derive from the social fields of culture, economy, and society at large. Following this, we look at examples of intangible cultural heritage and digital cultural heritage that occur outside state recognition or have been relatively unnoticed within official processes to reflect how social change may relate and be considered in strategies of safeguarding heritage. Crucial lines of debate are therefore whether and how contemporary safeguarding approaches reflect the realities of individuals and groups and how they are situated within national heritage regimes (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004). Moreover, diverging concepts of sustainability and safeguarding practices raise ethical issues regarding how we cope with the past. In the final part of the article, we offer some short reflections on the implications of sustainability as an ongoing fragile outcome of negotiation processes, the role of diverging moral regimes (cf. Collier and Lakoff 2005), and its changing dynamics for further empirical research on the culture-sustainability relation.

UNESCO's Approach to Sustainable Development in Cultural and Social Fields

Sustainable development, as an overarching paradigm of the United Nations (UN), was developed in a series of environmental mega-conferences known as the "Stockholm-Rio-Johannesburg process". Since its introduction in 1987 as part of the report "Our Common Future" by the Brundtland Commission, formally known as the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), the concept has received worldwide recognition as a "visionary development paradigm" (Drexhage

and Murphy 2010, p.2) and governance approach to ensure that human development is better aligned with the environmental, economic, and societal challenges we are facing today. In the report, sustainable development was described as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED 1987, p.43). Since then, sustainable development was adopted almost universally as a guiding principle in politics, the economy, and civil societies. As such, the definition also intertwines "global and intra-generational equity and fairness in the distribution of welfare, utilities, and resources between generations" (Soini and Birkeland 2014, p.213). Hence, the origins of sustainable development lie within ecological concerns and translate the idea of ecological sustainability into cultural and social contexts. As a result, it has become part of educational programmes through local and international policies (UNESCO 2016) and is thus well known to the general public.

The widely used model of the three pillars, which was formally established in the Sustainable Development Congress in Johannesburg (2002), lies at the heart of the UN sustainable development strategies and cultural policies implemented today. Sustainable development is usually considered as a win-win solution between environmental (protection and responsibility), economic (viability), and social (justice and equity) goals (Dessein et al. 2015). Initially, the role and value of culture in sustainable development was only marginally considered in international political frameworks. Despite a number of international achievements, such as the report of the World Commission on Culture and Development (1995) "Our Creative Diversity" and the introduction of the action plan of the UN summit in Johannesburg (2002), which recognized the necessity to protect cultural diversity as a dimension of sustainable development, UNESCO's framework rested almost exclusively on the original three dimensions, with the ecological and economic pillars clearly taking central importance. Only through attempts in the early twenty-first century, such as the "Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage" (UNESCO 2003a) and the "Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Diversity of Cultural Expressions" (UNESCO 2005), did the cultural dimension of sustainability and its role for sustainable development begin to gain ground. These international agreements have advanced the role of culture in its own right as enabler, driver, and guarantee of sustainable development. As a part of, and a response to, these developments, UNESCO devoted its 2013 Congress to the topic "Culture: Key to Sustainable Development". In the concluding statement, the Hangzhou Declaration, culture was framed as an individual pillar alongside separate ecological, economic, and social considerations (UNESCO 2013).

Though culture as a key factor of sustainable development, through the efforts of UNESCO, among others,[1] seems to have been slowly acknowledged, the interrelation between culture and sustainability within the framework of sustainable development has not yet been thoroughly explored within policy documents. The meaning

[1] Besides UNESCO, several other transnational and international organisations (e.g. United Cities and Local Government or the Council of Europe and its Faro Convention) have recently advanced culture as an explicit dimension of sustainability (cf. CoE 2005; UCLG 2014).

of sustainability when it comes to culture remains unclear and therefore so too does the application of a sustainable development framework in the various cultural policy fields. Numerous actors at the international, national, and local levels are still struggling to integrate culture and heritage issues into their agendas and to turn these into concrete action plans. Despite these discrepancies, the relevance of sustainable development as a governance approach has persisted and, with increasing environmental, economic, and societal problems, has attracted attention in politics and science alike.

Culture in relation to sustainability has also been of growing interest in scientific debates and, as the term "cultural sustainability" reveals, is gaining importance as an aspect in its own right. Early attempts expand the conventional sustainable development discourse by adding culture as an independent fourth pillar of sustainable development in parallel to ecological, economic, and social sustainability (Hawkes 2001). This scientific approach, however, has been often criticized for its narrow understanding of culture as art and heritage to the disadvantage of considering the complex and convergent nature of the other dimensions of sustainable development (Dessein et al. 2015). Moreover, when culture is defined as a parallel and separate dimension to ecological, economic, and social sustainability, it must be distinguished from the other three pillars of sustainable development, particularly of social sustainability (Murphy 2012; Soini and Dessein 2016). In turn, critical voices argue that culture as the fourth pillar of sustainable development might lead to sectoral rather than cross-sectoral and cross-disciplinary results (Dessein et al. 2015; Soini and Birkeland 2014; Soini and Dessein 2016).

"Cultural sustainability" is used in a variety of meanings and policy contexts with specific thematic scopes such as cultural heritage (Albert 2015; Auclair and Fairclough 2015). While Tolina Loulanski (2006) observes a conceptual shift of "heritage" from "preservation *per se* to purposeful preservation, sustainable use, and development" (Loulanski and Loulanski 2011, p.612, italics in original), there is little research combining sustainability and culture from a theoretical perspective in studies of "critical heritage" or "new heritage" and beyond. A group of European researchers (Dessein et al. 2015; Soini and Birkeland 2014; Soini and Dessein 2016) attempted to conceptualize culture in its different relations to sustainability. In their conceptual framework, they propose three representations of culture within sustainability[2]:

(a) The first representation, culture *in* sustainability, addresses the culture-sustainability relation from a macro perspective, which understands each pillar as a particular, self-referential developing system (Luhmann, Social Systems; Hodgkin and Huxley, Systems Biology) or, in Bourdieu's terms, as particular social fields with specific inner logics and forms of capital. Culture is seen as a self-standing fourth pillar alongside other independent ecological, economic,

[2] By reviewing and analysing scientific peer-reviewed papers using the concept of "cultural sustainability", Soini and Birkeland (2014) found three roles of culture in sustainable development, which were recently redefined as "representations of sustainability" with eight different organizing dimensions (cf. Soini and Dessein 2016). However, the use of sustainable development and sustainability is not further reflected in theoretical terms.

and social systems that coexist and influence each other. Hence, the first representation stands for the long-term conservation, maintenance, and preservation per se of culture as art, heritage, knowledge, and cultural diversity for future generations. It emphasizes the relevance of culture on the same level as ecology, economy, and society.

(b) With culture *for* sustainability as a second representation, culture is put at the service of an ecological inspired understanding of sustainability. It is understood as having a mediating role, balancing all social spheres and, finally, their sustainable development towards social and ecological sustainability. This puts culture at the service of cultural engineering and governance approaches to influence the aims of public policies towards economic, social, and environmental well-being. To think the culture-sustainability relation from a meso and micro perspective, a broad consensus would be a necessary condition or objective for triggering these kind of change processes.

(c) The third representation, culture *as* sustainability, refers to culture as a whole way of life (Williams 1985). Culture unfolds as a crosscutting issue and necessary foundation of all levels – the micro-, meso-, and macro-level – and aspects of life, promoting broader transformations towards more holistic sustainable societies. In turn, sustainability becomes embedded in culture (Dessein et al. 2015; Soini and Dessein 2016). However, this perspective on the culture-sustainability relation would ignore the differentiation of today's social fabric that increasingly contests the idea and perception of homogenous societies (cf. Barth 2002). Moreover, the perception of sustainability as being already attained suggests a somewhat static cultural development risking to reduce culture to aspects that are coherent with sustainability or at least not contradictory which ultimately would amount to putting culture at the service of sustainability.

However, also here, the question of what sustainability means in the continuously changing and evolving cultural and social fields is not further reflected in theoretical terms and therefore remains open. Despite our criticism of the conceptual framework of culture in, for, and as sustainability (Dessein et al. 2015; Soini and Dessein 2016), it makes clear that sustainability, with its many ambiguities, is not an objective concept that can be transferred easily into the field of culture within the framework of sustainable development. Like culture itself, sustainability will have many faces (Hannerz 1992, 1996). In view of this, UNESCO's (four-)pillar approach seems appropriate to the extent that it recognizes the difference of social fields rather than seeing culture at the service of sustainable development. However, some questions regarding this approach remain, and it would be worthwhile to outline more precisely the interrelations between the pillars of sustainable development. Despite the positive aspects, neither UNESCO's approach nor the conceptual framework of the culture-sustainability relation resolves how a concept like sustainability with strong ecological connotations can be transferred and adapted within cultural and social contexts. Hence, the paradox of sustainability as a goal within ever changing cultural and social contexts persists and would have to be addressed in policy frameworks and scholarly work alike. After all, what should be considered

as sustainable, and how sustainability can be achieved, is still unclear, often leading to synonymous uses of sustainability and sustainable development and therefore has to be further examined.

From Culture *in, for*, and *as* Sustainability to a Conceptual Understanding of Sustainability* in Culture

In light of these conceptual reflections, we do not expect an easy transfer of a more or less well-defined concept of sustainability from ecology and economy to the field of culture (or society). Rather, we see a wide array of meanings and practices of what sustainability in the field of culture in general, and cultural heritage in particular, could and *should* look like. This variety of meanings and cultural practices indicates that the idea of sustainability and sustainable development in the field of culture is under negotiation, fuelled by its paradoxes and problems.

This suggests that the question of sustainability is currently a site of ethical problematization rather than a concept. It must be theoretically grasped and defined in well-reflected terms and categories. In what follows, we suggest that in the field of culture there are no, and will be no, definite indicators, such as equilibrium in ecology or economy, for sustainability or sustainable development. Rather, what is considered sustainable is particularly dependent on moral concepts and codes. Developing a conceptual approach to sustainability in the field of culture thus demands to integrate this ethical dimension. Such an approach must reflect the embeddedness of sustainability and sustainable development, in particular moral economies about the "right" idea of how people should cope with heritages, i.e. in which ways to know and be aware about, to practice, and to transmit cultural heritages in particular regimes of living with the past, and, i.e. referring to the role of heritage in everyday and social life, as reflections of moral orders and conflicts (Collier and Lakoff 2005). Such a conceptual approach to sustainability in the field of culture is yet to be outlined in a wider political and societal debate; thus we use an asterisk when we refer to this yet to be developed conceptual approach of "sustainability*" in culture. The wide range of moral views on what sustainability* means in the cultural and social fields will provide a rich source of materials for an empirically based outline of an analytical model of sustainability in the field of culture. This outline can then be used to guide heritage work in deciding what understanding of sustainability* in culture should be applied. The questions, problems, and paradoxes to be addressed in such a model will be briefly showcased using examples of intangible and digital cultural heritage, i.e. the issues of urban and intercultural intangible heritage and processes of digital reuse and remediation of the past. In light of these developments that occur outside state recognition or are relatively ignored within official processes, we will look at what kind of moral concepts, with respect to sustainability*, is being negotiated in heritage work beyond UNESCO's framework of sustainable development.

Intangible Cultural Heritage: Urban and Travelling Traditions

Recently, UNESCO's national committees in Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands organized conferences focusing on cultural traditions as a part of, and result of, migration and urbanization (BAK 2015; DUK 2015, 2016; IE 2015). These events, focusing on urban environments, are expressions of a discomfort perceived in some highly industrialized Western countries with respect to the traditions listed in national inventories of Intangible Cultural Heritage and contemporary cultural practices and forms of expression in everyday life. The majority of the listed traditions, e.g. falconry, shrimp fishing on horseback in Oostduinkerke (Belgium), Schemenlaufen and the Carnival of Imst (Austria), Sicilian puppet theatre *Opera dei Pupi* (Italy), or the polyphonic singing *Cante Alentejano* (Portugal), refer to cultural practices that emerged in former times when rural lifestyles were common.[3]

However, these understandings of "heritage and tradition" and sustainability* reflect only to some degree – if at all – contemporary ways of life. In Germany, for example, about three-quarters of the population live in cities or urban areas where cultural change and innovation are part of "normal" life. Driven by demographic trends, increased mobility and migration, global processes, and new communication possibilities through technology, cultural belongings and self-images have been redefined and are continuously changing, leading to cultural patterns and diversified social compositions that are distinct to urban and superdiverse contexts (Vertovec 2007) in Europe. This refers to activities and formations of civil society: from computer clubs, allotment and urban gardening, art initiatives, interim uses of buildings, protest culture, and squatter scene to urban weekly markets, ethnic food, festival, and music culture – these are forms of cultural expression and practices with distinct assertions, media of representation, and forms of social organization (Barth 2002). Although a limited number of urban traditions (e.g. Leuven age set ritual repertoire, Viennese coffee house culture, or illustration, comics, and poster art in Geneva) are inscribed in national repositories, as well as on UNESCO's lists, it is precisely these specific urban and intercultural forms of expression that are currently underrepresented in the Intangible Cultural Heritage inventories in Europe and subject to debates in several European national UNESCO committees (BAK 2015; DUK 2015, 2016; IE 2015; Kaschuba 2015).

These observations in the field of intangible cultural heritage highlight important questions in respect to sustainability*: How is the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage to be applied to modern societies, with the emergence of new social and cultural forms? Is safeguarding so many rural traditions from the past sustainable? What are crucial reasons for preserving Intangible Cultural Heritage if it is not reflecting contemporary needs of societies? Are the cultural forms of expression that have been listed in national inventories of

[3] Despite the circulation of these concepts between general and scholarly use and between analytic and ideological applications (cf. Noyes 2009; Welz 2001), the usage of the terms "rural/urban" and "tradition/modernity" reflects only to some degree the issues addressed here (cf. BAK 2015).

Intangible Cultural Heritage still of continuing value for contemporary and future generations? Do all cultural forms have inherent value or can we distinguish what is worth safeguarding? Lastly, but no less important: What should we value as "living heritage" and how old do traditions have to be to recognize them as "heritage"? These questions about the future of memory, identity, and heritage considerably overlap with moral debates about what is worth safeguarding and how we should remember knowledge from the past for future generations.

Digital Cultural Heritage: Remediations of the Past and Participation

Today, everyday objects and contemporary cultural articulations are often "born-digital" (UNESCO 2003b), i.e. digitally created content. Digitization strategies of memory institutions, driven by a demand for public resources (Koch 2015a; Welz 2015) and attracting new audiences (Economou 2016; Stuedahl 2009) and by the risk of cultural heritage being lost (Harrison 2013; Rinehart and Ippolito 2014), are aggregating and piling up innumerable digital copies on hard drives, on professional digital databases, and in cloud storage of so-called data aggregators like Europeana. Unfortunately, without content prioritization or purposeful and systematic digitization strategies, there is a risk that archives will not be used as repositories of living cultural knowledge, but degenerate to hardly used information dumps and isolated data silos (Iversen and Smith 2012; Koch 2015a; Smith 2013).

At the same time, on the individual and group levels, new forms of communication, transmission, and cultural expression have come into being through online portals such as Facebook, Instagram, Pinterest, Twitter, and YouTube. In the realm of born-digital content, it has become easy for amateurs to create interesting and creative contributions themselves. However, current intergenerational memory transmission is performed as a separate commemoration, without shifting authored narratives of heritage to a heterogeneous and polyphonic reflection by weaving together public and individual narratives. In consequence, a wide range of initiatives on various levels attempt to reconnect cultural heritage with communication practices in everyday life by creatively or commercially reusing and remediating the past through the engagement of digital media. Following the example of open GLAMs (open galleries, libraries, archives, and museums), like the *Rijksmuseum* in Amsterdam or the *New York Public Library*, local and national cultural institutions are not only increasingly making their collections freely available online (cf. Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 2015) but also launching a variety of creative challenges beyond the exhibition halls of European memory institutions. New forms of cultural representation and production, through the likes of cultural hackathons (Hagel 2015) or GIF Parties (Ohlson and Villaespesa 2014), have developed across social networks, computer games, and digital art, i.e. mash-ups like educational portals, virtual exhibitions, games, and mobile apps, diversifying the social organization of heritage work in turn. In collaboration with civil society organizations, creative

industries, such as digital artists, gaming industries, software and hardware developers, as well as users, memory institutions are currently exploring a wide range of participatory approaches through digitization and Web 2.0 technologies.

In consequence, the engagement with digital media has evolved far beyond the simple creation of digital copies, cataloguing, and displaying in heritage work (cf. Abid 2007; Cameron and Kenderdine 2007; Giaccardi 2012; Kalay et al. 2008; Koch 2015b). These initiatives of open access, free availability, and digital reuse of cultural heritage try to establish new uses of heritage materials, uses that address new audiences and try to implement new practices of bringing heritage into the world of everyday digital cultural production. They are thus an expression of a perceived need for changes in current heritage work or even a discomfort with the heterogeneous piling and heritagization of the past in the contemporary European memory complex (Bendix et al. 2007; Macdonald 2008, 2013) without reconnecting safeguarding to people's realities – a phenomenon that is likely to become more pronounced with ongoing digitization projects of cultural heritage.

These new forms of cultural representation and production raise several questions. Will an emphasis on memory institutions and their authority be an enduring feature of the European memory complex in light of increasing remediation of cultural heritage in the born-digital realm? While the principle of creative originality and ubiquity has gained importance in modes of transmission and cultural production of born-digital traditions and objects, is the question of authenticity and verifiable originality (cf. Wilke 2015) still relevant for digital heritage? Why preserve, digitize, and make everything available if cultural heritage and creative and commercial reuse are of limited importance in everyday life?

Sustainability* in the Field of Culture: How to Remember in the Future?

Sustainability* cannot be a definite, measurable concept when it comes to social and cultural fields. Unlike the resilience of ecosystems, there is no yardstick against which to scale contemporary and future sustainability in the cultural (and social) field. It is characterized by a tradition of change rather than through the ability to reproduce stability like in the case of ecosystems in face of anthropogenic or natural disturbances. This paradox between sustainability as a goal and the dynamic developments from culture and society, however, is inherent to UNESCO's pillar approach based on the Brundtland definition of sustainable development. Moreover, how sustainability can be conceptualized when it comes to the field of culture is still not clear and needs to be addressed in UNESCO's framework of sustainable development. The developed perspective suggests that the ethical problematization brought forwards in the cultural debates about sustainability needs to be included in such a conceptual approach.

In light of the examples of urban and intercultural as well as digital heritage, we have sought to highlight the culture-sustainability relation as a fragile ongoing outcome, composed through multiple sources in diverse processes of negotiation. Therefore, in the field of culture, sustainability as a level of consideration and an analytical perspective is not sufficient. As the examples throughout the article have shown, older ideas about sustainability* and cultural heritage often persist alongside more recent ideas and practices. Questions of sustainability* have become public issues that no longer fall under the auspices of experts, institutions, and political elites, but are a matter of negotiations in and with civil society. Crucial conflict lines in these negotiations are whether and how contemporary safeguarding approaches and heritage work reflect the realities of individuals and groups within national heritage regimes in Europe (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004). What is valued as cultural heritage, how, and by whom, however, is deeply entangled with questions of moralization. Sustainability* as an analytical concept thus needs to consider the moral debates as outlined in the regimes of living concept (cf. Collier and Lakoff 2005) as a crucial dimension on the different levels – from micro, meso, to macro – which these negotiations are taking place. Further research about sustainability in culture requires a systematic perspective that also takes into account the overarching relations – political, economic, and societal – in which culture is embedded. As a consequence, this chapter sought to emphasize a comprehensive perspective on sustainability in cultural and social fields with respect to further empirical analyses.

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Culture, Development and Sustainability: The Cultural Impact of Development and Culture's Role in Sustainability

Shina-Nancy Erlewein

Introduction

Today, there is a growing awareness that culture plays many roles in sustainability (Dessein et al. 2016; Parodi et al. 2011). For example, in cultural policy, for many decades researchers and international UN agencies like UNESCO have been focusing on the role of culture and cultural diversity in the overall societal development and political agendas, with a number of UNESCO documents, programmes and conventions underlining the interrelation of culture and sustainability (UNESCO 2002, 2003, 2005, 2012, 2013a, b, c). In September 2015, at a UN special summit, the agenda "of the people, by the people and for the people" was adopted by world leaders. Building on the Millennium Development Goals and taking into account what these did not achieve, the agenda identifies 17 Sustainable Development Goals and 169 Targets to be achieved in the next 15 years (UN 2015, Preamble). Placing people and planet at its centre, UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon describes the agenda as "the most inclusive development agenda the world has ever seen". In fact, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development marks a further important achievement, a shift towards acknowledging the benefits of culture for sustainable development, as culture is mentioned for the first time within the framework of the Sustainable Development Goals, education, sustainable cities, food security, environment, economic growth, sustainable consumption and production patterns, as well as peaceful and inclusive societies. The Preamble marks the goals and targets as intertwined and inseparable and explicitly refers to their power to embrace and "balance the three dimensions of sustainable development: the economic, social and environmental" (UN 2015). Thus, cultural sustainability is not explicitly mentioned as an

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independent dimension with equal weight, rather under Goal 4 "Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning for all" the following is stated: "By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including among others through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development" (ibid., para 4.7). Nevertheless, the recognition given to culture within this agenda is unparalleled and unprecedented within international agendas on development, as culture is now made explicit. Integrated within a policy framework, it is allowed to step by step gain power in policy-making mechanisms and related processes.

This paper emphasizes the role of culture in sustainable development. It tackles the following two questions: First, what are the cultural impacts of development? And second, what is the impact of culture, in particular ICH, on development?

Conceptualizing Culture

Culture has stood in the focus of attention since the nineteenth century and remains one of the most fragile concepts in academic debate, the definition of which is still highly contested today. Culture is conceptually rooted in cultivation, and, etymologically, nature is considered the opposite of culture. Nature takes its root in the Latin verb *nascere*, which means to be born. Here, the specific quality of innateness is stressed, while culture, rooted in the Latin verb *colere*, to cultivate, stresses the process of cultivation.[1]

While in early anthropology primitive culture was conceived to be authentic and conceptualized in contrast to mass culture of the West, a further distinction was made between high culture, comprising of elite culture such as art, classical music and literature, and low culture, referring to popular culture, integrating cinema, television and popular music. The latter approach was based upon a conceptualization of culture as it evolved in eighteenth-century Europe, and the former, conceptualizing culture as a total set of human activities, developed in nineteenth-century anthropological thought. It originally referred to humankind as a whole, yet was later compartmentalized and used in reference to a variety of existing different and separate cultures. In *primitive culture*, Tylor (1871) initially defined culture holistically as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (p. 1). He understood culture as a singular entity that could serve to determine where a specific group stands on an evolutionary scale in terms of its culture. Boas harshly criticized this evolutionist stance at the turn of the century and established a sense of discrete and multiple cultures independently existing side by side.

[1] Today, the nature/culture dichotomy is increasingly challenged, with mutual interrelations being underlined instead (Parodi 2011).

Definitions, approaches and methodologies further changed at least in the second half of the twentieth century. For example, Geertz (1973) argued for a more "narrowed and specialized" conception of culture (p. 4). Following Max Weber, he understood culture as webs of significance in which humans orient themselves and which they themselves have created (ibid., p. 5). He defined culture as "an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life" (ibid., p. 89). Hence, culture can be understood as shared knowledge, as an inherited pattern of meanings encoded in symbolic forms, shared and understood by a specific community or group of people.

By the end of the twentieth century, discourses tended towards acknowledging hybridity in the conceptualization of cultures and the rejection of static cultural identities and cultural authenticity. It was understood that intersection, interconnectedness and interrelation of diverse cultural elements lead to the transgression of bounded cultural unity and foster cultural diversity (Wulf 2013). Moreover, highlighting the interconnection of power and meaning, culture in Cultural Studies thought is considered political and able to promote social change and improve the human condition. Barker (2002) states: "'Culture' is both a name for the domain in which contestation over value, meaning and practices takes place and a tool by which to intervene in social life" (p. 67). A key author in this regard is Raymond Williams (1961) who formulated the idea of culture as a whole way of life. He understood culture to be produced by ideologies, social formations and institutions and argued that culture is a process, constantly in movement and development. He erased the distinction between high and low cultures and considered that the ordinary practices of all people commonly formed culture. Culture here refers to a social category constituting an integral part of social practice and notions of power, dominance and hegemony play important roles.

Looking at UNESCO's recent policy instruments, we can say that UNESCO has accomplished a shift in its approaches to culture, steadily sliding towards the acknowledgement of a relativist and egalitarian approach. UNESCO paved the way for this shift in the 1980s, when its understanding of culture was reshaped, neglecting elite notions in favour of a more democratic conception. In the Mexico City Declaration (UNESCO 1982), the concept of culture as art and cultural heritage as monuments and sites was replaced by a more holistic understanding of culture, also integrating intangible aspects (Albert 2002). Culture was no longer merely determined by elitist codes but rather referred to meaningful practice exercised by all members of a society. Culture was increasingly understood as both exclusive and dynamic as well as dialectic, as unique and simultaneously open for development and as such as prone to processes of globalization, assimilation and change. Furthermore, criteria for the evaluation of cultures, such as development, modernity and prosperity, were identified as fostering Western hegemonic standpoints, leading to a more egalitarian view, where diverse cultures were increasingly conceived as equal.[2]

[2] UNESCO's *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* reaffirmed this definition, stating that

It further acknowledged that culture is crucial for identity formation, social cohesion and the development of a knowledge-based economy (ibid.). The 2003 Convention finally erased notions of elite culture in favour of a representative list, in which elements are inscribed not as superior examples but rather as representatives of the diversity of cultures existing in the world. Again, a major criterion for inscription is their function in the identity formation of a specific group.

In sum, culture consists of all structures, practices and knowledge that shape meaning and in which meaning takes place. It integrates the production and exchange of meanings between and within a community or society. As a signifying system, it is key to understanding and positioning within the world. It contributes to the shaping and assertion of identity, to community building and its consolidation. It is crucial for the continuous (re)generation of values and patterns enabling orientation, dignity and strength, coherence and integrity and thus enables cultural viability. Thus, its basic elements are collectivity, communication and convention (Hauser 2001, cited in Parodi 2011). Culture as a process socializes people in webs of meaning, which might move and shift within a community and beyond, thus implying development and change. This points to several contradicting characteristics of culture, as culture fosters both (a) continuity and change, (b) standardization and differentiation and (c) openness and boundaries (Demorghon and Molz 1996, pp. 43f., cited in Hauser and Banse 2011).

Moreover, from a functionalist perspective, culture as a tool and worldview can contribute immensely to both human well-being and quality of life, including sustainable attitudes towards human beings and nature. In addition, creativity and innovation, local adaptation and resilience enhance cultural vitality, both being crucial also to sustainability. Equity, access and participation finally foster dialogue, learning and diversity, thereby potentially enabling respect and mutual understanding in a globalized world.

Conceptualizing Sustainable Development

Sustainable development can be conceptualized in numerous ways:

First, the three-pillar approach, equally addressing economic, environmental and social aspects of sustainable development, is still the starting point of all reflections in this regard.[3] Even though most scholars are aware of its shortcomings, it provides a well-established and politically relevant tool. However, it must be stressed that within this approach, today, the pillars of sustainable development are understood as dynamic dimensions, in internal relationship, mutually interacting and impacting on each other.

culture should be regarded as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs (UNESCO, 2002, Preamble).

[3] See Brundtland Report (WCED 1987), Rio Declaration (UNCED 1992a) and Agenda 21 (UNCED 1992b).

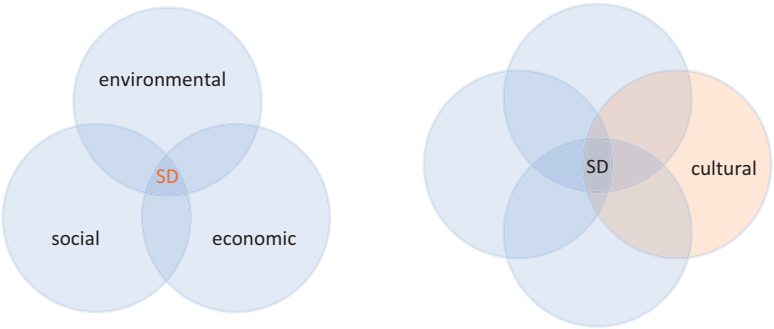

Fig. 1 The three-pillar and four-pillar approach to SD

Second, the four-pillar approach integrates the cultural dimension as a fourth dimension in sustainable development. Cultural sustainability here is understood as independent yet integrated on an equal basis with the other three dimensions. This approach highlights culture as (re)source and considers components of culture to include heritage, identity, memory, creativity, human knowledge and skills, cultural practices, lifestyles, value systems and diversity, among others (Fig. 1).

However, cultural sustainability is merely one possible role of culture in sustainability; the concept is continuously (re)negotiated and escapes any conclusive definition today. Further sustainable development paradigms conceptualize culture variously as a condition or driver of sustainable development, a bridge and a mediator between the three other dimensions.

Within the last paradigm, culture is understood in a holistic way as a whole new worldview, an aim, a new paradigm with transformative powers and a culture of sustainable development that needs to be developed in order to function as a meta-(re)source, steering action, stimulating transition and a universal change for the better (Dessein et al. 2015; Parodi 2011).[4] The latter paradigm is rather new in international discourse on sustainable development. Nevertheless, it seems promising but, globally speaking, as of yet remains farfetched (Fig. 2).

Conceptualizing Intangible Cultural Heritage and Safeguarding

The notion of heritage has changed throughout history and so has the idea of the function of heritage within society. Today, heritage, particularly ICH, is conceptualized as a people-centred process and community participation in preservation and safeguarding practices is given central attention.

[4] A similar conceptual differentiation has been made by Soini and Birkeland (2014).

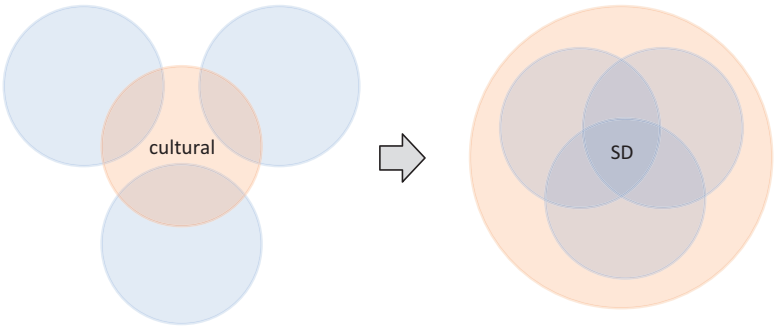

Fig. 2 Culture as a mediator and meta-(re)source/worldview of SD (Adapted from Dessein et al. 2015)

The 2003 Convention clearly reflects the idea of ICH as an enabler of sustainable development. As explicated elsewhere, sustainable development is not merely conceived as a major target aim but rather understood as constitutive to ICH. Compatibility with sustainable development is clearly identified as a marker of ICH, at least in the context of the Convention (Erlewein 2015a). ICH is essentially living heritage.[5] It is dynamic and both traditional and contemporary. While being highly present centred, it links the past with the present and the future. It adapts, develops and changes in line with changing sociocultural environments and is constantly in a state of becoming. ICH is also highly cohesive; it enables continuity and the continuous recreation of the cultural identity of the respective communities, groups and individuals, linking people with each other and with practices. It is intergenerational, transmitted from one generation to the next, continuously recreated and responsive (UNESCO 2003, Article 2.1). ICH can thus be considered an oxymoron; it refers to both continuity and stability as well as to development and alteration. As it continuously evolves and, simultaneously, is closely linked to identity, the evolving nature of identity is also acknowledged. Hence, an anti-essentialist and dynamic notion of culture found a way into the Convention. Indeed, heritage encompasses many meanings, which are constantly contested and differ through time and space. Consequently, a hierarchization of the existing global intangible heritage resources was also denied, and ICH is not required to bear outstanding universal value. Instead, "communities, groups and individuals" are considered central, underlining that it is their recognition, which is essential both for the identification and the safeguarding of ICH.

Unlike UNESCO's 1989 Recommendation, the 2003 Convention aims at the safeguarding of ICH, identifying its sustained transmission and enactment as the central targets. The maintenance of sociocultural conditions that enable the transmission and (re)creation of ICH is emphasized. Safeguarding measures encompass, yet are not restricted to, documentation, preservation and protection; they go far beyond these

[5] The Convention defines ICH as the "practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage" (UNESCO 2003, Article 2.1).

concepts, which have been predominantly used in the context of cultural heritage so far and aim at enabling viability. Rather than aiming at the musealization or freezing of living practices, these measures take into account continuous development and change and encourage the sustenance of these cultural practices and expressions. Moreover, it needs to be noted that community participation needs to be given central importance in the design and implementation of measures (Erlewein 2015b).

Let's return to our initial questions, what are the cultural impacts of development and what shall be sustained in ICH/culture in a radically globalized world? Today, there is still a lack of understanding regarding the interrelation of the preservation and safeguarding of heritage and social transformation, due to modernization and globalization, as well as the impact of technological, social and cultural developments on heritage. The following section refers to one concrete example in order to go beyond conceptual and philosophical approaches, providing a bridge to historical experiences and contemporary realities. Derived insights will be utilized to extract answers while linking back to the above described paradigms and approaches of sustainable development.

The Kutiyattam Sanskrit Theatre

Kutiyattam refers to the traditional Sanskrit theatre performed in Kerala, Southwest India. In 2001, it was proclaimed a masterpiece and in 2008 was inscribed on the Representative List. It is largely represented as a 2000-year-old temple theatre performed on sacred space by specific temple-serving communities, the *Chakyars*, *Nambiars* and *Nangiars*.[6] However, a close look at Kutiyattam's history shows that it continuously developed and, being a vibrant art form, embraced substantial changes. Its custodians long preserved inherited traditions and adapted them according to new environments and local or immediate challenges. Already, in the eleventh/twelfth century, *Kulasekhara Varma* initiated reforms, which transcended the pan-Indian Sanskrit tradition (Paulose 2006) and fostered the localization of the art by creating a synthesis of Sanskrit and local Dravidian traditions. With the Kutiyattam's later confinement to the temple, the restriction of performance rights to *ambalavasi* communities, the establishment of *Kuttampalams* as main performance space and the subsequent ritualization of Kutiyattam, the most important reform was the introduction of *Malayalam* on the *Sanskrit* stage, enabling Kutiyattam's popularization. Indeed, Kutiyattam survived because it never lost sight of its sociocultural and political environment or its patrons: when they changed, Kutiyattam also changed. Until the nineteenth century, for example, due to the relatively stable political, economic and social framework, Kutiyattam remained in large parts unbroken. Temples supported artists with tax-free landed property, daily remuneration and natural products, thereby providing financial security. This tenure

[6] Both communities consider Kutiyattam their *kuladharma*, their traditional and hereditary profession, right and duty (A.M. Chakyar 1995).

system, providing property in exchange for performance, enhanced the freedom to practise, transmit and excel in the art and simultaneously fostered dignity and a respectable position in society (Venu 2005), thereby sustaining the practitioners but also artistic practice/ICH itself. However, temple-associated theatre declined during the twentieth century, when the societal structure that supported Kutiyattam was thoroughly disintegrated due to the decline of the feudal order, major land reforms, dispossessing temples and grand *Namboodiri* households and due to increasingly visible changes in value systems and lifestyles. Practising communities lost their protective environment and main source of income and the art increasingly lost its societal relevance. Consequently, Kutiyattam lost its major patron, the artists themselves. By the 1960s/1970s, Kutiyattam was almost forgotten among Kerala's population. In effect, Kutiyattam left its protected space. Along with performances outside the temple ground, the institutionalization within secular parameters and the admittance of students from outside the *ambalavasi* communities, training techniques and audience underwent major changes. Kutiyattam was increasingly exposed to urban, and international audiences and spectators from other strata, mainly belonging to India's mushrooming middle class, also gained access. This development subsequently led to changes in performance practice, costume, location, context, audience-performer relationship and increasing usage of modern technologies. Moreover, since the turn of the century, a trend towards further institutionalization, modernization, secularization and gender equality can be seen, implying shifts in authority and control over the art, privileging government officials and male hereditary practitioners (Erlewein 2014).

Today, Kutiyattam is no longer merely a localized, ritual performance attached to the temples, accessible only to the elite and confined to local audiences and spaces. The art is no longer a preserve of the traditional custodians, and half of the contemporary artists belong to other communities (Venu 2005). With Kutiyattam being incorporated into the transnational flow of cultures and a new social order, almost all the artists continuously oscillate between ritual inclination, traditional practice and pragmatism. Consequently, Kutiyattam practitioners are also looking for a way to project Kutiyattam into the future, to give it a modern outlook and form that will give ample credit to the tradition while also allowing for its survival within a contemporary context. Indeed, tradition is a malleable principle, which happily accommodates change as long as it does not affect an imagined core. As Smolicz (1999) argues, tradition does not hinder social change, rather "resilience depends on new developments being incorporated into traditional values". A "tradition can only survive (…) if it accommodates itself to the present" while simultaneously "preserving its links with the past through the maintenance of certain core elements of its culture" (pp. 258f) (Fig. 3).

To summarize, Kutiyattam underwent several stages of transformation with the most recent just beginning. It has been repeatedly modified, first localized and then ritualized, after a long time secularized and now universalized. Kutiyattam opened itself towards the local, regional, national and finally international realms. Patronage shifted from royal to temple to state patronage. Hereditary, hereditary professional and nonhereditary professional practitioners coexist, performing in a variety of

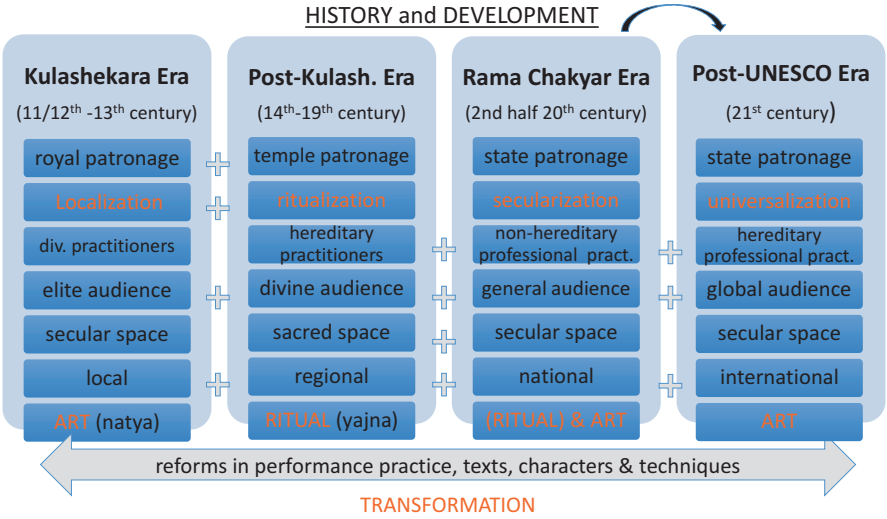

Fig. 3 Kutiyattam transformation stages (S. Erlewein)

contexts. The classical, the ritual and the modern/secular exist side by side without much contradiction, with "spheres of influence" (Richmond et al. 1990, p. 8) seemingly mutually interlocked. In accordance with the view that cultural and economic dimensions of development are complementary, the economic dimension of development impacted on the field of Kutiyattam throughout these developments, stimulating changes as well as balancing environmental developments, allowing Kutiyattam to frequently search for and consolidate its financial base, cultural validation and contemporary societal relevance anew.

Kutiyattam thus (1) was continuously reinterpreted to face respective contemporary demands and environments, (2) incorporated innovations brought into the tradition from outsiders of practice and (3) nurtured innovations arising due to the cultural creativity and cultural diversity within the practising community itself. Only the combination of these processes, orchestrated and controlled by community members, enabled modifications in tradition, guaranteeing the viability of Kutiyattam while retaining its quality and integrity. Through centuries Kutiyattam culture recreated itself, providing a stable system defining and integrating values, practices, knowledge, skills, social relations, conventions, aspirations and artistic manifestations and informing practitioners on a day-to-day basis. Concurrently, the continuous recreation fostered social cohesion, participation, engagement, well-being, orientation, belonging, dignity and identity. Simultaneously, Kutiyattam culture also embraced cultural vitality and the ability for transformation and development, which finally guaranteed its survival. Transformation, thus, existed throughout the history of Kutiyattam, with tradition embracing its two faces, preservation and innovation, thereby enabling continuity between past, present and future. Tradition indeed is not homogenous and stable (Lauer 1971), and tradition

and modernity are no antagonistic concepts (Levine 1968; Singer 1971); rather, one is penetrating the other and both are informed by each other. Overall, tradition is increasingly hijacked by modernity and vice versa. The same is true for ICH. Heritage discourse and representation of Kutiyattam need to acknowledge this matter.

Concluding Reflections

With regard to the first question, what are the cultural impacts of development, the following final reflections can be noted in respect to ICH:

ICH is a people-centred process and contemporary practice; it is no relic of the past, and it must be allowed to (a) find and consolidate its place in the modern, globalized world; (b) develop, adapt and transform in correspondence with changing environments; and (c) respond to and integrate modern needs and technological developments. Concepts such as authenticity and originality are inadequate in this context and are not supported by the practising communities themselves (Erlewein 2014). At the same time, it needs to be noted that the scope and pace of integration, adaptation and transformation must be community driven and community approved, as the essence of ICH should be sustained while also adjusting to changes and further development. This essence needs to be identified by the practising communities themselves, including elders of both genders and youth. In fact, without societal relevance, cultural validation and financial security, ICH cannot be sustained. Thus social, cultural and economic aspects are equally important and must be considered complementary. Finally, societal and technological developments provide potentials for change, fostering new patronage; allowing a wider audience, the global community, to engage with ICH practice or knowledge; and creating new contexts for performance and knowledge (re)creation. Technology also provides scope for the integration of new tools enabling knowledge dissemination, learning and the continuous dynamic constitution of cultural memory.

With regard to the second question, what is the impact of culture/ICH on development, the following answer can be given:

Initially, (inter-)national practice and discourse were primarily focused on the economic dimension of sustainable development. ICH was understood as an economic driver; the generated economy was believed to benefit the communities, enabling them to generate income from culture in a self-determined way. ICH's role in the creative industry was highlighted, and employment via tourism and trade was promoted. It was understood that the revenue generated would be utilized to guarantee the viability of ICH. It was in large parts acknowledged that cultural and economic dimensions are complementary. However, over-commercialization and de-contextualization quickly demystified this notion, and a strong inclination towards the sole encouragement of the economic aspect proved in some cases to be risky, if not destructive. These activities, in some cases, encouraged the devaluation of culture and even the deterioration of living heritage, jeopardizing the viability of the element and endangering the social cohesion of the respective community (see also Erlewein 2014). ICH is more than a valuable economic asset, and

development today is no longer focused on material targets but rather embraces a holistic approach, encompassing environmental, social, spiritual and even emotional domains; targeting the quality of life; embracing well-being, peace and freedom of choice as well as participation, access, dignity, equity and happiness; and thus rigorously pointing towards the intangible.

Besides being an economic driver, ICH is fundamental to (1) integrity, social cohesion and inclusion, enabling access and participation; (2) to identity and community, linking people with each other and with practices; (3) to gender, enabling engendering as well as the (re)negotiation and transformation of gender roles; (4) to the promotion of peace and conflict prevention, fostering learning, dialogue and respect as well as integrating local approaches; (5) to environmental protection and management, explicitly addressed in domain four of the 2003 Convention; (6) to well-being, which is essentially routed within local contexts and systems of sense-making; and (7) finally to diversity and sustainable development, the latter two being values themselves, relying on culture and communities.

Reconsidering the narratives given at the beginning of this paper. Conceptualizing culture as a signifying system constituting meaning and influencing behaviour, values and lifestyles, enabling orientation and participation, and thereby the shaping of identity, social relationships and positioning within the world, the paper argues that culture contributes immensely to human well-being and quality of life, including sustainable attitudes towards humans and nature. There are two main reasons supporting this argument. First, as paradigms evolve, they are also altered, and if these alterations reflect insights and enable a better understanding of reality, they must be allowed to manifest (Kuhn 1962). Second, in allowing the proposed alteration to manifest, an operational approach would gain momentum that would enable transformation and the broadening of peoples' freedoms and life choices in a step-by-step and easy-to-administer process. Culture needs to be acknowledged as an explicit dimension to make it more powerful in policy making. It needs to be understood as a specific yet integrated dimension in the sustainability discourse. Addressing the first question has demonstrated that Kutiyattam/ICH is infused with modernity and that heritage is no obstacle to development; rather both are closely interrelated and interdependent, with culture providing both a tool and backbone for sustainability. Question two explicated the performative and even constitutive power of culture in shaping and consolidating communion and community, integrity and quality of life. Culture is the means and the medium of human development, simultaneously being tool and end in itself. Humans, their interactions and interrelations are defined by culture. Culture is the precondition of value, and its renegotiation towards enhanced sustainability depends on multiple and diverse cultural actions. The joint construction and establishment of a universal culture of sustainability is a worthy goal and the only process that will guarantee long lasting effects. However, it is a long-term venture, with open results, heavily dependent on the empowerment and the diversity of cultural articulations, fostering a substantial change in value and orientation. Kutiyattam is only one cultural expression among many within this endeavour. Hence, culture must be mobilized and further integrated within cultural policy as an independent, integrated aspect of sustainable development and as medi-

ator between the other dimensions. The 2030 development agenda is the first step in this direction.

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From Obstacle to Resource: How Built Cultural Heritage Can Contribute to Resilient Cities

Matthias Ripp and Andrew H. Lukat (Translation)

Introduction

No one knows what the future holds. However, it is more than likely that phenomena, such as climate change and the resulting weather patterns, will greatly influence the development of our cities. Consequently, preventive measures must be taken, which range from reducing CO2 emissions and other greenhouse gases to developing specific adaptation strategies tailored to local requirements. In considering "demographic changes," the composition of populations is also expected to shift in many places. When looking at the current age structures, these will change greatly from region to region. Because there is a diversity of needs with people in different stages of life, it is pertinent that these manifold interests be incorporated into urban and municipal planning strategies. Population movements are likely to increase at both regional and international levels. Issues around integration and inclusion are nothing new to many places, but their dimensions will require reassessing. In addition to these basic challenges, a large number of concurrent technical innovations are expected, which will lead to further changes in cities. New telecommunication technologies and patterns of mobility are cases in point. All of these changes affect the intricate workings of a city in its various dimensions, levels of planning, places for development, and actors.

The pressure to change is only one side of the coin; the flip side shows that historical cities, more specifically their cores or old town centers, characteristically have great potential for conservation. Many highly professional and established

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heritage protection agencies from countries of Central Europe have made an invaluable, recognizable contribution to keeping these places as intact as possible. In ideal cases these places have been characterized by enduring uses. In response to the new challenges and risks associated with development and implementation, innovative and adaptive strategies are required. On the one hand, there is endurance, and on the other, there is the necessity of change. At first glance this appears to be a contradictory situation. However, endurance and change, simultaneously, present a major challenge that needs to be faced in the coming years. The aim is to make cities resilient, which does not mean rigid and inflexible. To what extent can the theoretical concept of "urban resilience—[understood as] the ability to resist, adapt, and innovate"[1]—be useful?

Resilience: Terminology

The term "resilience" was first used in psychology in the 1950s. It originally applied to the tolerance abilities of children. At that time the term was understood within a conglomerate of qualities that allow people to remain psychologically balanced and mentally healthy when affected by negative life circumstances or crisis.[2] In recent years, the term has gained currency in many disciplines[3]and has been increasingly applied to various scientific contexts (Bürkner 2010): from approaches to human ecology and taxonomy to studies on developing countries, micro-sociology, ethnology, and political sociology. In relation to urban issues and studies in governance, there exists a strong focus on the challenges of policy-making and planning. Since this focus is complex and not one-dimensional,

[1] See announcement of Denksalon 2012 Revitalisierender Stadtebau: Urban Planning that Revitalizes. In reference to Construct—Character, Hans Joachim Bürkner has rightly pointed out that "assumptions about vulnerability and compensation for damages are often not reflected as should be on the basis of their function within societal discourse—such as socially constructed ideas"; see *H.J. Bürkner*, Vulnerabilitaet und Resilienz – Forschungsstand und sozialwissenschaftliche Untersuchungsperspektiven, Working Paper, Erkner, Leipniz-Institut für Regionalentwicklung und Strukturplanung 2010, S. 25 f.

[2] "Resilience" denotes the psychological or psychophysiological abilities that empower people to tolerate psychological and psychophysiological stress (stress, hyper-stress, strain) without being harmed while enduring and overcoming the stress"; see *H.G. Petzold/L. Müller*, Resilienz und protektive Faktoren im Alter und ihre Bedeutung für den Social Support und die Psychotherapie bei aelteren Menschen, Düsseldorf/Zürich, 2002, S. 2.

[3] Worth mentioning here is, for instance, the increasing awareness of the principles of positive psychology by Martin Seligman and their use in conjunction with strategies for personal development and strengthening human resilience. By using scientifically validated methods, Seligman has implemented different kinds of resilience training in schools and in the US Army. Determining the resilience factors in personality profiles was also applied within the parameters of instruments used in selecting personnel and in better predicting the success of management actions; see *M. Seligman*, Flourish, München 2012.

various structures and areas of action can only be integrated by way of a systematic approach that overrides sectoral policy models with the aim of attaining resilience to imminent dangers and threats (Medd and Marvin 2005). And yet, how does one describe the pending dangers and hazards? There are "conditions and processes that necessitate dealing with risks [. . .] related to the exposure, vulnerability, and response capacity of a system or property. It is worth noting that physical, social, economic and environmental factors play a role (Birkmann et al. 2011, p.25)." Robustness and resilience help in dealing with a system or property—here "resilience" means either the ability of individuals and social groups to compensate systems or properties that incurred damage (such as by restoring their lost functionality) or the ability to respond flexibly to threats and thereby ward off potential damage (Bürkner 2010, p.24)." This definition seems understandable and logical. However, a number of recent publications on the topic have asserted that the largely theory-dominated approximations of the concept need to be further implemented and applied to real spatial contexts.

Resilience, Architecture, and Urban Planning

In the literature, various operations are named which promote the development of urban resilience. Although the different approaches appear in part useful, they cannot be applied to historical city districts and town centers without modification.[4] It is also clear that the consideration given to the field of urban planning does not suffice in any way. Planning is tied in with structures and systems (i.e., societal developments, availability of resources, etc.) with various parameters that engage numerous interactions. To address the matter, diversity (in terms of the multiplicity of typologies, construction methods, etc.) and flexibility (in regard to structures, uses, ground plans, etc.) are required. In this way the instruments of planning can become more resilient. "What this refers to is the ability of a system to respond flexibly to situational changes and to confounding factors without changing into a different state (Schaefer 2012, p.82)."

It is precisely because cities are structurally woven into complex systems—whether by trade, transport, utilities, or other—that a cross-sectoral perspective is required. Both architecture and urban planning fall within this context and indeed

[4] Resilience parameters of G. Christmann and others are mentioned here as examples: (1) change to one's own position to the relational structure, (2) changes to the units of the relational structure, (3) removal of elements from the relational structure, (4) additions to the elements of the relational structure, (5) changes to the type or intensity of the relationship with the units, and (6) querying and shift of the plane used essentially for the analysis of vulnerability. However, it remains uncertain how these can be meaningfully applied to the circumstance of historic cities and their centers; see *G. Christmann/O. Ibert u.a.*, Vulnerabilitaet und Resilienz in sozio-raeumlicher Perspektive. Begriffliche Klaerungen und theoretischer Rahmen, Working Paper, Erkner, Leipniz-Institut für Regionalentwicklung und Strukturplanung 2011, S. 25.

cannot be isolated. Consequently, it is of little help to have an overly fragmentary view, which considers only singular factors. For this reason, it seems evident that architects and planning experts should play a greater role. Not only should they be responsible for the delivery of a set project, but, more importantly, they should engage in defining the task itself to better honor the overall context and framework conditions. It follows that robustness is much desired in order for the context and framework conditions to remain recognizable, in full force and effect (Schaefer 2012). "Diversity" is another component to building desired adaptability. What this means is perhaps best explained by a counterexample. Cases in point are Dubai and Abu Dhabi in the Middle East. Their development has been very much dependent on the automobile and on aircraft accessibility. This exclusiveness presents an issue (Schaefer 2012).

Up to this point, all too little consideration has been given to the discussion on the overall spatial dimension of resilience. The same applies to the role of individual city districts and the designation of specific spatial units. In this regard, there is further strong evidence that resilience cannot be understood as a mere state or category but rather as a process whereby focus is drawn on learning, adaptation, and innovative processes (Christmann and Ibert 2011). Against a backdrop of urban challenges, this process seems compelling. In the area of intervention, top-down policy and management approaches must make room for bottom-up approaches. In accordance, in some countries, parallel, citizen-based, grassroot movements have emerged.[5] Resilience has already been investigated as a strategy connected to the maintenance of cultural heritage (Mackee 2012). Conversely, little attention has been given to the role of built cultural heritage as a factor of resilience.

If the focus is set on the specific features of urban resilience, one does not have to go any further than to Tom Sieverts who prescribes innovative urban planning. He sees resilience conjoined with planning and construction in the face of ever-increasing resource scarcity. His call to action is based on the observation that any modification to primary or basic energy has always led to profound urban changes and new urban forms (Sieverts 2012). With this in mind, he recommends a number of aspects which are important to the careful management of "stress factors." Several specific features appear to be relevant to historical city districts and centers: the call to conserve resources by ensuring the longevity of buildings is a priority. This is also closely related to the ease with which individual building elements can

[5] As a result of anticipated climatic change and dwindling oil reserves, the "Transition Town Movement" developed initially in the UK and then in many other countries. Consequently, "citizens of several innovative cities and towns have dared to take steps by way of a holistic approach to reduce their CO2 footprint. They have also strengthened their resilience to the fundamental changes brought on by global peak oil"; see *B. Brangwyn/R. Hopkins*, Transition Initiativen—Ein Leitfaden. Energie- und Kulturwende in Staedten, Gemeinden, Landkreisen, Doerfern, Gemeinschaften und ganzen Regionen, 2008, S. 3 (available online). As a wider concept, numerous local activities have arisen and can be traced to a number of citizens' initiatives. As of yet "cultural heritage" in itself has hardly been a focus of Transition Town initiatives.

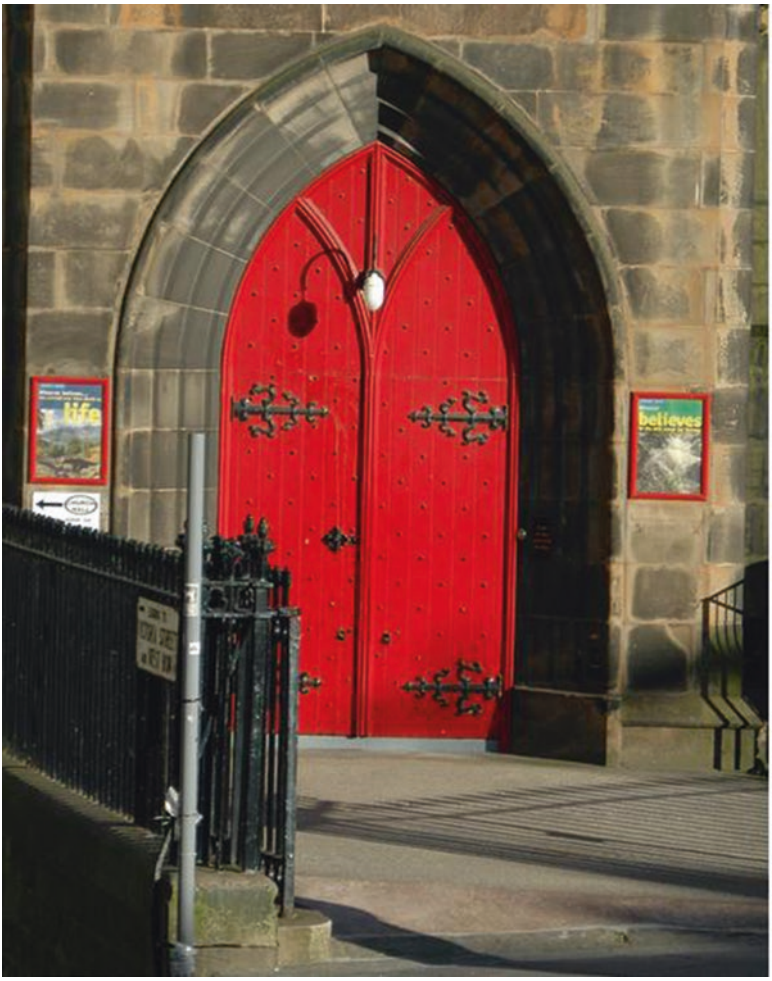

Fig. 1 Wooden door in Edinburgh (Source M. Ripp)

be repaired (see Fig. 1). In order to mitigate any conflict between the longevity of a built structure and short-lived uses, a multipurpose approach to issues of redundancy and availability, as well as economical usage, can be very helpful. In addition, the skill of organizing space and designing buildings can make a real difference to energy efficiency.

Unfortunately, at this time there are just a few papers that deal with the application and direct implementation of resilience in a local planning context. The on-site "translation" of the theoretical concept into understandable and specific planning

activities remains to a large degree contextually incomplete.[6] How can resilience be implemented through land use and development plans? What planning instruments are required or need adjustment in order to advance resilience? Although, for the time being, many questions still remain unanswered, the noted categories and features suggest that historical city districts and centers have a special role to play as a factor of resilience in urban systems.

Resilience of Urban Heritage: Opportunities and Limitations

Since we cannot predict the future, we must rely on past findings to evaluate factors of resilience. In personality psychology, for example, an evaluation of existing [personal] strengths forms the starting point from which further [personal] development can be supported. [Life] events, patterns of interpreting, [approaches in] assessing, and more have all shaped specific personality traits (Seligman 2012). If one were to apply this model to cities, one could then examine how and under which circumstances certain typologies, spatial arrangements, local traditions, construction styles, etc. have proved resilient or not. It follows that by taking a closer look at the respective potential of historical city districts and centers, it is logical to apply this model according to four different categories indicated in related literature: (1) design and construction, (2) materiality, (3) use, and (4) planning (i.e., at the meta-level).[7]

[6] The Pestel Institut examined resilience at a regional level. Using a list of 18 indicators, the "regional stability in crisis situations" was investigated both at county and urban levels. The indicators, for example, were drawn from the area of "society" by the number of school leavers without a basic secondary school certificate and from the area of "traffic" by the number of public transport vehicle kilometers per capita. The indicators were used to interpret "regional stability in crisis situations" by linear causal relationships. For example, the indicator on housing, "floor area per inhabitant"—"less living space per inhabitant—equates directly to low-energy consumption, and because of the average higher building density, mobility needs are less. This proves advantageous in crisis situations,"(see *Pestel Institut*, Regionale Krisenfestigkeit. Eine indikatorengestützte Bestandsaufnahme auf der Ebene der Kreise und kreisfreien Staedte, Hannover 2010, S. 6). Unfortunately, due to the chosen parameters, no specific conclusions can be drawn for historic city districts and centers. The one conclusion that can be drawn, however, is that some indicators are present and frequently interpret historic city districts and centers in a positive light. As an example, it is worth mentioning the indicator, "proportion of traffic area per inhabitant." In final analysis, the authors of the study do come to the conclusion that "precisely because of public debate, areas that have been rather neglected can offer protection in the aftermath of crisis. This is mainly due to the selected indicators. Decentralized energy supply, social stability, availability of agricultural and forestry lands and local jobs help cushion regions far more [in times of crisis]"; cf. ibid., p. 13.

[7] Here particular reference is made to T. Sieverts (s. A15), p. 85 ff. and G. Christmann/O. Ibert (s. A 8), pp. 25 ff. The approaches used here by Christmann and Tom Sieverts are principally different. Whereas Sieverts is concerned with the hardware while also considering the associated social actions, Christmann, inter alia, focuses more clearly on combining the individual categories of change and governance.

Resilience by Way of Design and Construction

Economics largely determined the designs and construction styles of historical buildings that are still being used today and that to a large extent will remain viable in the future. This is because decisive measures had been laid down for the structure, volume, and arrangement of individual buildings. These measures reached well beyond the existing degree of resilience: the energy efficiency achieved by way of favorable spatial configurations and construction designs set many historical buildings apart. Stringent regulations for heated rooms, fire places, etc. were the order of the day to save as much energy as possible and to secure long-term utility.

The resilience of robust technical designs was achieved with solid construction techniques using wood or stone and tile roofing materials as in residential and representational buildings. Only outbuildings were sometimes constructed to be less durable and simpler in design. Pavements, bridges made of stone, etc. have made it possible for infrastructure to be still in use after hundreds of years.

When considering, for example, renovations or city redevelopment processes, individual building units could lose their relational structure to other buildings or, as in the case of individual rehabilitation projects and area-specific planning processes, simply be removed. This might be done as a fire preventive measure—specifically in eliminating fire hazardous building materials. The addition of building elements is another strategy often used to facilitate modern needs. A city's infrastructure acquires new urban functions when it incorporates structural engineering projects both above and below ground. Similarly, specific protective features against floods, fires, etc., for instance, become additive elements. Both the additive and replacement aspects in themselves do not disturb the general relationship of structures. On the contrary, they are immanent aspects of earlier urban development. In other words, many existing features of resilience in historical districts are determined by styles of design and methods of construction which are not apparent in other districts like large housing estates and single use zones. Business and commercial districts, as well as suburban housing estates, are some examples.[8]

Resilience by Way of Appropriate Materials

The building materials used play a central role, particularly, with regard to life expectancy. The longevity of historical monuments is often determined by the material, with the repair of individual building components, such as bricks, and windows being considered a part of regular maintenance. In the case of historical buildings, this is usually part of a daily course of action. Tile and stone rooftops can be quite

[8] A striking example is the meta-city, Wulfen, realized in the 1970s and based on a systematic approach developed by the architect, Richard J. Dietrich. The city failed as a holistic urban planning concept and eventually had to be demolished in 1987.

Fig. 2 Roof landscape with traditional stone cover in Gjirokastra, Albania (Source: M. Ripp)

easily repaired, whereas metal and flat roofs made of concrete require a much larger effort (see Fig. 2). Making use of traditional, artisan-made materials, such as wooden windows, wooden floors, clay tiles, lime, or clay plasters, allows for easier repair. Thus historical wooden casement windows can readily be renewed because of their replaceable, individual elements including window panes, seals, frames, fittings, etc.—whereby even their insulative value can be optimized to a certain extent. In contrast, synthetic material windows provide very few options of adaptability. In order to strengthen this factor of resilience, building materials need to be locally and adequately available. More importantly, though, is a working network of specialized craftsmen who can professionally do the repair work. Given that the construction industry quite commonly produces prefabricated building components in large quantities, sustaining [the desired] handcraft techniques is a challenge to society.

Resilience by Way of Adapted Uses

Probably the most significant factors of resilience relate to the uses of buildings and city districts. It is not uncommon for redundancies to occur among the [different] types of historical structures and spaces. Variations of use are easily transferable, and there is a scope of uses related to types of buildings and spaces. As such, the garden house is a type of building that has spread across much of the formative historical district of Bamberg. The district is also distinguished by, among other

Fig. 3 Row houses in Telc, Czech Republic (Source: M. Ripp)

things, a grand gated entrance, which in earlier times provided access to the rearward properties. The redundant structures of Telc are another example (see Fig. 3). With many types of historical buildings, a multipurpose approach is evident: that is, specific types of spaces serve several purposes simultaneously. Cases in point include the entrance halls, work areas, and specific covered balcony designs that serve at the same time as stores for agricultural products, accommodation, and spaces for drying laundry and much more. Many urban renewal projects demonstrate that heritage buildings often acquire new functions and that redesignating the use of spaces for other purposes—whether a singular room or a part of a building—is the renovation measure of the day.

Resilience can also be achieved at little cost through long-term uses. This point must be clearly differentiated. Various historical categories of buildings, such as residential buildings from the Wilhelminian era, are much sought after today. Apart from installing innovative technologies, such as central heating, telephone lines, etc., the resulting costs of adapting new uses have been manageable. There are, however, other types of buildings, for example, villas, that are at a disadvantage because of their very generous room dimensions and floor plans. The utility of these buildings often entails considerable costs in maintenance and in modern investment which may take away from their original function. However, it is often these very generous room layouts that attract modern tenants. Essentially, the large room heights typical of Wilhelminian districts are attractive features, and their associated higher energy costs are willingly accepted. In the complex interplay between the (potential) utility and the existing building fabric, subjectively valued singular qualities produce contradictions. Not all decisions take a compelling and logical course.

Many historical districts have undergone changes in significance and utility over the years. Where in earlier times courtyards served as the workshops of craftsman, now they have become attractive living spaces and in some cases are used by artists or retailers as additional sales or storage areas. Sometimes they are simply used as parking space. As such, this robust urban fabric makes for resilience. The type and intensity of uses can be modified both for the individual structural elements of complete buildings and, also, for larger units such as plots of land, areas of redevelopment, etc. Further modifications to the urban fabric can occur when changes are made to the service infrastructure and the routing of traffic in neighboring city districts. These modifications arise because of a recombination of urban elements. As a consequence of their integrated function within a larger city, historical districts thereby undergo change and reinterpretation when changes are made to, for instance, transportation links. Concurrently, these districts preserve their basic structure while at the same time incorporate the new. It is especially this passive ability to change that constitutes a resilience factor.

So too, it seems that a regional lifestyle is paradoxically becoming more and more common in cities, earmarked by the largely local consumption of goods and the increased use of local resources. Interestingly enough this is happening among inhabitants who identify with their own district or neighborhood. What this shows perhaps is a new relationship wherein the popularity of local markets (accordingly farmer's markets) or the love of cuisine is catered to by regional products connected with the historical setting of a building and related historical district. This is the case with the old town inhabitants of Regensburg, who go on foot to the Danube Market every Saturday and rave about it. While there they can enjoy some regional cuisine in one of several traditional brewery inns.

This local community-conscious lifestyle fosters resilience by drawing equally on the strengths of surrounding, functional interactions, and the support of local business circles. When considering the links between urban functions, historical city districts and centers often have a high number of functions. Contextualized within a robust building or urban fabric, there are good grounds for reinterpretation and changes of use. The catch phrase, "city of short distances," especially relevant to historical city centers, indicates flexibility for new, alternative, or traditional forms of transport. There is also a degree of flexibility in regard to the power supply, albeit to a limited extent as shown by restrictions on the use of solar power systems or geothermal energy. The limits of flexibility are reached, however, when it comes to historical districts giving up large retail spaces, which retailers all too often request in regard to the buying habits of prospective customers. Looking into the recent past of European urban development, historical districts and centers over the past hundred years have coped with change remarkably well. Today's historical districts and centers are popular for communities to live in and serve as places of work, centers for service, and sites to relax in (see Fig. 4).

When considering the town plans of old urban areas, and even whole historical districts, one discovers a high density of urban uses. It becomes apparent that functional changes have often already occurred in earlier times; this also indicates adaptability to new uses. As a rule, historical city districts and centers are also a source of

Fig. 4 Center of Český Krumlov, Czech Republic (Source: M. Ripp)

urban identity. Not only do inhabitants value the impact that imperfection has on their senses—i.e., winding streets and alleyways and nonconforming structural designs and cubature—but they also value this imperfection as a place of residence and daily living. Environs, like old town centers, are very popular wherever there are appropriate patrons. The resilience of such environs is strengthened by their unmistakable distinctiveness accentuated by high-quality architecture and sense of aesthetics.

Resilience Factors in Planning

In addition to established local planning programs, as in the preparation of development plans, there are modern pressures for change, which have meta-level effects. Top-down and sectoral approaches to planning frequently result in rather incomplete and selective accounts of matters of concern. Only by integrating planning processes, and by involving a sizeable number of interest groups is it possible to overcome and balance diverse interests and requirements. Important determinants to this end are the planning horizon and planning period. It follows that, on the one hand, a certain flexibility regarding short-term needs is required. On the other hand, there needs to be a common thread if not for the long term, then at least for the medium term. In essence this will keep the structural and urban fabric robust.

The need for a long-term perspective is self-evident for districts with historical buildings and urban structures. However, when changes are to be made, viable preconditions must also be met, either by customizing uses, adding or removing individual elements (within the practices of heritage conservation), or by means of other planning interventions. Risks, too, must be calculated, and, correspondingly, the contents of analysis and actions must be regularly reconfigured and reexamined. In this way, risk factors and hazards can be reassessed to meet local adaptation strategies. Planning processes, investment models, and communication structures are constantly evolving and, in their complexity, can only be understood with the aid of systematic models. Simply choosing a sectoral planning in Planningapproach to address all-encompassing and complex challenges is almost like expecting immediate improvements in a building's total energy efficiency by simply replacing an old window.

Outlook

Exclusive consideration of the built environment is clearly not enough to understand the complexity of a system which draws on the theoretically constructed concept of "resilience." However, the resilience of historical parts of a city can be purposefully supported. To this end different strategies and measures are possible using various courses of action:

Resilience through Design and Construction
When considering individual buildings, attention should be paid to their deconstruction within the context of construction and remediation. In addition, building plans should make room for multipurpose uses. This starts with the infrastructure that is of public interest but equally affects, for instance, basic issues pertaining to built floor plans. Robust design solutions as well as premeditated structural options for building additions can strengthen the sustainability of such structures by enabling a wider range of uses and thereby furthering the framework of urban planning. In reality, [though] it is not unusual to encounter opposing individual interests, the likes of powerful, assertive, single-minded investors.

Resilience by Using Appropriate Materials
Selecting durable building materials and quality workmanship eliminates the need to replace whole building components after they reach their life expectancy. By giving greater consideration to simple repairs through the exchange and maintenance of small parts, the whole can be preserved. The treasure chest of know-how and skills required for such a task must be obligingly maintained and preserved by the society at large, even if occasional, short-term, economic disadvantages arise.

Resilience Through Adapted Use
In order to meet the complex demands of urban planning and society, the basis for strengthening resilience should be laid down by appropriate integrated concepts of

utility. By including a wide range of stakeholders, a wider range of uses can be considered and diversity [in itself] strengthened. This includes the facilitation of temporary uses, which have previously played an important role in many historical districts. A robust building and urban fabric in the long term, however, can only be preserved by a defined and enduring basic structure. Traditional structures should, therefore, not be sacrificed thoughtlessly for any short-lived trend. One can only be reminded of the lessons learned in planning for car-friendly cities in the 1960s.

Resilience Factors of Planning

Since resilience is based on a systemic approach, integrated conservation and development strategies can only be realized by crossing the frontier of sectoral policy. The threats and challenges that cities face rarely stand out as one-dimensional, and because of this, the best response and stabilization strategies must be worked out with the above in mind. The approaches for promoting good governance are, therefore, just as important as the approaches for implementing holistically integrated planning.

Historical city districts and centers are much loved in many places. Their role in sustaining our cities for the future has not been taken very seriously until now. It is imperative to raise greater awareness about their role at political, planning, and civic levels and thereby improve the prerequisites to strengthening their capacity.

Historical cities are not simply found between the extremes of preservation, presentation, and exploitation; they represent a much more significant resilience factor with their historical centers and districts. Historical cities are capable of reducing the vulnerability associated with future threats and risks. The contradiction between preserving historical structures and developing strategies for change and adaptation is all but apparent [Translator's note].[9]

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Part III
Shifts in the Understanding of Heritage and Sustainability

Heritage Conservation and Sustainable Development in Sacred Places: Towards a New Approach

Sara Anas Serafi and Kalliopi Fouseki

Introduction

The growing literature on heritage and sustainable development indicates a cultural turn which stresses the importance of culture and heritage as a driver for sustainable development (e.g. Albert 2015; Auclair and Fairclough 2015; Barthel-Bouchier 2012; Landorf 2011; Rodwell 2008). This turn emerged as a reaction towards the omission of heritage and culture in development projects. Indeed, culture and heritage was (and still is to a great extent) somewhat hidden, and consequently neglected, under the umbrella of social sustainability.

The neglect of culture in sustainable development energized the proposition of a 'four-pillar' sustainable development model that comprises of economy, society, environment and culture (Hawkes 2001). The omission, and subsequent addition, of the cultural pillar reveals how reductive and misleading sustainable development models, in general, can be. Although we acknowledge the significance of such models in visualizing complex interrelationships, we also contend that if such models are used blindly, and unconstructively, critical dimensions (such as that of culture) can be ignored. Sustainable development models need to be flexible, allowing the identification of as many pillars as necessary depending on each case study. For this to happen, understanding the significance and meanings assigned by stakeholders affected or associated with a development project is vital (Avrami et al. 2000).

We will illustrate our argument through the analysis of worshippers' responses towards the development projects around the historic and religious city of Mecca in Saudi Arabia. Our analysis will unveil the significance of the pillar of 'spirituality'

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within the context of heritage and sustainable development. This pillar, we argue, which lies at the interface of culture and society, should be the underlying foundation of sustainable development in Mecca.

Mecca is one of Islam's holy cities and has been a destination for meditation and divine affirmation, dating back to pre-Islamic times around 2000 BCE (Dorduncu 2006). For almost fourteen centuries now, Muslims' hearts have been yearning to visit this city, driven by a spiritual pull and the desire to fulfil pilgrimage duties. Millions of visitors find their way to Mecca annually to perform Hajj and Umra,[1] making the city a meeting point for people who come together from across the globe, pursuing the same divine purpose. In Mecca, it being both a sacred site and an inhabited living city, historic sites and remains can be categorized into three different types relating to the many phases of the city. While some sites are associated with religious or spiritual significance, relating to worship practices, the performance of Hajj or Prophet Mohammad's legacy, other sites can be viewed as more secular, merely associated with the city's history with no spiritual significance. The pressing urgency to expand the city's mosque to accommodate the increasing number of worshippers and visitors every year has encouraged rapid developments and expansion projects. Consequently, much of the mosque's surrounding areas had to be demolished to make way for development, and with that many historic sites were also removed.

At the beginning of this research, and under the influence of informal discussions with professionals interested in the ongoing development works, the expectation was that pilgrims would oppose the development. This expectation was further reinforced by traditional attitudes of heritage professionals who are increasingly concerned about the effect of 'rapid modernization that attracted the desire for Western style modern patterns of development on Islamic built environment' (Kazimee 2012, p. xiii). After collecting 62 questionnaires answered by worshippers, we realized that development, in worshippers' views, can coexist with the spirituality and the heritage significance of the city as long as development functions as a vehicle for spirituality and facilitates the needs of worshippers.

Methodology

The key objective of this research was to carry out a preliminary study that will provide an insight into worshippers' spiritual and heritage experiences and the impact (negative or positive) of the ongoing developments on this experience. In order to achieve the objective, three in-depth semi-structured interviews were carried out with local professionals in order to gain a better understanding of the place and the local reactions. This was followed by the design of a structured questionnaire aimed at investigating worshippers' attitudes and reactions towards

[1] Hajj refers to the annual pilgrimage to Mecca and Umra is another act of worship that takes place in the Holy mosque of Mecca.

development in Mecca. The questionnaire comprised of three main sections including a section on worshippers' expectations, a section on their spiritual experience and a section specifically regarding conservation issues of historic remains and monuments on the site.

The ultimate goal of this study is to capture the general sense of what is happening on site and to subsequently inform the design of a larger ethnographic study that is expected to start in September 2016. Due to the spiritual nature of the site, and also security and safety matters, the questionnaire at this stage had to consist of mainly close-ended questions. A few prompts accompanied some of the closed questionnaire statements in order to be able to qualify the information.

The interviewer (Sara Serafi) approached worshippers, through random sampling,[2] in the surrounding hotel lobbies and recruited local participants through personal networks. The questionnaire had to be short, respecting worshippers' time and space. The interviewer was accompanied by a relative for security reasons. The survey was conducted during the holy month of Ramadan in summer 2015, the second busiest time of the year after Hajj, with over three million worshippers visiting. Fifty-five percent of the respondents were female and 45% were male. Fifty percent of the respondents were 30 years old or below, and a further 50% were above 30.

Participants in the survey came from various countries across the world including the USA, Jamaica, Nigeria, Egypt, Indonesia, Pakistan and United Arab Emirates. No statistical differences between gender and age groups were noted in the responses. To facilitate the research and trace some statistical differences, results were grouped into local and international respondents which, as presented below, allowed the identification of some differences between the two groups.

Sustainable Development Challenges in the City of Mecca

A vigorous campaign of development works took place in Mecca in 2008, under the title 'Makkah towards the first world'. It was initiated by Mecca's governor HRH Prince Khalid Al-Faisal (SyndiGate Media Inc. 2010). The campaign addressed the need for providing essential services to worshippers while preserving the city's identity. As stated by the Prince, 'the project should be completed so that it can offer the highest level of services to worshippers'. The 'project should also preserve the indigenous and Islamic identity of the locations but in keeping with the modern image' (Al-Sulami 2010). Around 300 billion dollars was invested in the projects (Al-Saadi 2014) with the aim of completion within a 10-year time frame. The developments cover various services and facilities but mostly focus on accommodation and hospitality services. Probably one of the most known and controversial examples is the 'Makkah Clock Royal Tower' (Fig. 1) which is part of the Abraj Al Bait developments, a mega mixed-use development completed in 2012 that consists of a

[2] Sara approached every third worshipper entering the hotel lobby.

Fig. 1 Makkah Clock Royal Tower (Photo: Anas Serafi 30/6/2015)

number of elite international hotels, a shopping mall and prayer halls. Five times the size of London's Big Ben, the tower has become a landmark in Mecca and a 'beacon for some Muslim travellers' (The Middle East 2011).

Other facilities include transport systems, banks and money exchange outlets, travel agencies, healthcare facilities and general services like ablution facilities, toilets and parking spaces. The scale of these development projects raises several questions in regard to how people perceive them, their effects on the spirituality of the place and their relation to Mecca's image and identity. To make way for the new developments, around 7000 real estate units had to be demolished (Abdul Ghafour 2012), mountains were blasted and heritage sites were removed. Over the mosque's expansion phases, priority was given to safeguarding sites related to worship practices. Other sites perceived as less religiously significant, such as sites associated with the city's secular history, were overlooked at the expense of the expansion (Serafi 2015). While there have been recent efforts to conserve some of the remaining sites, it seems more attention is given to the conservation of tangible elements and less to intangible aspects, such as the spirituality of the place. By spirituality, in the context of religious cultural heritage, we refer to the symbolic, cultural and emotional ways in which worshippers connect with a religious site. Cultural heritage in this context provides a means to convey and practise spiritual processes.

As a result, other meanings associated with heritage in religious sites (such as historical or archaeological) are only of secondary importance for worshippers.

According to HRH Prince Khalid Al-Faisal, Mecca's governor, the first instruction received from the king regarding his role as governor was 'to put the welfare and progress of Mecca's residents and worshippers on top of my priority list' (McClatchy 2015). Moreover, when initiating the 'Mecca towards the first world' campaign, he also stated that the campaign's four focal points are 'the human being, the place, the government sector, and the private sector' (The Independent 2010). Furthermore, the Mecca and Holy Sites Development Authority has announced their aim to take into consideration urban, economic, residential, social, cultural, security and environmental views throughout the development project (Al-Sulami 2010). As it becomes evident from these statements, the spirituality of the place is omitted from the various dimensions associated with the development projects.

Heritage Conservation and Sustainable Development: A Critical Approach

Despite its criticisms, the most widely known definition of sustainable development is that of the Brundtland Report, according to which 'sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED 1987). This definition implies an intergenerational duty for present generations to sustain and transmit the planet and its resources to future generations. Accordingly, sustainable development is often visualized as a stool, or pediment, comprising of three (and more recently four) main dimensions including environment, economy, society and culture (Hawkes 2001; Pereira Roders and van Oers 2011, 2014). The World Commission on Culture and Development defined culture as 'ways of living together' and argued that this made culture a core element of sustainable development (UNESCO 1996). This emphasis reorientates the focus of sustainable development theories and practices from people-nature relationships to people-to-people relationships. The underpinning argument is that without 'harmonious interactions between individuals and communities', the sustainability of the natural (and cultural) environment is not feasible (UNESCO 1996). The definition of culture here is strongly interlinked with social relations.

Hawkes (2001) distinguishes culture from the social pillar of sustainable development by arguing that culture focuses on the ongoing negotiation of values that characterize human existence, while the social pillar revolves around interactions of human organizations and communities. For Dessein et al. (2015), the interrelationship of culture with sustainable development is viewed as culture *in*, *for* and *as* sustainable development. 'Culture in sustainable development' describes culture's supporting role in larger processes of sustainable development, and, thus, culture, in this sense, is one of four independent yet interactive contributors to sustainable

development. 'Culture for sustainable development' attributes culture with the instrumental role of balancing all three pillars, guiding 'sustainable development between economic, social, and ecological pressures and needs' (Dessein et al. 2015, p.28). Finally, 'culture as sustainable development refers to a worldview, a cultural system guided by intentions, motivations, ethical and moral choices, rooted in values that drive our individual and collective actions, and to a process and communication of transformation and cultural change' (Dessein et al. 2015, p.32).

The underpinning idea of all models (including the three- and four-pillar models) is that for development to be sustainable, all pillars need to be balanced (Soini and Birkeland 2014). However, scepticisms have been expressed as to whether or not this balanced approach is pragmatic. Auclair, for instance, has noted that in urban sustainable development, the issues involved are complex, and the question remains if economic development, social cohesion and environmental quality can be simultaneously achieved (Auclair and Fairclough 2015, pp.25–27). This has led researchers to prioritize certain pillars over others (see Cato 2009 for environmental priority for economical and Kiddey and Schofield 2015 for societal). More recently, James uses an approach that aims at sustaining a positive and vibrant social life by considering sustainability across an intersecting four-domain model: economics, ecology, politics and culture.

While existing models can provide a useful visualization and mapping tool, if not used creatively, they can also be reductive and misleading, ignoring significant dimensions involved in a sustainable development project. Contributing to this ambiguity is the vagueness of the term 'sustainable' (Pereira Roders and van Oers 2011), which is often falsely used interchangeably with the term sustainability. The variety of models is indicative of the fact that there can be as many models and pillars as there is case studies. In view of this, we do not just propose an ideal model of sustainable development by simply adding a new pillar (that of spirituality) but mainly a process of thinking that is aligned with the particular needs of each place. In the case of sacred/heritage sites, we will examine the role of spirituality in sustainable development. In theory, this could fall under the wider 'social' and 'cultural' pillar. However, we want to stress the need for unpacking individual aspects of these wider dimensions (social and cultural) for certain sites.

Spirituality in Sustainable Development

A link between sustainability and spirituality has often been viewed as essential for fostering human relations and peoples' connection to nature (Kenworthy et al. 2006, p.1449). According to Kenworthy et al. (2006, p.1450), the very nature of sustainable development contains a spiritual question: where does the motivation to be sustainable lie? Spirituality here is linked with the moral duty to do 'the right thing' as, according to the authors, 'spiritual behaviour stresses human values such as humility, respect, compassion and responsibility' (ibid. p.1550). Accordingly, spirituality in the context of sustainable development provides a forum for addressing

critical issues such as social justice, personal and collective human rights and personal values (ibid. p.1551).

In economic-oriented development studies, there is a growing emphasis on understanding local peoples' spirituality in sustainable development practices (e.g. Ver Beek 2000; Verhelst and Tyndale 2002) and integrating spirituality as an additional pillar in sustainable development models (Krempl 2014; Ulluwishewa 2014). Indeed, the importance of spirituality from the viewpoint of changing ourselves has been acknowledged by authors as a contributing factor to sustainable development (e.g. Ikerd 2005; Reid 1995).

In its literal meaning, spirituality refers to the state of being with spirit (Ulluwishewa 2014, p.5). Ulluwishewa (2014) has argued that spiritual growth and economic growth are mutually beneficial. His approach is driven by the idea that the world would be a better place if spirituality principles, which advocate equity and fairness, were integrated into conventional development studies which purely focus on economic growth. Although this may sound idealistic, our research in Mecca also concludes that economic growth and spiritual processes can coexist as long as economic-driven developments respect and facilitate the worshippers' needs.

Similarly, Krempl (2014) argues from an environmental perspective that any model of sustainable development is incomplete without a spirituality pillar. Spirituality in Krempl's research is identified with hope, ethical values and meaning – all of which could be located under social sustainability. However, by unfolding these elements, reassurance can be provided that they will not be left out.

An interesting conceptual paper produced by the religious community of Bahá'í in 1998, as part of the World Faiths and Development Dialogue, also affirms the central role of spirituality in sustainable development (Bahá'í International Community 1998). This concept paper focuses on the importance of creating measures to assess development progress through the perspective of spiritual principles. The paper begins by outlining a Bahá'í perspective on development. It then introduces the concept of *spiritually based indicators* for development. The Bahá'í community defines 'meaningful development' as development requiring that the 'seemingly antithetical processes of individual progress and social advancement, of globalization and decentralization, and of promoting universal standards and fostering cultural diversity, be harmonized'. They stress the importance of 'material progresses' in serving as 'a vehicle for spiritual and cultural advancement'. Spirituality is viewed as a thread, a foundation rather than as a distinct pillar of sustainable development. Similarly, in the case of Mecca, we will argue that spirituality should constitute the underpinning foundation of sustainable development projects in the city.

Despite increasing acknowledgement of the role of spirituality in sustainable development, as indicated above in the case of Mecca and stressed in literature, development still largely focuses 'on exterior aspects of human society that relate to material needs, and has tended to exclude the more qualitative interior components of human life, such as ethical, cultural, psychological and spiritual needs' (Hochachka 2005, p.111). However, interiority (emphasis on development of these interior aspects) is critical for sustainable development (ibid. p.110) because,

ultimately, 'it is in the process of self-determination that communities will find emancipation from current conventional development models and engage with development which is appropriate and sustainable'.

Heritage Conservation and Sustainable Development in Mecca: Worshippers' Responses

This section will summarize worshippers' attitudes towards the impact of the development projects on heritage and the spiritual nature of the place. Sixty-two respondents answered the questionnaire comprising of 37 and 25 international and local worshippers, respectively, and the majority of whom (92%) had visited Mecca before.

Although the sample size does not allow a conclusion of statistically significant results, the findings are of great interest in highlighting areas for further research as well as emphasizing the necessity to consider 'spirituality' as an essential aspect of sustainable development, especially in sacred sites.

One of the first questions aimed to examine the extent to which participants believed that Mecca had changed over time. Not surprisingly, those who had visited Mecca before thought that Mecca had changed significantly (Fig. 2).

Respondents commented, for instance, on how the city 'is losing its holy spirit with all the [surrounding] cranes and buildings' and how the surrounding landscape is becoming 'more commercial' and 'industrious'.

Attitudes towards the idea of 'development' were, however, positive when they related to the provision of additional accommodation services (Fig. 3): expressing

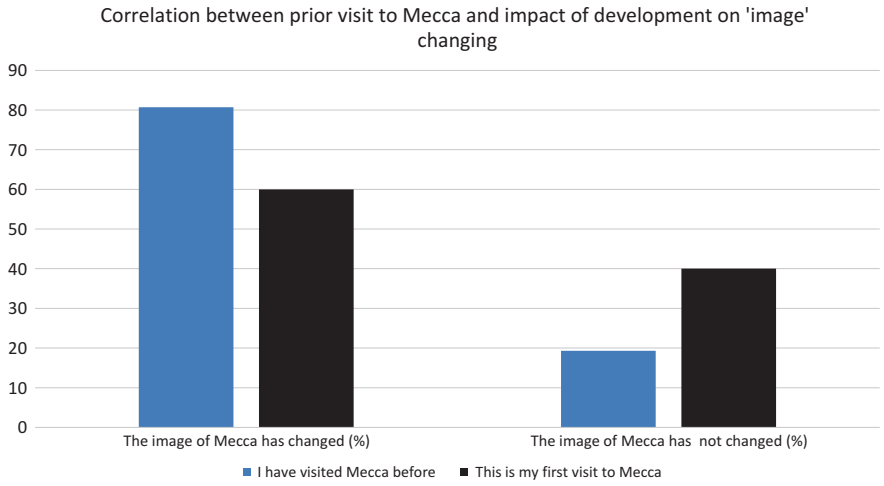

Fig. 2 Prior visit to Mecca cross-tabulated with perceptions of 'image' of Mecca and the degree of change

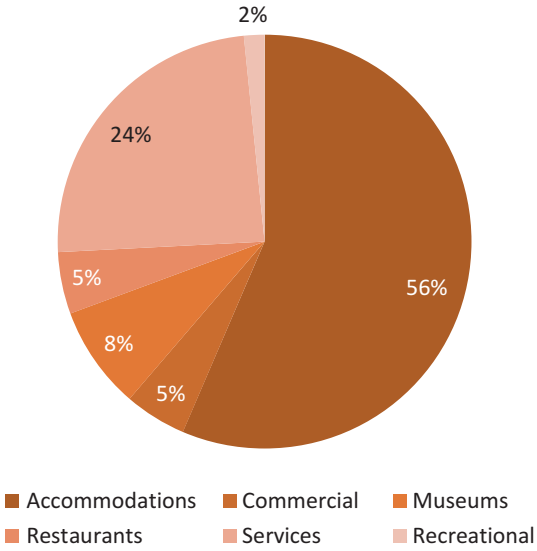

Fig. 3 Worshippers' responses towards developmental services

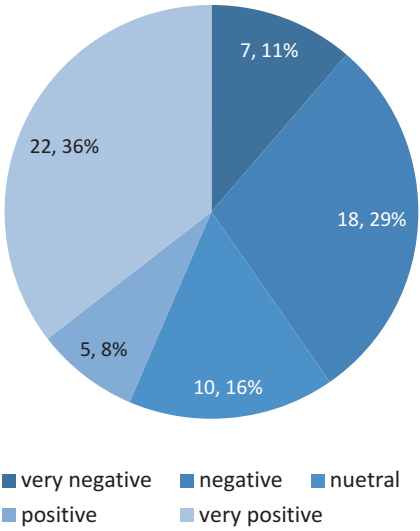

Fig. 4 Worshippers' overall attitudes towards development works

sentiments of awe saying 'we were surprised by how accommodating it was!' and commenting that the developments were 'great and made more room for pilgrims'.

Despite the positive reactions regarding the provision of accommodation services, when asked to scale their general impressions towards the overall development programming, overall attitudes were negative; 4 out of 10 of the respondents viewed the development projects as very negative or negative (Fig. 4).

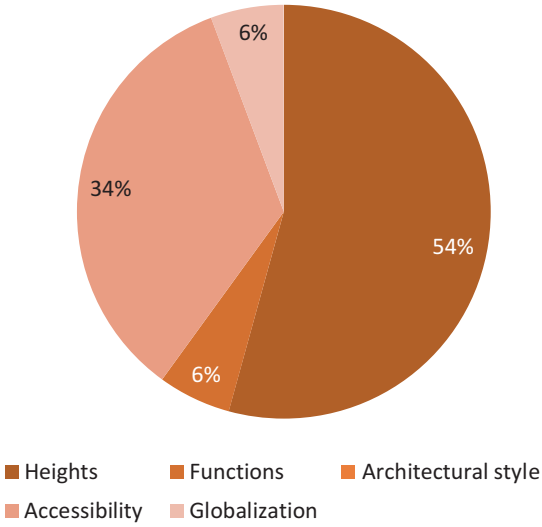

Fig. 5 Elements of development works that were viewed less favourably by respondents

Those respondents who viewed the development works as negative were prompted to choose among a list of factors that contributed to this negative perception. Those factors included height/scale, building functions, architectural style/look, accessibility/congestion and globalization of brands.

The majority of the respondents (54%) considered height and scale as the most negative aspect of the development projects, while 34% cited lack of accessibility and congestion, regardless of whether they were local or international (Fig. 5). No statistically significant variation was noted between the different profiles of respondents. Similarly, one of the professionals interviewed touched upon the problem of scale, mentioning that 'in the past a lot of the buildings were adjacent to the mosque and didn't cause any issues, what has changed is the scale factor'.

The respondents who viewed the development projects positively were also asked to choose from a list of positive factors contributing to their perception. The list included convenience, international living standards, landmarks that represent power status and modernization. Twenty-three of the respondents appreciated the convenience that this development provides to the visitors, three liked the feeling of modernization projected by the works and one appreciated the international living standards. However, the local respondents clearly tended to adopt an overall negative attitude towards the development projects (76%) (Fig. 6).

Mecca's historic sites can be divided into three categories: (1) related to worship practices, e.g. Arafat, Mina, etc.; (2) related to the Prophet's legacy, e.g. Ghar Hira, Ghar Thawr, etc.; and (3) related to the city's history, e.g. Souk Al-Moda'a, Al-Haramain Museum, etc. Given the existence of historic remains on site (around the mosque), respondents were also asked to choose, from a provided list of historic sites, which ones that they were most familiar with (Fig. 7).

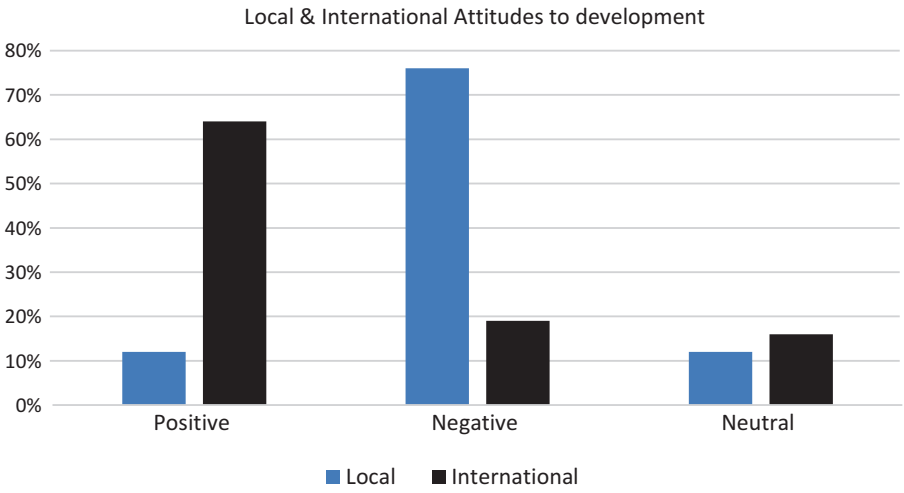

Fig. 6 Attitudes of local and international worshippers towards the development works taking place around the mosque

The figure above shows that sites related to the city's history were less known by the respondents, although locals tended to be more familiar with this type of heritage than international worshippers. One of the interesting finds was that the material culture related to the city's history is of less interest or urgency for conservation in contrast to the material culture related to the spiritual nature of the site. In this regard, no variations were observed between the local and international worshippers. Moreover, for the city's historical remains, respondents did not oppose the idea of creating a museum, while this was not viewed favourably for the first two types of remains (Fig. 8).

The above findings indicate a clear priority for the spirituality of the place which overshadows the heritage and historic significance of the site. To this end, a museum is favourable for the city's history but not for the city's religious character. In addition, development (especially linked with the provision of accommodation services) is desirable, but overall, there is a strong reaction against high-scale buildings that disrupt the spiritual nature of the landscape, especially from locals.

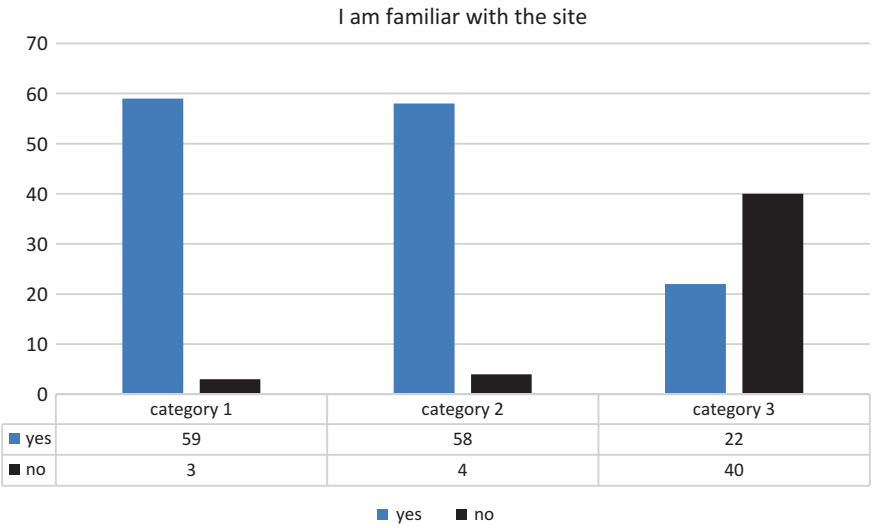

Fig. 7 Familiarity with types of historic sites as categorized

Integrating Spirituality into the Sustainable Development of Sacred Heritage Places

This section advocates the integration of the 'spiritual' dimension into traditional models of sustainable development as the underlying thread, especially for places of sacred and heritage significance (Fig. 9). We argue that each place is unique and thus an in-depth investigation through consultation with involved stakeholders and communities is required in order to identify the distinctive, underlying value of individual places. For the case of sacred sites, such as Mecca, it becomes apparent that cultural heritage elements and economic drivers are viewed as less important by worshippers, while spirituality is the underpinning thread of all 'pillars' of sustainable development.

Our analysis further showed that modern development is viewed favourably by the worshippers as long as it is intended to facilitate the sacred purpose of the place. It was clearly revealed that the essence of Mecca's identity is its spirituality – this is what keeps it alive and attracts the millions of visitors year round. Metaphorically speaking, if the city of Makkah can be looked at as a body then the spiritual aspect could be described as its soul. Consequently, the risk of gradually losing that aspect could in fact lead to the metaphorical death of the city. This observation emphasizes that, when speaking of conservation in Mecca, conserving the spirituality of a place is of paramount importance and should possibly be the main priority in decision-making.

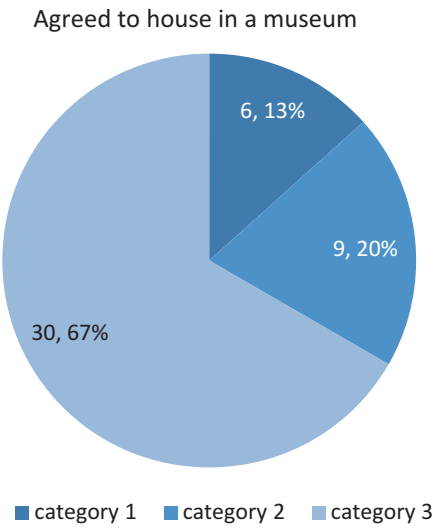

Fig. 8 Worshippers' responses towards the development of a museum for different types of heritage

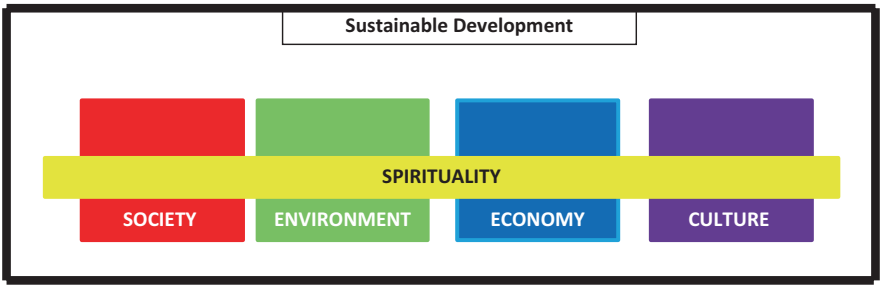

Fig. 9 Visualizing sustainable development with spirituality as the underpinning thread in the city of Mecca. Spirituality is not depicted as an additional, distinct pillar but as the underpinning thread of all pillars

Most worshippers agreed that developments surrounding the mosque do indeed affect their spiritual experience. The key disruptive factors proved to be the height and scale of the surrounding buildings. This observation is further verified by an architectural study which indicated that meaningful and intense spiritual experiences can be evoked in a place if the three interrelated areas of sustainability are combined with humanity and sensuality in the design (Birch and Sinclair 2013). A similar point was stressed in the professionals' interviews, suggesting that to protect that sense of spirituality when undertaking developments, the Ka'aba (the Holy Mosque's centre) should be taken as the scale reference point in planning.

One of the main observations from the survey findings was the clear distinction between local and global perspectives on the developments. While the locals gener-

ally viewed the developments as negative, the international respondents found them positive overall. The evident opposing views prompt further exploration on issues that relate to attachment and sense of belonging to a place. The fact that international visitors only visit Mecca for a limited time period, to perform certain worship practices, gives them a temporary perspective. This thought was further supported in the survey responses, where almost all the international respondents prioritized convenience as the top reason for viewing the developments as positive. Shackley (2001) has reiterated this idea by claiming that tourist-type visitors, or people visiting from abroad, are usually more open to changes in a certain historic or sacred site because they lack the same strong sense of attachment to the place as locals or residents. On the contrary, the locals' perspectives are driven by a stronger sense of attachment and belonging to their city, rendering them more sensitive to any changes that may be viewed as intrusive to their permanent surroundings. Another explanation for the local's negative view towards the developments may be linked to their knowledge of the real economic motives behind those developments. The locals view them as an emblem of economic capitalization, while international visitors, who are not directly affected by that issue, are not as bothered by it.

These findings further illustrate the importance of integrating local voices into the decision-making process and the sensitivity with which those voices should be handled. This issue was also discussed in Dr. Angawi's interview (2015), expressing that 'we must not only consider the international visitors' needs when planning developments, but also Makkah's local residents'. Achieving a balance between accommodating both needs, in his opinion, would help attain successful developments. Sardar (2014) has rightly advocated for local voices to be considered in the process since Mecca, other than being a holy and religious symbol, is also a city where people live out normal lives. Therefore decisions affecting Mecca also affects their daily lives.

Conclusion

In this chapter we argued that reductive models of sustainable development can be misleading if they are not used in a constructive, creative and critical manner because there is a high possibility that important aspects related to the meanings and values of a heritage place are ignored. This argument was illustrated through the case of Mecca, a historic and sacred city which is under the threat of rapid development projects. The initial hypothesis that stimulated this piece of research was that development and heritage conservation cannot coexist. However, our study in Mecca showed clearly that development and heritage conservation can coexist if development acts as a vehicle for enhancing spirituality through addressing directly the needs of worshippers. Moreover, our analysis unveiled the tension between religion and heritage. For worshippers, the religious significance of the city is apparently more important. Museumification of the remains is only desirable in the historic parts of the city that do not directly link to its religious significance. This

was further supported by statements from key developers, admitting that sites related to worship or connected to the Prophet's legacy are given priority over non-religious sites within the planning process.

Another interesting observation – although not statistically significant due to the small sample – is the variation of responses between local and international worshippers. For worshippers spirituality of the place is delineated within the geographical boundaries of the site and its immediate surroundings. For the locals the spirituality of the place transcends these narrow boundaries and expands to the wider city. This can explain why locals tend to be more negative towards the development projects.

This analysis, we hope, has opened new avenues for future research while informing future sustainable development practices. We would like to advocate for an approach to sustainable development that assesses and identifies all possible aspects and dimensions linked with a place. We view the pillars of sustainable development models as projections of these values. In the case of Mecca, we did not fully capture the views of all involved stakeholders. It is expected that such views will clash, specifically some religious views, resulting in power struggles between the different stakeholders that are associated with sites of such a sacred nature. In Mecca's case, for instance, a noticeable challenge was the resistance coming from religious extremist views; there is a fear that giving certain monuments or sites extra significance could make them prone to 'wrongful' worship practices leading people to seek blessings from those monuments or even cultivating idol worshipping, both of which are against Islamic principles. The dissonant nature of values raises further questions. How can sustainable development be achieved when the dimensions, pillars or values are in conflict? Which pillars should be prioritized and which ones should function as the underlying foundation of sustainable development? These are critical questions that need to be addressed in future relevant studies.

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Beyond Conventional Limits: Intangible Heritage Values and Sustainability Through Sport

Allison Thompson

Introduction

In his book *Border Country*, Raymond Williams wrote that "Culture cannot be abridged to its tangible products, because it is continuously living and evolving" (1960, p. 11). Traditional knowledge and practices, music, dance, language, games and mythology are all immaterial expressions that represent not only the history of a community but that can also instil a sense of identity and belonging that links generations. Marie-Theres Albert describes these expressions of human life as "cultural necessities" that must be given greater significance within the context of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and World Heritage (2010, p. 21). Although there are instruments that focus specifically on protecting intangible heritage values, such as the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, most contemporary research and strategies concerning heritage are still disproportionately preoccupied with the physical site.

The World Heritage Convention is, above all, a convention which focuses on cultural and natural heritage preservation (UNESCO, 2003). In today's world, armed conflicts, natural disasters and global climate change, in addition to many other factors, have resulted in the complete or near-total destruction of numerous cities and the inhabitants. As we see time and again, a community can survive the loss of a physical building (e.g. earthquake in Nepal, typhoon in the Philippines), but recovering from the destruction of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) is much more difficult, if not impossible in some cases. If the only remaining elders in a village with knowledge of traditional craft making are killed, or if an entire generation

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of youth is forcibly removed from their community, there is no possible means for the transmission of ICH. Effectively, a culture which has been practised for centuries can become extinct, not because the community has become disengaged, but because of a lack of essential safeguarding measures. ICH is crucial not only to the protection and recognition of indigenous communities but also to the promotion of cultural diversity and sustainable development.

Current discourse regarding heritage and sustainability remains predominantly focused on traditional economic-based approaches such as tourism. While these strategies may work in Europe and North America, communities in developing nations cannot always rely on tourism as a long-term or viable solution for achieving sustainability. Even though ICH can often be an important source of economic development, if there is no support structure to handle the intricacies of mass tourism management, indigenous communities often fall victim to economic-based approaches such as the Disneyfication of their heritage. Although widely utilized by other agencies within the United Nations (UN), and also various NGOs, the use of sport as a means for cultural sustainability and heritage safeguarding has remained almost non-existent within UNESCO. Even though the positive impacts of amateur sport and group play are known to include empowerment, gender equality, inclusion and tolerance among many others, UNESCO has yet to develop any long-term programmes that combine the power of sport with the protection and promotion of ICH. Sport is a low-cost, high-impact tool that when combined with educational programming is a natural driver of sustainability that, as highlighted by Delaney and Madigan, "is a pervasive social institution in nearly every society around the world … there is no known culture which has not engaged in some sort of sporting activity" (2015, p. 3).

The aim of this paper is to discuss the feasibility of using amateur and community level sports-based programming as a means of safeguarding the world's ICH. It takes a critical look at the correlations that exist between sport and ICH as well as the role that sport plays in cultural transmission and socialization. By evaluating current programmes and existing literature, I examine to what extent UNESCO has begun to implement sports-based programming and how these could be utilized as a means to drive long-term sustainability. In order to go beyond the current confines of traditional sustainability methods, transdisciplinary models that incorporate sport, cultural activities and social inclusion of the community must be developed. I conclude by suggesting that UNESCO not only has the means to implement such programming but also the responsibility.

The Role of Sport Within UNESCO

Before examining the links between ICH and sport, it is important to discuss how sport fits into the framework of UNESCO. As the lead UN agency for physical education and sport, UNESCO is meant to provide guidance and assistance to governments, NGOs and other experts in their development of strategies and promotion of matters relating to sport. Currently, UNESCO operates sports-related programming that focuses on issues related to physical education, peace and development,

anti-doping, gender equality and, most recently, values-based education. With the exception of their programme involving traditional sports and games (TSG), there is hardly any mention of heritage in relation to sport. However, UNESCO does acknowledge that TSG are "part of intangible heritage and a symbol of the cultural diversity of our societies" and also an effective tool to "further community spirit, bring peoples together and install a sense of pride in a society's cultural roots" (UNESCO 2015). Furthermore, with the Verona Declaration in 2015, experts recommended the incorporation of traditional games, indigenous sports and, hence, their heritage values into school programmes and national development strategies. Despite UNESCO being the leading agency for sport, culture and education, there is a glaring lack of programming that collectively incorporates all three elements. Moreover, there is a lack of collaboration with other UN agencies, notably, the UN Office on Sport for Development and Peace. While a key objective of UNESCO's action plan related to "Sport for Peace and Development" is to preserve cultural identity and encourage cultural diversity, this does not include measures for the safeguarding of heritage but instead for using sport as a means of conflict resolution.

The recent adoption of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) is very promising due not only to the fact that it is the first time an international development agenda has referred to culture within the framework of the SDGs but also because it prioritizes education and lifelong learning. The increased emphasis placed on education and the community could potentially drive the creation of new heritage programming where sport is incorporated. Furthermore, as a direct result of SDG 4, which is to "ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all" (UN 2015b), the Values Education through Sport (VETS) initiative was developed. Through VETS, UNESCO reinforces their belief that sport contributes to inclusion, respect and equality and also acknowledges that sports programming has the potential to support cross-cultural learning in multiple academic disciplines.

In the same way that ICH encompasses multiple characteristics, so too does sport. Experts have studied sport for centuries, and any attempt to come up with one comprehensive definition is met with contentious debate. On the one hand is the UN Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport and Development for Peace who defines sport as "all forms of physical activity that contribute to physical fitness, mental well-being and social interaction, such as play, recreation, organized or competitive sport, and indigenous sports and games" (UN 2003a, p. 3). On the other hand, Jay Coakley defines sport as "institutionalized competitive activities that involve rigorous physical exertion or the use of relatively complex physical skills by participants motivated by internal or external rewards" (Delaney and Madigan 2015, p. 17). For the purpose of this paper, all references to sport should be understood as a team-oriented, grassroot, physical activity that is non-professional and nonmotorized. While this does exclude many activities, when creating programming for social change and education, it is crucial to use a sport that naturally incorporates and promotes inclusiveness, teamwork and social interaction. For instance, a sports-based development programme that utilizes an informal yet organized social sport is ideal because participation is motivated largely by a personal desire to interact with others, as opposed to a desire to perform or compete.

The Relationship Between Intangible Cultural Heritage and Sport

The 2003 Convention defines ICH as the "practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage" (UNESCO 2003, Article 2.1). It is these non-material creations that truly define a society. When referring to the immaterial, it is difficult to define sustainability, because traditional definitions do not take into consideration the fluid nature of ICH. Instead of sustainability, the term safeguarding is better suited in this context. Therefore, in the context of this paper, safeguarding should be understood as equipping a community with the education and knowledge needed to adapt and retain their beliefs and practices while also helping to develop cultural awareness. This includes the strengthening of social relationships and group cultural identity as well as the maintenance of intergenerational links to the past. Emphasis must be placed on sociocultural development, because this is what drives greater society. At its very core, sport is sustainable and, much like ICH, is characterized by a transformative power that allows it to have differing functions and significance to various cultures.

The significance of physical artefacts is more often than not expressed through the immaterial; consequently, without these intangible attributes kept alive and passed down through generations, the physical objects would lose much of their value. The same holds true for physical manifestations of sport. Take, for example, two of the most revered places in sport, Yankee Stadium and Wembley. Since sport is not just a physical activity but also a place for socialization and cultural dialogue, without intangible memories and nostalgia, these two iconic sites would simply be architectural structures. It is the various traditions, social practices and cultural symbols that help to define our identity as individuals and our place within the larger community. Having the freedom to both practise our culture and be able to choose which values we associate ourselves with is a fundamental aspect of the concept of ICH as defined in the 2003 Convention. Human transmission and self-identification are two characteristics of ICH that, on the one hand, make it a living social process ideally suited to face the challenges of globalization but, on the other hand, make it extremely vulnerable and difficult to safeguard. Although protecting the intangible presents multiple challenges that do not exist when looking at built heritage, it is essential because without these manifestations of culture, the social fabric and very backbone of the community begin to deteriorate. It is because of these sociocultural impacts that the loss of intangible heritage in particular has grave long-term consequences at both a local and global level.

Although many would argue that sport is not culture, both sport and ICH are recognized by UNESCO as a means to cultivate cultural diversity, sustainable development and social cohesion. In the same way that ICH can be used to bridge a gap and create mutual understanding, sport is also a common identity of humanity that links cultures. Following years of genocide in Chajul, Guatemala, severely

traumatized indigenous Ixil youth suffered from low self-esteem, a lack of self-identity and no educational opportunities. To address these issues, UNICEF created an initiative that recruited and trained Community Youth Promoters (CYPs) to become cultural leaders within the community. CYPs helped teach younger generations and worked with adults to learn the oral histories and traditions of their community, which helped them to "reclaim their personal and collective identities" in the aftermath of tragedy (UNICEF 2000, p. 38).

The concept of sport as culture was mentioned by UNESCO as far back as 1976, when the Conference of Ministers and Senior Officials Responsible for Physical Education and Sport (MINEPS I) discussed that sport was not only a dimension of culture but also an essential aspect of the right to education. Furthermore, going beyond the UN system, other governing bodies already place great importance on the relationship between culture and sport. One example is the International Olympic Committee, who requires that host cities sponsor a cultural festival in conjunction with the Olympic Games. For over ten millennia, sport has evolved and withstood mass migration, modernization and conflict while at the same time remaining an integral part of the world's cultural heritage. Much like ICH, sport is also a living tradition. Both are an evolution of inherited and modern traditions that have been constantly adapted by the communities and groups who identify with them. Unfortunately, in the same vein that ICH can become extinct when the environment of those who practise it is destroyed or the community itself is forced out, traditional sports and games also become especially vulnerable when exposed to modernization.

Expressions of ICH and sport share two key characteristics that are essential to understanding not only how they are linked but also how they can be integrated into a programme with the purpose of safeguarding heritage. First and foremost, they should be inclusive. The inclusion of traditionally marginalized groups such as refugees, the impoverished, people with disabilities, women and children in both sport and heritage education only serves to strengthen the bonds of community through empowerment and identity building. Migration has resulted in the spread of intangible traditions throughout the world, yet no matter the distance or differences between the groups who practise them, all share a common identity. It is important that inclusion is not limited only to geographic regions but also generations. ICH is the thread that connects the present to both the past and future, and it is this essential concept of intergenerational continuity and adaption that contributes to greater social cohesion and a sense of belonging. We see this in sports as well, where loyalty and involvement in certain sports is considered one of the most unbreakable family traditions.

While it is true that both ICH and sport have the potential to be exclusive, especially in communities where vulnerable populations are suppressed, the strength of a successful programme relies completely on its ability to foster a tolerant and diverse environment; programming must be accessible to the most vulnerable populations. Sports-based programmes have the ability to reach communities in developing countries who do not have access to formal education; even those who cannot read or write benefit greatly from the use of sports. To ensure inclusion, all future

programming must respect international laws and should follow the guidelines set out in the 2030 Agenda, specifically target 10.2 which discusses the empowerment and inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion, economic or other status. Additionally, target 4.7 which stresses the importance of ensuring that all participants acquire the knowledge needed to promote human rights, gender equality, global citizenship and an appreciation of cultural diversity should be incorporated (UN 2015b).

The second characteristic that links sport and ICH is the concept of community. The interchangeable use of the terms community and group in UNESCO documents is important to note. The definition of what a community or group is depends on context; it can mean a single family, tribe, country or simply a group of individuals who feel connected to a certain identity. It also does not necessarily have to relate to a local place or particular geographic area. Similar to the way that individuals are socialized into sport by their family and friends, ICH can only be considered heritage if it is recognized by those who practise it. Without community involvement and the transference of values, neither sport nor ICH would be sustainable. Participation in both the planning and implementation of a programme must directly include members of the affected community or group. When discussing the creation of new programmes, initial dialogue should focus on implementation at the local level because this allows for a holistic view that can focus on specific challenges while also making it possible for future expansion on a regional or international level as indicated as a best practice under Article 18 of the 2003 Convention.

Socialization and Enculturation Through Sport

Since sport is intertwined with our society, we must look at the concept from both a sociological and anthropological point of view if we are to fully understand its relationship with ICH. It is only in this way that we are able to ascertain how an individual's social experiences with sport are ultimately connected to their cultural identity and influenced by broader community dimensions. By approaching sport through a sociological lens, it is possible to examine not only its function as a means of safeguarding ICH through enculturation but also its direct influence on social development and sustainability. On the one hand, sport is a social institution in and of itself, but on the other hand, it is also a product of and embedded within other social institutions, such as family, education and even religion. This is crucial in understanding the uniqueness of sport, because it is not only indispensable as a means to safeguard heritage but it is itself heritage.

Delaney and Madigan (2015) write that sport reflects and promotes the cultural norms and values of a society while also acting as a vehicle for their transmission. Sport supports members of a society through opportunities for education, conflict management and physical health and also encourages identity building and social

integration. According to Coakley, socialization is an "active process of learning and social development that occurs as people interact with each other and become acquainted with the social world in which they live", while enculturation is the process by which societal norms and values are transmitted by social agents such as parents, teachers and peers (1998, p. 88). Both processes shape an individual's behaviour and knowledge of their culture and, through direct participation in sport, allow for the development of both a personal and group identity. Inherently social at its core, sport provides opportunities for bonding with one's own community as well as for integration with others. For example, in his study of sport in rural Western Australia, Tonts explains that the community considers sport as the strongest opportunity for social interaction and also as a driver of local pride that can transcend all ethnic, economic and religious barriers (Spaaij 2009). Through this and other studies, it becomes evident that, similar to ICH, sport promotes social inclusion and builds community identity.

Anthropologically, sport can be used to analyse the conditions of society and how individuals lived. Keeping in mind that sport is a cultural product based on the collective behaviours of a society, it is possible to gleam information on rituals, work and leisure patterns by studying sporting traditions. By understanding the historical context of a culture, it becomes easier to address contemporary issues and create safeguarding programmes. Schinke and Hanrahan explained that while conducting on-site sport research of the Wikwemikong Canadian aboriginal community, it became evident that traditional "white European" data collection techniques would not be successful. After meeting with the community and learning that they valued social interaction, researchers adapted collection techniques and revised their interview sessions to include group "ice-breaker games that were developed and led by community sport and recreation staff and catered meals where for example, Indian tacos were prepared by the Wikwemikong to feed participants" (2008, p. 361). Various cross-cultural studies of group play and tribal communities bring to the forefront notions of identity, tradition and social cohesion. These aspects present in daily life are very often reflected in societal sporting customs. By contextualizing sport, it becomes clear that it is both symbolic of and crucial to understanding culture and community rituals. For example, before rugby matches, the New Zealand All Blacks perform a traditional Maori dance called the haka, which acts out the story of the creation of New Zealand by using traditional dance movements and chanting. Performing a haka is not only believed to honour an individual's ancestors but also revitalize their spiritual and mental existence. Many times, even when a mainstream sport is introduced to tribal communities, they are adapted to reflect the behaviours and norms of that society. Blanchard writes that when basketball was first introduced to the Ramah Navajos in New Mexico, it became less aggressive and kin oriented and play was built around teaching moral lessons (1995, p. 52). Sporting practices of the Maoris and Ramah Navajos show the role that sport plays in the promotion of group identity and cultural values.

Sport as a Driver of Sustainable Development: Recommendation for Sports-Based Cultural Heritage Development Programmes

Perkins and Noam defined the term sports-based youth development as a methodology that uses sports "to facilitate learning and life skill development" (2007, p. 75), while Logan notes that heritage education should be aimed at identifying, developing and teaching best practices, which include "promoting a multidisciplinary range of skills" (2010, p. 42). Building upon these two ideas, this paper proposes the implementation of sports-based heritage development programmes as a tool for promoting and safeguarding ICH. These programmes should offer participants a safe environment in which they can play sports while also learning about their ICH through various non-sport activities such as creative writing, dance or art. Research supports the idea that combining sport with academics or community involvement projects can increase overall benefits of and participation in the programme due to the incorporation of group play (Linver et al. 2009). Speaking about the impact of a UNICEF programme for girls in Nepal that combined football with academics, one participant said "before … we were not motivated. Even my friends say that I am transformed because of sports. And my studies have improved" (UN 2015a). Another programme that uses sport to support learning and to tackle social issues is Diambars in Senegal, which uses football as the impetus behind their education and vocational programmes. It is also imperative that these programmes are individually tailored to fit the sociocultural backgrounds of the communities they serve. Programmes should remain inclusive and community centred while also taking into consideration that different populations may need slightly altered implementation. Participants should become empowered and develop a positive self-identity as a direct result of the programmes.

The UN has frequently discussed using sport as a vehicle for education and health, a means to foster peace and to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. Most recently, with the adoption of the 2030 Agenda, the use of sport as an enabler for sustainable development was expanded to recognize it's growing contribution "to the realization of development and peace in its promotion of tolerance and respect and the contributions it makes to the empowerment of women and of young people, individuals and communities as well as to health, education and social inclusion objectives" (UN 2015b, p. 13). UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon has also reiterated time and again how sport has the capacity to educate and transform the lives of those in even the most destitute regions of the world. As a result of this broad support for sports programming within UN agencies, several initiatives have been implemented that could serve as a blueprint for sports-based UNESCO programmes. They should focus on oral transmission and non-formal education instead of reading and writing while also blending sport with creative elements such as traditional dance or song, which allows for the regular practice and strengthening of ICH. Considered as a best safeguarding practice and selected in 2011 for inscription onto the UNESCO Intangible Heritage List, the *Programme of cultivating ludo-*

diversity: safeguarding traditional games in Flanders aims to promote cultural awareness not only among players participating in sport but also within the community as a whole. Taking into consideration the best practices for safeguarding set forth in Article 18 of the 2003 Convention, this programme successfully safeguards the heritage of sport and games in Flanders, Belgium, while also serving as a textbook model for implementation elsewhere in the region and even internationally.

Depending on where they are implemented, removing the competitive nature from sports-based programming can be very important. Specifically in communities that have experienced war and conflict, the pressure of competition can exacerbate feelings of anger and exclusion, which could lead to violence. In situations such as these, programmes should be instituted that use sport to address various topics such as gender equality, intercultural dialogue and conflict resolution. Depending on the issues being addressed, teams should consist of different genders, ethnicities and religions. Rules based on the principles of fair play, teamwork and inclusion help to build the leadership and communication skills of the participants. Instead of competing against each other, participants should compete with each other, placing the focus less on competition and more on teamwork. By promoting mutual respect and community involvement, sports programmes can actively provide participants with a sense of identity and belonging.

A previous UNESCO initiative that could be used as a blueprint for new sports-based ICH development programmes is CuidArte. This programme was aimed at youth and used music, painting and theatre to promote cultural expressions and preserve ICH (Munoz 2013, p. 71). Various community-centred workshops focusing on local identity and creative arts were held throughout the province of Cordillera in the Chilean Maipo Valley. Also organized by UNESCO was a 1-week youth forum in Ecuador titled "Experiment, learn, create". Participants used spoken word and visual arts to explore concepts of creativity and culture by producing their own films or radio shows. Although successful, programmes such as these require a significant amount of funding. When dealing with developing countries and local indigenous communities, economic cost is something that must be considered. While creating a radio show requires specialized equipment, most grassroot sports programming can often run with very little. For example, all that is needed to play football is a ball and some form of a goal; in many African countries where even a traditional football is unavailable, they create "juwala balls" out of garbage and string. Keeping in mind best practices, the low capital investment and ease of adaptation for poorer countries make sport even more attractive as a solution for heritage safeguarding.

Conclusion

"Heritage is not simply a reflection of the world's rich and creative diversity, but the very underpinning of the cultural identity of people and its maintenance is considered a basic human right" (Logan 2010, p. 38). If the word heritage was replaced

with sport, the idea of the sentence remains the same because both heritage and sport are essential elements of global culture. Although UNESCO acknowledges that sport and physical activity are fundamental rights, the implementation of sports programmes as a tool to support heritage sustainability has been largely ignored. While the relationship between ICH and sport is indisputable, it is only recently that the concept of using sport as a tool for cultural education has gained steam. By partnering with well-established organizations who already implement sports-based programming, UNESCO could significantly change the discourse of heritage safeguarding.

"It is impossible to fully understand contemporary society and culture without acknowledging the place of sport" (Jarvie 2006, p. 2). The proposed recommendations build upon programmes that have already shown long-term success in either sport or heritage development. Using a strategy such as sport, which is already deeply rooted in societal traditions, can be especially effective in developing countries, where infrastructure and monetary resources may not be readily available. Additionally, these programmes should take into consideration inherently sustainable activities that have been utilized by communities for centuries, such as traditional knowledge systems and customary practices. Reflecting back on UNESCO's newest initiative, VETS, and keeping in mind best practices for ICH safeguarding, successful programming must also be active, innovative and socially relevant while providing a creative learning environment that is inclusive to all. Participation and inclusion help to promote social integration, identity building and development (both individual and community) and should be a focal point for programmes. There can be no room for ethnocentrism, and participants should critically reflect upon cultural behaviours, community identity and other sociocultural values. Furthermore, considering the role that sport plays in socialization, programmes should be organized in conjunction with non-sport activities so that participants may develop life skills and become agents of change within their community.

In terms of the future, it is clear that there is a critical need for UNESCO to harness the power of sport and develop cultural programmes that could be instituted throughout the world, particularly in regions at risk such as developing countries and those facing conflict. These programmes should take a holistic view of the communities they are to support, and effective monitoring mechanisms must be instituted to avoid any potentially destructive effects. Indeed, there are many potential challenges that must be discussed when comparing grassroots and social sport with professional sports, especially in the context of development programmes. In many professional sporting organizations, such as FIFA, serious issues such as bribery, match fixing and violence are well documented. Even the Olympic Games, often viewed as the most holy of all sporting events, has seen a rash of athletes being disqualified and stripped of their medals due to doping in recent years. These issues require much attention, and currently both the UN and UNESCO have programmes dedicated to anti-doping and anti-discrimination efforts. While the topic of the potential dangers and negative consequences of professional sports and the

commercial global sports industry is beyond the scope of this paper, Roland Renson has written extensively on the topic, and his research should be consulted. Furthermore, it would also be beneficial to study particular effects of sports-based heritage programmes on youth, as there is no hope of sustainability programmes succeeding without youth involvement.

Upon reflection of the interrelationship between sport and ICH, and considering UNESCO's mission, it becomes evident that they are in a unique position to drive the creation and implementation of these programmes. Although the study of sport and using sports for development is still considered an emerging field, it is strongly rooted in our history. Investing in and developing initiatives that use sports' positive contributions to promote and enhance the transmission and preservation of ICH could greatly contribute to cultural sustainability. In the words of UNESCO Director General Irina Bokova, "… sport is a field of dreams and a force for fabulous positive change [and] we must do everything to harness this power" (UNESCO 2016).

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Contextual Sustainability in Heritage Practice: Urbanization, Neighbourliness, and Community Dialogue in Akçalar, Turkey

Caitlin L. Curtis

Background

The terms sustainability and sustainable development have become ubiquitous since the emergence of the "sustainable development" concept from the Brundtland report, where it was defined as "development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission 1987, p.43). The main premise of this report is that to continue to expand economically, we must find a way to sustain the environmental resources upon which economic expansion relies. Also, it focuses on intergenerational equity, specifically in terms of ensuring that resources will be available for future generations, as essentially a moral pathway forward.

However, despite the ubiquity of these terms, the meaning of sustainability is still ambiguous. Today, it has become a buzzword, both in academia and in institutional policy. Often, the definitions invoked vary greatly from the original Brundtland report (Garrod and Fyall 1998). In addition to environmental and economic definitions, social and cultural values have also appeared in the sustainability corpus (Albert 2015a). This can refer to conservation of material or intangible culture, as is denoted by UNESCO's aim to protect natural and cultural heritage of "outstanding universal value…for present and future generations of all humanity" (UNESCO 2013, IIA.49). "Sustainable" tourism development is often invoked as a heritage management strategy aimed at benefitting locals economically and funding site preservation while avoiding damage to archaeological sites (UNESCO 2015). The term can also refer to maintaining livelihoods and traditions of potentially impacted communities (Hall 1994; McKercher and du Cros 2002).

These different potential facets of the term also make it malleable and thus allow it to be co-opted and mobilized when advantageous. It has accordingly been noted

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that there is a rampant "populist exploitation of the sustainability discourse" (Albert 2015a, p.16) in which "it has been used and abused so often that effectively it has lost its meaning" (van Oers 2015, p.192). As described by van Oers, the exploitation of the term is due to its "convenience and flexibility" as "sustainable development is politically savvy: it is an attractive and flexible concept, a convenient container to lodge a variety of ideas and viewpoints" (van Oers 2015, p.192). Escobar's work has demonstrated this point, as he notes that "sustainability" is often disingenuously paired by those in power with the economic notion of "development" to enclose their truly capitalistic goals in a more palatable, righteous cocoon, without any intention to seek environmental sustainability wholeheartedly (Escobar 1998, Escobar 1991). In addition, Meskell (2012) examines how sustainability has been mobilized to best fit with institutional policy and government goals in Africa. Here, it resulted in the expulsion of local inhabitants who were not using protected land in a way that government institutions considered environmentally "sustainable" (Meskell 2012).

Therefore, the seemingly moral connotations of sustainability allow it to be mobilized by those in power in the name of the public good without actually consulting the public it proposes to help. When considering sustainability from this perspective, a concern arises: can archaeologists similarly be accused of mobilizing the sustainability buzzword to sell the goals of preserving and developing the site, in the purported interest of local benefit, without properly considering what locals really want or need sustained?

The ambiguity of the term, in addition to allowing it to be easily co-opted, also makes it difficult to actualize: "…the existence of so many different and at times conflicting conceptualizations of sustainability results in heritage-related activities that are anything but sustainable" (Albert 2015a, p.11). After all, how can we agree on a way to achieve something that we are all defining differently? Moreover, the utility of the concept overall has come under scrutiny, as "the questions of how to operationalize its potential remains unanswered" (van Oers 2015, p.192).

This contribution suggests that a possible answer to these challenges is to shift the focus to *contextual sustainability*, that is, to determine what sustainability means in the specific context under study, then develop practises aimed at sustainability in light of that context. This is also in line with increasing calls for people-centred approaches to sustainability and heritage, both from intergovernmental organizations like UNESCO and in academic literature.[1] The contextual sustainability perspective affords a deep consideration of what is determined valuable enough to sustain into the future, how this is determined and by whom. How is sustainability used and understood by the different actors and institutions that engage with it (transnational institutions like UNESCO, nation states, regional authorities,

[1] UNESCO's recently developed World Heritage and Sustainable Tourism Programme has highlighted "broad stakeholder engagement" that "focuses on empowering local communities" and is "based on the local context and needs" (UNESCO 2015). Ron Van Oers' also calls for a shift to "culturally-contextualized, community-driven, and development-oriented approaches" (Albert 2015b: 7).

archaeologists, local communities)? This chapter focuses in particular on the application of contextual sustainability at a local scale, using the case study of the small (but growing) town of Akçalar, Turkey, and its associated archaeological site, Aktopraklık Höyük. As such, it endeavours to elucidate the local community's conceptions of sustainability in order to better achieve compromise with archaeological and institutional understandings of it.

The Local Setting

The town of Akçalar, population 3060 (Nilüfer Municipality 2015), is located about 25 km from the major urban centre of Bursa and sits on the shores of the Ramsar-protected Lake Uluabat. The factory industry here has grown exponentially in the last 15 years, providing many new jobs for young residents who would have otherwise moved away to find work. While older residents are happy with the job security for their children, they are also sentimental that traditional livelihoods like silk production, animal husbandry, fishing and farming are concurrently disappearing (Ulutaş 2014). Factories are also drawing outsiders to move to Akçalar from elsewhere. Thus, the town is now undergoing a distinct process of urbanization, with new apartment buildings rapidly emerging on the northern edge of town, especially in the last 3 years. Consequently, the fabric of this formerly small, traditional village is transforming. Comfortable but ageing one or two family homes—with dusty yards once filled with sheep and chickens—are giving way to towering, pristinely modern housing complexes that fill the spaces previously occupied by fields of eggplant and pepper.

The rise of the local factory industry has had another significant impact: in 2002, the construction of a new factory was interrupted by the discovery of an important Neolithic-Chalcolithic site– Aktopraklık Höyük. Dr. Necmi Karul became director of the archaeological site in 2004 and embarked on an ambitious cultural heritage project focused on the development of an archaeological park, or Arkeopark. His plans focus on documenting and conserving the site while also making it accessible to the regional and international public via exhibition, on-site facilities and educational programs. To date, work toward these goals includes a system of careful conservation measures for the fragile Chalcolithic mud brick architecture, as well as reconstructions of all periods of ancient architecture to present it clearly to visitors. In addition, disintegrating Ottoman period wooden houses from nearby Eskikızılelma village were moved and reassembled in the Arkeopark, thus representing not only ancient but also contemporary regional heritage (Karul et al. 2010; Karkiner 2012). Since 2014, with the support of the Bursa Metropolitan Municipality, an entranceway, visitor centre, visitor pathway, viewing tower, cafeteria, children's laboratory, children's imitation excavation, parking lot and new depots were all added to the Arkeopark.

Meanwhile, the site's discovery in Akçalar resulted in the conversion of 80 hectares of land, formerly slated for industrial development, into a "protected zone".

This cancelled plans for up to 30 future factories in this area and prevented landowners gaining substantial profits from selling this valuable land. Consequently, though the excavation team initially sought out Akçalar residents to work on the archaeological site, this arrangement did not last long due to high tensions related to these land disputes and the draw of more secure factory work. Thus, the nearby community of Eskikızılelma has instead been more closely involved with the developments at, and benefits from, the Arkeopark (economic, social, cultural and otherwise). Workers from this village are largely employed on site instead of Akçalar residents. Ethnographic work has been completed in Eskikızılelma and a good relationship has been established with the community (Karkiner 2012), but the same cannot be said for Akçalar.

Study Objectives and Outcomes

With this history of tension between the Akçalar community and our archaeological project, it was crucial, even long overdue, to create a productive dialogue, re-evaluate local sentiments and forge pathways of compromise. Is the Arkeopark still viewed as negatively as it was when the excavation began over 10 years ago? Can the Arkeopark fit into the local vision of sustainability for the future, and if so, how? This work thus focuses on a broader understanding of the local context, not divorced from the archaeological site, but taking into account the wider priorities of the local community. To try to fit the Arkeopark into this context without making any attempt to understand the existing values and worries of the community can be considered not only irresponsible but also patently unsustainable. The project certainly cannot be assured any long-term success without community support and integration. This more wide-reaching evaluation of the community's conception of sustainability has isolated multiple local needs that the Arkeopark has the potential to fill. Importantly, some of these findings veer from the tropes of "tourism" or "increased economic income" that are conventionally invoked regarding sustainability in the context of archaeological sites (Silberman 2013).

Methodology

An ethnographic approach has proven an ideal methodology for enriching institutional notions of heritage with individual voices. The method has been used successfully by such stalwarts in the heritage field as Michael Herzfeld (1991) and Laurajane Smith (2006). Sonya Atalay's recent work at Çatalhöyük, Turkey, is also quite influential (2010, 2012). She utilizes the community-based participatory research (CBPR) approach, in that her goal is not simply to learn about local conceptions of the archaeological site but also to engage the community in the knowledge creation process. This eschews previously colonial lines of knowledge

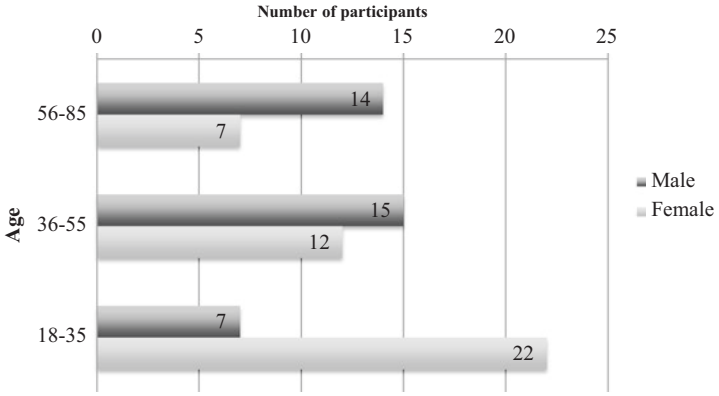

Fig. 1 Graph showing Akçalar residents who participated in interviews

production in archaeology, where only the archaeologist's view is considered valuable, and corrects this power imbalance. In particular, she aims to engage the community in the decision-making process regarding the site, no longer leaving these decisions solely to higher-up government officials and archaeologists.

Thus, this community-based, ethnographic methodology is also well suited for the question of sustainability. Armed with an in-depth understanding of the local context, decision-making archaeologists can then try to carefully contextualize the sustainability of the archaeological site within the processes and practices of continuity and change that the community is already undergoing. This method can provide answers to the crucial questions: What do the locals want to perpetuate into the future? What is changing that they don't want changed? What hasn't changed that they would like improved? And how can our work as archaeologists fit in?

This study endeavours to answer these questions and employ the concept of contextual sustainability by engaging in an in-depth ethnographic case study of Akçalar through participant observation and interviews conducted with 77 local residents from May to October 2015 (Fig. 1). Participant observation is the primary method of ethnography and involves becoming integrated into the community such that the ethnographer can gain the trust of the community and collect more truthful, accurate data (Bernard 2011). In this case, the author gained access to key community contacts through an internship at a local bread bakery, thus partially transitioning from the role of "outsider archaeologist" to "active community member". The interviews examined community priorities for, and understandings of, sustainability. Depending on the individual and the context, topics addressed were as wide-ranging as land-use practices, industrial development, urbanization, landscape and climate, economic infrastructure, government policies and heritage while also addressing the relationship of this broader picture to concerns and understandings of the site and tourism (see Fig. 2).

To stimulate more elaborate responses, in addition to a direct version of the question "Does sustainability have a meaning for you?", more subtle questions that

INTRODUCTORY INFORMATION
1. Name, gender, age, education, occupation/workplace, children 2. Were you born here? How long have you lived in this town?
SUSTAINABILITY/DEVELOPMENT
3. In general, what type of work do most people do here? Do people have the same jobs today that they had in the past, or are people doing different work? Can you explain? How do you feel about this? 4. Has there been new construction recently? Why? Is this beneficial for the town or not? 5. When did factories become established here? Are you happy or unhappy with the development of the factories? Why? 6. Are there any valuable places or traditions for the town? Something you would be sad to lose and want to protect? Can you explain? 7. What do you want for the future of your town? Do you think it will turn out that way? Why or why not?
ENVIRONMENT
8. Has the environment or climate changed over the years? 9. Are there any environmental problems in the area?
ARCHAEOLOGY
10. What does archaeology mean to you? How important is archaeology? 11. Do you know what we are doing at the Arkeopark? What do you think about the Arkeopark development? 12. Do you have any suggestions for the archaeologists? 13. Do you like the idea of tourism to the site? How about tourists coming into the town? 14. Do you think anything will change if tourists start coming here?
FINAL QUESTIONS
15. Does "sustainability" have a meaning for you? If so, what does it mean to you? 16. Does "cultural heritage" have a meaning for you? If so, can you give an example? Perhaps from your town?

Fig. 2 Range of potential interview questions during Akçalar ethnographic work

allude to the idea of sustainability without directly referring to it were included. Sustainability is a term that is, of course, difficult to define, but at its most basic it denotes the ability of something to continue to be maintained into the future. One question was thus designed to elicit a personal meaning of sustainability by example, even if the term was not known: "What do you want for the future of your town?" This question encapsulates the future-oriented aspect of sustainability, as well as rooting it in the context of "their town." It also allows interviewees to elaborate which aspects they might want to ensure continue on or develop and change. Below are the summarized results of these interviews, specifically focusing on the residents' responses regarding sustainability and the future of their town.

Sustainability and Cultural Heritage from the Local Perspective

When asked to define sustainability, a large proportion of interview participants were confused, or even intimidated, by the term, and did not even want to attempt to explain it. With most participants middle-aged and older reporting their highest education level at elementary or middle school, this was a common first reaction: "*(apologetically)* I have only graduated from primary school, I don't have a lot of knowledge..." (AP13,[2] male, age 36–55, May 2015). In response to this, the interviewer reassured the participants that not even the experts can decide how to define it and that any ideas could be of assistance. This often coaxed out a response.

For those who did respond directly about sustainability, answers most frequently referred to personal lives and relationships. Here is one typical response: "The first thing that comes to my mind is to be able to sustain my life! ...to be able to sustain your family life, your marriage, your health, your work, to go on this way....we are all struggling for it, to tell the truth" (AP71, male, age 18–35, October 2015). This contrasts with the broader, humanity-based, institutional perspectives of the UNESCO or Brundtland documents, which focus instead on large economic structures and global environmental change. However, despite their differences, these two conceptions are not unrelated. Clearly, within the broader structure of sustainability of economy, culture, society and environment—as articulated by UNESCO, Brundtland, etc.—the sustainability of a happy, secure family life becomes more achievable. The responses from residents thus demonstrate how the implications of these institutional scale conceptions of sustainability would be ideally reflected, for them, on a more individual level.

Regarding the future of the town, emotions are mixed, and the topic of urbanization is prevalent and contentious. Some, usually older individuals, responded that Akçalar should stay how it is and shouldn't change. Others noted that Akçalar has already changed, and it is no longer a traditional village but is instead being urbanized: "…we have very fond memories of the village's greenery. But we have already lost being a village. We can no longer be farmers, we don't have any crops anymore…." (AP61, female, age 36–55, Sept. 2015). Many are unhappy about this urbanization. As apartment construction has exponentially increased, green space and traditional lifeways like farming and animal husbandry have simultaneously decreased. This decrease can be attributed to the sale of agricultural and grazing fields for conversion into apartment buildings (Fig. 3).Urbanization is amplified with most residents now employed in the factory industry in lieu of agriculture.

Connected to the rapid new construction and drastic urban expansion, participants would frequently mourn the decline of the town's previously characteristic

[2] "AP" stands for Akçalar participant. Each participant was assigned a random number for reporting purposes. Age groups, as opposed to a specific age, and the month and year of each interview, as opposed to a specific date, are provided to protect the confidentiality of participant information. All interviews were conducted by the author.

Fig. 3 A shepherd navigates through new apartment buildings trying to graze his sheep on some of the few remaining undeveloped plots of land

"neighbourliness" and community cohesion. They often expressed a hope that these values could be saved. Here is a typical dialogue:

Author: What does sustainability mean to you?
AP69: Sustainability? …which meaning of sustainability? *(looking puzzled)*
Author: To continue something….
AP69: *(still looking puzzled)* Do you mean for the town or for you archaeologists?
Author: In general. If you give an example from Akçalar maybe it will help.
AP69: Well, for us, to be sustainable could be to continue our customs and traditions, without losing our core values. In order to avoid losing our origins and core values, we can be sure to transmit these things to the next generation, we can leave them good examples. But…in the current generation, our customs and traditions have already started to disappear. To tell the truth, we have started to become alienated from each other. Neighbourliness is ending. Before, we would have dropped by each other's houses unexpectedly. There was warmth and connection. That connection is gone…You see, those customs are finished, now. [AP69, female, age 36–55, Sept. 2015]

This participant immediately identifies, as many did, that priorities for sustainability differ between groups, in particular between archaeologists and town residents. In addition, in the midst of answering the question, she comes to the realization that the traditions and neighbourliness she hopes to sustain and pass on to the next generation are already dying out. Along with the apartments and flourishing factory industry, many new residents are also coming from outside Akçalar, as part of the process of urbanization. Frequently, there is a corresponding lament that everyone used to know each other, but now don't know who their neighbours are, and can't be

sure of their safety when walking around. For Akçalar residents, the "outsiders", from different communities with different traditions, are also a direct representation of their rapidly fading traditional lifeways. Furthermore, most Akçalar community residents don't see any way that they can regain this lost neighbourliness.

AP20: Neighbourliness is finished…ours was very beautiful...Think like this. Right by your side your neighbour was always there. It was that good. Your neighbour would take care of you, would fill your stomach and would look after you if your mother and father weren't there. For example, if my mother and father go to the fields, and I am a child left at home, the neighbours would have looked after us. It was like this.

Author: Like a family.

AP20: Everyone was like a family! There was no fighting; there were no disagreements. Those were beautiful days. But now, it's gone. Now, even relatives are each other's guests. [AP20, male, age 36–55, July 2015]

Old, tightknit neighbourhoods are dispersing as residents move into new apartment complexes on the edge of town. He laments the distinct loss of this community cohesion. Furthermore, this resident, although never having taken part in the animal breeding industry himself, plans to begin raising cows to directly combat the loss of these pastoral traditions. His efforts further emphasize the struggle of locals to sustain these lifeways in the face of the urbanization process.

These highlighted interviews demonstrate sentiments that were expressed by many local participants. It became clear that the majority of interviewees view sustainability as the transferring of what academics would generally categorize as "heritage" (local traditions, customs, and values) from generation to generation. In particular, locals emphasized the importance of sustaining the endangered close, personal values of neighbourliness, friendship and family. But, aside from the majority focused on transferring traditions to the next generation, some participants also associated sustainability with a more comprehensive sense of heritage that can also include archaeological heritage. This understanding is highlighted in the following examples.

Author: What does sustainability mean to you?

AP57: We must sustain [our customs and traditions] and continue them. We must pass them on to the next generations. …no, but really, we have become estranged from it. It is becoming so distant…my son, he saw your documents, brochures. From reading it, he became so interested [about the archaeological site]! There is curiosity! But there is no explanation. No explanation. There is curiosity. "Mom, do people die like this? Were people living like this? Where were they staying?" In reading, how interested he became!... But it is necessary to communicate these things. [AP57, female, age 18–35, Sept. 2015]

Similar to AP69, this participant also indicates that sustainability involves passing traditions on to the next generation and laments that this heritage is becoming harder to sustain. But in addition, she makes the cognitive leap directly from passing

on local traditions to the next generation to passing on the value of archaeological heritage to her son. This indicates that both traditional and archaeological heritages are included in her vision for what should be sustained into the future. However, she also feels that archaeologists have not done enough to communicate their work to the town in order to help residents pass on their archaeological heritage. Even though she notes her son's curiosity about the site, she is frustrated that she doesn't have an easy way to educate him. Her attitudes about the inadequate communication by archaeologists were echoed by many other residents. She recommends that the archaeological team must work harder to establish a dialogue and share what is happening with the townspeople in order to ensure the sustainability of this heritage to future generations.

Another participant also includes archaeology within a range of heritage values that should be sustained:

Author: What is cultural heritage to you?
AP43: …cultural heritage is not only buildings, mosques, and historical things. It is also normal social things that are valuable to people.
Author: What does sustainability mean to you?
AP43: Renewable energy resources (*smirks and then laughs heartily*). Now, it can be said like this of course, but no. It is different from "renewable"; it doesn't express the same meaning. You see, it is like these traditions and customs I mentioned [respect for elders, tightknit family, wedding rituals], their positive public awareness…archaeology…the history of humanity… the community's or the nation's history. But from people who know about these things, there must be someone who is a selector. Because of these things, some of them should **not** be kept alive. The ones that should be kept alive, from the perspective of protection, those ones must be continued, but the others need to be judged…We have many traditions that should be sustained [and some that should be weeded out]. [AP43, male, age 56–85, Aug. 2015]

Like AP57, this resident also indicates the value of both tangible heritage, like historical or archaeological sites, and intangible heritage, like social and familial relationships. He acknowledges the author's role as an archaeologist, inherently invested in material remains, and thus makes a distinct effort to educate her about the heritage value of "normal social things". With regard to sustainability, he notes that he is aware of the "institutional" definition as renewable energy but shrugs it off as irrelevant to him. He instead builds upon his dualistic notion of cultural heritage and denotes the importance of sustaining both types: the more proximate social values, like family connections, along with more distant, broad values, like archaeology and national history. However, he also notes that there is a selection process involved in deciding what is sustained and what is not and, even more pointedly, notes that experts should be making this selection. Here he touches on an aspect of sustainability that is quite problematic: somebody has to choose what will be sustained, but that selector is not usually the one who will be affected by that choice.

From these interviews with local residents, a clearer picture of how sustainability is understood in the community begins to emerge. The recent wave of urbanization has brought the concurrent loss of community heritage to the forefront of the local consciousness. Previously strong community cohesion and neighbourliness is disintegrating, along with traditional ways of life like farming and animal breeding. Though locals would like to hold onto these community values and sustain them into the future, they cannot figure out how to do so in the face of the urbanization process. Moreover, some directly note the value of archaeological heritage and chide archaeologists for not engaging more in community dialogue to help the next generation support stewardship of their heritage for the future.

Applying Contextual Sustainability to Heritage Practice

In order for archaeologists and heritage practitioners to avoid the easy pitfall of practising sustainability of their values without adequate inclusion of community values, it is important to incorporate the results of community dialogue into practice. This process has already begun at Aktopraklık. In response to the calls for improving dialogue with the community, a direct outcome of this work was the immediate increased inclusion of Akçalar residents in site activities. A personal invitation to the official opening of the Arkeopark on September 11, 2015 was offered to all interview participants. There was also a public announcement inviting all residents to attend.

In addition, concerns about passing on the value of archaeological heritage to the next generation were addressed through the preparation of a special educational programme for local children at the opening. This workshop included a visitor centre and site tour, excavation in the imitation trench, in which real finds were "planted", and learning how to draw site plans in the children's laboratory. After having a fun, hands-on experience on the site, it is hoped that the children, and their parents, will feel more included in the developments at the Arkeopark. There are plans to expand these educational programs to include adults in the future.

Headway is also being made regarding concerns about the challenge of sustaining local lifeways like farming. In time for the opening exhibition, family heirlooms were collected, including traditional kitchen pots and farming equipment, from any resident willing to loan them to the park's collection. This addition of heirlooms to the exhibit ensures that Akçalar's fading agricultural traditions will not be forgotten by displaying them to all site visitors, and can help those residents trying to hold onto this collective village memory.

In addition, the Arkeopark also has the potential to address some concerns about the sustainability of neighbourly ties and community cohesion associated with urbanization. The Arkeopark area includes a wide expanse of green space as well as a picnic area and cafeteria. This park can serve as a crucial new gathering place for the community. Indeed, at the first children's workshop, their mothers came along

and were able to sit in the picnic area and socialize while their children learned about archaeology. Thus, the Arkeopark can serve as an anchor for cultural and social sustainability in a time of drastic change. While these efforts are just a start, the expansive ethnographic dataset resulting from this contextual sustainability approach will continue to inform future community-focused policies and plans at Aktopraklık.

Conclusions

To conclude, let us examine Robinson's critical and constructive perspective on sustainability. He notes:

> [We] need to develop methods of deliberation and decision making that actively engage the relevant interests and communities in thinking through and deciding upon the kind of future they want to try and create... It must be constructed through an essentially social process whereby scientific and other 'expert' information is combined with the values, preferences and beliefs of affected communities, to give rise to an emergent, 'co-produced' understanding of possibilities and preferred outcomes. (Robinson 2004, pp. 380–1)

Sustainability is an ambiguous concept, employed for different purposes by different actors. As such, experts are responsible for engaging the community in our plans for the sustainable future to ensure that the "we" involved in deciding "the future we want" (United Nations 2012) is truly inclusive. Engaging in a productive dialogue for the first time in Akçalar is already yielding policy changes at Aktopraklık. Because the archaeological team has learned that residents are concerned about losing their agricultural traditions and neighbourliness, these concerns can be built into future plans for the Arkeopark. There is now a greater sense of inclusivity with locals, yielding an emerging synergetic relationship with the community aimed at mutual sustainability. The site is indeed more likely to be sustained if concurrent efforts are made to sustain community values.

Therefore, the value of continuing to invoke sustainability in the context of heritage is to utilize the flexibility of its ambiguity, not as a catchy buzzword that allows us to sell our preservation goals, but instead to allow the broadness of the term to help us broaden our understanding of the local context. With these insights, we can move forward with a richer, community-informed, contextual sustainability and establish a symbiotic relationship with the community—us supporting the future they desire and they supporting ours.

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Part IV
Best Practises and Narratives

Shaken Cityscapes: Tangible and Intangible Urban Heritage in Kathmandu, Nepal, and Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Simone Sandholz

Introduction

A recent study highlighted that, on a global scale, around 60% of UNESCO World Heritage Sites are at risk from at least one geohazard, with Asia and the Pacific and Latin America and the Caribbean being most vulnerable (Pavlova et al. 2015). Another study found that the impact of natural disasters on cultural properties is highest in Southeast and South Asia (UNESCO 2012). While any heritage site can be prone to material, economic and affective value damages, cultural heritage which is still inhabited is most prone to human losses. Therefore, the maintenance of urban cultural heritage in its different facets has the potential to contribute to risk reduction, notably in densely populated areas like historic cities. These are areas which still comprise of traditional buildings and associated values, but at the same time are often in poor condition, as they are affected by natural hazards and suffer from a lack of appropriate planning and legislation, a lack of conservation standards, a generally weak governance system and economic pressures for social and urban growth (Birabi 2007; Jaramillo Contreras 2012). This is particularly true for emerging and developing countries, which in addition have to cope with urban growth, with the highest rates in Africa and Asia (WBGU 2016). These challenges go hand in hand with a loss of urban heritage—and a loss of the unique urban character.

Traditional architecture, particularly in Asia, is linked to strong cosmological beliefs, while at the same time being a manifestation of distinctive knowledge of craftsmanship skills, construction techniques and local wisdom (Kwanda 2010). Such local wisdom comprises, among other things, knowledge of appropriate building technologies in the respective surroundings and preparing buildings and cities to

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withstand natural hazards—an aspect linking conservation and (disaster) resilience worth further studies.

This paper analyses the cities of Yogyakarta, in Indonesia, and Kathmandu, in Nepal, two iconic places within their national borders which—still— comprise of impressive urban tangible and intangible heritage (with tangible heritage covering cultural or natural heritage as defined by UNESCO in 1972; intangible heritage is understood as non-material assets like practices, traditions, skills, cultural spaces, etc., that communities or groups recognize as part of their cultural heritage, referring to UNESCO (2003)). At the same time, both cities are prone to different natural hazards and have suffered severe earthquakes within recent years. Conclusions drawn from the reconstruction processes in Yogyakarta's urban heritage areas, after the last major earthquake in 2006, may be considered in the ongoing reconstruction of Kathmandu and its heritage areas after the 2015 earthquakes.

In such contexts the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL, UNESCO 2011) approach is highly promising, as it is linking different aspects and layers of the city, promoting the conservation of tangible and intangible heritage as a vital part of urban futures.

Tangible and Intangible Urban Heritage

Since the 1990s the predominant understanding of cultural heritage as 'built' heritage, defined by its historic fabric, has broadened towards a more holistic understanding, considering intangible values like symbolic aspects and collective memory. This fundamental shift has formed part of a growing recognition of non-Western views of heritage. Asian countries faced particular difficulty with the very strict concepts of authenticity and the utmost importance of preserving historic fabric. These concepts were at odds with the traditional understanding of conservation measures and the close link between place, fabric, maintenance activities and attached values. Recent years have witnessed a shift from object-centric to subject-centric conservation, facilitating the recognition of a plurality of tangible and intangible values and functions, bridging the differences between a Euro-American monumental tradition and non-Western concepts of culture (Irr 2011).

In terms of intangible values and authenticity, the Nara Document of Authenticity (ICOMOS 1994) was of utmost importance for Asia. After the year 2000, the document's emphasis on the intangible heritage within Asia is evident, representing a shift from a Western focus on fabric towards intangible values. Similar to other countries, the scope of heritage in Southeast Asian countries stretches beyond inscribed heritage which often does not yet cover intangible heritage. The 2000 Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Declaration on Cultural Heritage, e.g., was underlined by a mutual understanding that cultural traditions were integral to the preservation of ASEAN intangible heritage (Ahmad 2006; Engelhardt and Rumball Rogers 2009; Kwanda 2010). Tangible authenticity aspects are also reflected in a number of charters around Asia, like the 2000 ASEAN Declaration on

Cultural Heritage or the 2005 Hoi An Protocols for Best Conservation Practice in Asia, which have created guidelines for assuring and preserving the authenticity of heritage sites in the context of the cultures of Asia. The latest document tackling urban issues is the Beijing Declaration Concerning Urban Culture (2007), which asserts that cities are a global collective memory and an important component of cultural heritage, seeking to raise awareness for protecting urban culture and traditions.

In 2003, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was adopted. This document made it possible to safeguard and acknowledge oral traditions, such as dance and song, literature, theatre and rituals, on a global scale (Butina 2011). This document enabled the formal protection of performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events and traditional craftsmanship and signified a fundamental shift towards a recognition of non-Western views of heritage. In the course of creating the policy document, UNESCO also created the lists of intangible cultural heritage. While no Nepalese heritage is yet inscribed, overall four intangible heritage elements from Indonesia are listed. The listed elements include the Indonesian batik (2009) and the traditional *wayang* puppet theatre. Despite not linking it to a specific location in the justification for inscription, Yogyakarta is well known as a centre of both traditions which have flourished at the Royal Court.

On an urban scale, a growing number of development projects in historic centres around the world, urban change and losses in cities like Kathmandu have raised awareness for heritage policies worldwide (Turner 2013). The Vienna Memorandum on 'World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture - Managing the Historic Urban Landscape' (UNESCO 2005) acknowledged the importance of linking urban heritage and urban development. The need to protect and manage urban heritage sites then led to the formulation of the 'Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape' (UNESCO 2011), which is rooted in an understanding of urban areas as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, thus exceeding the so-far often separated viewpoints. The Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) approach inextricably links heritage and development (Turner 2013). This holistic understanding, also linking tangible and intangible heritage, is crucial for holistic and, potentially, more sustainable approaches to preserve urban heritage fabric and its underlying intangible assets.

Subsequently, the two case studies of Kathmandu in Nepal and Yogyakarta in Indonesia are presented. Urban heritage, habits and beliefs are still of importance to the population of both cities. In both cases the cores are prone to rapid change, induced by, among other factors, natural hazards, rapid urbanization and densification as well as improvable planning.

Yogyakarta, Indonesia

The city of Yogyakarta is located in Central Java and was founded in 1755. It is the capital of the Yogyakarta Special Province (Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta—DIY) and home to 3.68 million inhabitants, 70% of them urban (Badan Pusat Statistik tdt 2015;

Badan Pusat Statistik 2015). Despite the rapid socio-economic change and mostly unplanned urban growth, as well as conversion or destruction of many buildings, parts of the urban heritage are still preserved (Siauw 2003). The original urban layout of the planned city is still visible, and in the city centre particularly architecture from different periods and in different styles can be found, namely, Javanese, Chinese shophouses, Dutch colonial architecture and mixed styles. Currently, Yogyakarta has one of the best-preserved city centres in Indonesia. Like in many other Asian cities, the value of traditional architecture goes beyond its fabric, it endows spiritual meanings and continuous repair or restoration works are part of conservation. Today, the urban area is a mix of traditional layout and transformations after the mid-twentieth century following international rather than local planning styles. While the central quarters around the Sultan's Palace, the Kraton, have preserved a traditional appearance, shopping malls, hotels or restaurants belonging to international chains are shaping particularly the outer areas of the city (Salazar 2008).

Yogyakarta itself is prone to different natural hazards. The riverine areas in particular are badly affected by annual flooding during rainy season and the eruptions of nearby Mount Merapi, which regularly result in lahar floods (World Bank 2011). The last eruption, in 2010, blanketed many houses and heritage sites with volcanic ash which had to be removed to avoid damages (UNESCO 2012). In addition, Yogyakarta has to prepare for the high earthquake risk. The last major earthquake of 5.9 on Richter scale on May 27, 2006, caused more than 6000 fatalities and resulted in the loss of many buildings, including some historic ones (Adishakti 2008; Hadi 2008). In Yogyakarta City alone, more than 4800 buildings were completely destroyed and another 3500 partly destroyed (The Consultative Group on Indonesia 2006). This loss of important parts of Yogyakarta's tangible and intangible cultural heritage gave conservation movements another push (Kwanda 2010).

One of the most affected areas was the Kotagede Heritage District, remains of the old Mataram Kingdom, known for its traditional houses (Joglos), and its silver handicraft. Many Joglos, which are an embodiment of folk heritage, were destroyed. Additionally, it also disrupted local handicraft businesses and core activities of local cultural industries such as sterling silver, batik craft, pottery, wood craft, ikad and other traditional crafts practiced in the southern part of Yogyakarta agglomeration (Adishakti 2008). As a consequence, major action was taken to restore Kotagede in an adequate way, paying attention to local traditions and heritage. Both, tangible and intangible heritage were regarded as essential for economic and sustainable development (Adishakti 2008).

Besides the cultural industries that contribute to Yogyakarta's economic development, built heritage and local traditions could also potentially contribute to more sustainable urban development. A study on post-disaster reconstruction after the 2006 earthquake found that reconstruction without consideration of the cultural context and local planning traditions had resulted in rejection from different affected communities, emphasizing the importance of considering local culture and behaviour in any urban plan (Marcillia and Ohno 2012). Another example of intangible heritage that is not only an intrinsic part of local culture but which can also serve to

lower the communities' vulnerabilities is the *gotong royong* (spirit of helping one another through good and bad) (Marcillia and Ohno 2012).

Kathmandu, Nepal

Kathmandu, capital city of Nepal and located in a valley of the same name, is prone to different natural hazards, especially earthquakes, landslides and annual flooding. Additionally, the almost built-up valley is highly susceptible to climate change, which is likely to exacerbate, in particular, risks of annual droughts and floods as well as flood-induced landslides (GFDRR 2012, 2014). Extreme natural hazards and disasters form an obstacle for the urban, social and economic development. The anyway high vulnerability of the urban inhabitants is amplified by population growth and migration to the urban area, social exclusion of different societal groups and the unstable political situation after 10 years of civil war between Maoists and government that had only come to an end in 2006 (Titz 2012; Jones et al. 2014).

Architecture and urban planning traditions of Kathmandu, the capital city of Nepal, are more than 500 years old. The urban heritage was predominantly created between the thirteenth and eighteenth century, when the Kathmandu Valley was divided into three kingdoms. Each of them tried to outperform the others by building more artistic constructions and temples, resulting in the valley's three historic urban centres, the Durbar Squares. The Kathmandu Durbar Square developed on the ancient trade route between Nepal and Tibet is composed of temples, palaces and open spaces, which are also the location for various ceremonies and festivities (UNESCO Kathmandu 2004). Temples and shrines can be found all around the city, which itself is following a mandala layout, intermingling Hindu and Buddhist deities and rituals. Worshipping and other religious rites are still practiced throughout the city. Religion and rituals are incorporated in daily life, e.g. by worshipping practices, whether in front of the houses, at the local communities' shrine or temple or in one of the major temples. Various objects or spaces in the city are delineated by religious conceptions (Ellingsen 2010). Finest craftsmanship of brick, timber and bronze is practised and intertwined with arts and architectural heritage in the valley. Such skills, religious ceremonies, maintenance of religious places and other activities were carried out under the umbrella of socioreligious organizations or trusts named *Guthi*. After governmental efforts to replace them with a central management system, only a few of them are still active (Weise 2012).

Today, Kathmandu is facing rapid pressures and tremendous changes due to population increase and a lack of economic resources, combined with weak planning and governance systems. Although the unique historic centre around the Durbar Square is protected by law, it still suffers from these processes. Immigration and natural growth have led to rapid urban expansion within the past decades, while urban planning is hardly in place. Urban development hardly considers cultural, social or environmental aspects, and even if the formal planning does, informal developments are likely to have changed urban appearance before a plan comes into

force (Bhattarai and Conway 2010; Muzzini and Aparicio 2013; British Red Cross, Nepal Red Cross Society et al. 2014).

On April 25 and May 12, 2015, Nepal was hit by two devastating earthquakes with magnitudes of 7.8 and 7.3 Richter scale. These earthquakes and their aftershocks have led to more than 8600 casualties and immense damage to buildings and infrastructure all around the country. Kathmandu itself was among the most affected areas. In the devastating earthquakes, more than 130,000 buildings were partly or even totally destroyed in Kathmandu Valley. Throughout Nepal more than 2900 cultural and/or religious sites were harmed (ICIMOD 2015; National Planning Commission 2015). Among others, various temples and shrines in the UNESCO World Heritage Site of Kathmandu Durbar Square have been completely destroyed or damaged seriously. Much of the historic fabric in the city centre is lost. The same applies to other quarters, where small shrines, statues and community temples are buried under the debris of collapsed buildings.

Decisions on how the reconstruction will take place and what and how to reconstruct are inseparable from decisions regarding the urban tangible and intangible heritage. Hopefully, the relations of Kathmandu's inhabitants to their past, to tangible heritage and to intangible values will be considered in the reconstruction process. One promising indicator highlighting the growing consideration of heritage, in general and intangible aspects in particular, is the Post-Disaster Needs Assessment which emphasizes the need to consider both in the reconstruction process:

> […] communities have a strong and unique cultural heritage, which is an important part of their identity. Recovery interventions, particularly to do with housing and relocation should preserve rather than undermine these aspects of Nepal's proud cultural heritage. (National Planning Commission 2015: 15)

Heritage Potentials for Risk Awareness and Reduction in Yogyakarta and Kathmandu

Typical intangible heritage in both cities includes local arts and craft, such as festivals, traditional music and markets. Yogyakarta's puppet theatre and batik are also important expressions of local heritage. In Kathmandu the same is true for metal art and wood carving. Often, intangible heritage is linked to distinct places in these cities, e.g. where traditional festivals are taking place or where a certain handicraft is traditionally practised (Sandholz 2017).

It is worth taking a closer look at intangible heritage and how far it can contribute to a more sustainable and resilient urban development (cf. Table 1). In both cities maintenance of religious or public buildings and places was—and often still is—done on regular intervals by the surrounding communities. This maintenance and continuous development is an intrinsic part of the tangible heritage. At the same time, this definitely has a risk preparedness and risk reduction component, as maintained buildings and infrastructure are more stable and resilient. The loss of either community ties, in general or distinct rituals, can potentially exacerbate risks.

Table 1 Heritage elements and the potential benefits they provide for urban risk reduction

Heritage element	Examples from case studies		Potential benefit for urban sustainability and risk reduction
	Yogyakarta	*Kathmandu*	
Traditional urban forms and layout	Low constructions, *Joglo* houses,	Large open spaces, traditional Newar houses	Developed over time suiting local contexts and adapted to respective hazards if properly maintained
Urban infrastructure		Water spouts	Provision of basic services, maintained by communities
Community structures	*Gotong royong*	*Guthi* system	Community-based self-help before, during and after disaster event
Cultural expression	Wayang kulit puppet theatre		Awareness raising to increase risk preparedness
Cultural industries	Batik, silverworks	Pottery, metalworks	Source of income for local communities, contribution to lowering vulnerabilities

Once such intangible values are lost, it is very difficult to restore them. An example of this is the historic water spouts that can be found all over the Kathmandu Valley. For centuries they served as the main source of water supply for the local communities and were cleaned in regular intervals during religious ceremonies (UN-HABITAT 2008). Today, more than one fourth of the initially more than 400 spouts are already gone, and more are most likely to vanish, due to road widening, new roads and building constructions. This loss can also be linked to a lack of maintenance, which is triggered by a loss of community ties and a declining demand for the spouts in general, due to household access to drinking water. In reality, however, this household supply is often not available, due to a malfunctioning network and very poor urban energy supply. The bizarre result of this 'modernisation' is a deteriorating urban water supply. In this case, maintaining community ties and their immaterial values could support urban infrastructures (Muzzini and Aparicio 2013; Jigyasu 2014).

This way intangible heritage becomes an essential component of urban resilience (cf. Table 1). The same can be true for handicraft like wood carvings used in construction or cultural events like the Javanese flat leather shadow puppet theatre *wayang* kulit which flourished at Yogyakarta court. This ancient form of storytelling includes a distinct puppet called *gunungan*, representing not only an imaginary mountain but also the mythological linkage between human and spiritual world, between destruction and regeneration (Lavigne et al. 2008). The underlying belief system can serve to tailor locally adapted risk reduction strategies, while the still popular performances—increasingly also adapted to modern demands (UNESCO 2016)—would have a potential to be used for raising hazard awareness (Mercer et al. 2012). However, this does not replace a critical revision and science-based advancement of customs and habits, e.g. the culturally rooted volcanic eruption monitoring that still exists in parallel or sometimes contradiction to scientific monitoring in

Fig. 1 Basantapur Square with parts of the Hanuman Dhoka Palace, picture on *top* taken in 2013 (Source: author), picture on *bottom*: Rupesh Shrestha, 2016

Yogyakarta (Mercer et al. 2012), or of traditional constructions (e.g. poorly maintained and vulnerable traditional constructions in Kathmandu (Maskey 2015)).

During the Kathmandu earthquake, many historic structures collapsed, intensifying the already existing preference for concrete buildings. Figure 1 shows the Basantapur Square in the historic centre of Kathmandu, aside the Hanuman Dhoka Palace, the former royal palace, before and after the earthquakes. In this image the damages to the historic structures becomes apparent, while there are hardly any visible losses or damages to the concrete buildings nearby. However, much of the damage is due to poor maintenance and alterations of historic buildings, such as vertical division, which have harmed the seismic stability. According to Pelling (2012), the real challenge for urban risk reduction is to find long-lasting solutions to everyday

development challenges—such as informal modifications of buildings in Kathmandu that exacerbate risks. Such solutions require not only functioning infrastructures but also functioning social systems (Malalgoda et al. 2014). Thus, various authors ask for an integration of governmental and other actors to successfully develop risk reduction strategies (Fra Paleo 2013; Pickett et al. 2014). Here the HUL approach could potentially be linked to (up-to-date) risk reduction concepts, as both strategies are rooted in a holistic understanding, combining natural, sociocultural and economic aspects. Local cultural attitudes and habits are shaped by their respective environment (Lucini 2014) and therefore have adapted to local hazards over time. Most likely many of the collapsed traditional buildings would still exist if they had been maintained properly—e.g. in the community-based processes that were common to sustain temples or the water infrastructure.

Outlook and Conclusion

The historic centres of Kathmandu and Yogyakarta constitute a main source of place attachment for the urban inhabitants. As such, they are much more than a built manifestation of the past, but both, used and appreciated in the present, as well as having potential for the future. Urban heritage and the urban centres are still vivid areas, of value and used by locals. This 'value' goes beyond an economic perspective, encompassing cultural or even spiritual assets. Beyond that, some of the traditional constructions and urban forms, as well as the associated cultural traditions, can be ascribed a kind of 'resilience value' which adds to the justification for their preservation.

Attachment to these areas, and the preservation of traditions that are often linked to maintenance of fabric and/or traditions, can be crucial factors for sustainable and resilient urban development (cf. Krüger et al. 2015). Historic construction types, like the Yogyakarta's Joglo houses and the traditional urban layout of Kathmandu with large open spaces, have emerged over time and are based on local wisdom. This wisdom comprises the awareness of risks and can become crucial in disaster situations. For example, the massive wooden constructions of traditional Joglo houses or the Newar houses of Kathmandu are seismic stable if properly maintained (e.g. Romão et al. 2015 in the case of Kathmandu); the large open spaces of the traditional urban layout can serve as places of shelter. Their potential for reducing today's risks has not yet been completely tapped. It is therefore desirable to consider the potential of built heritage, and intangible community-based values and expressions, not only in conservation processes but rather in urban planning in general.

This paper argues that urban heritage does not only have a historic, and rather physical value, but that heritage can contribute significantly to achieving urban resilience and lowering the vulnerability of urban communities. Such 'resilience values' offered by urban tangible and intangible heritage could and should be taken into account in urban risk reduction strategies and can be a convincing argument for their conservation. A conclusion that can be drawn from the two case studies is that

a stronger consideration of the potential benefits an integrated protection of tangible and intangible heritage could have is highly recommendable. These benefits go far beyond an entirely cultural or scientific importance and can have positive impacts on strengthening the resilience of urban communities.

Even more important, heritage should not only be only considered by authorities assigned to deal with heritage but rather be mainstreamed into urban development. Here new policies are needed to tackle the different urban layers, e.g. in the form of the HUL approach, a forward-looking integrated approach which could serve urban authorities to interact and link forces. Heritage has become a crucial aspect of urban identities. Urban heritage forms part of people's imaginings and has a potential to contribute to urban futures. Documents like the Nara Declaration, or the Historic Urban Landscape approach, show the ongoing shift in heritage discourses, towards the recognition of intangible values and a holistic understanding. Particularly the 'Historic Urban Landscape' approach has the potential to back and support urban conservation in both of the case study cities and beyond.

To do so it is crucial to raise awareness of the multiple facets these landscapes are composed of, beyond the conservation community, and in particular for those urban actors that are the drivers of change. The HUL approach may even serve to transform urban inhabitants' attachment to their tangible and intangible heritage into urban resilience, with a potential to establish more sustainable recovery processes. It remains to be seen how the recovery process will progress in Nepal, but at least heritage is among the main issues discussed. Success and failure stories that other cities like Yogyakarta experienced during past disasters can serve to facilitate mainstreaming heritage into a holistic urban reconstruction process.

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Aspects of Social Imperative: The Sustainable Historic Environment in the Developing World

Debbie Whelan

Introduction

Heritage in post-apartheid South Africa, as with many post-colonial territories, is highly politicised and contested (Coombes 2003; Tomaselli and Mpofu 1997; De Jong 2008). It tends, on occasion, to the irrational and endeavours at times to celebrate the non-existent in order to reinforce political agendas. In addition, the diversity of cultures, ethnic groups, religions and languages makes objective and inclusive heritage identification and its management complex. Colonial heritages, particularly, are seriously at risk; whilst this is to be expected, mitigation to minimalise risk is vital in order to retain authenticity and contextual integrity. It is thus that perhaps the most fundamental aspect of heritage and culture in developing nations is social sustainability, since this supports corrupt or inept legislative initiatives from below. This paper will address the story of heritage preservation in two "townships" in which colonial era buildings form the core of the urban fabric. Repairs to mid-nineteenth-century mission buildings in Georgetown, Edendale, failed, and restoration of a nineteenth-century farmhouse, Montrose House at Mpophomeni, succeeded. For the author, the key to the success was not the able intervention of mid-level policies, implementation of legislation and able authorities, but people-driven, grassroots projects with a similar goal and operating heritage using a development approach in order to achieve goals.

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Social Sustainability

Social sustainability underpins the theoretical and technical approaches to heritage preservation as the most important element in the protection and management of objects and sites. However, this has to be framed within discussions on sustainability in general, whilst, for the developing world and as understood by many communities in South Africa, the frameworks of sustainability are embedded in the inclusive "bottom-up" approach which has been a guiding principle for some time, allowing for participation of community members in the development process (Sanyal 1998). Whilst it has its critics (Magee et al. 2013, p.228) particularly in the complex definition of communities, its entrenchment in the personal at community level has merit in this discussion and is central to the projects assessed.

However, whereas the "bottom-up" approach works for development, it has not been a feature of the more deliberate and legislated heritage agenda, which has less relevance for quotidian lives in developing countries. Although provincial and national legislation both allow for consultative processes in the capturing, negotiation and interpretation of oral histories, the same methodology is not generally applied for the built environment. A "bottom-up approach" is one of the many expansions that the heritage agenda has taken during its move away from the tangible.

The identification of social sustainability is a recent agenda item in the realm of environment and governance. Adopted in South Africa in 2002, the *Johannesburg Declaration on Sustainable Development* asserted that the environmental, social and economic realm formed three pillars of sustainable development, "interdependent and mutually reinforcing" (WSSD 2002, p.1). At this point, development, rather than heritage and culture, was the focus.

Subsequent to the scripting of the *Johannesburg Declaration,* Stephen McKenzie has critically engaged with the notion of social sustainability, arriving at a succinct explanation in which "Social sustainability is a positive condition within communities and a process within communities that can achieve that condition" (McKenzie 2004, p.23). McKenzie lists a series of necessary pre-existing "conditions" which allow socially sustainable environments to operate and to perpetuate. Importantly, he argues for social and cultural cohesion, particularly relevant in contemporary South Africa, together with a sense of ownership reinforced by a common ability to identify their needs, articulate them and act on them. He suggests that equity between generations is vital, preventing future generations being hampered by decisions made in the present and also transferring the notion of social sustainability (McKenzie 2004, p.23). McKenzie's work forms the benchmark for understanding the potentials in multiple contexts and engages directly with the "bottom-up" approach. Whilst many other authors describe heritage preservation within the official sphere of initiative and policy, in a fragmented and diverse society characterised by poverty, lack of access to basic services and a historically recent emphasis on development, these criteria speak directly to the reality of heritage preservation initiatives in South Africa.

Other authors such as Murphy (2012) have tackled McKenzie's definition generally building on his criteria, reinforcing community and personal levels as the fundamental requirement of sustainability, particularly in developing nations in which legislations protecting the natural, built and cultural environments are tenuously addressed. From a clear development perspective, Dugarova et al. (2014, p.1) suggest that it "must deliver material well-being", again expanding upon McKenzie's criteria citing health, education, access to goods and services, security and community.

Social sustainability and its role in international heritage came to the fore in discussions at the World Heritage Watch Conference in Bonn, July 2015 (Doempke 2016).[1] Later that year, in September, this aspect of sustainability was acknowledged in the United Nations *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*.[2] In November 2015, the General Assembly of the States Parties adopted the *Policy for the integration of a sustainable development perspective into the processes of the World Heritage Convention* (WHC 2015). By its nature it is a generalised approach, and not one that can be immediately contextualised, but does offer the potential of cultural heritage as a contributor to sustainable development in the social realm.

The value of McKenzie's work is that, to a large degree, it offers an operational framework for practical implementation, assuming that the building blocks of values, community and quality of life implicit in the *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* exist at grassroots at the heritage site, allowing for the existence of the different criteria as offered by McKenzie (2004). For developing countries, viewing heritage as development is a necessary conceptual tool in order to ensure that delivery occurs inclusively and optimally. Taking this practical framework as baseline conditions, the two projects will be assessed against this matrix to establish its relevance in the heritage field, as well as identifying areas in which it may be reinforced.

Heritage in KwaZulu-Natal

Sophisticated provincial[3] and national heritage legislation[4] exists, which embodies intangible, social and cultural values. However, given the situation of South Africa as a developing country with a relatively infant democratic government, service delivery is, necessarily, aimed at imperatives such as addressing unemployment and

[1] Many authors addressed natural World Heritage Sites rather than the historic built environment.

[2] Goal 11 seeks to address urban and residential environments from the perspectives of safety, resilience and inclusivity, particularly Goal 11.4 which promises to "Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage" (United Nations 2015 p.26).

[3] KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Heritage Resources Act no 4 of 2008

[4] National Heritage Resources Act no 25 of 1999

access to health and other services and providing education, housing and infrastructure. Further, despite legislation, the potential to act, charge and prosecute is not adequately supported by the authorities. Thus, heritage in any environment in South Africa has to be primarily contextual, and any decisions regarding conservation, preservation and continued existence of the site have to consider the social sustainability of the project.

Both projects for discussion are situated close to the provincial capital of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, originally founded in 1838 as the capital of the Dutch Republic of Natalia. When it was annexed by the British in 1843, rapid expansion occurred, and welcoming immigrants including traders, farmers and missionaries were welcomed.

Georgetown, now part of the dense township of Edendale,[5] is located to the west of Pietermaritzburg. Originally a mission, its residents were later known for their significant participation in the struggle for democracy. Despite a rich and complex history, the perceived cultural and historical value did not reinforce attempts to restore the mud-brick mission dwellings, as part of a community initiative, and the project failed.

On the other hand, Montrose House is a vernacular colonial settler farmhouse, the homestead on a farm of the same name situated some 30 km from Pietermaritzburg, closer to the town of Howick. In spite of a nineteenth-century land grant, the farm was expropriated from its white landowner in the 1960s. At the time, legislation allowed for the forced removal of African people from towns and informal settlements and their relocation into specifically constructed townships. One such example, constructed at the end of the 1960s on Montrose Farm, is known as Mpophomeni.[6] Montrose House's colonial associations, unlike Georgetown, have not prevented its rehabilitation as an ecomuseum and the core of a fledgling civic precinct.

The author has been actively involved in these two projects since 2000 and 2007, respectively. Their failure, in the case of Georgetown, and survival, in the case of Mpophomeni, suggest that social sustainability is a key element in heritage preservation in an emergent democracy. However, they differ fundamentally in that they have different social histories, socio-political contexts and levels of commitment from the respective community groups. By assessing the conditions identified by McKenzie (2004) against the conditions existing in each project, this exercise should assist in supporting a visceral understanding as to why Georgetown failed whilst Montrose House succeeds, thus becoming a useful matrix for responsible and sustainable heritage practice in developing nations, in addition to expanding upon his criteria if appropriate.

[5] Edendale's population in 2011 was 140,000 people (Frith 2011).

[6] Population 26,000 people (Frith 2011)

The Georgetown Project

Georgetown's origins as a mission began with Wesleyan James Allison arriving in the colony in the late 1840s, establishing the mission settlement at Georgetown in the early 1850s. Allison purchased the farm *Welverdiendt* in 1851 in order to settle his African converts (*Amakholwa*) who had followed him from previous religious endeavours. They each paid a £5 contribution to the project, which gave them title to their plots or *erven* (Etherington 1978, p.112).

The village was established on a north-facing hillside in grid formation, in a bend of the Msunduzi River. Houses were constructed on the plots and gardens established. Irrigation to the homesteads and gardens was via water-furrows which lined the streets. The early dwellings were in an endemic Victorian veranda cottage profile and built of mud brick. Most of the houses followed this aesthetic standard, with clipped eaves, usually with a saddle ridge and occasionally a *wolwe-end* or Dutch Hip. The mud-brick houses were plastered with mud or lime plaster and painted with whitewash. The windows were sash or casement, using local hardwoods such as yellowwood (*Podocarpus* sp.) or imported Oregon pine. The surviving houses are markedly different from each other, displaying the flexibility of aesthetic allowed within the rigours of Victorian pattern.

After 10 years, Allison was expelled from the mission. The *Amakholwa* flourished. Norman Etherington notes that "The black leaders of Edendale's colonising enterprises epitomised in their individual backgrounds, the diversity of ethnic origin which characterised all the early mission communities of southeast Africa. The cooperation which the Edendale men displayed demonstrates vividly the way in which common goals, intermarriage, and the special shared experience of mission station life welded men and women of widely varying backgrounds into one people" (Ibid. p.113). This momentum prevailed, and by the end of the 1860s, a church was built, with bricks being transported from the river by chain gang.

Georgetown became an established, self-sufficient mission community with market gardens, a tannery, mill and wickerworks. The *Amakholwa* were noted transport riders and soon "big wagon trains of thirteen or fourteen teams set off for the interior at regular intervals" (Etherington 1978, p.126). Education was also important, training blacksmiths, waggon-makers and shoemakers (Ibid. p.126). The *Amakholwa* were politically allied with the white colonists and assisted in mustering the Edendale Horse, a mounted unit of 60 volunteers who fought against the Zulu in the 1879 Anglo-Zulu War. An obelisk to their dead stands in the church grounds.

These *Amakholwa*, later referred to as *Nonhlevu* (Meintjes 1988), established themselves as critical components of the development of the city and also as part of what became the "Freedom Struggle". In the 1980s, however, political unrest affected Georgetown. Many of the original landowners moved, leaving their properties in the hands of tenants, typically a number of families in each house. Houses fell into disrepair, and when repair happened, it was cursory, usually using cement which caused further damage. Georgetown went into rapid decline, with a strongly

mixed social fabric, an abandoned architectural aesthetic and a civil society alienated by origin and politics. Despite this, the potentials of Georgetown as a historic destination, as an unusual example of a mud-brick mission village and as a site of some of the core social and political challenges which resulted in a democratic South Africa were some of the driving ideas which were formulated as core principles in the Georgetown Project.

In 2000, two senior teachers at the Edendale Higher Primary School based in Georgetown approached the provincial heritage body *Amafa aKwazulu-Natali* for assistance in repairs to a shale-constructed building situated within the fenced school precinct. For the author, with experience in community development at the time, this was significant in that the approach was a "bottom-up" initiative (Sanyal 1998; Magee et al. 2013) and not a project contrived by developers under the guise of "community development". Joanna Walker, an architectural historian, and the author, a conservation architect, carried out liaison and administrative work as volunteers. The first tranche of funding was formal, stipulated the employment of an external specialist contractor, and focused on work on the shale building.[7]

The Project consisted initially of a loose association of Mrs. Walker and the author, the teachers at the school, the local Ward Councillor and an elder in the community. Whilst it may have appeared at the outset that there was community buy-in, participation involved particular individuals, and without any formal mutually derived mission or structure as "community", the momentum of the project remained largely driven by external volunteers.

A larger-scale project expanding repairs into the community started concurrently: A lime plaster repair workshop on a similar era house constructed of mud brick was advertised in the Zulu section of the daily newspaper and through advertising flyers. Two people attended, worked for the day and stayed with the project, eventually, as site clerks. A badly degraded corner of a house was repaired, appropriating chicken wire from a rusted chicken run to act as lathe, or a skeleton, to which plaster would adhere. This frame was filled with stone, plastered and limewashed. This exercise laid the foundations for the later lime plaster and mud mortar repairs to the Manse, also situated within the school precinct.

A second tranche of funding with less stringent requirements allowed local people to be paid a stipend to assist in repairing the Manse. This served to build capacity so that participants became aware that repairing their own homes could be carried out using the same technologies. A series of workdays stripped loose plaster, replaced termite-eaten timber lintels with new lime-soaked ones, plastered and replaced timber flooring with "new" old flooring and steel windows with timber casements from the same material repository. There was much activity on site, engaged learning about the age of the building and a conveyed understanding that lime and earth technologies were sustainable, provided that buildings were maintained. Schoolchildren were exposed to the project by making small bricks with their names inscribed out of the same mud from the river as the original bricks,

[7] This arrangement itself is contrary to principles of community development, in which funders require local employment and capacity building on site.

which were used to plug the large crack in the walls of the Manse, effectively tying the efforts of the children to the building fabric.

This work was supported by the efforts of Genna Nashem, a US ICOMOS exchange student who worked with the project in the winter of 2002. Together with Provincial Museum Services and the Natal Museum, Ms. Nashem conducted a wickerwork workshop and exhibition, to stimulate recreating a furniture industry in Georgetown. She assisted on community workdays and, together with staff from Pietermaritzburg Tourism, compiled the basics for a walking tour. The Project ran an essay competition entitled "Where do you see Georgetown in ten years' time?" In short, the "community" was ostensibly actively involved and implicated. However, nobody from the "community" was prepared to drive the project; thus its success and future were solely dependent on the author, in the absence of any more permanent community or civic structure. Further, given the threats to sustainability, discussions were held with the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Municipality to assume more authority over the project, through its "Greater Edendale Development Initiative" (GEDI) which would support developmental goals and political initiative.

Initially this initiative was successful: In 2003, the Municipality assisted by paying architectural students to measure and document the buildings. The guided tour was translated into Zulu, and plaques were designed to interpret the houses in the precinct. Then the money ran out, the momentum slowed and nobody noticed.

However, the reality of the Municipality driving the project in order to attain tangible political, social and economic deliverables was not successful: Little has occurred in the intervening years, and any activism on behalf of the author has borne no results. Worse was the contribution of the resident community in Georgetown—as a fractured and politicised group, they offered little assistance in perpetuating any social and cultural improvement to the historic precinct. Significantly, the Montrose House Eco-Museum Project turned out to be a very different experience.

Fig. 1 Children making mud bricks for plugging cracks in walls (Photo: Genna Nashem 2002)

The Montrose House Eco-museum Project

The Montrose House Eco-Museum Project currently focuses on the repairs to Montrose House, as introduced earlier. As also indicated, in the early 1960s, it was identified by the Nationalist Government as a site for the situation of a "township"—essentially a labour pool of African people close to the town of Howick. As a consequence, the property was expropriated and, rather than lose the family home of 50 years, Guy Lund, the owner, shot himself in the house. Montrose House is thus in a relatively unique position which is related to the trauma of forced removals to achieve political imperative: the social disruption of African families in Howick being resettled in the new township of Mpophomeni, but also the tragedy of the Lund family's suffering.

Most of the intended residents worked for a company known as British Tyre and Rubber located in Howick some ten kilometres distant. Labour came from surrounding farmlands, but British Tyre and Rubber's demand for labour and economic power was substantial enough that the Howick Town Board condoned settlement of labour within the town limits, in a "black belt" township known as KwaMevana. These residents were those intended for relocation to the new Mpophomeni township, and this historical connection between Howick, British Tyre and Rubber and resettlement at Mpophomeni is a vital point in social cohesion.

Work on the township began in the late 1960s, and the old farmhouse at Montrose became the home and office of the Township Manager. Like most of these politically driven developments, civic space was not a priority, and thus the township, laid out in blocks, had fragmented ancillary services with no central focal hub. Families from KwaMevana were moved under protest to occupy the new houses, in addition to an informal settlement in close proximity known as Zenzele. Many of the residents at Mpophomeni continued to work at the factory in Howick.

An event some 15 years later had an indelible effect: At the beginning of the 1980s, trade unions were peripheral organisations in South Africa. Further, Africans were not allowed to register with them. After the 1979 Wiehahn Commission, African trade unions were legalised as long as they were registered in terms of the Labour Relations Act. The employees of British Tyre and Rubber, now known as SARMCOL, remained unregistered and were challenged by their employers (Bonnin 1987, p.185), eventually registering in 1982. Debby Bonnin suggests that the protest and agitation at SARMCOL were reflected in similar community struggles at Mpophomeni, noting that "It is possible to hypothesise that organization and struggle in either sphere strengthened organization and struggle in the other. It is argued that this action in Mpophomeni was building a sense of community solidarity which the Sarmcol [sic] workers could call on to support their struggle against BTR Sarmcol [sic]" (Ibid. p.208). Essentially, long-standing disagreement between management and workers resulted in a wildcat strike, an event which may have united the Mpophomeni community, but ultimately resulted in massive job losses, violence and death.

Fig. 2 Montrose House shortly after most of the repair work had been completed. See Mpophomeni in the background (Photo: Kelly Goss 2013)

The social fabric of Mpophomeni is significant in that it has a number of largely common tales: People were moved here in the 1970s as part of apartheid-era relocations, in addition to the participation of many elders in the SARMCOL strike.

For the project itself, in 2007 the director of the Zulu-Mpophomeni Tourism Experience (ZMTE) approached the author for assistance in assessing Montrose House in order to source funds for repair. ZMTE was already a locally run, viable eco-tourism venture with established social and political connections, a strong environmental conscience and an ongoing tourism mandate. Frank Mchunu, as director, had identified the reconfigured Montrose House as an ecomuseum which had the potential to not only interpret local history for the community but also create a "gateway" project for Mpophomeni.

The initial requirement was a repair report prepared for the uMngeni Municipality and was the first step in a slow but systematic project with visible deliverables. Initial funding did little more than assist in replacing the corrugated iron roof and address necessary cosmetic repairs to timberwork. However, once work started and further funding was accessed, potential for a larger project became evident: Fencing the site allowed for the space to design a specific civic precinct a type of space generally absent in "townships" of this era. Thus far, repairs to Montrose House are almost complete, a feeding scheme[8] and utility hall have been crafted out of a vehicle shed, and an electricity pay point has been made out of an old mill. Much work

[8] This is a community-based project which feeds small children in Mpophomeni a few days a week.

has been done on the gardens, driven by ZMTE, and the entire property has been fenced. In addition, substantial amounts of refuse have been removed from the site, and some levelling has been achieved. Community members participate through ZMTE, assisting in retaining the project firmly as a community initiative. The intention of creating a civic centre has thus bled through to the greater community, manifested in constant approaches by community members for the construction of facilities for specific community-related projects.

Whilst this project is still in progress, its entrenchment as a "community" initiative in the provision of civic space is becoming more and more evident, albeit slowly, with the complete sanction by the people of Mpophomeni. This is in large part due to the efforts of ZMTE and Mr. Frank Mchunu and less the influence of external actors and volunteers, reinforcing the deployment of the "bottom-up" approach.

The Georgetown Project and Montrose House and McKenzie's Conditions

Stephen McKenzie's (2004) conditions are presented below, with a response for both projects.

1. "*Equity of access to key services*"

In South Africa all people officially have equal access to key services; however, this is not necessarily so. This exclusion is exacerbated by access to land and reinforced by the means by which people are housed, whether social housing or informal. Georgetown is located close to Nhlazatshe, a steep hillside on which immigrants have established informal homes, reflecting a mixture of established, formal and informal homesteads. In addition, tenancy of many of the old homes within the Georgetown precinct is common, creating an uncertain melange of people with incoherent social histories and value systems. Perceived class structures exist: *Nonhlevu*, the descendents of original missionaries, usually educated and practising Wesleyans, are situated against quasi-rural immigrants, uneducated, largely pursuing various ancestral religions. This lack of social cohesion is highlighted by an attempt by one of the elders, anxious to employ buffer zone requirements embedded in the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Heritage Resources Act, to limit construction of informal homes close to the old village. Tenure is also problematic as much of the land in Edendale is locked into the names of old families.

Mpophomeni, the site in which Montrose House Eco-Museum is situated, is a generically constructed "township" embracing, to some degree, the site of the old farmhouse. It consists of a similar stock of built fabric with a temporal sameness. The extent of tenure is short-lived; the elders have lived here for just over three decades, as opposed to the 15 decades in the case of Georgetown. Access is aided by its small-scale and equitable access to land.

2. "*Equity between generations"*

The social influence of the *Nonhlevu,* which would have constructed, preserved and transferred the local history in Georgetown, has been diluted as most have moved. Any influence which they may have had is mitigated by increased numbers of immigrants. Mpophomeni alternatively has a similarly constructed history that involves "community" removal and protest. These tropes are constantly employed in the design of parameters for reconciliation projects and form the basis of active oral history projects (Denis 2013). These reiterations aid in the retention of community history, conscientising the new generations.

3. "*A system of cultural relations in which the positive aspects of disparate cultures are valued and protected, and in which cultural integration is supported and promoted when it is desired by individuals and groups"*

The scale of Georgetown, its incremental history as a locus of immigration and a socially fragmented society frustrate common goals. This is reinforced by the attempted marginalisation of rural immigrants using heritage legislation. The commonly constructed histories at Mpophomeni appear as vital components of inclusion and memory. These involve the stories of removal and relocation within living memory, in addition to community participation in the SARMCOL strike, a significant event for many residents as well as a significant moment for the current democratic dispensation in South Africa.

4. "*The widespread political participation of citizens not only in electoral procedures but also in other areas of political activity, particularly at a local level*"

This is present in both cases. Political consciousness is active at most levels in township areas, particularly so in a post-apartheid context given the contested nature of politics.

5. "*A sense of community ownership"*

Community ownership of the Georgetown Project was vested in the hands of school teachers who moved and some older members of the community with limited resources to either drive or contribute to the project. In Mpophomeni, the community-owned ZMTE drives the project, ensuring that any work is part of a consultative, active community-based programme.

6. "*A system for transmitting awareness of social sustainability from one generation to the next*"

In Georgetown, the fractured social fabric of the old with the new, the landed and the landless, has limited any social values being transmitted. In Mpophomeni, the Eco-Museum Project, through ZMTE, engages with schools, libraries, the Oral History project, tourism initiatives, craft fairs and the like, constantly reinforcing inter- and intra-generational acceptance.

7. *"A sense of community responsibility for maintaining that system of transmission"*

In Georgetown, community responsibility was vested largely with teaching staff at the school and elders in the village. This included, for a time, a councillor who was an active participant. However, teaching staff are transient, and whilst elders were enthusiastic, they ultimately had little influence in the future of the project. In Mpophomeni, the Montrose House Eco-Project is associated with a community initiative, which has a strong, apolitical association, active deliverables, viable local and international links, a Board of Trustees and plausible accounting system. It is directly accountable to its community and relies in reciprocity, for their support.

8. *"Mechanisms for a community to collectively identify its strengths and needs"*

The lack of cohesion in Georgetown has already been articulated. In Mpophomeni, the Oral History programme, so important in the reconciliation process and the construction of identity, is a key mechanism for community discussion. Other projects involve tourism, embracing varied aspects of eco-tourism as well as craft production.

9. *"Mechanisms for a community to fulfil its own needs where possible through community action"*

In Georgetown, at the time, there was little evidence of self-driven community action, although given the past histories this has been a critical component of its development. At Mpophomeni, ZMTE is a good example, amongst many other organisations, where the community is fulfilling its own needs through the community.

10. *"Mechanisms for political advocacy to meet needs that cannot be met by community action"*

Georgetown is an independent political ward within the Greater Edendale region; political advocacy occurs directly through the local Ward Councillor. Any action is therefore completely dependent on the capabilities of the individual and is automatically politicised. Although much smaller, ZMTE has a good working relationship with the leaders of the uMngeni Municipality, and, certainly, the projects have been regularly presented at their MANCO and EXCO meetings. Importantly, Mr. Mchunu is deliberately apolitical, and in the opinion of the author, this is perhaps one of the key benefits towards delivery in the project.

Conclusion

In brief, the precinct of Georgetown has outstanding heritage value, from an architectural, social, historical and political point of view. Its exclusion from a prominent position in the social and political history of South Africa is an oversight which should have been remedied in 1994 with the election of the new democratic

government. This could have been achieved if the Georgetown Project had been a success; however, various mechanisms, including a distinct lack of social and political participation, in addition to an unconscious "top-down" approach, strangled the process and resulted in no development, no tourism incentives and a rapidly crumbling historic village.

Alternatively, the Montrose House Eco-Museum at Mpophomeni is entirely community driven, sanctioned and active. Whilst work may be slow, it is perhaps this speed that reinforces the acceptance, allowing for members to identify with it. With the conditions suggested by McKenzie above, which are not necessarily quantifiable, it is evident that the project in Mpophomeni has a stronger community basis given similar societal value systems, residence in an area which has a common identity and means by which this identity is constantly reinforced, resulting in a stronger basis for social sustainability. As noted in Bonnin's comment above (Bonnin 1987:208), the political agitation in Mpophomeni in the 1980s contributed significantly to the construction of identity and the formation of common goals.

The framework as posited by McKenzie (2004) works as a community-based, local assessment tool at a grassroots level for assessing the existence of sociocultural and socio-political conditions in order for projects to have a chance of succeeding in a mercurial environment. Absent from McKenzie's conditions is the scale of community; perhaps where Mpophomeni succeeds is that it is a relatively small area with a limited number of political wards, whereas Georgetown is a specific political ward within the greater Edendale area. The inclusion of a criterion describing "scale of community" would also suggest a socially cohesive critical mass as a vital component of driving, sustaining and perpetuating heritage preservation projects in developing countries.

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The Dilemma of Zambia's Barotse Plains Cultural Landscape Nomination: Implications for Sustainable Development

Kagosi Mwamulowe

Introduction

> Heritage has been absent from the mainstream sustainable development debate despite its crucial importance to societies and the wide acknowledgment of its great potential to contribute to social, economic and environmental goals. World Heritage may provide a platform to develop and test new approaches that demonstrate the relevance of heritage for sustainable development, with a view to its integration in the UN post-2015 development agenda. (UNESCO 2015)

While it is true that World Heritage may provide a powerful platform to develop and test new tools for sustainable development, to this end, it comes with its own unique problems. These problems become particularly acute when developing countries are involved. In the issue of sustainable development and World Heritage, perceptions of conservation, development and the role of inscription itself are vital factors to consider if sustainability is to be promoted successfully. The proposed nomination of the Barotse Floodplains, in Zambia's Western Province, to the World Heritage List as a cultural landscape is an interesting case study in this regard.

This paper provides very personal insights into the dilemma which has arisen in the nomination process for the Barotse Plains Cultural Landscape (hereafter referred to as BPCL or Barotse Plains), due to two conflicting compulsions, Zambia's desire to exploit the land's natural resources and the responsibility as a State Party to the UNESCO World Heritage Convention of 1972. This paper highlights the challenges inherent in nominating the BPCL as a World Heritage Site, an area which is rich in cultural heritage but also where there is continued exploration for oil, gas and minerals Geological Survey Department Zambia (2010). It is noteworthy that the site's cultural heritage alone is unable to sustain the livelihood of its people. By advocating

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continued oil and gas exploration within the boundaries of the proposed World Heritage Site, this paper challenges the global standards of World Heritage conservation. The paper further addresses the implications these challenges have for the World Heritage concept in general and the ongoing discourse on sustainable development.

Sustainable Development as Understood Within the World Heritage Framework

Within the UNESCO context, cultural heritage is understood as a key driver for sustainable development, not only in terms of sociocultural sustainability but also in terms of poverty reduction and economic development of local communities (UNESCO 2016).

While background papers and discussions have promoted the idea of establishing culture as the fourth pillar of sustainable development, the General Assembly of the States Parties to the World Heritage Convention, at their 20th Session in November 2015, decided to adopt the conceptual framework of three dimensions of sustainable development as widely understood within the UN context. With reference to this framework, the *Policy for the Integration of a Sustainable Development Perspective into the Processes of the World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO 2015) gives general provisions for each of the three interrelated pillars of sustainable development, namely: the environmental, the social and the economic. The policy urges States Parties to "promote the properties' inherent potential to contribute to all dimensions of sustainable development and work to harness the collective benefits for society, also by ensuring that their conservation and management strategies are aligned with broader sustainable development objectives". However, in the same breath, the policy also emphasizes that contributing to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in the context of World Heritage is subordinate to the overall goal of the Convention: "In this process, the properties' OUV should not be compromised" (UNESCO 2015, p. 2).

The Site: Introducing the Barotse Plains

Situated in Zambia's Western Province, the Barotse Plains Cultural Landscape (BPCL) is a floodplain inhabited by the Lozi people. Here the interaction between nature and culture has over centuries produced a rich cultural heritage comprising a network of canals, royal burial sites, associated manmade mounds and a manifestation of a traditional management system, of which selected elements have been passed on through generations for over 400 years.

The Barotse Plains are the second largest wetlands in Zambia, covering an area of more than 5500 km^2. The area's natural values are evident in the fact that parts of

the cultural landscape are also recognized as an Important Bird Area (IBA) and as a Ramsar Site (NHCC 2013). In terms of its cultural values, parts of the landscape were declared a Cultural Landscape National Monument under the National Heritage Conservation Commission Cap 173 of the Laws of Zambia (Republic of Zambia 2013).

With its 400-year-old canal system, the BPCL is the only inland floodplain in Africa with canals that are primarily used for transport. These canals also represent the largest public works within a floodplain area in Africa. They are intermingled with settlement mounds, creating a landscape which illustrates two significant stages in the history and development of the area. The first settlement stage can be defined as the time when the Lozi people, who are descendants from Luba-Lunda Bantu migrants, settled in the Barotse Plains from about the fourteenth to the nineteenth century. The second settlement stage, the time of European settlement, started around the time of the French Revolution and extended to the First World War (1789–1914). During these two phases, there were extensive canal construction programmes, which significantly facilitated mound settlement and economic activities like agriculture, fishing and pastoralism (Hermitte 1974). All of these developments have had significant impact on the evolution of this cultural landscape.

The People: The Lozi People, Their Culture and Development Needs

As already mentioned, the BPCL is inhabited by the Lozi people who are descendants of the Luba-Lunda Bantu migrants that settled in the Barotse Floodplains in the fourteenth century. The BPCL is unique as the only place in [Southern] Africa where there is a kingship cult system of burial mounds and an organized royal led transhumance ceremony (NHCC 2013). According to Lozi tradition, the *Kuomboka* is a transhumance ceremony which involves the mass movement of people and livestock and is led by the *Lozi King*, the *Litunga*[1].

It is testimony to a living cultural tradition involving the seasonal movement of people and their property and livestock from the floodplains to higher ground associated with royal rituals. During the ceremony hundreds of paddlers take the king, on a big barge, to shrines which are located in the floodplains along the Muyowamo canal. At these shrines, the Litunga connects with the deceased Kings to renew himself as a ruler of the Kingdom. It is said that any paddler that errors in paddling is drowned. The ceremony is characterized by drumming, whistling, singing and fire making. There is a long convoy of other smaller barges and canoes. The King's wife is transported on a separate barge, which uses a different totem (emblem or statue). The king's symbol is an elephant mounted on top of the barge, as can be seen in Fig. 1.

[1] The title 'Litunga' means 'of the earth' or 'owner of the earth.

Fig. 1 The King's barge during Kuomboka Ceremony

The development of villages around burial mounds, which act as sacred sites, is an exceptional testimony to a living cultural tradition of the Lozi people and is representative of the interaction of nature and man. The royal burial grounds, as well as sacred pools and lagoons where items associated with the departed kings are stored, and the practice of transhumance are tangible expressions of the royal cult at the heart of the Lozi belief system. These elements are representative of the elaborate traditional governance system that has evolved in the BPCL. This system is sustained by various beliefs, myths and taboos, mainly related to the kingship cult (NHCC 2013).

Western Province, where the Lozi people live and enjoy rich cultural traditions, is one of Zambia's most underdeveloped areas. The Province experiences poverty levels of 84%, compared with the national average of 64%. This indicator has remained unchanged in six national surveys conducted by the Government's Central Statistical Office since 1991. While nationally 19% of households have access to electricity, in the Western Province the average is only 3.5%. 53.4% of the province's households have no toilets. The province has no industry, with fishing being the predominant economic activity for the 700,000 inhabitants (Irin News 2011).

The Nomination Process: Objectives and Current State

In the late 2000s, the African World Heritage Fund (AWHF), ICOMOS and African Members of the World Heritage Committee[2] encouraged Zambia, through the National Heritage Conservation Commission (NHCC), to prepare the Barotse Floodplains for World Heritage nomination.

One of the major motivations behind the proposed inscription was the potential strengthening of the cultural identity of the Lozi people and the recognition of this culture at an international level. This motivation was shared by the Barotse Royal Establishment (BRE), the National Heritage Conservation Commission and the State Party of Zambia. The government of Zambia also saw the inscription as an opportunity to enhance the steps they had already toward sustainable development as promoted within the context of the Agenda 21. While the central government's official stance seems to be in line with Agenda 21 and ecologically sustainable development, some of its branches have allowed mineral and gas exploitations. Such activities are likely to be viewed as being contrary to the conservation objectives. Further, the BRE and NHCC are not as invested in the SDGs as the Zambian government.

Despite divergent interests in the area, as well as different perceptions of how the nomination might relate to the region's and country's SDGs, the Barotse Plains Cultural Landscape was included in Zambia's Tentative List for World Heritage in March 2009, as submitted to the World Heritage Centre by the NHCC.

The tentative list inscription was followed by an intense period of nomination preparation supported by the BRE. The preparation process included a series of more than fifteen meetings and consultations at all levels, including provincial and all district administrations and their relevant central government agencies, and also departments such as those responsible for Wildlife, Agriculture and Fisheries, Education, Forestry, and Water Affairs Management, Climate Resilience and Adaptation Programme for Canal Management. The Zambia World Heritage Committee, which consists of members from the University of Zambia, Zambia UNESCO Commission, Department of Culture, Department of Chiefs and Traditional Affairs, Department of Tourism and Arts, Department of Science and Technology, Forestry Department and others, was also engaged several times for preparation guidance. Further to this, the ministries responsible for Mines and Minerals Development, Energy and Water Development, Transport and Communication and Chiefs and Traditional Affairs were also consulted.

In short, the nomination dossier, including maps indicating the boundary and the management plans, was discussed with the BRE and the other stakeholders. However, regarding the management aspects, it should be noted that the BRE maintains a traditional management system which runs parallel to some of the conventional measures. While the BRE is mainly responsible for the day-to-day

[2] Among others Dr. Dorson Munjeri, Dr. Webber Ndoro, George Dr. Abungu (now Professor) and Victoria Osuagwu.

administration of the landscape and custodial management of heritage resources, the NHCC's role concerns legal guidance and coordinating the convention system along with the BRE.

The final nomination documents were submitted to UNESCO by Zambia's National Heritage Conservation Commission in early 2013. According to the National Heritage Conservation Commission (NHCC 2013), and as phrased in the nomination document, the Barotse Plains were proposed under World Heritage Criteria (iii), (v) and (vi).[3]

In addition to considering the Zambian side of the nomination process, it is also relevant to look at the results of the evaluation procedure undertaken by ICOMOS and IUCN in their respective capacities.

ICOMOS and IUCN Evaluation

The ICOMOS evaluation found that, at the stage of nomination, all three proposed World Heritage criteria had not been met by the property. From ICOMOS' point of view, the nomination dossier neither contained sufficient information on how exactly the Lozi culture had shaped the cultural landscape nor provided comprehensive identification of important attributes that would have to be included in the World Heritage Site's boundary. Further, ICOMOS stated various concerns regarding the integrity of the proposed World Heritage Site. These concerns included unregulated commercial rice farming and major developments such as mining, urban expansion around the airport as well as construction of telecommunication towers and voltage power lines in the landscape, especially near the palaces for the Lozi King. ICOMOS also questioned if the construction of a road connecting Mongu to Kalabo would not compromise the integrity of the site. In contrast, the State Party at the 38th Committee Session argued that the road was a positive development, as it would provide an additional viewing platform for this cultural landscape, thereby enhancing its appreciation and sustaining the spirit of the Convention. ICOMOS heavily criticized the current site management system, stating that it was not strong enough to address the existing challenges and that it failed to incorporate the local communities and their traditional management systems (ICOMOS 2014).

IUCN, in its evaluation and recommendation to the World Heritage Committee, stressed the importance of the natural values of the site and proposed to extend the current boundary in order to include the entire wetland and hydrology. IUCN, like

[3] The criteria are as follows: *(iii) to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared; (v) to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change; (vi) be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance* (UNESCO 2015).

ICOMOS, was concerned about mining concessions that – according to IUCN – are not compatible with the World Heritage Site status. IUCN was also concerned about the oil and gas exploration blocks that were scattered throughout the proposed World Heritage Site (IUCN 2014).

Bearing in mind these two evaluations, ICOMOS officially recommended the nomination to be deferred, giving various recommendations for consideration by the State Party when reworking the nomination. During the 38th UNESCO World Heritage Session in Doha, Qatar, the World Heritage Committee decided to refer the nomination. In this decision, the World Heritage Committee adopted most of the ICOMOS recommendations.[4] The Committee also recommended that the State Party should not install any further pylons next to palaces and encouraged that they consult with ICOMOS when implementing the recommendations (UNESCO 2014).

The Dilemma: Diverging Perceptions of World Heritage Implications for Sustainable Development

The problems that have arisen in this nomination process, particularly after the World Heritage Committee's decision, are mostly related to the perceptions about the regulations that World Heritage status will impose on the site.

The World Heritage Committee has often espoused the philosophy that World Heritage Sites first and foremost need to be protected, as they are part of the shared legacy of our past, rather than be a source for economic gain. However, in the case of developing countries, such as Zambia, the development needs and the potential socioeconomic benefits are difficult to ignore. Further, development needs usually include basic infrastructure such as roads for transportation, power lines for electrification of rural areas as well as telecommunication towers for communication. These needs necessitate the construction of physical elements in the existing cultural landscapes, which – in the opinion of ICOMOS – will negatively impact the heritage values despite providing the local communities with basic living standards.

In Zambia, the authorities feel that they have to decide between conservation and development and fear that World Heritage inscription will prevent any major economically charged development such as mining or oil exploration. The possibility of such restrictions is particularly pertinent for the Western Province of Zambia,

[4] The World Heritage Committee suggested that the nomination be strengthened by the addition of: (a) "a robust boundary that takes account of the major negative impacts of new roads, and other developments, and excludes urban areas, the airport, and zones for mining and oil and gas extraction, and includes essential attributes that reflect fully the key aspects of the Barotse socio-cultural-political system and its landscape impacts; (b) survey, documentation and recording of the physical manifestation of the wider flood plain cultural landscape including the Liuwa National Park, and all of its traditional land management practices and other traditions; (c) a structured management approach that brings together traditional practices and planning policies based on the involvement and know-how of local communities; elaborate a sustainable landscape protection policy that would, in the future, protect the site from the risks that threaten its integrity" (UNESCO 2015).

which is affected by poverty, and is mostly covered by wetlands in which natural resources can be abundant. Zambia has been divided into various mineral, oil and gas exploration blocks, and the Western Province is not an exception Geological Survey Department Zambia (2010). Although such developments with major environmental impacts do not fit in well in the scope of sustainable development, as officially promoted by the Zambian government, the official position is that exploration should be conducted nation-wide, thereby allowing the mining industry to play a vital role in contributing to national development.

The author's point of view is that the National Heritage Conservation Commission would likely support the government and the BRE fully in the withdrawal of the nomination should the economic benefits as potentially generated by oil reserves outweigh the sociocultural benefits of the site. The NHCC promotes responsible mineral and oil exploitation and is in charge of ensuring such activities are conducted in a manner that will protect not just the natural resources and general environment but also human life.

The author argues that, depending on the location of the oil wells, it would be possible to conduct drilling in the plains and also preserve most of the royal burial sites and canal network. It should not be assumed that the economic benefits associated with domestic hydrocarbon production always come at environmental costs. There are alternative environmentally friendly approaches, as shown in Santa Barbara,[5] for example. Further, extraction is also possible below the surface of the Barotse floodplains, away from the burial sites and in areas with less human habitation, allowing the oil or gas to be piped out over hundreds of kilometres, limiting the effects on the floodplains and its upland areas. The author, who is a geologist and has extensive experience in conducting environmental impact assessments, suggests that exploration or mining, with the appropriate techniques and technology, would not cause the loss of any heritage features or values.

As previously explained, restrictions on major commercial developments are likely to affect the future of the BPCL nomination. However, there are further concerns from civil society regarding their own relatively low-scale activities within the boundaries of the anticipated World Heritage Property. Stakeholders from civic leaders, the mining sector and local communities have expressed concerns that inscription will further disadvantage an already underdeveloped province, placing restrictions on economic activities such as farming and fishing. The NHCC, on the other hand, asserts that restrictions imposed by World Heritage status would be no different from those already imposed by the government. Other voices have recently objected to the proposed nomination, claiming that there was inadequate consultation by the Zambian government. However, the government claims that there have been comprehensive consultations, including discussions with the Barotse Royal Establishment. The NHCC maintains that consultations with the local people have

[5] The Santa Barbara case, for example, achieved substantial environmental benefits from drilling as a result of reduced seepage of oil and natural gas into the air and water. Expanded offshore oil and gas production can be a win-win scheme. Particularly seeing that natural seepages are the largest source of US marine hydrocarbon pollution (Allen 2009).

been part of the process since the beginning, in 2007, when heritage experts conducted feasibility studies on site (NHCC 2013).

The NHCC also maintains that subsistence agriculture and fishing would continue in the BPCL, as this is a living landscape where the interaction between humankind and the natural environment should not be interrupted. The NHCC further asserts that stakeholders' concerns regarding loss of farming and fishing activities due to the inscription are largely unfounded. The organization suggests that the opposite is likely to be true as inscription will enhance the protection of these resources, as part of the living landscape, and promote sustainable livelihoods.

The NHCC also advocates that as a result of gaining World Heritage status, and through the involvement of diverse range of partners, the Barotse Plains Cultural Landscape is likely to be viewed more favourably by conservation and heritage-based funding sources. This does not only refer to the sources from the World Heritage Fund, which are relatively minor, but also other international cooperating partners such as the World Bank Group or United Nations Development Programme and private sector investment.

In addition, the increased publicity arising from the status assures greater scrutiny of programme planning and implementation. This is likely to further influence the quality and magnitude of local development in the BPCL. Despite some urguing that the World Heritage status is not very beneficial, in reality African Ministers have recognised opportunities and benefits associated with the World Heritage Properties (AWHF & DoC 2012). This is true for Natural World Heritage properties especially in the fields of tourism and research.

For these benefits to become a reality, the site must first be inscribed. As discussed in the previous section, the BPCL nomination was referred by the World Heritage Committee with some substantial recommendations and restrictions being encouraged in support of a successful nomination. If the Committee's recommendations and those of the advisory bodies are to be strictly implemented, it may satisfy the conservationists and international tourists. However, if the inscription hinders economic development, the local communities and the BRE will feel betrayed, as the landscape's heritage status would be seen as an obstacle to necessary infrastructural improvements. In the long run, this would cause resentment of the World Heritage status, not only from the mining and oil industries, who would not implement their projects, but also from the local communities who would feel restricted in their rights to basic development. This case demonstrates that particularly for developing countries, there is a need to find a compromise between major developments and conservation or a way to promote community's heritage in a way that will sustain their livelihoods. Marco Lambertini, Director General of WWF International, told Reuters: "We're not opposing development, we're opposing badly planned development" (Doyle 2016). In addition, Tim Badman, Director of IUCN's World Heritage Program was also able to attest that "Natural World Heritage sites have a crucial role in supporting human well-being and as beacons of sustainable development" (http://www.iucn.org/content/concerns-overscale-threats-natural-world-confirmed-new-report-).

The proposed nomination of the Barotse Plains is driven by the philosophy that the site will foster cultural identity and pride of the Lozi and Zambian people in general but also by the recognition of the other benefits that inscription can bring. However, there appears to be little understanding from stakeholders of these possible benefits. There is fear that inscription will limit not only major developments but also subsistence activities. This indicates a prevalent view of development and conservation as fundamentally opposing forces. This view makes promotion of sustainable development difficult because for heritage sustainable development is about a compromise between these two forces. With this perception World Heritage status can only lead to restrictions.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is obvious that there is a major divide between development and conservation interests in the Barotse floodplains, leaving the BRE and the government of Zambia in a dilemma. There are conflicting interests and fears of subsequent loss of confirmed and assumed opportunities among various stakeholders. According to those opposing the nomination, heritage status will limit development in the proposed property. Within the international development community, particularly in the finance sector, it has often been remarked that NHCC is just too unrealistic in its demands to conserve heritage values in the landscape, citing that real poverty issues end up being ignored. Others are unsure whether maximum benefits can be derived from a balance between development and heritage conservation. On the other hand, those advocating for the proposed nomination state that it should be welcomed and will be a useful tool for fostering sustainable development.

The talk of cessation from some stakeholders, coupled with high poverty levels and the potential discovery of hydrocarbons in the area, could easily jeopardize the nomination process if not handled appropriately. Moreover, there are also high expectations from the traditional custodians of the site that UNESCO, and the government should take a leading role in funding conservation programmes. The conflicts and debate arising from the nomination process can be curtailed, in the interest of national unity, if the State Party of Zambia simply ends the nomination. A preferable option might be that the Committee gives this property an opportunity to be nominated, with less strict development restrictions, on a conditional basis as an experimental pilot study site for effective Sustainable Development in World Heritage.

Another possibility would be to consider reducing the boundary of the protected area, only taking into consideration representative features, i.e. burial sites and associated settlements which are generally concentrated in one area and are also accessible by the newly constructed road. Though intrusive, the road provides the opportunity for greater appreciation and accessibility to various parts of the landscape, some selected key canals and palaces. A serial nomination approach where all these facets are brought together could be envisaged. This could potentially

strike a balance between conservation and developmental interests and the eventual assurance of sustainability. A further possibility would be the zoning of different development areas and conservation areas.

Most of all, a broader integrated approach to planning for conservation and development is needed. The trans-frontier programmes that exist in the wildlife conservation sector should be extended to embrace other conservation areas. Strategic Environmental Assessments and EIAs should be encouraged and intensified.

Sustainable Development can be achieved in Zambia if the government continues to encourage collaborations amongst various stakeholders and undertakes strategic assessments on thematic areas of development, e.g. agriculture, energy, transport and water development, in relation to heritage and other areas of conservation and environmental protection. There is also need for the State Party of Zambia to respect the Environmental Impact Assessment Programmes. Devolution of powers from central government to the rural establishments is also a way to ensure that decision making, planning and implementation of policies is understood and involves all stakeholders.

The future of the proposed nomination of the Barotse Plains Cultural Landscape is ambiguous. The challenges facing the economic and environmental sustainability of Zambia's Western Province must be considered carefully in the context of the floodplains as a delicate cultural landscape. Whether or not these challenges will be considered in the future is still an open question.

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Feeling Responsible for the Good Life on Earth: The Construction of Social Spaces and Sustainability in the Andes

Claudia Lozano

Introduction

In her article "Mission and Vision of Sustainability Discourses in Heritage Studies", Marie-Theres Albert asserts that the existence of different conceptualisations of the relationship between sustainability and cultural heritage, along with the transformation of heritage into a "valuable marketable product", makes development "anything but sustainable" (2015, p. 11).

She questions if the perception of the importance of World Heritage has changed over the last four decades or if there has been a "wide-ranging paradigm shift within society itself" (2015, p. 13). Criticising the "populist implementation of the World Heritage Convention and the preponderance of commercial interests", she calls for a conscious return to the basic assumptions of the World Heritage Convention, which should be linked to sustainability and to concrete sustainable development goals (2015, p. 14). This gap between those original assumptions and the present commodification can be seen in the case of the Humahuaca Valley in Argentina.

This contribution explores, through an ethnographic case study, the multiplicity of meanings unearthed by the inscription of the Quebrada de Humahuaca, in the Argentinian Province of Jujuy, to the World Heritage List. The case study focusses on modifications in the urban space between 1993 and 2008 and, specifically, on how public subsidies, for residential development and to mitigate the effects of climate phenomena, have affected the cultural landscape. The concept of landscape is

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particularly fertile in terms of the study of the relationship between cultural heritage and sustainability, as Mitchell notes:

> Landscape (...) not only signifies and symbolize power relation; it is an instrument of cultural power, perhaps even an instrument of power that is (or frequently represented it self) as independent of human intentions. Landscape as a cultural medium has a double roll with respect to something like ideology: it naturalizes a cultural and social construction, representing an artificial world as if it were simply given and inevitable. (Mitchell 2002, p. 2)

The article argues that landscapes, as well as the environment, are dynamic cultural artefacts, in which people live their lives and develop a sense of being. The affinity between the population and the landscape is a crucial cultural medium for the sustainability of the natural and cultural heritage. In Quebrada de Humahuaca, that affinity is threatened by modernisation. More precisely, the concern is not the assimilative or destructive power of modernisation, but rather the complex interaction between the views and experiences of the local population, with urban sustainable development, on the one hand, and the local technical and political cultures, on the other.

Because of the region's archaeology, the landscapes of the Northwest of Argentina are particularly fruitful cultural artefacts (mediums in the words of Mitchell) to study since they "allow theory to grow organically" out of a variety of elements.[1] Their long-term record of cultural plasticity—Andean ethnic groups, precolonial, colonial, republican and international rule—makes non-essentialised readings of identity not only possible but also necessary.

The Quebrada is considered exceptional as a corridor, facilitating mobility of persons, ideas and output between different ecological or environmental tiers and playing host to architectural ensembles from different periods of human history, especially as they become vulnerable to the impact of irreversible change (UNESCO 2003). In 1993, while researching the emergence of new religious communities in the villages of the Quebrada de Humahuaca, the author was struck by the constant presence of the landscape and reference to it by the inhabitants of the high plateau.[2] Of particular interest is the weight the notion of landscape currently carries with local groups and their perception of its ability to transform values and conditions imposed by the State.

The value of the landscape in indigenous ritual practices reaches ontological, political and economic meaning.[3] The landscape as "Pacha" and as "Mother earth" symbolises both the natural environment—different soils, metals and animals—and climate phenomena, rainwater, drought and storms.[4] Following the local perspective,

[1] Lazzari, 2005, Scattolin, 2006, quoted by Korstanje and Lazzari (2013), p. 397.

[2] Between 1997 and 2007, the author conducted ethnographic field work within a series of long-term research projects on the Expansion of New Religious and Women's Movements in the Quebrada de Humahuaca in the Province of Jujuy and in the City of Catamarca in Argentina. The research projects were funded by the National Council of Science and Technology (CONICET, Argentina) and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD, Germany). In 2013 and 2015, the author conducted field work on School Architecture in the Quebrada de Humahuaca founded by "Short-Teaching-Stays-Program" of the DAAD (Programa de Estadías Docentes Cortas del DAAD).

[3] Compare with Descola's concept of "ecology of relations", quoted by Boccardi (2015, p. 94).

[4] In terms of methodology, the author's own research materials and experience are used, the result

this contribution offers a concrete example of contemporary uses of architectural concepts and techniques of indigenous cultures from the past in the construction of urban spaces in Andean localities of the Quebrada de Humahuaca. Like national and global architecture, indigenous architecture is also guided by ideas of development as a constructive and destructive process, but they differ in substantial ways to one another. From the cognitive-technical perspective, their differences can be conceptualised in terms of scale and their relation to the local topography and materials. But as important as the physical elements are, there is also an emotional and ethical dimension that stems from the fears and insecurities awakened by imbalances—environmental damage caused by unregulated extraction and climate phenomena such as rivers bursting their banks and floods—that could threaten the continuity of fruitful exchanges between human beings and nature. This way of understanding life on earth as part of fruitful exchanges between human beings and nature is what makes people feel responsible for their relation to others, in this case nature, and to avoid imbalances that could undermine mutuality.

Specifically, the inscription of the Quebrada de Humahuaca is based, among other aspects, on a strong regulative framework—including the National Constitution, national and provincial laws, decrees and resolutions—that protect both cultural and natural heritage and promote the use of local knowledge and techniques. The National Constitution of 1994 provides the overarching framework for the protection of both the cultural and natural heritage, through establishing the right to protection in order to enjoy a healthy and balanced environment.[5] This complex legal framework demonstrates the limitations that liberal political and economic institutions, such as the State and private companies, encounter when they expect to frame their development policies and actions in relation to supranational

of observations and the interviews which carried out as an ethnographer during fieldwork in the Quebrada de Humahuaca within the research projects listed in the previous footnote. These cover a period of over two decades during which, over periodic extended stays, interviews were recorded and transcribed and systematic notes of observations were taken (Lozano 2001). For further readings on theoretical and methodological approaches to Andean Societies, see Larson (1995); for indigenous economy, underdevelopment and the production of poverty, see Alrich and Nitsch (2005), p 6.

[5] Other relevant Acts include the National Decree N°1012/00 which declared the archaeological deposits of Coctaca, Los Amarillos, el Pucara de Tilcara and La Huerta to be National Historical Monuments; the National Tourism Secretariat Resolution N°242(1993), whereby Quebrada de Humahuaca and its integral villages were declared of National Interest; the National Decree of 1975 whereby the two villages of Purmamarca and Humahuaca were declared Historical Places; the National Decree of 1941 which protected the six key chapels and churches as Historical Monuments; and the National Law N° 25743/03 which protected archaeological and paleontological deposits as assets of scientific interest. Further Provincial Laws protect folklore and craftsmanship as well as heritage of provincial importance. Specifically, a provincial Decree of 2000 gives high priority to pursuing the inscription of Quebrada as a World Heritage Site and a Resolution shaped the composition of the Technical Support Team for the proposed World Heritage Site. Therefore, Quebrada is well protected overall, by both general and specific legislation designed to protect its discrete cultural heritage, and there is also a legal framework for the coordinating management structure. http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1116; for a review of the relationship between State regulations and "Indigenous Rights" in Argentina, see Lozano (2005).

levels. These institutions and their agents, despite their strong regulative powers, are becoming increasingly aware of their responsibility of communication and consensus, building actions around "ethnic and indigenous traditions", "ecology", "the good life"[6] as well as the fight against "poverty" and "natural catastrophes", among other social problems (Antonelli 2009, p. 57).

The paper first introduces and contextualises the area and then discusses two examples of the limitations of State legislation, focussing particularly on the conflicts linking the needs and demands of the residents to the planning by experts—architects, archaeologists, anthropologists, geographers, engineers, etc.—and the authorities. Following this, the text concentrates on communication—public dialogue, open discussions and joint investigations—and how practices in this area can help, identify and highlight problems with various actors working together, generating new values and visions. This helps to connect development perspectives and targets to sustainability and responsibility for the environment and cultural heritage in one go (Turner 2015, p. 104, 105).

As will be demonstrated, the problem is complex and interesting at the same time. Supranational Conventions such as the UNESCO World Heritage and national laws provide legal endorsement to the claims of local indigenous communities against land sales, extractivism, natural disasters, environmental damage, commercial use of monuments, etc., from the frontiers to the centres of political and economic power. However, they also promote demands of recognition of new cross-border groups, as well as a policy of distribution and inclusion in global capitalist markets.

The Quebrada de Humahuaca

In the Argentine collective imagination, the Province of Jujuy, in particular the Quebrada de Humahuaca, typifies the quintessential scenery of the Andean countries of the South America. Its inhabitants, the Koyas,[7] are emblematic of indigenous otherness in Argentina. All along the Andes range, particularly along the 120 km of the Río Grande that forms the boundary of the Quebrada de Humahuaca, the line of peaks and the mouths of rivers, defines and organises the space. In this space, distinctive architectural groupings—*pucara* fortresses, farms, villages and towns—are scattered as though by chance, separated by random topographical features. The

[6] For further discussions of the concept of "good life", see Gudynas (2011). "Buen Vivir: Germinando alternativas al desarrollo"; Acosta (2015), Buen Vivir. Vom Recht auf ein "Gutes Leben".

[7] Koya is the name by which tributary villages of the Tiwantinsuyu Inca Empire south of Cuzco were known during their period of expansion (Lozano 2001, p. 29). For further readings on the Argentine Nation-State and cultural homogeneity see, Quijada et al (2000); for indigenous communities and rights see, Sarasola (2011).

scattered settlements are linked by trails and tracks on which a variety of people and animals travel.

Unlike other regions of Argentina, the mountain landscape, its topography, is not peripheral to history but rather defines an aesthetic of power. Not only does it outline the social environment, but it also supplies the raw materials—earth, water, pebbles, cactus and canes—with which local "reduced scale" architecture is built. The distinguishing feature of local architecture is precisely the fortuitous way it closely follows the contours of the land, creating imposing spaces and planes. In a landscape which it does not dominate, the population of the high plateau uses materials to create an architecture that is in keeping with the environment. As suggested by the architect Nicolini, the inhabitants of the Quebrada and the Puna build as though they are creating one more feature of the landscape, not a monument (Nicolini 1981, p. 23).

An analysis of power in relation to how the social space within an Argentinian province is created means focussing, first and foremost, on the processes of change, specifically on changes in shape, materials, know-how and technical applications, and how these impact on the aesthetics of their architecture from different perspectives. Since the 1980s, and especially since the Quebrada de Humahuaca was declared a World Heritage Site in 2003, there has been a growing literature linking landscape, environment, land and public works to disputes about the local economic development model and the power of the State to regulate the social space through laws and funding (Bercetche 2009; Castro et al. 2007).

In these works, the environment and its appreciation in terms of a cultural landscape constitute a powerful cultural artefact through which to claim support for sustaining traditional activities—agriculture, livestock farming, textiles, pottery, medicine and architecture—on a small scale. They also lend weight to public criticism of road infrastructure modernisation projects aimed at increasing tourism and aiding mineral extraction through the establishment of large-scale mining projects. These latter activities have formed part of the social and economic history of the Andean high plateau since the sixteenth century (Routledge 1987).

The origin of the viceroyships in the Quebrada de Humahuaca—Volcán, Tumbaya, Purmamarca, Maimará, Uquía and Humahuaca—dates back to the "ancient villages", the "Tambo de Omaguaca". This was an inn or hostelry, established by the Inca administration to ensure the safety of travellers from the tributaries to the south of Cuzco, that existed until 1550, in the decades prior to contact with the *conquistadores* (Nicolini 1981, p. 24). Today in Humahuaca, there is intense dispute as to whether the village was established and founded contemporaneously with the church or, as seems to be the case, the "Indian village" of Humahuaca was the natural continuation of the "ancient village" of the Omaguacas, with the church being an "exotic" element created by the Spanish conquistadores (Nicolini 1981, 24). All would agree that the importance of the church lies in the fact that after the conquest, the building, square and atrium opposite formed the centre from which urban Humahuaca extended. This pattern of construction identifies all the villages of the Quebrada as a product of the architecture that arose during the colonial era.

Initially the residents of the *barrio* built their houses with local materials. They would collect mud, stones, cane and pebbles, from the hillsides and the riverbed, which they used to make mud bricks to build single-storey houses with straw and mud roofs. In terms of layout, domestic life revolved around internal courtyards where there might be trees, vines and/or, in recent years, iron roofing for shade.

The dwellings were made up of two or three interconnecting rooms with small doorways. Some dwellings also had chicken coops and livestock pens. Electricity was free from the grid, water was drawn from wells using manual pumps and the sewer was a pit. The municipality would sometimes supply residents with metal sheets, windows, fired bricks and drains. The neighbourhood networks responsible for communal works, known as "minga", lent continuity to the principle whereby buildings blended into the landscape.

In 1993, in addition to the discussions regarding the history of the village, the authorities and leaders of the local elite—the city mayor, the bishop, teachers and experts—were debating what to do with the migrants that arrived in town since the early 1990s. The migrants were manly mine workers displaced from the mining towns of the highlands and peasants from the rural areas of the Humahuaca Valley and adjacent valleys whose farming units were increasingly affected by erosion.[8] In the meantime, the residents of the district of Santa Barbara were building houses and a district community centre. The urban planning of the district was the result of the mapping and parcelling out of hillsides into lots, 10 m wide by 30 deep, by the municipal authorities. As people arrived to the town, the district authorities opened a lot register in which the head of the households could enrol.

Constructing New Urban Spaces in the City of Humahuaca

The reorganisation of social space, through issuing deeds for land, self-building and the rapid construction of local infrastructure throughout the country, was directly linked to the decentralisation of administrations and the transfer of power to the provinces and municipalities, along with the privatisation of public services associated with a neo-liberal model for development and modernisation in the 1990s. The speed with which changes were implemented unleashed fierce competition for control of the funds and supplies made available for the construction of the *barrio*. In order to maintain or improve their electoral chances, candidates and political municipal officials had to prove that they were managing the correlation between local demand for materials and the availability of home-building programmes efficiently. This efficiency was perceived in terms of how many buildings went up in the *barrios*, the distribution of construction materials and the supply of basic public services (electricity, water, sewerage). The management of this was decentralised, with building work being privatised and control returned to the public domain.

[8] According to the National Censuses, the population of Humahuaca increased from 6148 in 1991 to 7985 in 2001 and 10,256 in 2010. For a description of the process of migration to the city of Humahuaca, see Lozano (2001).

However, the planning and technical execution of the work, and the materials used, were those deemed adequate by the delocalised, functional architectural standards and cost-benefit ratio typical of large building contractors.

Decentralisation made local life more complicated because it changed the way social space was managed. It created new actors, adding to the numbers—non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and private businesses—and it changed the notion of self-build and public works. The neighbourhood urban plan no longer appeared organically integrated into the townscape but rather displayed the characteristics of a centralised plan, drawn up by the municipal authorities. Similarly, work on communal projects was influenced by the actions of private businesses operating in the area. Particularly during the run up to elections, when public funds flow out continuously, businesses would flock to the area and employ the men to build schools and health centres in areas where the outgoing candidate hoped to be returned.

As the years went on, houses and the community centres blended in less and less with the landscape. The competition between leaders, candidates from political parties and private business for funds and materials that the municipal, provincial and national governments handed out to the municipalities increasingly left its mark. Each inhabitant's relative distance from central political power became a feature to be observed in the architecture and style of the neighbourhood. Party members built two- or three-storey houses, using cement and fired bricks instead of the raw mud brick, single-storey constructions that were typical of the region.

As a result of this competition, the inhabitants radically restricted the number of festive neighbourhood gatherings in the community hall and hugely increased the number of meetings with politicians and professionals. The local public space, the scene of parties and gatherings, became instead a place for collective complaint, requiring regular visits by a number of professionals—health workers, social workers and psychologists—to assess the scale of the neglect and the degree of social unrest.

The aim of these visits was to determine whether the reigning climate of social discontent would lead to open confrontation between residents and the municipal authorities. In situations of open conflict, the presence of the media was key, given that it became a stage on which the "social drama of poverty" was performed. On that stage, local leaders or community activists, as part of the Catholic Church, became spokespersons for the entire community, regardless of any political or ideological differences they might have, in order to challenge the municipal and provincial authorities. From the perspective of the residents, these visits heralded further supplies of materials and an issuing of further temporary work contracts and commitments to improve local infrastructure, basically the building of schools and health centres.

To summarise, self-building may be nothing new, it is a historical practice, but towards the end of the 1990s, this practice took a new direction and became a hybrid, juxtaposing the different architectural concepts in the region: on the one hand, shapes, materials and the aesthetics of indigenous power, akin to and celebratory of the generative power of the mountain landscape, and, on the other, the changes

brought about by the projects and the key actors of modernisation and the delocalised and standardised way in which they understand space and the building of social architecture—on the cheap—for poor people. Within a framework whereby social spaces are built from a purely functional and charitable perspective, social spaces are perceived through the media—especially on the television news and in their publicity—as external, dramatically opposed to that of metropolitan architecture, associated with a sense of welfare and opulence.

Presently, the municipality is under the charge of a new professional elite who is interested in taking development and investment in a new direction, similar to how private business is run. The people were, and are still, divided as to whether large-scale roads, tourism and mining are preferable or whether they are opposed to large-scale projects and preferred small-scale, sustainable undertakings. Competition and building momentum has not ceased, yet both camps have undergone a change, with a newfound respect for the environment and an appreciation of the landscape and cultural itinerary.[9]

The Power of the Cultural Landscape: Environmentalist Rhetoric and Modernity

In Humahuaca, tourists' attention is drawn to the church, the square and the layout of the streets, as well as the dusty station where the railway no longer runs, the municipal artisan market, the stony banks of the river and the winding bends of the dry riverbed, the crumbling defences surrounded by flood deposits, typical of desert climates with rainy seasons that regularly cause the river to break its banks. The crumbling hillsides are also worthy of note.

In 2008, the municipal authorities had decided to recycle the huts that formed part of the remains of the railway because the General Belgrano railway, which had fallen into disuse in the beginning of the 1990s, was being dismantled. The huts were rebuilt and reconditioned and converted into a series of small shops which were taken over by about 20 local residents from the upper town. The shops were used to display and sell everybody's handcrafted products, clothes, toys, electronics and trinkets smuggled from Chile and Bolivia to tourists and locals. Neighbours of the barrio Santa Barbara had obtained a stand in the huts, and two aspects relating to a recognition and appreciation of local culture set them apart. They were respected and not spoken to using pejorative nicknames such as "indiecitos" or "koyitas" but rather as Indians and Koyas. As such they

[9] The country's new government announced investment plans for the renewal and enlargement of the transports and communications network of the northwestern region. The new provincial authorities signed the "Sustainability Commitment Act" for a Green Jujuy (March, 2016) and an agreement to support sustainable land management"(June 2016) http://ambiente.gob.ar/noticias/acuerdo-con-jujuy-para-fortalecer-el-manejo-sustentable-de-las-tierras/. For further readings on archeological tourism and development in Latin American countries, see Díaz-Abreu (2013).

are now recognised as producers of cultural goods and symbols and stylised as icons of the countries' cultural plurality. However, the sustainability of their culture and lifestyle is not guaranteed by public and private investment and development programmes.

The swelling of the rivers which burst their banks, together with the flooding—huge quantities of rocks, mud and branches dragged along by the rivers and streams—and landslides, constitutes the most common and most threatening natural phenomena in the Quebrada de Humahuaca. These natural phenomena have devastating effects on interprovincial and international communications, as well as on the agricultural economy and regional tourism. During the rainy season in summer, the rain is not only heavy, collecting on riverbeds and irrigation channels and breaking the banks, but it also causes the surrounding hillsides to become unstable and collapse.

These natural phenomena regularly wash away and bury dwellings and crops from hillside terraces and around the banks of the rivers. They also damage bridges and roads, as well as electricity and telephone networks. Traffic brought to a standstill, loss of a harvest and the rapid deterioration of agricultural land, and even fatal accidents are common events caused by landslides and by the partial or complete destruction of bridges and roads.

As the authorities do not carry out the necessary work to mitigate the catastrophic effects of these natural phenomena or protect the vulnerable population from the uncertainties of climate, every year human lives are lost, as well as animals and crops, as though they were the result of factors beyond human control. Not only are lives lost, much of the local infrastructure, irrigation channels, tracks and roads are never fully restored after the initial emergency measures and so remain damaged for years.

Unlike previous decades, the current perception of public works that will support sustainable local development is not geared towards the long term but looks only at the here and now. In the light of this, in order to mitigate the destructive power of the river and the floods, they simply build "*patas de gallo*" (cockrel legs), a sort of gabion filled with stones and held in place using tree trunks. In previous decades, in order to prevent the river from regularly bursting its banks, gabions and retaining walls were built alongside these "*patas de gallo*" (Castro 2003, p. 114).

Official documents regarding the process of the Quebrada becoming a World Heritage Site highlight that the nomination, undertaken by Governor Fellner, was motivated by the mobilisation of local people ("pueblada"), authorities and professionals from the *Instituto Nacional de Tecnología Agropecuaria* (*INTA*), National Institute for Agriculture and Livestock Farming, who opposed the construction of an electrical conduit by multinationals. This group, along with UNESCO officials who visited the region in 2001, persuaded Members of the National Parliament to begin the process of having the area inscribed and to commission a feasibility study from the Federal Council for Investment (*Consejo Federal de Inversiones*). Both of these courses of action had a significant impact on local political rhetoric, and in 2001, within the general context of a weakening of all the political parties, they began to listen to the demands of local voices, environmentalist and protectionist movements (Bercetche 2009, p. 57).

These environmentalist and protectionist movements did not phrase their demands in terms of cultural differences and/or contemporary aspects of indigenous cultures in the region. Rather they criticised the local model for investment and infrastructure that favoured the interests of external investors, such as big multinationals who hoped to sell electricity to Bolivia. Studies have highlighted the fragmented nature of indigenous organisations and that they were not included in any talks, either with the movements or with officials, until quite late in the process (Castro et al. 2007, p. 179, 180). UNESCO recommendations made three key points: develop a strategic management plan, carry out studies to monitor water levels in the river system and encourage participation with a view to formulating a new application that would include the *Camino del Inca* in the World Heritage list (Bercetche 2009, p. 61; Korstanje and Jorgelina 2007, pp. 124–125).

Here the natural environment appears as a complicated force. While the indigenous population have reshaped their image and overcame their differences thanks to their World Heritage status, because of the cultural value, it brought to their otherness; neither the locals nor the studies quoted expected the inscription to have enough strength to force politicians to meet local needs and demands to warrant local sustainable development. Quite the opposite was believed: all were convinced that the conciliatory language of the politicians had more to do with internal provincial and national political alliances, the demands of the international organisations and pressure from external investors. It is clear from the documentation and the actions of the government that there is no awareness of that link to nature's generative power. In this regard, political speeches generate uncertainty and suspicion rather than a sense of mutual commitment and obligation (Bercetche 2009, pp. 58–61).

This becomes particularly obvious in the discussion on new legislation and regulation to counter the negative effects of the rapid increase in value of land, excluding foreign investors from purchasing. The problem with the transfer of titles and deeds to land in the Quebrada de Humahuaca is not new. However, the current system of land tenure is precarious. The occupants are marginalised by current legislation. This precarious occupancy is related to the lack of recognition of indigenous organisations and the norms that regulated the distribution, use and tenure of land towards the end of the nineteenth century.[10] New legislation and the creation of a new legal person had direct consequences for the forms of use and ownership of the entire Argentinian high plateau. Since then, migratory herders along with settled farmers of the Quebrada de Humahuaca have lost their status as users of common land and became occupiers of state-owned land without property deeds.

[10] Until the constitutional reform of 1994, the Argentine Republic did not recognise indigenous people, rule and customs as part of the constitutive cultural plurality of the Argentine Republic. Based on the "Indigenous and Tribal People Convention of the International Labour Organisation (ILO 1989, Nr. 169), the Constitution of 1994 recognised in its Article 75 the rights of the Argentine Indigenous People, their cultural and ethnic pre-existence (Subsection 17) and the country's cultural plurality (Subsection 19) UNICEF Document, 2008.

In the early twentieth century, at the height of the sugar industry's success, the situation was further complicated. State-owned lands were sold to the owners of sugar factories, and the indigenous land users, peasants and shepherds, instead of paying taxes had to pay rent to the owners. In the 1950s, the sugar factory owners were expropriated and the lands returned to the State, along with the occupiers who then paid taxes to the provincial government. This irregular situation is precisely what enabled the sale of these lands to external investors as of 2001. They were able to register their names as owners in the provincial land register. Despite the inscription, it is obvious that neither the needs nor the demands of the local population as to land ownership were borne in mind. External investors encounter no obstacles when they buy land or register ownership, while residents look on as they occupy and build on their land.

Previous paragraphs have alluded to the fact that the UNESCO inscription mediated in social relations in the Quebrada de Humahuaca and that, as a result of this mediation, local politicians created spaces—they invited the local population to take part in workshops—which brought together the points of view of officials and specialists in the field and those of the local indigenous and non-indigenous population. Locals have commented that the meetings, and the preparatory documents for the inscription, illustrate a change in official's view of the landscape and local culture since 2001, thanks to the impact of public action. Everyone also felt that the increased awareness of landscape and the environment is an issue for all. In other words, the very process of debate, and the actions that arise from it, will determine what will be done with the history, the culture and the place in which they live.

Until now, the rhetoric of increased appreciation of heritage, and of the cultural rights of indigenous people, seems to be due to pressure from investors and external actors involved in tourism, rather than the demands and daily needs of the inhabitants of the Quebrada. The inhabitants continue to view politicians, the authorities and most professionals as untrustworthy, with ideas and solutions that are alien to them and whose impact on the region is large scale rather than the minimal scale that characterises any changes to the environment locally.

The inscription alone, as a non-binding legal instrument, cannot produce a commitment to negotiate and to seek effective solutions that take account of the cultural diversity that itself presupposes. The complaints and public actions of environmental management bodies, as well as school officials interested in mitigating the catastrophic effects of natural phenomena and encouraging the protection of the heritage, reveal their utter impotence when it comes to putting forward and implementing effective, technical, modern solutions to common problems (Bercetche 2009, p. 72, 76).

When these professionals appear impotent, others question their knowledge and technical ability to determine the causes of, and solutions to, local problems. Also, journalistic reports on public disputes, generally, do not bother to explain the reference framework developed by professionals, and the resulting ambiguity leads to further mistrust and mutual accusations. These factors have left the people with a general lack of confidence in ability of the authorities to set limits on individual interests or deflect business lobbies, especially when these authorities are not duty bound or committed to the local population, its culture and landscape.

As Turner suggests, the speed of change and the growing complexity of social life present a huge challenge to urban planners (2015, p. 102). This is especially true in those places where a shortage of resources, and social exclusion, justifies public intervention centring on the urgency of situations as a stop gap to ease hardship following a disaster. In the case of the cultural heritage of the Quebrada de Humahuaca, a transition is required, from an approach that engenders impotence and frustration to a dynamic of sustainability based on collaborative research projects and the development of new communicative styles (2015, pp. 102–103).

Conclusions

The dynamics of the processes of change are controlled by state systems, leading to a conundrum. All parties want to take part in the process of change, but when changes are implemented, their strength does not derive from commitment to addressing local needs but rather from external pressure from private local or delocalised actors.

On this note, the issue of smaller-scale projects is important when it comes to communicating cultural differences in how public works and buildings are designed, constructed technically and sold. The inability to communicate cultural differences is at the root of professionals' feelings of impotence when they try to explain the reasons for local problems and outline the climatic, material, aesthetic, legal, etc., restrictions which form the pillars of sustainability and the technical solutions they propose. Not only are they ignored by those who have a duty and the power to effect change, but they also receive no support in their work.

In Argentina there is no professional training that deals with the diverse differences, in culture, topography, climate, demographics, etc., or the contrasting architectural concepts and technical applications that influence any undertaking and also constitute the foundation of its plausibility and historical and cultural sustainability.

Innovation in Argentinian architecture can derive from influences both outside and within the country. However, it is generally not a local phenomenon and panders mainly to the need for a commercial product in a market that operates at a national scale and for elite groups or the masses. The social sciences, and cultural criticism, have a responsibility to contribute to a change in these social standards. This can be achieved through descriptions that highlight both the problematic traits of social change and those traits that can be reworked with real-life differences in mind, in order to construct more interesting social spaces.

Albert asserts that participation and empowerment are key cultural artefacts to back citizenship in contemporary societies. If scientists and planners take traditional knowledge, techniques and forms of organisation seriously, it will be easier for the inhabitants of the Quebrada of Humahuaca to contribute to the sustainability of urban development, and to feel that taking responsibility for the protection of their natural and cultural heritage makes sense not only for them but for others.

Cultural recognition and socioeconomic inclusion will radically change the way in which citizenship is conceived by political authorities and entrepreneurs in Argentina, as something that only happens during elections when people give their vote as members of a political community. Public and non-governmental mediations, such as housing, infrastructural and educational programmes and projects bound to sustainability goals, shall contribute to re-create a sense of mutuality, obligation and predictability between the act of building social spaces, protecting cultural and natural landscapes, paying taxes and voting on a regular basis (Albert 2015, p. 18).

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Part V
Beyond the Mainstream

Sustainable Power: Decolonising Sustainability Through Anishinaabe Birchbark Canoe Building

Tim Frandy and B. Marcus Cederström

> Everywhere the Anishinaabe went in this area, they went by *wiigwaasi-jiimaan* [birchbark canoe]. It was our main way of travel. Everywhere we went, it was by canoe. And at one time, everybody in our community knew how to build these birchbark canoes. So it's my dream that we carry that forward into the next generations, and keep this craft and part of our identity alive for future generations to come. Mino-Giizhig (Wayne Valliere) (Cederström et al. 2015)

On September 12, 2013, a freight elevator leading to the University of Wisconsin–Madison Art Department carried a full load of birchbark, bundles of hand-split cedar, coiled spruce roots, and gallons of pine pitch to be delivered to the woodshop on the seventh floor. Following 2 months of hard labour, on November 21, a completed 14-foot birchbark canoe went down that same freight elevator to be launched on the waters of Lake Mendota in Madison, Wisconsin (Fig. 1).

Those 2 months were the culmination of over a year of work and collaboration between Anishinaabe artist Mino-Giizhig (Wayne Valliere), from the town of Lac du Flambeau in northern Wisconsin, Native students from Lac du Flambeau, faculty and students from the university, and Madison-area community members. The purpose of this partnership was to sustain and strengthen Anishinaabe cultural heritage for the coming generations.

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Fig. 1 Wayne Valliere and his son, Jephery, paddle the birchbark canoe in Lake Mendota, Wisconsin (Photo credit: Colin Connors)

Introduction

Drawing on the works of Ulrich Grober and Iris Pufé, Robert Rode suggests in his discussion of sustainability, development, and the intersections of the two that "at present there is no unambiguous definition of the principle" (2015, pp. 126–127). With this article, we look towards one public humanities project that we helped develop in partnership with a Native American community, to demonstrate that sustainability is not a singular idea but rather pluralistic and culturally specific phenomena, or "sustainabilities". Sustainabilities operate within different sociocultural contexts and build upon differing cultural constructions, economic models, traditional and customary environmental use, and political rights. Examining sustainabilities in Western and Native traditions, we contend that sustainabilities are inextricable from the power inequities found in modern pluralistic societies and that Indigenous sustainabilities are distinct cultural traditions reliant on political autonomy—without ecological and political rights, traditional culture cannot be passed down. This paper first briefly discusses the history of scholarly conceptions of sustainabilities and then examines how power disparities affect sustainabilities in a multicultural world. The paper then proceeds into the case study of birchbark canoe building in the Lac du Flambeau Anishinaabe community and concludes with an overview of the successful outcomes of decolonisation.

Wayne Valliere, along with being a traditional artist and birchbark canoe builder, is an Anishinaabe language and culture teacher and a tribal member of the Lac du Flambeau Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians. Our ongoing public humanities project, "Wiigwaasi-Jiimaan: These Canoes Carry Culture", is a culturally

responsive educational program envisioned by Valliere to revitalise the threatened art of birchbark canoe building in the Lac du Flambeau Anishinaabe community in northernmost Wisconsin. The project aims to secure the future of birchbark canoes in the community by sustaining traditional ecological knowledge, advancing treaty rights for tribal members, and strengthening Anishinaabe identity and cultural worldview. Working specifically with students ensures that young people not only learn about the culture but also learn how to live it in the here and now. In short, our project worked to restore Native sustainabilities that were disrupted and destabilised due to colonisation and to repatriate traditional Anishinaabe knowledge into the community through the canoe's construction and use.

Anishinaabe people—a term inclusive of a number of Algonquin-speaking peoples, including the Ojibwe (formerly Chippewa), Potawatomi, and Odawa—represent one of the largest sovereign Native nations in North America today. Although the traditional homelands of the Anishinaabe are centred within the Great Lakes Region, displacement through colonisation and economic forces drove some Anishinaabe people westward onto the Great Plains and others towards urban centres. The history of Anishinaabe people is complex, with traditional homelands divided between the United States and Canada and with more than 150 different bands of Anishinaabe people organised as sovereign states that have entered into numerous treaties with the occupying nations of the United States and Canada. Despite the treaties, the United States and Canada have frequently not honoured them, forcing various sovereign Anishinaabe nations to uphold their rights through international litigation in US and Canadian federal courts.[1] In Lac du Flambeau, for example, the Anishinaabe have successfully fought in court to uphold their right to hunt, fish, and harvest in some of the ceded territories of Northern Wisconsin and Upper Michigan, as determined by treaties in 1837, 1842, and 1854 (Nesper 2002).

As public folklorists, we helped develop "Wiigwaasi-Jiimaan" in collaboration with our Lac du Flambeau partners through principles outlined within Indigenous-centred research methodologies and the public humanities. According to Kathleen Woodward, "public scholarship exists on a continuum with traditional scholarship and often takes the form of projects that combine research, teaching, and creative activity as well as publication" (2009, p. 111). The public humanities involves both the application of scholarship to address community needs and the integration of community participation into the research process. "Wiigwaasi-Jiimaan", for instance, helped put theory into practice, using cultural revitalisation, decolonisation, and educational sovereignty as concepts to solve real-world social problems in Lac du Flambeau. Community partners were involved in all stages of the research process, including the formulations of research questions, the methods of implementation, and the assessment of the project's effectiveness. With our project, our

[1] Although federally recognised tribes are sovereign nations, they are not fully afforded rights under colonial law. Today states routinely oppose tribal management of forests, fisheries, gaming laws, and even hemp cultivation. Having to argue for political autonomy in the court systems of foreign and occupying states undermines the very notion of sovereignty, and it demands a great investment of time and money to continually maintain rights of Indigenous self-determination.

team sought not only to secure the future of birchbark canoe building but also to transmit traditional knowledge to a younger generation, strengthen Indigenous identity within young people to improve educational and health outcomes, and to sustain Anishinaabe culture by fusing selected aspects of traditional culture to allied institutions of higher education. In doing so, we found that an essential dimension of maintaining cultural sustainability in the community depended largely on the increased recognition of, and investment in, Indigenous paradigms of environmental, economic, and political sustainabilities.

Sustainabilities: Past and Present

Use of the word "sustainability" with its current meaning only appeared in the 1950s, gaining favour in the 1970s in conjunction with the rising environmentalist movement. However, "intellectual and political streams of thought that have shaped concepts of sustainability" have long existed (Kidd 1992, p. 3), and related concepts have been recognised throughout much of the world for centuries. These concerns echo the gamut of contemporary issues within sustainability studies and are found in both Indigenous and Western societies. For example, medieval forest laws in Western Europe restricted hunting and gathering rights to the elite to conserve game animals (Harrison 1992, p. 69; Leopold 1933, p. 10; Korhonen 2005, p. 185). Later, Thomas Malthus explored the relationship of overpopulation and economic destabilisation in the eighteenth century (1798), and John Stuart Mill wrote about unrestrained economic growth leading to environmental degradation (1848). In the American Southwest, Native American communities opposed Euro-American prairie dog eradication—which they knew would destroy the land (Toelken 1987, p. 391)—and did not traditionally use the European tilling style, a style that eventually exacerbated erosion and led to the American Dust Bowl (Worster 1974).

As "sustainability" and the related term "sustainable development" have gained widespread use, defining the terms as singular and unambiguous, yet global, has proved difficult. In 1987, the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) published *Our Common Future*, commonly known as the Brundtland Report, stating that sustainability "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (1987, p. 1). Defining sustainability and achieving its desired outcomes, then, can be intensely local and diverse in nature. The Brundtland Report goes on to state "goals of economic and social development must be defined in terms of sustainability in all countries" (1987, p. 2). Peter Marcuse takes issue with sustainability being defined in terms of goals, arguing that, "'Sustainability' is not an independent goal... Sustainability is a limitation to be viewed in the context of an evaluation of the desirability, on substantive criteria, of other measures" (1998, p. 107). Elsewhere, in economic development, for example, the Brundtland definition has been employed as more businesses around the world make decisions to mitigate environmental and social costs while maximising financial gains using the triple-bottom-line

approach—a phrase coined by John Elkington and inspired by the WCED report (1999).

What defines sustainable development has continued to evolve in recent years. Jon Hawkes (2001) argues that culture should be included in the definition of sustainable development as "the fourth pillar", and Francesco Bandarin (2015, pp. 36–37) notes that sustainable development is not unique to business and should be integrated into cultural heritage. However, as the concept of sustainability has been popularised, its usefulness has been called into question. William Adams, writing for the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), calls for a new approach to sustainability, arguing, "The problem with sustainability and sustainable development is not that the aspirational values they represent are wrong, but that they are over-worked and tired. As currently formulated they are too loose to drive effective change on the scale required" (2006, 10). Debashish Munshi and Priya Kurian identify power inequities and examine sustainability using postcolonial theory, arguing that "the world gets divided, along old colonialist lines, into two spheres: (1) a bottom-line-obsessed, and largely monocultural (read Western), 'developed' space; and (2) an amorphous non-Western space outside the politically, economically, and culturally dominant structures of the 'developed' world" (2005, p. 514). In response, ideas of sustainability are better discussed in the plural, as sustainabilities—local and culturally specific.

With less social and economic power, Indigenous peoples must negotiate their own sustainabilities with dominant forces that would appropriate their local resources to sustain the "developed" world. This is no easy task. Western sustainabilities sometimes fail Indigenous communities by capitalising upon the power and privilege that Westerners too often wield and ignoring the Indigenous communities who live, use, and manage the surrounding resources (IUCN 1997, p. 45). For example, the environmental sustainability necessary to build a birchbark canoe is at odds with the economic sustainability of the forestry industry and the demand for low-cost suburban housing. Our programming, working closely with the community in Lac du Flambeau, strengthens multicultural and culturally responsive conceptualisations of sustainabilities in order to benefit the many, not just the few.

Although we should rightly be critical of the "ecologically noble-savage" trope—a stereotype Rode cautions against (2015, p. 132)—Indigenous cultures have long embraced sustainabilities as fundamental aspects of Indigenous identity and maintained sophistication in developing effective strategies for ecological-cultural-economic balance. The "ability of future generations to meet their own needs" has been central in Indigenous philosophy and thought for centuries. The concept of seven-generation sustainability, in which present-day decisions are made while considering their impact over the coming seven generations, is borrowed from the Great Law of Peace of the Iroquois Nations, dating back at least to the year 1451. Although purposeful land management in pre-colonial North America is commonly overlooked, William Cronon notes that Native Americans in New England actively managed the surrounding environment as European colonisers arrived, encouraging game animals to frequent the surrounding areas and in turn "harvesting a foodstuff which they had consciously been instrumental in creating" (1983/2003, p. 51). This

managing of the environment in a cultural way requires the power to self-determine. For "Wiigwaasi-Jiimaan", most birchbark was harvested on tribally owned and managed lands, for the simple reason that the forest is managed in specific ways that better sustain the resource. By involving students, Valliere and other community elders ensure that future generations can understand how different use-traditions shape different forests and how to sustainably manage and use the forest in ways that sustain Anishinaabe culture.

Indigenous peoples across the globe have for generations insisted that fundamental differences exist between Western and Indigenous philosophies of sustainability. Ahousaht fisherman Robert Foley explains: "It's trying to manage ourselves within the resource instead of trying to manage the resource" (Schreiber 2002, p. 372). Sámi scholar Krister Stoor notes the importance of the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the plants and animals that they harvest by drawing parallels between Sámi and Cree hunting traditions: "Just like for [Indigenous] hunters in Canada, it is not the skills of the shooter or the art of tracking an animal which is essential for a good hunter. Rather, the shooter must have a good relationship with nature and with the game for the animal to decide who to give its life to" (2007, p. 166). Many Indigenous cultures traditionally hold ceremonies during the time of the harvest that ensure good relations between animal and human communities (Frandy 2013, pp. 117–123), just as Valliere and the students offer tobacco to the birch and cedar that they harvest to ensure good relations between plant and human communities. Indigenous sustainabilities are old complexes that are continually reaffirmed through contemporary customary practice.

While emphasising the active use of natural resources, Indigenous sustainabilities have proven themselves effective. For the Lac du Flambeau Anishinaabe, who manage much of the lands on their Reservation and have harvesting rights in neighbouring national and state forests, the differences in sustainable management strategies are obvious. Tribally managed lands are healthy and biologically diverse (Reo and Karl 2010; Loew 2013). As Valliere explains, "You see the change right at the boundary of our Reservation. The animals know it too. There are always more eagles on the Reservation. And whenever some moose come down here, they always come straight to our Reserve and take up residence here" (2013) (Fig. 2).

Ecologists similarly consider tribally managed reservation lands healthier than state- and federally-managed lands. In Wisconsin, the nearby Menominee Reservation has been recognised for decades for its innovations in sustainable forestry, with its forests considered amongst the healthiest forests in North America (Loew 2013, pp. 28–30). On the Lac du Flambeau Reservation, widespread, year-round hunting has maintained sustainable deer herds and healthy forests at much desired pre-European contact densities (Reo and Karl 2010, p. 741). The harvesting of deer, for instance, is an active management strategy that helps cedar—an important food source for deer—to grow to maturity for use in birchbark canoes and other traditional arts. Self-determined land management, though, requires that Indigenous nations be recognised as sovereign.

Fig. 2 Wayne Valliere and students from Lac du Flambeau Public School exercise their treaty rights by harvesting cedar near Lac du Flambeau, Wisconsin (Photo credit: Tim Frandy)

Sustainabilities and Power in a Multicultural World

Colonialism is a complex and varied phenomenon throughout the world and one that forever altered North America through the subjugation of Indigenous peoples. Though nominally linked to the establishment of extractive economic policies through a colony in an extraterritorial state (or through mass immigration in the case of settler colonialism), colonialism has grown to encompass the power disparities and racialised discourses that have legitimised the consolidation of power into Eurocentric hegemony outside of Europe (Tuhiwai Smith 1999, pp. 21–23). In the latter half of the twentieth century, discussions about colonialism began to include postcolonialism, which, as Helen Gilbert and Joanne Tompkins explain, is "an engagement with, and contestation of, colonialism's discourses, power structures, and social hierarchies" (1996, p. 2). Indigenous decolonisation has furthered the work of postcolonialism in an effort to unknot the colonial legacy by "actively engaging in everyday practices of resurgence" (Corntassel 2012, p. 89) that decolonise minds metaphorically occupied by colonial beliefs, values, hierarchies, and epistemologies. In this regard decolonisation is linked to social justice, transformation, and healing (Tuhiwai Smith 1999, p. 116), as well as to spirituality and ceremonies that "[reassert] traditional knowledge and [examine] how it can be useful to the next generations" (Iseke 2013, p. 36). On this front, "Wiigwaasi-Jiimaan" reasserts the importance of sustaining traditional knowledge and cultural practice in Lac

du Flambeau through forest management and the exercising of treaty rights, while embracing the recontextualisation of traditional arts to modern life, thereby ensuring its continued relevance to younger generations.

Like any ideology, sustainability can be viewed in relation to the "maintenance and reproduction of social power" (Eagleton 1983, pp. 14–15) leading us to ask: who is sustaining what and at what cost? Sustaining an environment, for instance, presupposes consensus over what an environment is and how humans should live in relation to it. Sustainability also requires purposeful choices to maintain socially constructed values, hierarchies, and power systems. Privileging and prioritising the sustainabilities of colonial cultures, however, often destabilises Indigenous concepts of sustainabilities that have proven effective and essential in nurturing Indigenous cultures. To reassert traditional knowledge and culture is to assert the legitimacy and efficacy of Indigenous sustainabilities to advance a decolonising agenda.

The United Nations and various governmental, non-governmental, and non-profit organisations have come together since the Brundtland report to address the intersections of sustainability and development and what that means for Indigenous peoples. The result has been action plans, treaties, and conventions such as Agenda 21, the Rio Declaration, the Forest Principles, the Convention on Biological Diversity, and the Convention to Combat Desertification, which all acknowledge Indigenous conceptions of sustainabilities. Still other conventions have advocated for Indigenous sovereignty, including the UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, the International Labour Organisation Convention 169, and the UN Charter under the "principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples" (1945, art. 1, para. 2). But because sustainabilities are performed differently within different cultures, and because they exist in relation to the powers that define what to sustain and how to sustain it, Indigenous peoples are subject to the disproportionate power colonisers hold over the legalities of Indigenous cultural autonomy and self-determination. This is evident, amongst other instances, in the sustainable management of various UNESCO World Heritage Sites (UNESCO World Heritage Commission 2010).

While never mentioned explicitly in the original text, the *Operational Guidelines* to the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage has been updated to state that Heritage sites should be governed by principles of sustainable use and development (Engels 2015, pp. 51–52). Simultaneously, the Convention assigns power to states for the "identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage" (UNESCO 1972, Article 4). On the one hand, these cultural and natural heritages are meant to be sustained, to be transmitted to future generations; on the other hand, it is the colonising states that are assigned the power to sustain them. Despite the *Operational Guidelines*, in 2010, the World Heritage Committee claimed that one of the major threats to World Cultural and Heritage sites is "other human activities", including social/cultural uses of heritage (Engels 2015, p. 54; WHC, III 14). In doing so, UNESCO prioritises their own objectives for the land over the use-traditions of Indigenous peoples.

IUCN notes that rather than recognise the validity of the Indigenous knowledge of the people who have lived, managed, and used these areas—and continue to do so—"[s]ome governments, and even non-governmental organisations, still have policies of removing local people from protected areas which would fall within the category of Cultural Landscapes, while others include local people only as token 'participants' or 'consultants' in management decisions", rather than Indigenous communities being included in "equitable relationships" (IUCN 1997, p. 45, pp. 87–98). Consequently, laws have continued to appropriate natural resources for non-Indigenous people in the name of conservation and sustainability, making it difficult for Indigenous peoples to use the environment in ways that sustain their own cultures.

Because sustainability necessarily perpetuates prioritised cultural values, it is exceptionally difficult to develop a well-functioning multicultural model—what is sustainable for one culture can be destructive to another. Despite the stereotype of Native peoples being "more ecological" than Euro-Americans, Native peoples are frequently scapegoated for environmental degradation through a perceived overharvesting of natural resources (Jackson forthcoming). Anishinaabe people are often incorrectly blamed for declining walleye and deer populations, and this perception led to Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources scientists publicly disputing that claim by stating that "Chippewa spearing has not harmed the resource. Fish populations in the ceded territory are healthy" (U.S. Department of the Interior 1993, p. 93). During our projects, we faced governmental resistance against harvesting materials in the ceded territories, specifically cedar already scheduled for logging. It is difficult to identify what drives resistance to harvesting five trees in a healthy 200-acre cedar grove slated for logging—a grove used by Anishinaabe people for decades for wood, hunting, and medicines. The concern is seemingly not one of environmental health but rather a desire to sustain power inequities that privilege colonial access to, and power over, a resource and the way it is managed. Like many Indigenous populations, even with rights of co-management in this forest, the Anishinaabe must leverage enormous financial and political resources in order to effectively co-manage the environment to sustain their economy and culture.

Although the Lac du Flambeau Anishinaabe have harvesting rights secured through treaties in the national and state forests, off-Reservation harvesting has long been contested by local, state, and federal authorities, including threats of arrest and prosecution. This contestation erupted most notably in the walleye spearfishing controversy of the 1980s (Nesper 2002). Tribal members have been racially taunted, threatened with being deliberately capsized into icy waters while spearfishing, and even shot at. Many of the most vocal and overtly racist leaders in the anti-spearfishing protests were self-proclaimed "conservationists", whose motives were to protect the walleye resource (Jackson forthcoming). Even in instances in which they have legally recognised treaty rights, Indigenous peoples are seldom equal partners in resource co-management. In turn, harvesting cedar and birchbark in the ceded territories are cultural and political acts, which both assert sovereignty and safeguard these rights for future generations. "Wiigwaasi-Jiimaan" youth participants not only learn how to harvest sustainably but also to use treaty rights to sustain their culture.

Wiigwaasi-Jiimaan: Birchbark Canoe Building in Lac du Flambeau, Wisconsin

Despite international agreements and treaty rights upheld in the US Supreme Court, tribal lands and lands ceded by Indigenous peoples to the United States remain contested spaces. Colonisation, clear-cutting, and capitalism all impeded the transmission of birchbark canoe building and cultural practice during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in the Lake Superior Region. Continued denial of Indigenous access to historical lands during the neocolonial era has perpetuated social inequities that undermine Indigenous sustainabilities. Simply put, one cannot craft traditional arts when the natural materials necessary for their production are deemed property of a state or federal government. Improving cultural sustainability in Indigenous communities is therefore a political matter, requiring access to environmental and economic resources, as well as unequivocal support of self-determination.

Considered an apex of Anishinaabe culture, birchbark canoes are deeply symbolic crafts in the Western Great Lakes Region for Native peoples. Daniel Rapp, a former vice-chair of the Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians, explains, "We view our canoe traditions to be an important part of our heritage and culture. We recognize the building of canoes to be an important vehicle for revitalizing our languages, for passing on traditional teachings, and for instilling the values of natural resource conservation" (Low 2015, p. 20). Still, only a handful of builders in the Upper Midwest today can construct a birchbark canoe from start to finish. In Wisconsin, there are three Native builders: Marvin DeFoe (Red Cliff) and brothers Leon and Wayne Valliere (Lac du Flambeau). Building canoes requires deep knowledge of the forest, physical strength and endurance, mental discipline to complete the time-sensitive work, and a mastery of working with natural materials.

Birchbark canoes consist of four main materials—birchbark, spruce roots, white cedar, and pine pitch—which must be harvested under seasonal constraints and local availability, involving months of work. Anishinaabe birchbark canoe builders harvest materials in forests managed by non-Natives for non-Natives prioritising tourism, board feet, and pulp mass (or, as Valliere says, "toothpicks and toilet paper"), rather than, for instance, the birchbark, which Valliere explains is of great importance in Anishinaabe culture:

> A long time ago, the Anishinaabe had a great respect for *wiigwaas* [birchbark]. They used it for everything. They used it in the proper way. They used it for their ceremonies. They used it for their foods. They used it for their canoes. For their dwellings that they lived in in the cold winter months. (Cederström et al. 2015)

To build a birchbark canoe, Wayne Valliere and the students from Lac du Flambeau require birch-dominated forests with mature, canoe-bark-bearing trees and unhindered access to harvest the birchbark through treaty rights. Locating such birch groves in regularly logged forests is extremely challenging, and even within a suitable birch forest, Valliere and his students tested over a hundred mature birch trees to find suitable canoe bark.

More than the construction itself, the harvesting of the materials and the use of the canoe is what creates cultural meaning in the birchbark canoe and connects it to Anishinaabe identity. Passamaquoddy birchbark canoe-builder David Moses Bridges explains the importance of this process:

> I've known the canoe since it was still on the tree. I know the roots from the time they were in the ground. All the cedar that's in here. Felled all that, split it in the forest, carried it out on my shoulder.... After you've gone through all that, you have a real intimate connection with the boat.... This isn't a fiberglass boat that you can buy all the parts for and lay it up in a couple of days. You've got to know the forest. You have to know the trees, and then you have to know the boat. (O'Hanlon 2013)

"Wiigwaasi-Jiimaan" ensured that students were a part of the process of harvesting and processing these natural materials, testing birchbark, splitting cedar, digging up spruce roots, and splitting them by blade, as well as learning the differing properties of different types of pine and spruce pitch. This harvesting connects modern Anishinaabe people to traditional conceptions of cyclical and seasonal time, of place and the interspecial relationships that exist within it, and of ongoing relationships with ancestors. Revitalising the art form and restoring Native sustainabilities requires a reexamination of how local resources are managed, differentiating between managing resources sustainably and managing resources *in a cultural way*. Having the right to sustainably harvest forest materials and having the right to sustainably manage the forest for harvest are not the same. The latter requires a restructuring of power to recognise Native sustainabilities—what they were, what they are, and what they can be.

The harvested materials were brought to Madison for the construction of the canoe. Whereas a canoe usually takes about 3 weeks of intensive labour to construct, this birchbark canoe was built over the course of a semester, allowing students from Lac du Flambeau and Madison to take part in the revitalisation of the traditional art form while using the materials they had harvested on their lands to build the canoe. That canoe, when completed, was launched in the waters of Lake Mendota in Madison, Wisconsin, and would later be brought back to Lac du Flambeau to be celebrated there in a public launch attended by the entire Lac du Flambeau Public School as well as community members. The canoe has since been used in the traditional harvest of wild rice on a local lake near Lac du Flambeau. Whereas most birchbark canoes are hung on the wall to be regarded as aesthetically beautiful art objects, for many community members, the continued use of these canoes has come to symbolise the resiliency of Native cultures, and the importance of fighting for Native sustainabilities, from forests to foodways, deeply entwined with the traditional Anishinaabe way of life.

Sustainable Outcomes from Decolonisation

Although one public program cannot simply undo the entire colonial legacy, our program's successes were many and enduring. The project resulted in the creation of a 14-foot canoe, as well as educational tools: a blog, website, and an

award-winning 15-min documentary film. More important, the Lac du Flambeau Public School saw the successful educational impacts of the project, and the following year invested in the construction of a second birchbark canoe at the school and expanded culturally responsive curricula. Finally, the project led to growing and evolving partnerships between Lac du Flambeau and the University of Wisconsin–Madison, which have worked to legitimise the reassertion of traditional knowledge and the decolonisation of education. Both outcomes are vital tools in reappropriating power in ways that will sustain the community for generations to come.

Our program was further designed to examine critically the intersections of sustainabilities and power. Cultural sustainability—as evidenced in birchbark canoe building—cannot exist without Indigenous peoples having the political rights to traditionally harvest materials in self-managed environments. Cultural differences permeate all sustainabilities, which are determined by necessity in accordance with the world's numerous and varied economies, perceptions of self and environment, shared values, and social hierarchies. Where power disparities exist between peoples, so too exist differentials in a group's own access to sustain its culture, its lifeways, and its environments. These differences are particularly evident in Indigenous communities, whose lifeways have been decimated through the process of colonisation. As the IUCN Inter-Commission Task Force on Indigenous Peoples suggests, Indigenous communities frequently lack the political power necessary to perform their own sustainabilities, in their own ways, in order to perpetuate their own culture, economic interests, and environments (1997). One way to remedy this is to work towards multicultural sustainabilities that account for power disparities and to decolonise them in pursuit of social justice.

These multicultural sustainabilities are intensely local and vary community by community, which is precisely why a pluralistic framework is essential in conceptualisation and discussion of sustainabilities. Reexamining what sustainabilities mean for different communities will help Western and Native communities turn towards more equitable means of co-management. Our work therefore was not simply to build a canoe nor was it even to build a generation of canoe builders. Instead, it was to teach young people to reassert traditional culture into modern contexts, to give them skills to critique Western sustainabilities that pose threats to their community and to give space for Native sustainabilities to exist and thrive. To achieve these ends, our program was holistic in scope, from the ceremonial harvest of natural materials, through the construction of a canoe, to its continued use in harvesting wild rice and walleye. Students play a key role in performing and perpetuating their own cultural sustainabilities: harvesting the land, exercising their treaty rights, learning how to build a birchbark canoe, and learning to use that canoe to sustain themselves. Programs like "Wiigwaasi-Jiimaan" that create dialogue about multicultural sustainabilities not only grant Indigenous peoples a proverbial seat at the table but allow them to apportion, distribute, and serve what they have harvested on their own lands, in their own culturally sustainable way.

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Cant of Reconquest and the Struggle for Restoring Sustainability of the Southern Paiutes

Richard Stoffle, Kathleen Van Vlack, Richard Arnold, and Gloria Bulletts Benson

Acronyms

CGTO	The Consolidated Group of Tribes and Organizations
NAGPRA	The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act
NPS	US National Park System
NTS	The Nevada Test Site
NTTR	The Nevada Test and Training Range
TEK	Traditional Ecological Knowledge
YMP	The Yucca Mountain Project

Introduction

Sustainable management of indigenous heritage resources and places in the USA should depend on comanagement by traditionally associated people indigenous stakeholders, whether they are able to demonstrate a direct cultural connection to those "resources" or whether their claim is generic as federally recognized tribes concerned with the aboriginal past of the country. This paper contends that, as with the case of Southeast Asia and Asia, where local practices toward heritage

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management are appropriate (Karlstrom 2013, 2015) and have been officially recognized as such in the Nara (Japan) Document on Authenticity (UNESCO 1994), there are places in the USA where native peoples have developed coadapted conservation practices designed to sustain these heritage resources. Yet despite the increasingly popular (within the professional and academic domains) recognition of the management value of traditional peoples, there has been a strong backlash against indigenous management of indigenous heritage among land managers and museum specialists.

This article focuses on the federally recognized Southern Paiute people who are returning to traditional lands now managed by military reservations and national parks in the US Southwest. The issue addressed is highly contentious for it involves US national politics, the US National Park Service, the US military, and – of course – dominant US national ideology and a conservative reading of US manifest destiny.

Systematic ethnographic research was conducted by the authors addressing native objects, archeological sites, and the landscape itself. The latter is by far the more complicated issue in this paper for that which the "settler society" sees and manages – as nature has deep cultural significance for the Southern Paiute – a landscape that is religious, historical, and cultural. It is a landscape with which the Southern Paiute interacted for generations and from which they were expelled in the 1800s by agents of the US government.

This analysis presents five cases where the US Congress set aside portions of traditional Southern Paiute lands and considers how subsequent federal land management agencies have responded to contemporary Southern Paiute heritage concerns. The analysis contrasts three National Parks located north of the Colorado River and two military bases in South Nevada[1] (see Fig. 1). All cases involve heritage reconnections of the Southern Paiute people, new comanagement decisions, and heated debates over both the reconnections and the role of heritage museums.

The analysis is organized diachronically into the process steps of (1) coadaptation, (2) separation, (3) reconnection, and (4) comanagement as explained below. The debate surrounding traditional people reconnecting with traditional lands and ultimately sharing in the sustainable management of these cultural heritage resources focuses on how they traditionally coadapted with their lands (Stoffle et al. 2003) and the process by which they were separated (Jennings 1976).

Coadaptation and Sustainability[2]

In this analysis we assume that humans begin learning about nature as soon as they arrive in an ecologically new place. Such knowledge is often termed *local knowledge*, and it may be useful in terms of proper environmental behavior within a

[1] The National Parks discussed in this paper are Grand Canyon, Zion, and Pipe Spring National Park, and the military reservations that are discussed here are Nevada Test and Training Range and Nevada Test Site located in southern Nevada.

[2] In the context of this paper, sustainability is understood sociologically, and therefore no explicit reference is made to post-Brundtland definitions such as definitions promoting the idea of the four pillars of sustainability.

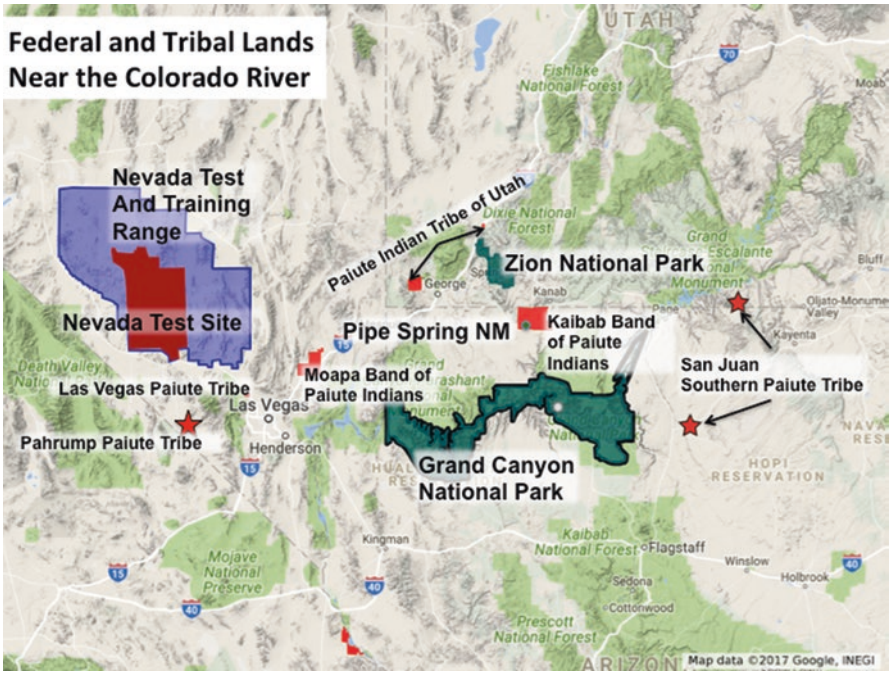

Fig. 1 Federal areas near Colorado River

generation (Olsson and Folke 2001). To move from simple observations to deeper ecological understandings of food webs and trophic levels takes many generations. Stoffle et al. (2003) describe a coadaptation model of learning which argues that within five generations living in a new place, people will acquire deep ecological understandings and relationships with nature and begin the formation of what is called *sacred ecology* (Berkes 2012).

Traditional people use their knowledge of ecosystems and consciously make intermediate human changes that have positive benefits (e.g., Turner et al. 2003), moving seeds to new habitats (Nabhan 1989), digging tubers (Wandsnider and Chung 2003), changing behavior of herding animals (Anderson 2005), pruning wild nut trees (Fowler 2000), and designing agricultural fields to stimulate animals and plant populations as well as provide sustainable farming (Atran et al. 2002). Connell (1978) found that intermediate natural disturbances in ecosystems can cause positive impacts on biodiversity and bio-complexity.

When people learn about their ecosystems and adjust their adaptive strategies to protect them from natural and social perturbations, they can be said to have developed a *resilient way of life* (Berkes et al. 2003; Holling 1973) through the implementation of social and ecological redundancies, which have been described as *environmental multiplicity* (Stoffle and Minnis 2007). At this stage of coadaptation, the people can be said to have developed a *sustainable way of life* (Stoffle and Minnis 2008), and that way of life may be regarded as a portion of their intangible

heritage. In order for these people such as the Paiute to pass this part of their intangible heritage from generation to generation, it is vital that they practice sustainable environmental management of their respective lands. Thus, cultural sustainability of the Paiute as a community and environmental sustainability of their respective lands are intertwined.

Separation Stage

Heritage needs to be understood as a social construction and thus itself an artifact of time, place, and people. Heritage, as formal preservation in the USA, was very much driven by powerful economic forces (like railroad companies and politicians) that desired to set aside large tracks of land that could then be commoditized for corporation profit (Sellars 1997). Even when the lives of American Indian[3] people were in fact significantly intertwined with a topographically interesting place, the local Indian peoples were rapidly excluded from the area and its interpretation. Traditional people in North America have been separated from most of their aboriginal places because of the expansion of European settlers. After their removal from traditional lands, a nationwide interpretative fiction was developed that maintained the formally traditional area had neither been fully used by nor became culturally central to Indian peoples. It was a European rhetoric of rightful ownership, according to which the native population neither used the land in the best way nor appreciated it, whereas the settlers would farm and clear the forest, thus making a civilized landscape. It was a dishonest "cant" (in the common use of the word) that was used to maintain the separation. For instance, in the USA, there arose the "myth of the mound builders"[4] which denied Indians a cultural affiliation to the great earthwork sites. Jennings (1976) speaks of a rhetoric of separation as the *cant of conquest* (Bettinger and Blaumhoff 1982). Like Jennings, we use the term cant in a non-pejorative sense to refer to rhetoric occurring at the cutting edge of a major social change.

[3] There are no completely acceptable terms of reference to all the cultural groups in North America before 1492. The authors have chosen the term American Indians over Native Americans in keeping with Russell Means, one of the founders of the American Indian Movement, "…I prefer the term American Indian because I know its origins . . . As an added distinction the American Indian is the only ethnic group in the United States with the American before our ethnicity . . . We were enslaved as American Indians, we were colonized as American Indians, and we will gain our freedom as American Indians, and then we will call ourselves any damn thing we choose".

"I am an American Indian, Not a Native American!" statement by Russell Means.

[4] The burial mounds found on the North American continent fascinated the Euro-American settlers. Not wanting to grant the Native Americans recognition for these earthworks, the settlers invented the "myth of mound builders" that denies that Native Americans had built these burial mounds and instead promotes the idea that there had previously been a "lost race of mound builders," a race of superior beings that had built the mounds then disappeared (see Hirst 2017 in bibliography)

Reconnection Stage

Ironically, in the USA, many traditional peoples are now permitted (even encouraged) to reconnect with their aboriginal places for the purpose of identifying heritage resources (Ahmad 2006) and recommending sustainable management based on their traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) and ethics of cultural conservation (Lewis 1989). Yet traditional knowledge domains have also been diminished and modified. In a manifestation of the concept *Authorized Heritage Discourse* that was coined by Laurajane Smith (2006), new land and resource managers – notably the US National Park System (NPS) and the US military, which together have vast landholdings – have acquired a sense of entitlement based on national ownership and superiority based on a presumption of controlling the best science for management. When native peoples actually return to their homelands and identify and seek to manage their heritage resources, the situation is often fraught with tension and conflict. These new heritage disputes are fought with dialogues of place, culture, and history, which are the foundations of the contemporary *cant of reconquest*.

This new literature arose regarding the process of reconnecting people with traditional lands and involving them in sustainable comanagement. Reconnection proposals have stimulated both hostile and supportive rhetoric. Some argue for reconnection using the term decolonization (Tuhiwai-Smith 1999) and often couch these arguments in terms of Marxian theories and internal colonialism (Churchill 2003; Battiste 2000). Others argue against reconnection claiming that the traditional people either lost land management knowledge or that they never had useful knowledge of the environment (Kretch 1999). Some arguments defined them as original despoilers of nature (Martin and Klein 1984), while others viewed them as super managers inspired by the Creator (Cajete 1999). A science-based debate can be found in between these extremes (Lewis 1989). This debate is evident in the discussion of the use of fire as an indigenous land management tool. After Anderson wrote that Indian patch burning was instrumental in shaping the ecology of the California forests (Blackburn and Anderson 1993, pp. 151–174), a group of geographers rebutted saying that Indian people had little impact on the ecology of the forests (Vale 2001).

American Indian people have been accused, in this cant of reconquest, of being poorly adapted to their environment, and thus poor managers. Such accusations tend to be extensions of Martin's megafauna extinction theory, which maintained that Indians caused the death of most of the large animals (33 genera) in North America when the Indians arrived from Asia (Martin and Wright 1967; Martin 1973; Martin and Klein 1984). Recent archeological evidence documents that American Indian people were in North America long before (up to 5000 years) most of the megafauna extinctions occurred. Therefore, their perceived arrival did not correspond with megafauna extinctions. Even during the later Clovis period, which does overlap with the megafauna extinctions, the notion of a diet narrowly defined by megafauna is contested. Grayson and Meltzer (2002) studied fauna remains in a number of Clovis sites and found that only 14 of 76 sites document any subsistence use of

extinct megafauna. Still, the megafauna extinction theory persists (Boulanger and Lyman 2014) and often is used to argue against American Indian reconnections with heritage resources.

In 2007, Congress considered a legislation (H.R. 3994) that would turn over 57 national parks and wildlife refuges to tribal governments. This proposed legislation caused a massive backlash from the environmental community who argued it was a bad decision because Indian people had destroyed their traditional environment. *Newsweek* magazine said that "The reason American Indians had no horses before Europeans arrived was that their ancestors ate them all—along with numerous other large mammals" (Adler 2007; Selin 2001). The megafauna extinction theory, however, provided no evidence that humans killed many horses, much less were involved in horse extinction.

Comanagement and Restoring Sustainability

Not only are there ethical reasons for reconnecting traditional peoples, this analysis also argues that greater sustainability of heritage resources can be achieved by involving them in management decisions. While it is beyond the scope of this analysis to prove this across the range of potentially impacted heritage resources, the authors would like to stress that, in their experience, American Indian people are good at sustainable heritage management because of their traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) of the natural resources learned over thousands of years. In addition, Indian people perceive and respond to natural and cultural resources as both alive, having humanlike rights, and inexorably integrated (Stoffle et al. 2016). Their communal concern for environmental sustainability is closely linked to their own cultural continuity: Without the continued existence of traditional resources and the right to comanage them, the American Indian people cannot exercise their Creation-based responsibility for properly using and protecting these heritage resources (Rode 2015), which in turn directly effects their own cultural survival and sustainability. Thus, in a positive sense, the granting of comanagement not only restores the ecological sustainability of heritage resources but also the cultural sustainability of the Paiute.

Southern Paiute People Going Through Stages

Southern Paiute people believe that they were created in the Spring Mountains, Nevada (Stoffle and Zedeño 2001). Here since Creation, Southern Paiute people learned about complex weather and climate shifts, different plant growing patterns at elevations ranging from 3000 to 10,000 feet, seasonal animal movements, and the wide variations in water availability. They learned to protect and work with

beavers to sustain the soil and water in the steep-gradient streams. They designed and optimized irrigated farming systems and conducted delta farming along the Colorado River.

Creating resilient and sustainable human use patterns in a land, where 1 year the main crop of pine nuts is bountiful and next year there are none, requires layers of social-political hierarchy to produce a system for reallocating resources (Van Vlack 2015). This hierarchy of High Chiefs negotiated the movement of local groups in and out of each other's resource areas as needed. High Chiefs coordinated local, regional, and world-balancing ceremonies conducted for the benefit of all humans. Volcanic features, massive sandstone cliffs, mineral deposits, and Colorado River rapids became central places in a complex heritage landscape (Stoffle et al. 1997) where Paiutes believe the land talks and serves as a partner keeping the world in balance (Stoffle et al. 2000, 2016).

Traditional lands north of the Grand Canyon were first encroached upon in 1776 by the Escalante and Dominguez expedition. When they arrived on the middle Virgin River, they found Paiute agriculturists who they called *Pueblos* – which was the Spanish term for settled agriculturists. The people called themselves the *Parussits*, a Paiute name that referred to the *Parussi* River (Virgin River), which they used to irrigate their farms (Bolton 1951, p. 205).

The 1849 discovery of gold in California resulted in massive immigration across Paiute lands and resulted in environmental damage and disease. In the early 1850s, Mormon Church members physically and permanently removed Paiutes from most traditional irrigated agricultural villages. Mormon Church tithing herds were kept north of the Grand Canyon. There tens of thousands of tithing animals devastated the environment within a decade. By the late 1800s, Paiute people retreated south to Kanab Creek, which flows into the Colorado River, using the area as a *region of refuge* (Aguirre Beltran 1973). These isolated canyons became the last portion of traditional territory held sovereign by Paiutes.

Early heritage status in the USA was accorded to natural places like hot springs, canyons, and mountains. Stevens (1997) uses the term *Yellowstone Model* to describe national parks established with the notion of wilderness, i.e., a place without people. These designations were made as arguments for the removal of Indian people who were living in or using park resources.

As Southern Paiute people begin to reconnect with their traditional lands, they are often stopped by a single archeology theory, the Numic Spread Theory (Madsen and Rhode 1994). This theory maintains that Southern Paiutes (and other Numic-speaking peoples) were simple hunters and gatherers practicing a preagriculture tradition who recently arrived (about 600 BP) in the Great Basin and western Colorado Plateau. Managers have maintained that heritage resources dated earlier than this time should neither be interpreted nor managed by Numic people. These arguments are part of the reemerged "cant of reconquest" which happens at the cutting edge of the reconnecting discourse and comprises positive, as well as negative, rhetoric concerning the "reconquest" of traditional lands by indigenous communities.

National Park Cases: Grand Canyon, Zion, and Pipe Spring

Paiute people were officially removed from most traditional lands located north and west of the Colorado River by a series of federal, state, and private commerce actions, which were designed to either protect the area's natural resources or to use them for commercial purposes. These actions eventually removed Paiute people from 98.9% of their traditional lands (see Fig. 2). In 1893, much of the area became Grand Canyon Forest Reserve; in 1906, it became the Grand Canyon Game Preserve; in 1908, it became Grand Canyon National Monument; and finally in 1919, it became Grand Canyon National Park. These federal actions were designed to preserve natural resources; however, they also resulted in the physical and intellectual exclusion of Paiute people. Heritage experts of the National Parks System (NPS) interpreted the pueblo-style cliff dwellings in the park as being made by people who had long ago left, ignoring the Paiute claim that they were the farmers who had built the stone dwellings and lived here since time immemorial.

Animals and their habitats located north of the Colorado River were modified and restricted when President Roosevelt established Grand Canyon National Game Preserve to serve elite hunters and tourists. From 1906 until 1923, the government employed hunters to kill thousands of predatory animals in order to stimulate the deer herds. These predatory animals were important components of Paiute ceremony, subsistence, and ecology. At the same time, stringent enforcement of hunting licenses, seasons, and bag limits almost eliminated traditional Paiute deer hunting, thus dealing a serious blow to the Paiute economy and subsistence (Knack 1993). Even though time has passed and progressive legislation has been implemented, Paiute people still cannot hunt in Grand Canyon National Park.

In southern Utah, Zion National Park was established. The centerpieces of the park were large deep canyons located on the two branches of the Virgin River (*Parussi* in Paiute language). In 1909, a presidential proclamation set aside Mukuntuweap National Monument (using the Paiute name for this canyon). The National Park System (NPS) itself was established in 1916, and just 2 years later a presidential proclamation created Zion National Monument, which included the former Mukuntuweap National Monument. The Zion name was selected to honor Mormon settlers who took the canyon away from the Paiutes. The new monument was interpreted as nationally important because it provided a safe refuge in the event of Indian attacks on Mormon settlements. The argument that the Paiutes did not live in or use Zion was further presented to the public when the park prominently located a large bronze plaque that stated "the Paiutes never came into Zion Canyon because they were afraid of spirits living there."

To the east of Zion, the Federal Government transformed more Paiute lands. A small Paiute reservation was established in 1907 north of the Grand Canyon. The new Kaibab Paiute Indian Reservation reflected federal recognition that the Paiutes were the traditional owners of the land and they needed a place of their own. At the time, Paiute people were still living in the area of the new reservation. An economically failing cattle ranch and stone fort, which had been built over one of the Paiute

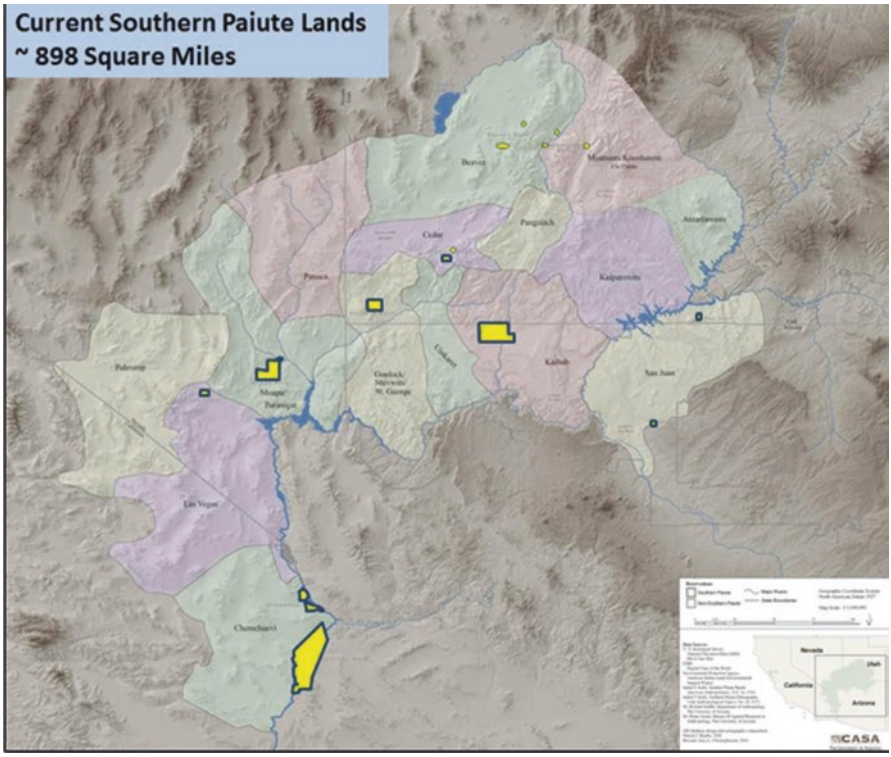

Fig. 2 Current land ownership of traditional Southern Paiute lands

springs, were sold to the NPS with the understanding that the new monument would be operated by the local Mormon families (Knack 1993). These families would also determine the interpretative stories it would tell. Until recently, Pipe Spring National Monument described the Paiutes as wandering hunters and gatherers who arrived recently instead of living there as traditional farmers – a status that would have legally entitled them to retain full aboriginal water rights.

So, various Southern Paiute groups who traditionally occupied lands north of the Colorado River were forced out and restricted to small reservations – the Kaibab Paiutes, the five bands of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah, and the Moapa Paiutes. They were also intellectually distanced from their traditional heritage areas and resources as NPS units, located within Grand Canyon National Park, Zion National Park, and even Pipe Spring National Monument located on the Kaibab Paiute reservation. The NPS interpretative displays and museums in all of these parks presented complex archeological ruins as having been made by long-gone Indians. The interpretation either failed to mention Paiutes as residents of the land at all or used the Numic spread theory to characterize them as recent arrivals who neither farmed nor built houses.

Heritage recommendations from the Paiute studies, collected during six research trips (conducted by Stoffle from 1992 to 1995) down the Colorado River from Glen Canyon Dam and Lake Powell, led to management and monitoring recommendations that were largely adopted by the water managers (the Bureau of Reclamation, for Glen Canyon Dan) and the adjoining Grand Canyon National Park land managers (Stoffle et al. 1997). Sacred sites (also known as traditional cultural properties) like Devil's Anvil, a large red-paint cave, and a spiritual canyon have been closed or restricted from public access. The Southern Paiute tribes involved in the studies were provided funds for continued monitoring of chosen sites along the river. An elaborate database is now used for archiving the decade of subsequent tribal heritage monitoring (Austin et al. 2007; Austin and Drye 2011).

Ethnographic studies conducted with Paiute peoples at Zion National Park, Pipe Spring National Monument (Stoffle et al. 1996), and Grand Canyon National Park (Stoffle et al. 1995a, b) have led to changes in heritage interpretations at each of these parks. Zion National Park removed the brass plaque that said Paiutes never visited the canyon because they were afraid of spirits in the canyon. Museums at Zion National Park and at Pipe Spring National Monument have begun to display heritage text provided by Southern Paiute people. Zion National Park now permits Paiute elders to gather plants in the park, and Pipe Springs National Monument is officially comanaged with the Kaibab Paiute Tribe. The Numic Spread Theory with non-farming hunting and gathering Paiute arriving after 1300 AD, however, still dominates the archeology interpretations at all three parks. The interpretative displays in Grand Canyon National Park still fail to represent most Paiute views of their heritage, although they are now recognized as having lived recently in the park and they are permitted to tell their story during Arizona Heritage Awareness Month. The incorporation of tribal traditional ecological knowledge comanagement advice into Glen Canyon Dam water release monitoring has been slow to occur over the past 15 years (Austin et al. 2007).

Military Cases: Nevada Test and Training Range and Nevada Test Site

The Nevada Test and Training Range (NTTR) occupies nearly three million acres of southern Nevada. These lands were withdrawn from the public domain in the early 1940s to serve as a bombing and gunnery range. This military reservation consumed many of the Indian agricultural areas, traditionally recognized as some of the most productive mountain gathering and hunting areas, with all of the spiritual volcanic areas. Toward the end of the World War II, the Nevada Test Site (NTS) was withdrawn from the NTTR lands for testing atomic bombs. In this analysis, both areas are called military even though the atomic testing lands are officially controlled by the Department of Energy through the National Nuclear Security Administration.

Once these two facilities were established, all civilians, including Indian people, were officially removed and prohibited to return. Unlike national parks, which are

established with a mandate to protect resources while providing reasonable access to the public, the NTTR and NTS lands were simply fenced and guarded keeping everyone out.

The American Indian heritage studies on the NTS began in the mid-1980s with a cultural affiliation analysis of the Yucca Mountain Project (YMP), a small area on the NTS (Stoffle 1987; Stoffle and Evans 1988). Sixteen tribes were identified as culturally affiliated with these lands; consultation with them began in 1986 and has since continued. The American Indian Program on NTTR began in1996 and includes all of the original culturally affiliated tribes.

The consulting tribal governments each sent two members to officially represent tribal heritage concerns, creating a consulting body of 32. After a few years of resolving mutual conflicts, this consulting group decided to speak with one voice regarding natural and cultural resources and land managing activities. The group known as the Consolidated Group of Tribes and Organizations (CGTO) has remained undivided despite stressful issues and differences of opinion.

Ethnographic studies[5] on both NTTR and the NTS have identified and evaluated archeology sites (Stoffle et al. 1988b, 1990, 2009), ethnobotany (Stoffle et al. 1988a), and ethnohistory (Stoffle et al. 1987). Despite early resistance from federal archeologists, facility managers disagreed with the Numic Spread Theory, and, consequently, consulting tribes were permitted to identify and make recommendations for all heritage resources regardless of age on both facilities. Only those archeologists who accepted this agency decision were retained. At their annual meetings, the CGTO made numerous heritage recommendations, which were generally adopted by both the NTS and NTTR. Increasingly the CGTO assumed significant control over the content and function of both American Indian Programs.

Tribal interactions were reflected in information centers and heritage museums to address the public information needs of the NTS and NTTR. Both locations set aside display space for Paiute voices. These displays were produced through formal consultation with an Indian advisory committee. In the late 1990s, Yucca Mountain Project Visitor's Center opened, integrating tribal views that were largely limited to iconic displays of attractive baskets and artifacts. Subsequently, the NTS Atomic Testing Museum was developed in 2005, and the CGTO was asked to become a part of the initial museum display planning team. An entire segment of the museum was devoted to Indian voices that involved iconic artifacts and a series of strong *this land was (is) ours* stipulations, featuring a timeline beginning with Paiute Creation to present. No Numic Spread Theory is mentioned here.

[5] Ethnographic studies began with narrow site and resource identifications but later expanded to cultural landscape analysis. Increasingly, complex data gathering instruments were developed in partnership with tribal governments permitting elaborated cultural landscape understandings. Later, more comprehensive ethnographic studies, largely conducted on the military reservations, were better financed for multiple years in duration. Study quality was greatly improved by ongoing consultations, which permitted iterative studies that were guided by Indian people. The CGTO consultation model gave tribes more leverage than if they had issued independent and potentially conflicting tribally specific recommendations.

Three Indian perspective books have been supported by funds from NTTR and NTS. The first was a summary of the early YMP studies (Stoffle et al. 1990), the second a 10-year retrospective of the studies on the NTS (Stoffle et al. 2001), and the final one (Zedeno et al. 2006) was guided by a committee of the CGTO.

Comanagement or co-stewardship is very difficult for a federal agency charged with land management and national security activities. Still, heritage resources have been protected, and Indian heritage perspectives have been accepted. In response to the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), Indian bodies, funerary objects, items of cultural patrimony, and other related artifacts have been returned to the Paiute on both federal military reservations and reburied in secret locations where ceremonies have occurred to restore spiritual and ecological balance.

Discussion

Rhetorical arguments for and against traditional people reconnecting with their homelands are occurring worldwide, including in the USA. Because reconnection can lead to comanagement and even resumption of ownership, many people are vested in the outcomes and are willing to participate in the dialogue. These arguments occur at the cutting edge of the reconnection process and thus are viewed here as the *cant of reconquest*.

Cases presented here document common steps in the process of disconnection followed by a process of reconnecting traditional people to their homelands. Both kinds of federal agencies have (1) rules that restrict or regulate the use of natural and cultural resources, (2) armed guards to assure that the resources on these lands are protected, (3) professionals who are scientifically trained in the management of these resources, and (4) heritage museums or heritage materials to inform the public. Heritage resources have generally been protected in each reserve, but the military approach to protection greatly exceeds that of the NPS. Grand Canyon National Park largely follows the Yellowstone Model, while Zion National Park and Pipe Spring National Monument have more fully embraced Paiute people and incorporated them into heritage museums and ethnic interpretations. The two military facilities have been more accepting of long-term annual consultation with the tribes and much more responsive to Indian recommendations.

Still the pattern of different federal agency and facility responses to reconnecting traditional people remains an enigma. Some will argue that it is difficult for the NPS to get beyond the Yellowstone Model, and that is why major national parks continue to reject Paiute cultural connections. Even though Indian people are now engaged in consultation at Yellowstone National Park itself (Nabokof and Loendorf 2004), the Numic Spread Theory is still used to exclude Paiutes from participating in most NPS heritage conversations along the Colorado River. The official NPS web site for Zion National Park reaffirms that the Paiutes came into the Zion region after 1300 AD replacing the Pueblo farmers and technically reestablishing the Archaic Period because Paiutes did not farm (NPS Zion 2016).

Perhaps, what is more difficult for many land managers to get beyond are the social constructions that have kept traditional people out of federally withdrawn areas. The negatively employed *cant of reconquest* rhetoric, such as the Numic Spread Theory, continues to be dogma in universities, the published science literature, and in agencies who use these scientists to guide management.

From her experiences as a Paiute tribal member and a senior federal land manager, Angelita Bulletts (Stoffle et al. 2016) observed, however, that progressively there is a new breed of federal land managers who are listening to Native American people. These managers are seeking ways to reunite traditional people with their aboriginal lands. Land managers today are looking at many contrasting knowledge bases. Traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) has continued to exist because tribal people choose to exist in parallel worlds and refused to abandon traditional understandings of the natural world. Federal land managers are collaborating with tribal governments to reengage tribal youth through traditional camps (involving elders and youth), which are designed to teach about traditional landscapes and sustainable resource use and to lay a foundation for developing common goals with the federal land managers.

In her authoritative synthesis of these issues, Zedeño (2014, pp. 255–256) concludes that Indian tribes may never recover lost lands, but they now at least have the right to tell their own story and to determine whether and how their past should be investigated and shared with the public.

The authority to manage and interpret the heritage of indigenous stakeholders in the USA is disputed by many land managers and museum specialists. Consequently, arguments that were used to maintain the separation of the traditional peoples from their cultural lands, and objects now held in public museums, should be scrutinized in light of new data and cultural perspectives. All old separation arguments that are enshrined in interpretative displays, documents, and policies which are currently used against indigenous reconnections should be balanced with new ideas. While the situation has greatly improved from a native perspective, comanagement and co-interpretation do not exist for most public lands and millions of artifacts housed in museums.

The challenge of restoring cultural sustainability for the Paiute communities, by granting them reconnections with their lands and involvement in sustainable management, is still enormous. This restoration can only become a reality if the "cant of reconquest" in its positive and reconnecting sense outweighs the negative rhetoric of separation.

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The Past and Future of Indigenous Peoples' Heritage: Transforming the Legacies of Non-sustainability of Protected Areas

Robert Rode

Introduction

The preservation of native flora and fauna in protected areas such as national parks and reserves constitutes one of the most important strategies at the regional level to halt the loss of biodiversity. Conservationists and environmentalists consider the establishment of protected areas as an effective international strategy to ensure the preservation of relatively uninhabited wildlife territories. For instance, in order to mitigate the impact of global warming and climate change, in 2015 governments agreed on the Sustainable Development Goals, which stress the critical role of protected areas in combatting deforestation, desertification, and other forms of degradation of ecosystems in goal no. 15 (UN 2015). Hence, the new United Nations (UN) development agenda reflects the global dissemination of a specific paradigm of biodiversity preservation, which calls on states to establish protected areas within their territory by following a generalized model of preventing or halting the loss of endangered species. In recent years, however, indigenous peoples, conservationists, and researchers have expressed their concern with these practices of conservation. From a historical point of view, there seems to be a clear link between the establishment of protected areas and the dispossession or displacement of indigenous communities, nations, or people in various regions of the world.

The purpose of this article, therefore, is to investigate whether and how marginalized indigenous peoples are reshaping non-sustainable and exclusionary practices of establishing and managing protected areas. Under the conditions of sustainable development, conservation contributes to a "production of nature" (Smith 2007),

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and the process of designating and managing protected areas follows a rationale of ecological *mastery*. Such a rationale produces very few national parks, national forests, wilderness areas, and wilderness reserves that are controlled in accordance with international conservation goals. As a result, the politics of sustainable development fuel social conflict as many indigenous peoples view exclusionary practices of conservation as continuation of their historical experiences of dispossession, displacement, and marginalization. Despite their attempts to come to terms with these injustices, both states as well as international conservation organizations still tend to nurture grievance. Due to the growing awareness of past injustices, indigenous peoples' struggles are now "rendered in 'thinkable and manageable form'" (Lindroth 2015, p. 31), which in turn invokes a "conception of [indigenous peoples] … as weak and permanently damaged by adversity" (Torpey 2006, p. 166). Rather than thinking of ways to overcome this adversity, conservationists propose routine processes of remedial justice in terms of rights-based approaches to conservation. Such strategies continue to embrace victimhood in a subtle way, for example, by asking what can indigenous peoples' values, knowledge, and cultural practices contribute to the conservation of protected areas.

This study will first problematize the changing perceptions of indigenous peoples and sustainability. In a second step, this study will also briefly discuss the history of the conservation of protected areas in the context of recent developments in the international human rights framework that recognizes indigenous peoples as political actors. At this point, there are a number of basic questions that are relevant to understand the background of the issue: Who protects what? Who is accountable for exclusionary practices of conservation? What are the implications of integrating indigenous peoples into international conservation politics? In a third step, this study will investigate the problematic dominance of national and international conservation paradigms in the context of the World Heritage Convention and their impact on indigenous communities in Tanzania and Kenya. This article will conclude by discussing the findings with regard to changes in international conservation policies by examining the prospects and opportunities for indigenous peoples to transform exclusionary practices of conservation. Against this backdrop, this paper will seek to contribute to theory development on how to go beyond sustainability in heritage studies by discussing critical theories on green grabbing and world society theory and their power in developing future-oriented approaches to conservation.

Changing Perceptions of Indigenous Peoples and Sustainability

Within the political framework of sustainable development, multilateral treaties such as the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) rely on the ability and willingness of states to designate and manage protected areas within their territory in order to ensure the conservation and sustainable use of the world's biodiversity.

Although Article 10 of the CBD mentions the role of local populations in the customary use of biological resources, it calls on states to ensure the consistency of their cultural practices with the objectives of conservation (UN 1992). From the point of view of indigenous peoples' representative organizations, international nature conservation instruments have often been implemented in a way that harms the livelihoods of their communities rather than providing a credible and consistent framework that protects both the biological diversity and their cultural practices. An ad hoc working group composed of different indigenous organizations at the Vth World Parks Congress, organized by the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) in Durban, South Africa, in 2003, denounced the transformation of biodiversity conservation into a justification for the dispossession of their traditional or ancestral lands:

> The declaration of protected areas on indigenous territories without our consent and engagement has resulted in our dispossession and resettlement, the violation of our rights, the displacement of our peoples, the loss of our sacred sites and the slow but continuous loss of our cultures, as well as impoverishment. **It is this difficult to talk about benefits for Indigenous Peoples when protected areas are being declared on our territories unilaterally.** First we were dispossessed in the name of kings and emperors, later in the name of State development, and now in the name of conservation. (Indigenous Peoples Ad Hoc Working Group for the World Parks Congress 2003; Stevens 2014a, p. 48; own emphasis)

Particularly since the adoption of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007, the focus has shifted, and a number of World Heritage sites under the 1972 World Heritage Convention have come under criticism, because their designation and management as protected areas embody, represent, and justify exclusionary approaches to conservation. Although an exact figure has not been determined, some activists and researchers assume that there are at present approximately 100 World Heritage sites located fully or partially within the territories of indigenous peoples, including one third of the 197 natural sites inscribed on the list as of July 2015 (Disko et al. 2014, p. 3). So it is important to understand the problematic designation of World Heritage sites in the broader context of protected areas.

IUCN defines protected areas as "clearly defined geographical space, recognised, dedicated and managed, through legal or other effective means, to achieve the long-term conservation of nature with associated ecosystem services and cultural values" (Dudley 2008, p. 8; Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2013, p. 5). The term refers to a wide array of landscapes and seascapes including national parks, nature reserves, wilderness areas, and cultural landscapes. While traditionally states have developed their own approaches to protected areas, there are now various international protected area frameworks, which aim at disseminating international conservation goals (e.g., World Heritage Convention, Ramsar Convention, CBD). They can function with more or less restrictions on the use of resources, and sometimes different protected area approaches overlap, as this study will show, which in turn might justify restricted access, dispossession, or forced relocation of indigenous peoples.

Whereas there has been a considerable growth in number and scope of protected areas in the last 60 years (see Fig. 1), not until recently has the impact of global conservation objectives on indigenous peoples been met with increasing criticism.

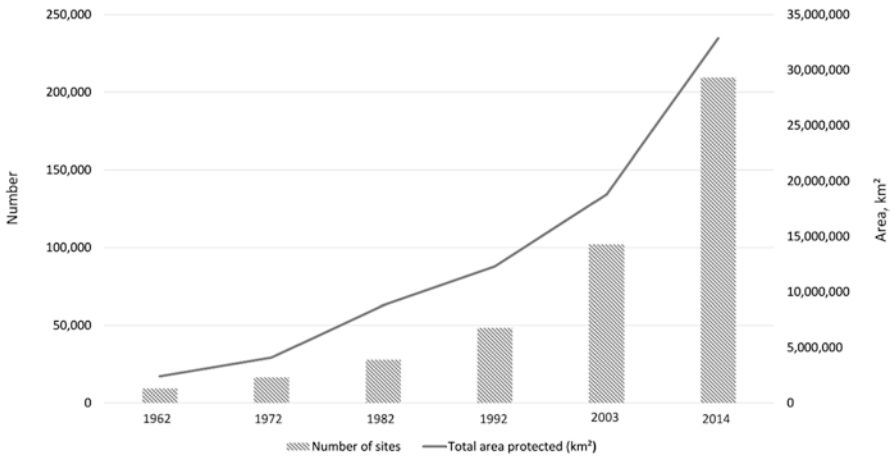

Fig. 1 Evolution of the terrestrial and marine protected area network, in numbers of sites (*gray bars*) and in area (km^2; *black line*) since 1962 (*Source*: UNEP-WCMC 2014 in Deguignet et al. 2014, p. 14)

Conservation of these ecosystems requires long-term commitment to prevent and halt incompatible uses. Conservationists often favored models of state-centered control over uninhabited protected areas (Stevens 2014c, p. 6). In contrast, many indigenous peoples consider the established, exclusionary, state-centered practices of management of protected areas a violation of their rights and a threat to the well-being of their communities. Less attention, however, has been paid to concealed local political struggles that spilled over into the field of conservation. Some examples of these struggles in the African context will be discussed in more detail in this paper.

Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize at this point that there have also been advances in the comanagement of protected areas, particularly in the context of the World Heritage Convention. Carina Green, in her study on the designation of the Laponian World Heritage Area in Sweden, highlights the growing importance of models of comanagement such as the Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park. As indigenous culture was a justification for the nomination, the indigenous owners also possess a majority on the management board. Green shows that the Sami community was able to use this comanagement model to gain majority representation on the management board of the Laponian World Heritage Area after years of conflict and controversies with Swedish local and national conservation authorities (2009, pp. 208–209). However, even if it is possible to observe an expansion of comanagement models, their dissemination appears to depend on the extent to which governments are responsive to indigenous peoples' demands on an international scale. Green's study also casts light on this problem because Swedish authorities only accepted a Sami majority on the management board after indigenous organizations brought the conflict to the attention of international organizations. Furthermore, despite the indigenous human rights discourse empowering many indigenous organizations to make governments more aware of their concerns, the ability of indige-

nous peoples to reshape their relationship with the state still differs significantly across the world. Jens Dahl stresses that indigenous organizations from the global south are particularly vulnerable because they depend on external help and often have to face severe poverty and continued marginalization (2012, pp. 226–228). After a short examination of exclusionary practices of conservation in the next section, this study will focus for the sake of clarity on examples of indigenous peoples from the global south because their aspirations to enforce equality in power still characterizes conflicts over biodiversity preservation.

Reconsidering the Past of Conservation

A re-examination of the establishment of protected areas such as the Ngorongoro Conservation Area in Tanzania or the Lake Bogoria Game Reserve in Kenya requires taking into consideration the substantial changes in the relationship between the UN human rights framework and indigenous peoples. From a legal point of view, taking into consideration indigenous peoples' human rights is particularly necessary as the two protected areas were inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List. As a specialized UN agency, the UNESCO has certain obligations in the promotion of human rights as reflected in Article 1(3) of the UN Charter[1] and Article 1 of the UNESCO Constitution.[2] Since the adoption of the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) by the UN General Assembly in 2007, engagement with indigenous peoples' human rights in World Heritage has become a particularly salient issue, because the provisions in Articles 41 and 42 call unambiguously on all intergovernmental bodies and specialized agencies within the UN system to contribute to the full realization of indigenous peoples' rights. In a recent study, Disko et al. have demonstrated convincingly that these provisions also apply to the World Heritage Convention and its intergovernmental bodies (Disko et al. 2014, pp. 17–20). Despite the long history of marginalization and exclusion of indigenous communities, nations, and people as a direct or indirect result of conservation under the World Heritage Convention, a merely legal perspective might lead to a certain disregard for how the concept of indigenous peoples itself is applied in historically, politically, and geographically divergent contexts. The historical molding of the concept of

[1] "To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion" (UN 1945, Art. 1(3)).

[2] "The purpose of the Organization is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations" (UNESCO 1945, Art. 1).

indigenous peoples as a separate category in international law is one of the major reasons why local political struggles of certain indigenous groups spilled into the realm of nature conservation on a global scale.

Against this backdrop, a critical assessment of changes in international conservation policies has to examine the way in which international law, and more specifically the concept of indigenous peoples, became entangled with the trajectories of these conflicts. In this regard, a short analysis of the cases of the Endorois community in Kenya and the Maasai in Tanzania demonstrates how exclusionary and thus non-sustainable practices of conservation evolved and are reproduced in the course of time, particularly through the designation as World Heritage sites. Steven's classification of forms of displacement and marginalization of indigenous peoples (see Table 1) reflects the permeation of the "language of indigenous rights" (Schulte-Tenckhoff 2012) in conservation. Such articulations surround primarily indigenous peoples' claims for self-determination and protection of their cultures and lands. Although Stevens's classification of exclusionary forms of conservation might appear cut and dried, it serves as a first approximation to reveal the legacies of an old paradigm of international conservation in both cases in the next section.[3]

Table 1 Forms of protected area displacement and marginalization of indigenous peoples

Type	Characteristics
Spatial/physical	Forced or induced relocation; continued residence made conditional to compliance with imposed restrictions on settlement, transhumance, and migration; lack of recognition of recognition of customary territories, including collective tenure and usufruct rights
Economic	Imposed restrictions or bans on land and marine use or specific practices; loss of livelihoods and livelihood security; loss of food security; loss of access to shelter, water, and other rights; opportunity costs from foreclosed avenues of development; lack of benefits from protected area revenues or employment
Political	Loss of territorial control and self-governance; lack of recognition of customary governance and resource management institutions and practices; loss of governance authority for commons management; loss of stewardship authority for cultural sites
Cultural	Loss of shared life in homelands; loss of responsibility for the care of homelands; loss of access to and care for cultural sites and cultural resources; cultural and religious sites desecrated or untended; lack of recognition of territory and tenure; and lack of respect for customary law, customary institutions, customary livelihoods, and other cultural practices

Source: Stevens 2014b, p. 38

[3] According to Stevens, the old paradigm of international conservation comprises four main features: "(1) protected areas should be created and governed by states; (2) the goal of protected areas should be strict nature preservation and particularly biodiversity conservation; (3) effective protected area management requires protected areas to be uninhabited and without any human use of natural resources, … (4) coercive force is legally and morally justified to remove resident peoples and protect biodiversity" (2014b, p. 36).

Legacies of Non-sustainable Conservation in Tanzania and Kenya

This paper compares two case studies in the African context that demonstrate different outcomes concerning the designation of protected areas as World Heritage sites. As mentioned above, this geographical context is particularly relevant because the integration of indigenous representatives from Africa into the UN by the end of the Cold War brought new realities to the attention of the public (Dahl 2012, p. 30). Given the small number of cases, this study uses the congruence method in order to understand which conditions empower indigenous peoples to reshape exclusionary practices of conservation. Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett argue that the congruence method offers the researcher "considerable flexibility and adaptability" (2005, p. 182), particularly in situations where it is necessary to refine theoretical assumptions, which in turn shall contribute to theory development. So the major assumption is that international conservation goals may in fact fuel social conflict to the extent of continued gross violations of indigenous rights. Due to the limited range of this research, the two case studies cannot present a great deal of data and material. Although the analysis of the two case studies will show very different outcomes, the observed effects of conservation on the indigenous communities still appears congruent with the theoretical assumptions.

Case 1: The Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Tanzania

The Ngorongoro Conservation Area in the north of Tanzania was initially inscribed in 1979 on the World Heritage List as a natural site. Because of archaeological research on human evolution, the site was additionally inscribed under criterion (iv) in 2010 and became one of the few mixed sites on the World Heritage List. However, the cultural values of the site protected under the World Heritage Convention do not include the cultural values of the indigenous semi-nomadic Maasai pastoralists in the area. What is more, the presence of Maasai in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area in 1959 is a result of the creation of the Serengeti National Park in the 1940s under British colonial rule. In exchange for vacating the Serengeti National Park in 1958, the colonial authorities promised the Maasai pastoralists new grazing and cultivation resources in smaller areas in the highlands of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area. Although the relocation was based upon an agreement between representatives of the Maasai and the British colonial government, from a retrospective point of view, it is questionable whether the Maasai were aware of the severe impact of this decision on their livelihoods. As Olenasha shows in his study on the antecedents of the World Heritage designation of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, preexisting conflicts, over land use by the Maasai communities and the possible impact on environmental and wildlife conservation, reappeared soon after their relocation (2014, pp. 194–195).

Olenasha also stresses that restrictions on land use increased considerably through the inscription on the World Heritage List (ibid., pp. 199–211). The Statement of Outstanding Universal Value emphasizes the exceptional natural and cultural significance of the area with regard to biodiversity protection and archaeological remains. According to Olenasha, restriction on grazing resources is one of the most salient issues, particularly in the Ngorongoro Crater, which is an important source of salt for the Maasai's cattle. Due to the extension of the inscription in 2010, the restrictions on grazing have been further increased. Another dramatic consequence of the measures to ban agriculture on the site was that conservation interfered with the Maasai's food security. Indigenous representatives reported that in 2012, approximately 70,000 residents were at risk of hunger and starvation, after this attempt to ban cultivation in the area. However, the culmination of the problems in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area also forced both the Tanzanian government and the UNESCO to take measures in order to alleviate the situation of the Maasai communities. In 2013, UNESCO launched the project "People and Wildlife: Past, Present and Future," aiming to improve the dialogue and exchange between government authorities and local communities. Both the World Heritage Centre and IUCN, in their report on the state of conservation submitted to the World Heritage Committee on May 29, 2015, stress the importance of the project "to develop a renewed approach to balancing sustainable livelihoods of local communities with the goals of wildlife protection, ecosystem conservation and management as well as sustainable tourism" (UNESCO 2015, p. 47).

Olenasha's study demonstrates the predominant economic form of displacement and marginalization of the indigenous communities in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area as defined by Stevens. Preceding the establishment of the conservation area, the Maasai had to vacate their traditional fertile territories in the Serengeti National Park. In the course of time, their relocation to another protected area resulted in a severe threat to their livelihoods. Even in the context of the extension of the inscription of the World Heritage site in 2010, the Maasai representatives were not consulted in accordance with the provisions of the UNDRIP. Although national and international conservation bodies now seek to balance multiple land use in the area, conservation goals are still the primary concern, as the state of conservation report from 2015 reveals. Nevertheless, this short discussion cannot venture into further impacts of conservation on the Maasai pastoralists at this point. However, the fact remains that in this context sustainability is conceived mainly in terms of international conservation objectives.

Case 2: Lake Bogoria, Kenya

The case of Lake Bogoria in Kenya received more attention within the international community than the case of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area. Due to a long history of violations of indigenous peoples' rights, the inscription of Lake Bogoria soon became subject to critical evaluations by international human rights bodies. Abraham's study on the development of Lake Bogoria sheds light on the problematic antecedents

of the inscription. Lake Bogoria was established as a protected area in 1973—i.e., as a game reserve—which entailed the forced eviction of the Endorois community from the region. Again, the goal of the Kenyan authorities was to restrict human use of natural resources in order to protect wildlife in the area (2014, pp. 167–172). Abraham also identifies the lack of recognition of the Endorois community's own decision-making institutions, the lack of their land-use rights, and the lack of effective benefit-sharing of tourism revenues as the major issues that need to be addressed.

Furthermore, the inscription of the Kenya Lake System on the World Heritage List as natural site did not include a previous consultation of the Endorois and their representative organization, the Endorois Welfare Council. Abraham stresses that the World Heritage designation of Lake Bogoria elevated the level of protection of biological diversity, resulting in additional restrictions on access to the area. The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) heavily criticized the inscription of Lake Bogoria. In November 2011, after receiving complaints from the Endorois Welfare Council, the ACHPR—the most influential multilateral human rights body in Africa—adopted a resolution reminding the World Heritage Committee of previous decisions on the issue of the forced eviction of the Endorois. The commission recommended inter alia restitution of ancestral lands, guaranteeing unrestricted access to the area and further compensations:

> **Deeply concerned** that the World Heritage Committee at its 35th session, on the recommendation of … IUCN, inscribed Lake Bogoria National Reserve on the World Heritage List, without obtaining the free, prior and informed consent of the Endorois through their own representative institutions, and despite the fact that the Endorois Welfare Council had urged the Committee to defer the nomination because of the lack of meaningful involvement and consultation with the Endorois. (ACHPR 2011)

Short Comparison of the Case Studies

Compared to the case of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, the case of Lake Bogoria received slightly more international attention as the form of economic marginalization is clearly a result of the forced displacement and relocation of the Endorois community (see Table 1). Furthermore, the Endorois Welfare Council was able to use their identification with the concept of indigenous peoples as a "political resource" (Pelican 2015, p. 135) in order to elicit critical responses from international bodies regarding the World Heritage designation. In this regard, Abraham stresses that because of their unsuccessful attempts to appeal against their forced eviction at the national level, the Endorois representative organization has much experience in bringing their concerns to the attention of international organizations (Abraham 2014, p. 183). These findings appear to confirm Pelican's argument that in Africa, indigenous peoples' movements show very divergent trajectories (Pelican 2015, p. 138). While the Endorois community was able to frame the conflict between their claims and conservation values as a political struggle for recognition of their rights, the Maasai faced additional pressures from food insecurity that appeared as unintended consequences of the conservation efforts in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area.

Future Transformations of Protected Areas: Management of Indigenous Peoples and the Transformation of Local Vulnerability

International conservation organizations cannot be made entirely accountable for exclusionary practices of establishing and managing protected areas such as the Lake Bogoria Game Reserve and the Ngorongoro Conservation Area. Conventionally, international conservation instruments are not human rights treaties. Therefore, national political projects, in the context of the nomination of World Heritage sites, continue to reproduce and sustain power inequities and social conflicts. Conservationists have also attempted to respond in a more cooperative way to claims of indigenous peoples. According to Stevens, the Vth World Parks Congress in 2003 marked a significant shift in the conceptualization of protected area conservation, and the congress "became the site of a historic dialogue (at times confrontational) between indigenous peoples and international conservationists that transformed international protected area policy" (2014a, p. 47). The principal outcomes of the congress, the Durban Accord and the Durban Action Plan "Message to the Convention on Biological Diversity," take into consideration the concerns expressed by indigenous peoples' representatives at the event (see extract from "The Indigenous Peoples' Declaration to the World Parks Congress" in the introduction of this article). Stevens argues that at the World Parks Congress "[i]ndigenous peoples, the IUCN, and the CBD have developed a new vision that links conservation, culture, and rights in new kinds of protected areas" (2014a, p. 80). Given the focus on the CBD, the realization of the new principles falls short in the context of other international conservation instruments like the World Heritage Convention.

The transformation of exclusionary approaches to conservation of protected areas, however, is not only a case of straightforward translation into a new language. Obviously, indigenous peoples and their representative organizations now interact in a wide array of relationships with governments, international conservation organizations, activists, and experts across local and global scales. Looking toward new visions of rights-based approaches to conservation is not sufficient in order to understand the massive expansion of protected areas since the beginning of the twenty-first century (see Fig. 1), against the backdrop of the continuous marginalization of indigenous peoples (Campese et al. 2009). Instead, it is necessary to ask how the histories and political dynamics of the legacies of exclusionary approaches to protected area conservation continue to evolve today. Fairhead et al. argue that in the name of sustainability, biodiversity conservation, or sustainable tourism, nature conservation reshapes human-ecological relationships, and this dynamic manifests itself in forms of "green grabbing" (Fairhead et al. 2012, pp. 238–39). This perspective challenges the fundamental assumptions of sustainable ends. In the two cases analyzed above, these ends justified the dispossession and relocation of indigenous communities to prevent assumed destructive local practices of cultivation and livestock breeding. What is more, the designation of both protected areas as World Heritage sites apparently transformed the process of green grabbing even further, as it involved "the restructuring of rules and authority over the access, use and management of resources" (ibid.).

The concept of green grabbing is a form of Marxist critique, which focuses on the appropriation of nature as the result of processes of accumulation. Instead of capital accumulation that is needed for economic growth, Fairhead et al. hold the view that green grabbing reflects "the value of what we might call 'the economy of repair'" (ibid., p. 242). The logic of the economy of repair undermines the objectives of sustainable development in the preservation of protected areas such as the Ngorongoro Conservation Area or Lake Bogoria, because the way of reconfiguring conceptualizations of nature and human-ecological relationships also reinforces inequalities. In addition, a further problematic becomes manifest in both cases due to the dual quality of the values associated with conservation of protected areas, because "those implicated in the accumulation of values are also those implicated in the attributions of value itself" (ibid, p. 246). Therefore, this dual process relies on the permanent production of scientific evidence to assert and confirm value for biodiversity conservation, and furthermore it facilitates the appraisal of ecosystem services that are required to halt the loss of flora and fauna.

Nevertheless, the ACHPR's reaction to the designation of Lake Bogoria as a World Heritage site demonstrates the centrality of human rights discourses in international politics today. It also underscores how indigenous peoples and their representative organizations have advocated effectively for their participation in the establishment and management of protected areas located on their ancestral lands. The Durban Accord is another vivid example of how indigenous peoples are integrated into the critical examination, definition, and determination of international conservation goals. In contrast to the critique of green grabbing, Lindroth and Sinevaara-Niskanen suggest that environmental political dynamics today do not merely impose certain conceptualizations of values attributed to wilderness preservation but also generate opportunities for indigenous peoples to become agents in the reformulation of policies and goals of conservation (Lindroth and Sinevaara-Niskanen 2013, p. 278). Hence, conservationists, international organizations, and also indigenous peoples themselves are reconfiguring conservation goals based on an actual or assumed intimate relationship with their ancestral or traditional lands.

As a result, indigenous peoples' advocacy shows significant linkages to expectations of making conservation more equitable or rights-based. It does not necessarily mean that their integration into international conservation politics will lead to changes in the behavior of governments, because new approaches are still concerned with how indigenous livelihoods should become manageable within the framework of international conservation goals. While the growing concern with indigenous peoples' rights has enabled indigenous peoples to participate in the transformation of the legacies of exclusionary approaches to conservation, manageable goals still constitute the main driver to respond to their claims and contestations of conservations values. So rather than transforming the economy of repair that undermines the objectives of a more equitable and just sustainable development, the inclusion of indigenous peoples will, more likely, impose new demands and requirements on them as their culture continue to evolve.

The comparison of the cases from Kenya and Tanzania shows that the Endorois and the Maasai possess very different capacities to respond to local vulnerability. The designation of World Heritage sites produced fundamentally

different outcomes. While the Maasai faced serious existential threats because of the impact of food insecurity, an unwanted consequence of the designation, the Endorois community was able to mobilize substantial political resources across various geographical and political scales in order to uphold their resistance against the eviction from their ancestral lands. Therefore, understanding the risks international conservation goals may produce require more attention. Ulrich Beck's theory of world risk society explains quite unequivocally the relationship between international institutional arrangements and global inequality (2009). In Beck's view, the loss of biodiversity becomes a socially constructed global risk as "latent side effect" (ibid., p. 161) of modernization. However, international conservation instruments that seek to respond to global threats, halt the loss of biodiversity, and promote sustainable development also reproduce global inequalities as the two cases demonstrated. Following Beck's argument, the decoupling of the location of decision-making from the places, which are the object of conservation, also created a blind spot in relation to the vulnerability of the indigenous groups affected by the decisions. While indigenous human rights discourses affect more and more international conservation organizations, it is problematic to address the loss of biodiversity as a global risk without paying sufficient attention to the social vulnerability of local indigenous communities (ibid., p. 178). What is more, social vulnerability also mobilizes political resistance as the case of Lake Bogoria shows.

The example of the Endorois sheds light on the reconfiguration of global norms of conservation. Such reconfiguration was not the mere technical or legal product of a conscious effort of "normative" improvements. Rather, current global norms of conservation form dynamic frameworks, in which conflicts over the definition of goals, values, and risks occur. Although the Endorois community was not able to alter the direction of conservation goals, they were able to transform their vulnerability by challenging the prevailing models of protected areas. Future-oriented approaches to the conservation of protected areas, therefore, may need to envisage an openness to conflicting perspectives. Despite the advances in institutionalizing indigenous peoples' rights, it seems impossible at present to imagine protected area preservation without such constellations of conflict. Future research also has to consider whether indigenous human rights are creating a normative bias and, as a result, impedes alternative ways to mitigate the negative impact of human use in certain parks and reserves.

Conclusion

The designation of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area and Lake Bogoria as World Heritage sites is an illustrative example of how exclusionary approaches to the conservation of protected areas continue to marginalize indigenous peoples. This study has demonstrated that due to changes in the international human rights framework, indigenous peoples are now integrated in the reformulation of international

conservation goals. However, their formal recognition as rights holders under international law also creates an expectation that their claims and concerns will be integrated into conservation values, which disregards the concealed local conflicts that continue to transform the preservation of protected areas into indigenous peoples' struggles. Although the establishment of protected areas is a response to globalized threats to endangered species, in many cases, their expansion over the last decades has resulted in reinforcing social inequalities across the world. Hence, the practice of conservation often interferes with indigenous peoples' livelihoods in a contradictory way, highlighting the structural non-sustainability of an economy of repair.

Despite the rhetoric of rights-based approaches to conservation and the integration of indigenous peoples into the national and international frameworks of protected areas, the transformation of the legacies of the old conservation paradigm will increasingly fuel social conflicts. Because conservation policies have to respond effectively to changes in the context of protected areas, the development of indigenous peoples' livelihoods will permanently constitute challenges to conservation that need to be managed adequately. This paper argued that despite the integration of indigenous peoples into international conservation frameworks, it is necessary to challenge the supposedly self-evident institutional and legal advances. Exclusionary practices of conservation continue to affect indigenous peoples, and their involvement in international conservation arenas may produce undesired political contingencies to the extent that their claims and demands become manageable. Finally, in order to move toward alternative ways of conservation, not confined by the usual dichotomy between indigenous demands and state sovereignty that poses a threat to them, going beyond non-sustainable practices of conservation also requires challenging the paradigm of recognition and participation of indigenous peoples. In order to overcome the legacies of exclusionary practices of conservation, marginalized indigenous communities, nations, and people require a future that empowers them to respond to local and global conflicts. Going beyond the *mastery* of nature then means moving away from the management of competing values in protected areas such as managing the competition between biodiversity preservation and indigenous values.

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Hue at an Existential Crossroads: Heritage Protection and Sustainability in an Asian Developing Country Context

William Logan

UNESCO is caught up with two principal concerns regarding the relationship between its World Heritage system and sustainability. Firstly, it is concerned about the sustainability of the heritage itself, including places, artefacts in public museums or held privately and intangible heritage, in the face of development pressures. For over a decade, UNESCO has recognised that local engagement and commitment is necessary for the survival for traditional heritage sites. It has been encouraging more meaningful engagement of local communities and indigenous peoples in the identification and management of the places for which they have traditionally been custodians and which are now on or proposed for the World Heritage List. Secondly, UNESCO is also concerned with finding ways for heritage principles and practice to contribute to wider social, cultural and environmental sustainability. With now over 1031 properties on the World Heritage List in 161 countries, the World Heritage system has a responsibility to adhere to the wider United Nations sustainable development agenda, UNESCO sustainability principles, existing international humanitarian standards and multilateral environmental agreements (UNESCO 2015, p.2). If UNESCO is able to demonstrate the benefits of the effective coupling heritage protection and sustainable development, this will set the model for wider application of conservation and sustainability principles at national and local levels.

The difficulty of finding a balance between heritage conservation and new development is felt worldwide. Universal heritage principles, theoretical generalisations and so-called best international practice are always modified when applied locally. National governance arrangements and policy frameworks are often the key to understanding the extent of heritage protection and sustainable development that actually occurs on the ground. In relation to heritage, these contextual matters all

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too commonly lead to heritage destruction and prevent or constrain the development of sustainability strategies designed to ensure the survival of heritage assets into the future. Contextual considerations apply to the conservation of all monuments and sites but are especially critical in relation to the protection of broader cultural landscapes and historic urban landscapes.

The complex and often contradictory impact of governance and policy frameworks on heritage and sustainability outcomes is evident in the rapidly growing urban centres in Asian developing countries, where economic and urban development often outweighs environmental concerns. Using a case study of Hue, Vietnam's last feudal capital and now a city of around 400,000 people, this chapter shows how governance and policy frameworks have so far impeded the ability of local Hue authorities to formulate a sustainable approach to protecting its World Heritage. The inscription of the "Complex of Hue Monuments" dates from 1993 and, as outlined later in the chapter, deals inadequately with the set of traditional structures involved and their setting. For more than a decade and despite their best efforts, the authority established to manage and conserve the property, the Hue Monuments Conservation Centre (HMCC), and has struggled to reinscribe the property as a cultural landscape in line with UNESCO World Heritage Committee and ICOMOS recommendations. It may be more persuasive in its discussions with national and provincial authorities if the HMCC focused on the contribution that heritage conservation can make towards social, economic and physical sustainability and argued that protecting Hue's cultural landscape would help to create a more sustainable city for current and future generations.

Hue's History and Heritage

As mentioned, Hue was the capital city under the Nguyen, Vietnam's last royal dynasty, which had successfully reunited the country after a long period of conflict between the warring clans of the north and south. Starting in 1802, the royal citadel was built by the first Nguyen king, Gia Long, and designed after the Chinese fashion with forbidden and imperial compounds but with walls constructed in the Vauban manner. The geomantic *phong thuy* principles (better known by the Chinese term *feng shui*) underlay the location and design. The citadel was auspiciously sited on the northern bank of the Perfume River and protected by islands representing the blue dragon to the east and white tiger to the west. A hill to the south of the river acted as a screen to prevent evil spirits from entering the main gates of the citadel. Within the citadel, unique forms of intangible heritage developed, particularly court music (nhã nhạc).

At the peak of the dynasty's power and prosperity in the nineteenth century, the citadel was home to the imperial court, mandarins and army. A large civilian population comprising artisans and shopkeepers also lived inside the city walls, although soon spilling out to the east. When the French arrived in the middle of the nineteenth century, they constructed their colonial town across the Perfume River, with

administrative buildings, schools, a railway station and other services for the town and region. For the Vietnamese, Hue was the national capital; for the French, it was merely the seat of the Nguyen emperors and the capital of the lesser territory of Annam, one of the five provinces in the French colonial structure, the French Indochinese Union. The kings were buried in mausoleums in the countryside upstream from the citadel. The longer-reigning kings, such as Minh Mang (1820–41), Tu Duc (1848–83) and Khai Dinh (1916–25), oversaw the siting and designing of their own spectacular mausoleums.

With the collapse of the Nguyen dynasty in 1945, the heritage assets from Hue's "golden age" fell into disrepair. The ensuing wars and further political changes threatened their complete destruction. After defeating the French at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, the country was divided again; Hanoi became the capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the north and Saigon the capital of the Republic of Vietnam in the south. Hue suffered extensive loss of life and physical damage during the American War, especially the 1968 Tet Offensive when large-scale fighting occurred within the citadel between the Republic of Vietnam army and the southern communist Viet Cong. Following the Vietnam/American War, the country was again reunified as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in 1975 under Hanoi's control, and Hue lost its capital city status and functions (Logan 2005/6).

The communist regime in Hanoi initially showed little interest in saving Hue's heritage. As a Vietnamese scholar, Kim Ninh (2002, p.63), put it:

> As in other spheres, the task of reconstruction in the cultural arena has to begin with destruction…. Therefore the first task is to completely eradicate the poisonous venom of the feudalists and colonialists.

Some officers in UNESCO's Division of Cultural Heritage, however, were showing interest in conserving the city's heritage, and UNESCO Director-General, Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, visiting Hue in 1981, appealed to the Vietnamese government to save the city and launched an International Safeguarding Campaign. This was a propitious time for such a proposal since Vietnam was beginning to relax its doctrinaire policies in agriculture and see the need for finding financial support outside the communist bloc. Such policy shifts led to the introduction of the *doi moi* ("renovation") policy in 1986 that enabled Vietnam to move towards a market economy and to reconnect with the West. Eventually, in 1993, the "Complex of Hue Monuments" comprising of the citadel, imperial tombs and several religious buildings was entered onto the World Heritage List, and Japanese Funds-in-Trust were used by UNESCO to restore the main south gate, the Ngo Mon or Noon Gate. In 2003 the Vietnamese government successfully proposed the special form of music developed in the Hue court for recognition as one of UNESCO's Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. The music was subsequently inscribed on the list of the world's intangible heritage under the 2003 UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*.

Colin Long (2003) has pointed to the irony that the first World Heritage inscription from socialist Vietnam was for royal Hue. The irony is largely explained by the rise in international tourism in the 1990s, coming from France and Australia in

particular (Biles et al. 1999), which led to a reappraisal of the imperial heritage in terms of its economic value. Cultural tourism based on this heritage is a major source of revenue for Hue. In 1990, the year that the country was opened to foreign tourism, Hue citadel and mausoleums were visited by 19,000 international and 208,000 domestic tourists. An international cultural festival has taken place every 2 years since the year 2000 and is growing in popularity. By 2013, the numbers had jumped in the first 9 months alone to 564,000 international and 806,000 domestic visitors, earning 1842 billion VND (US$82.6 million), almost two-thirds coming from the international (TTW 2013).

Due to the economic value of tourism, the importance of conserving the heritage is recognised by all levels of government and the community. At least this is true insofar as the imperial heritage goes. The French colonial heritage on the south bank of the Perfume River, however, has not fared so well, despite having obvious townscape and historic significance. The 15-storey New Palace Hotel tower effectively destroys the visual integrity of the French colonial area and impinges on the river landscape. Meanwhile, medium-rise buildings with mock colonial detailing have been erected along the main hotel street running parallel with the river and now crowd out the original colonial buildings. These developments detract from Hue's appeal for the high-spending end of the tourist market and are rapidly turning the French quarter into a backpacker zone, similar to Banglamphu in Bangkok or Kuta in Bali.

The Complex of Hue Monuments World Heritage Inscription

The Complex of Hue Monuments was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1993 under criteria (iii) and (iv), with the following justification:

Criterion (iii): Hue represents an outstanding demonstration of the power of the vanished Vietnamese feudal empire at its apogee in the early nineteenth century.

Criterion (iv): The complex of Hue monuments is an outstanding example of an eastern feudal capital.

The brief official description of the property reads as follows:

> Established as the capital of unified Viet Nam in 1802, Hue was not only the political but also the cultural and religious centre under the Nguyen dynasty until 1945. The Perfume River winds its way through the Capital City, the Imperial City, the Forbidden Purple City and the Inner City, giving this unique feudal capital a setting of great natural beauty.

The property, as inscribed, has two major deficiencies. First, although inscribed as a group of monuments, it was inscribed as a serial property composed of 16 separate elements when in fact almost all of these buildings are essentially bound together by the *phong thuy* philosophy that guided their design and execution and by the imperial rituals up and down the river that linked the living citadel and

associated temples along the banks with the tombs of the deceased emperors upstream. Because of this, the property would qualify as a cultural landscape of the second (designed) and third category (associative), according to definitions provided in the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*. The river is critical to the OUV, as the nomination dossier and the brief official description clearly indicate, and yet the river and its banks were excluded from the nominated property and remain unprotected by the World Heritage inscription.

Second, the 16 sites lack sufficient curtilage. The buffer zones existing around each monument were not defined in the official documents submitted by the State Party at the time of inscription but were later designated as Zone II within the existing legal framework, with the World Heritage-inscribed areas being designated as Zone I. The buffer zones appear too small to ensure the protection of the heritage sites from unwanted developments. Unsympathetic new constructions have occurred close to the monuments, such as a major bypass road that cuts into the protective blue dragon hill in the case of Khai Dinh's mausoleum and the noisy Tuan Bridge close to Minh Mang's tomb. A major, yet to be developed, road network also potentially threatens Tu Duc's mausoleum. Protecting the fabric of the buildings has been the narrow focus of inscription rather than taking into account the underlying and essential intangible geomantic design elements or the rituals that took place on the river (Figs. 1 and 2).

Problems began to emerge within a decade of inscription, resulting from the inadequate scope and equivocal government support. The property's outstanding universal value (OUV) was not only threatened by highway construction but also proposals for new medium-rise hotels and other buildings along the river. There were also concerns about the removal of illegal buildings from the citadel and the consequent relocation of inhabitants who have been here since the 1940s and have firmly established social and economic links to the citadel area. Prior to 1998, an International Advisory Group met several times to review the progress and orient the Campaign, each time issuing comprehensive recommendations. After 1998, numerous monitoring and advisory missions were conducted, including a joint UNESCO–ICOMOS mission in 2006 undertaken by Giovanni Boccardi and the author in (Boccardi and Logan 2006). Despite urging from the various missions, there was little progress on producing a management plan for the property. Inclusion of a management plan in the nomination dossier was not a World Heritage Committee requirement at the time of Hue's inscription.

The 2006 mission took the view that the uninscribed part of Hue's south-western sector provides a setting for the inscribed Zone I sites and also requires the most careful management in order to maintain its ecological value (especially vegetation) and rural atmosphere. It would be appropriate to redesignate all of this remaining area as Zone II under Vietnamese legislation. This was not a new idea since the 1997–2010 master plan for Hue had already defined the south-west as an ecological area. The redesignation would merely reiterate and reinforce the earlier decision by the Vietnamese government authorities. An extension of the existing buffer zones should be undertaken to ensure that all the geomantic elements are protected, as an

Fig. 1 Bypass highway cutting through the Khai Dinh mausoleum's blue dragon hill, 2007 (Source: W. Logan)

Fig. 2 Tuan Bridge carries heavy traffic across Perfume River skirting Minh Mang's mausoleum, 2007 (Source: W. Logan)

interim measure until a full renomination of the site as a cultural landscape. There should, however, be a temporary suspension of major infrastructural and building activities in the newly defined buffer zone (Zone II) until the necessary regulatory framework is approved. It was expected that international assistance would be sought under the World Heritage Fund, for both the renomination as a cultural landscape and the interim extension of the existing buffer zones, particularly through the provision of training in the development of conservation.

Governance Issues

In 2015, a decade later, the management plan has just been completed and approved by the Committee (HMCC 2015), and moves to reinscribe the property are only now beginning. To be fair, there have been very considerable physical conservation works, as detailed in the management plan, and little new development has been permitted immediately around the inscribed sites or along the river since 2006, other than a bridge over the river at the south-west corner of the citadel. But Hue's population is now much larger, and considerable residential development has occurred within in the south-west sector's cultural landscape. Fortunately, this has so far been low-scale and still largely beneath the canopy of trees, but the environmental threat remains. Even though the management plan indicates that action will take place on preparing the reinscription dossier within the 2015–2020 period, implementation will not occur until 2020–2030 (HMCC 2015, pp.174–5).

There are a number of reasons why the implementation has been delayed. The HMCC was keen to start moving but was held back for reasons related to governance in Vietnam, particularly conflicting visions for Hue's future between various levels of government. The national government based in Hanoi sees Hue within the context of an urban strategy which entails a national hierarchy of urban places. Pressures for modern development are at their most intense in the two special cities—the capital city Hanoi, in the north, and Ho Chi Minh City in the south. Grade 1 cities in the national urban strategy, such as Hue, are expected to contribute significantly to the country's development targets. Conversely as discussions with local officials, scholars and other residents over 20 years have revealed, the Hue community seems happy for the city to continue to grow as a cultural city based on its universities, cultural tourism and associated cultural industries, such as the Hue Festival and green-area recreation. The national government in Hanoi is increasingly concerned that Hue's growth is too slow and the city is too heavily dependent on central funding subsidies.

Arguments against such modern development are difficult to make when the country's living standards remain low and there is a strong popular desire to modernise in order to "develop". Hue is located in the country's poorest region, and the Hanoi government wants investors to come to Hue to develop new economic enterprises and jobs. Now, in the twenty-first century, Hue is in relative decline, having fallen from third rank among Vietnamese cities to sixth or seventh in terms

of population size and economic clout. Its search for new role to arrest the decline has been unsuccessful so far. While expressing the view that heritage and development should not be mutually exclusive, Thua Thien Hue Provincial Government and Hue People's Committee have experienced difficulty in finding ways to put this into practice. The possibilities are few: industrial and commercial growth is not promising, especially now that access to the booming port-endowed city of Da Nang has been vastly improved by construction of a tunnel under the Hai Van mountain barrier. Like Nara, Ayutthaya, Yogyakarta and other old capitals, one vision of the future makes the most of its stock of heritage monuments, buildings and sites, seeing these as assets—a "vector for development", as a UNESCO symposium in Hue in April 2000 called it—rather than a liability.

Part of the problem appears to be the large number of authorities involved, the complex arrangements for coordination between them and the priority that has been given to infrastructure construction at the expense of the heritage values of this part of the city. The provincial administrative structure mirrors the national, with the Ministry of Culture being at both levels much less influential than the Ministry of Construction. The failure of the original nomination document to include the *phong thuy* elements of the monuments and river limited the Ministry of Culture's arguments against the bypass road and the Tuan Bridge. The promotional processes used in Vietnam mean that the most senior government officials in Hue have not usually been from Hue, raising questions about their understanding of and commitment to protecting Hue's heritage. They see little personal or institutional gain in pushing the cultural landscape notion since the local community might react negatively, regarding any suggestion of heritage controls as an infringement of their private property rights. To minimise such a reaction, it is important to advertise the fact that that the management plan (HMCC 2015, p.175) makes clear that the two main restrictions likely to be needed are on building height and removal of tree cover. A sensitively conducted public consultation and information programme should enable the reinscription to proceed.

Vietnam's Interest in Sustainable Development

Vietnam has had an active interest in sustainable development for a quarter of a century. It attended the Rio and Johannesburg summits on environment and development in 1992 and 2002, respectively, and has been implementing a "Sustainable Development in Vietnam (Vietnam Agenda 21)" strategy since 2002. This strategy, however, sees sustainability as being concerned with environmental degradation and climate change rather than heritage. This is particularly important for Hue and the central Vietnam coast where typhoons have been more frequent and violent in recent years and where severe flooding is likely as sea levels rise. The report Vietnam presented to the Rio+20 Conference in 2012, however, mentions the country's World Heritage natural sites but makes no reference to its cultural heritage. Even so, awareness of the linkage between cultural heritage, development and sustainability

is growing, partly because of the ideological and commercial opportunities provided by the World Heritage listing of the Hanoi citadel in 2010 (Logan 2014) and partly because of the increased international stature it is obtaining from active engagement in global heritage activities. Vietnam is currently a member of the World Heritage Committee and has offered to host a future committee session at Trang An, a site adjacent to the city of Ninh Binh that was added to the World Heritage List as a mixed property in 2014. A concern to ensure that tourism is organised more sustainably has also emerged in recent years (Tinh Bui Duc 2009).

It was at Ninh Binh that one of the working group meetings was held in January 2015 that led to the drafting of the *World Heritage and Sustainable Development* policy that was adopted by the General Assembly of States Parties to the World Heritage Convention in November 2015 (UNESCO 2015). This policy is especially important in the way it conceptualises the sustainability issue, based on the conceptual framework adopted in discussions leading to the United Nations' post-2015 development agenda. Drawing particularly on the UN Task Team Report *Realizing the Future We Want for All* (UN 2012), the policy sees the achievement of sustainable development as requiring four sets of factors to be met: environmental sustainability, inclusive social development, inclusive economic development and the fostering of peace and security. It calls on States Parties not only to protect the OUV of World Heritage properties but also to "recognise and promote the properties' inherent potential to contribute to all dimensions of sustainable development [and to] ensure that their conservation and management strategies are aligned with broader sustainable development objectives", by which is meant the three overarching principles identified in the UN Task Team Report, that is, human rights, equality and long-term sustainability. The policy will require revision of the operational guidelines and influence heritage policy and practice at the national and local level in countries around the world, including Vietnam.

The last few years have been propitious for bringing sustainable development arguments to the fore in Hue. In meetings to complete the management plan, it was argued not only that the Complex of Hue Monuments property needed to be made more sustainable but also that Hue should make use of its heritage to achieve wider urban sustainability. By adopting the UNESCO and ICOMOS recommendations to reinscribe the serial site property as an integrated cultural landscape, incorporating the Perfume River, a green wedge would be created that would provide urban qualities that will be treasured in the future: not merely the heritage structures but also the easy access to green space that can be used for fresh air, recreation and education. This would be a major step towards arresting environmental degradation in the city as well as protecting the cultural identity of its citizens.

Conclusion

Hue is at an existential crossroad, a critical point in its planning for present-day and future generations. This chapter reaffirms that new development and heritage protection are not necessarily incompatible and contends that the protection of heritage

can and does contribute significantly to the achievement of critical sustainable development goals. Focusing on sustainability may provide a path through the apparent impasse between local heritage aspirations and national growth imperatives. If the current inscription, which deals inadequately with a set of historical structures, is changed to a cultural landscape that takes in the whole Perfume River valley, it would better reflect and protect Hue's outstanding heritage values. More importantly it would also provide a basis for achieving a more sustainable living environment for Hue's current and future inhabitants and ensure that World Heritage inscription continues to make an important contribution to the local economy.

The details of the heritage/development interrelationship in Hue are unique, but the generalities apply to other developing world places that might be regarded as cultural landscapes. One such example is the magnificent Dien Bien Phu in Vietnam, the site of one of the most significant battles in military history. World Heritage advocates need to effectively address the realities of the situation in Asia's developing countries where, unlike much of the West, the standards of living are still very low, population increase is high, and the drive for economic growth and better incomes is paramount. Policymakers, planners, property owners and developers need to be convinced that the protection of the heritage values of cultural landscapes does not mean arresting development but rather channelling it into locations where significant heritage values are not threatened. Moreover, cultural heritage protection needs to become part of routine planning—not just of inscribed areas but of whole cultural landscapes and, indeed, of other parts of the urban conglomeration.

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Part VI
Aspects of Implementation

Malaga Versus Picasso: Rebranding a City Through Non-material Heritage

Daniel Barrera-Fernández and Marco Hernández-Escampa

Introduction

The aim of this work is to assess whether introduced or reinterpreted symbols can contribute to social and economic sustainability in a city and how such a process affects identity. This way, both, urban studies views and anthropological concepts, such as culture and social change, are employed to discuss public policies related to heritage enhancement, tourist promotion, urban and strategic planning, and economic initiatives. The importance of culture as a pillar of sustainability is also explored. In order to achieve such a goal, the relationship between the city of Malaga, Spain, and the painter Pablo Picasso was taken as case study.

Globalisation has forced cities to develop a series of strategies in order to become more competitive. According to Cabigon (2008), a world city network has been formed which has developed a particular geography that is city centred. On one hand, nations have lost their centrality in favour of global and local institutions. On the other hand, there is a growing number of cases of localisation of what is global (Sassen 2007). In this global geography, cities are the producers of knowledge and services, where culture as a whole plays a key role as an economic resource and as a way of adding new values to local products and services. These characteristics of culture have been most popularly appropriated in the context of city branding that often aims at fostering sustainable development of a city through promoting its culturally grounded and unique selling points.

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Branding and Cultural Change

A brand is defined as 'a name, term, sign, symbol or design, or a combination of these intended to identify the goods and services of one seller or a group of sellers and to differentiate them from those of competitors' (Kotler et al. 2014). Although at the beginning branding was focused on products, it has included progressively all kinds of physical entities, such as corporations, destinations and more recently places and cities (Hanna and Rowley 2008). As Anholt (2007) points out, all cities, regions and countries are brands since all of them have a reputation brand image. Taking this reality into account, many cities have reinforced their existing brand reputation, while other ones have decided to rebrand themselves in order to change the assumed perception of the city. Having a strong brand makes a city more attractive for businesses, tourists, students, entrepreneurs, international organisations and news agencies (Mora 2012). Fainstein and Judd (1999) also reflect on the importance of branding for residents, since tourism and tourist behaviour become an integral part of daily life, meaning that residents consume the city in ways that are similar to tourists.

According to Dinnie (2011), creating a city brand involves firstly defining the city's identity based on its own features and secondly transferring this identity to an image through a logo, icon, slogan or symbol. In the messages that are selected by cities, culture has a central role. In this context, culture is understood as a mental content which is passed from one group to another or through generations (D'Andrade 1995; Brown 2006; Goodenough 1964). Therefore, the imaginary realm is usually constructed using historical discourse and its reinterpretation. Culture is also understood as an actual social performance of the inhabitants of the city. This way, branding or rebranding and their consequences imply cultural change.

Culture fosters creativity and innovation, and it adds new meanings and values to existing products and services. Furthermore, culture brings coherence and consistency to a brand, and it causes less controversy than other values such as multiculturalism (Zukin 1995). In a context of strong competitiveness among cities, culture strengthens local singularity (Kavaratzis and Ashworth 2008). Florida (2005) particularly stresses the interest of history and heritage on one side and the promotion of urban cultures and entertainments on the other. This way, both material culture and mental content nurture the imaginary realm by yielding monuments, public spaces, stories, traditions and social behaviour as items and sets upon which social construction is built. When urban spaces are seen as a source of income, culture and especially the arts help them become more attractive for consumption. To generate successful brands, slogans and logos need to be built on a few assets, which can be material such as monuments or contemporary architecture, or non-material such as an attractive lifestyle or singular values. Heritage offers to the new brand authenticity and connection to the particular place and history (English Heritage 2012). However, as Brito (2009) points out, one of the major risks is the trivialisation of cultural references or their devaluation and stereotyping, either by emptying their symbolic meanings or by distorting their essential features. Focusing on historic

resources, Ashworth (2009) warns about the reduction of complexity to a simple past, lacking depth and context.

Selection of potentially attractive assets can be made by choosing from five aspects: a specific historic period, a prominent artist or author, a relevant event or personality, a relevant historical or political fact or a symbolic cultural organisation (Brito 2009). Thus, cities seek to achieve competitive advantage through differentiation, but they also achieve standardisation since all of them follow familiar strategies (Richards and Wilson 2007), which finally leads to similar urban projects such as regenerated waterfronts, creative quarters and gentrified historic cores. This selection can be made, focusing on existing heritage resources, on built spaces or non-material assets, and if they are not enough, new attractions can be promoted building on existing references or creating new ones (Barrera-Fernández et al. 2014).

The Role of Culture and Heritage in Branding and Sustainable Development

Culture implies the whole social order upon which a society relies (Williams 1981). Seen this way, cultural transmission and preservation become two of the main goals of any society. With this in mind, the idea to propose culture as the fourth pillar of sustainability has been developed (Hawkes 2001; Nurse 2006; Burford et al. 2013). This view has found institutional support in the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (UNESCO 2001). Thus, branding is understood as cultural change. In order to be sustainable, a number of factors need to be considered. Consultation with local stakeholders and development of core values are important in order to increase participation and ownership (Woodland and Acott 2007). In this sense, local social participation represents a key aspect of people-centred sustainable development because, if not taken into account, cultural values and practices tend to fade, implying intangible heritage loss. Without this participation, the potential economic profit might still be produced, but not for the benefit of the local society. In addition, the impact of the brand on public policies of all kinds must be taken into account (Hernández White 2012). Otherwise, there is a high risk of dominance by brands over democratically legitimised public debate (Lehner and Halliday 2014), normally materialised in outdated clichés used in tourist promotion (Zouganeli et al. 2012).

The concept of heritage has evolved through time. At first, the idea of heritage was linked to specific historic monuments. Since then, broader views of heritage have developed, which consider complex systems such as landscapes and sociocultural entities. This way, contemporary concepts of heritage imply both tangible and intangible components. In this sense, the historic discourse and its interpretations, understood as identity reinforcements, constitute part of the intangible heritage of a society (Ahmad 2006). Taking this into account, the concept of sustainability as

Name of the museum	Location	Number of Picasso's artworks	Date of opening	No. of visitors
Musée National Picasso "La Guerre et la Paix"	Vallauris (France)	2	1959	31,008 (2013)
Museu Picasso	Barcelona (Spain)	> 3,500	1963	915,225 (2013)
Musée Picasso	Antibes (France)	245	1966	129,094 (2013)
Musée Picasso Paris	Paris (France)	> 5,000	1985	249,775 (2009)
Museo Picasso - Colección Eugenio Arias	Buitrago del Lozoya (Spain)	65	1985	20,044 (2014)
Fundación Picasso. Museo Casa Natal	Malaga (Spain)	406	1988	110,766 (2013)
Centre Picasso	Horta de Sant Joan (Spain)	147	1992	-
Kunstmuseum Pablo Picasso Münster	Münster (Germany)	> 800	2000	83,000 (2013)
Casa Museo Picasso	A Coruña (Spain)	33	2002	-
Museo Picasso Málaga	Malaga (Spain)	285	2003	406,465 (2013)

Fig. 1 Basic data of the museums devoted to Picasso (Source: the authors, based on the museums' official websites)

understood in heritage conservation (material and non-material) should imply major social benefits and a minimum of loss in cultural-relevant material assets and social practices.

In the case of Malaga, reinforcing its link with Picasso theoretically means embracing values of culture, creativity and avant-garde. It is pertinent to mention that Malaga, as a tourist destination within a highly competitive market, must struggle for a relevant position as a valuable attraction. The effectiveness of attractions to draw visitors tends to be temporary, and thus, to compete they need to evolve. Malaga was indeed the birthplace of the mentioned artist; however, the city was hostile to Picasso's work for decades (EFE Málaga 2013), and as a consequence, the painter drifted apart from his local town ('Laniado vincula' 2013). The main reason for this situation was the political context, since much of Picasso's works were developed while Spain was under Franco's dictatorial regime, and the painter had supported the 2nd Republic. As a result, the authorities' recognition of Picasso's art was delayed, and a fruitful relationship never developed. Nevertheless, Malaga's interest in Picasso boosted during the 1990s, when cultural tourism was seen as a priority to regenerate the local economic base. From then on, the public administration has implemented a wide range of initiatives to rebrand the city building on references to the painter, not without contestation. The artist has been made present as an integral part of Malaga's urban landscape through preservation and enhancement of heritage assets related to the painter's life, creation of a museum dedicated to the artist, promotion of events inspired by Picasso and all kinds of commercial initiatives.

The Picasso Museum in Malaga is the most recent cultural centre dedicated to the artist. It is a small collection (285 artworks) compared to the ones in Paris (more than 5000 artworks) and Barcelona (more than 3500 pieces). However, it is the second most visited facility of its kind, just behind Barcelona's Picasso Museum. In relation to museums in Malaga, the Picasso Museum stands in the second position with 410,568 visitors in 2014, just behind the Centre for Contemporary Art (495,417 visitors), and it is considerably more popular than the Carmen Thyssen Museum with 150,747 visitors or Picasso's Birthplace with 114,305 visitors (Fundación CIEDES 2004–2014) (Fig. 1).

Methods employed in this research include at first the collection of field data and development of a map showing the location of references made to Picasso in the

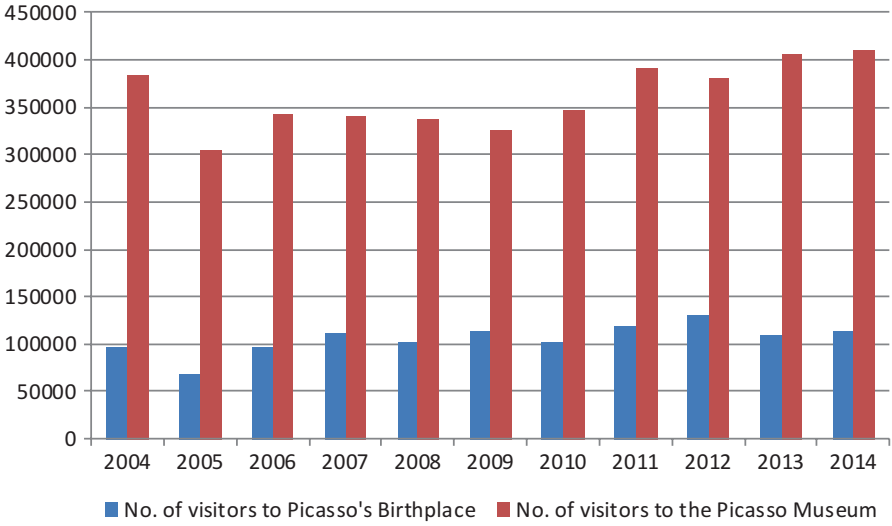

Fig. 2 Evolution in the number of visitors to the Picasso Museum and his birthplace (Source: the authors, based on Fundación CIEDES 2004–2014)

public space. Such spatial analysis was considered relevant for urban studies and was also interpreted socially as the spatial distribution of built material culture. Secondly, sources of information offered to visitors have been analysed in their relationship with Picasso-related tourist attractions and heritage sites. These sources were conceived as containers of the symbolic discourse and therefore as cognitive relevant. Mechanisms and media affecting the knowledge system were identified. Local policies have been evaluated focusing on heritage and culture, tourism, urban planning and economic strategies, with the aim of summing up their impact on physical regeneration and tourist promotion of spaces, events and products related to the artist.

Adding a New Urban Symbol: The Identification of Malaga with Picasso as New Brand Icon

Pablo Picasso was born in Malaga in 1881. He stayed there during his first ten years of life. Some buildings related to his biography or work include Condes de Buenavista Palace (now Picasso Museum), his birthplace at La Merced Square, Santiago's Church (where he was baptised) and Santo Cristo de la Salud Church (where his father taught). Currently, Condes de Buenavista Palace and Picasso's Birthplace constitute two of the main tourist resources of the city in terms of the number of visitors (Malaga City Council 2015) (Fig. 2).

The project for the Picasso Museum was originally intended to be located within the Condes de Buenavista Palace building, which is listed as monument, the most restrictive category, by the Andalusian Heritage List. However, after a number of alterations to the plan, the project finally covered 17 existing buildings, 7 of them having heritage protection in local lists. The project required the complete substitution of the former street layout and the built structure with the new buildings for the museum, introducing a new way of intervening in Malaga's historic city, which could be described as creating museum districts or clusters. Museum clusters could be seen as catalysts for the development of the cultural tourism industry (Tien 2008). In Malaga, the museum district consists of an occupied representative heritage building (Condes de Buenavista Palace), with the remainder of the museum spread over the surrounding blocks. Needless to say, the street pattern and the historic urban landscape have a specific legal protection, both in the Andalusian Heritage Law and in Malaga's Local Plans. However, regulations are too often overlooked in favour of particular interests, as seen in this case. In the case of the Picasso Museum, typology from historic houses was kept only when the authors considered that they had great architectural value. Of buildings that were perceived as important for the urban scene, only the façade was kept; the rest of the existing structures were demolished to allow space for new constructions (Martín Delgado and Cámara Guezala 2011). Focusing on the street pattern, a new inner square was created, but in practice, the public space was privatised, since new gates were installed that remain open only during the museum's opening times, showing the appropriation of this historic neighbourhood by the cultural facility.

Built heritage related to Picasso is located within a pedestrian context which comprises the main attractive public spaces and sites: Larios Street, Cathedral, Alcazaba - Roman Theatre and Granada Street. This zone has been remodeled in a functional way. Before the intervention, the area had been occupied by traditional establishments and buildings, such as shoe shops, greengrocers and tailors, which are now seldom represented. After the renovation, restaurants and souvenir stores have become conspicuous and highlighted. This way, at the urban level, the material culture associated with Picasso has been highlighted through new semantic content and uses, relating the new symbol to specific spaces or places and to an overall historic discourse. By doing so, new social behaviour and urban performance are created and introduced to the previous cultural system. A new knowledge system is introduced within the previous imaginary realm. In this sense, it can be seen how the modern interpretation drifts away from actual historic facts, especially the relative importance of Picasso's actual life in relation to the city of Malaga. On the other hand, the suppression of traditional practices implies a sociocultural cost due to extinction or reduction of former behaviour. This is relevant because in these kinds of processes the community is usually not consulted, and therefore, the cultural change related to branding tends to somewhat marginalise the pre-existent local culture. In the case of Malaga, other aspects of its true history, such as its Islamic past or its function as a port, could be highlighted instead of creating a mythic past based on a weak relationship with Picasso.

After analysing architectural and urban interventions affecting buildings and public spaces related to Picasso, interest will focus on tourism-related sources and references to Picasso in the public space. Discourse about Picasso's life and work can be found in all kinds of information given to visitors and tourism-related policy documents, such as tourism strategies, guidebooks, events, pedestrian routes, brochures, websites, the information offered to visitors, street signage, panels and plates. Even the City Council's Tourism Department has adopted Picasso-style typography in its logos. In addition, it was the official name given to the airport, the main gateway for international travelers to reach the city.

In this research, field work was developed coinciding with the celebration of the Spanish Film Festival (2013, 2014 and 2015). It consisted of prospection survey of all the streets in the historic quarter in order to identify street signs, city plans, explanations and other references to Picasso, whether included in pedestrian trails or not. 27 street signs, 17 city plans and 25 explanations located in the streets and squares of the city centre were found. 9 pedestrian trails were surveyed. At the same time, data was gathered in the form of 17 leaflets that are offered to visitors in the streets and to cruise passengers, and 6 guidebooks that can be obtained in local bookshops. It was assumed that this kind of written information is usually what tourists acquire during their visit. The historic quarter delimitation coincides with the area defined by the Andalusian Government and the Urban Protection Plans by Malaga City Council (Fig. 3).

According to the six guidebooks currently offered in bookshops in the city, the Picasso Museum is the third most visited asset after the Alcazaba and the Cathedral. Cruise passengers are recommended to visit the Picasso Museum and the painter's birthplace among six selected assets. The most cited resources in pedestrian trails are the Cathedral, Alcazaba and Picasso's Birthplace. Finally, among the 69 street signs located in the city centre, the most cited asset is the Picasso Museum. From all the given data, it can be stated that active insertion of the new symbol in culture has impacted different communication and semantic routes. Built heritage, urban signs, visual and written word, all of them significant thought reproducers, have been modified in the process.

It is clear that Picasso is omnipresent in tourism-related sources, but it is also interesting to observe what happens in non-tourist signs and advertisements. Field work has shown that there are 24 elements in the streets referring to Picasso. 22 out of 24 are associated with the visitor economy, especially hotels, eating and drinking premises and souvenirs shops, and these are all concentrated nearby the sites related to Picasso. A relevant observation is that this information is visitor oriented and is absent from spaces frequented mostly by local inhabitants. This raises the issue of whether the locals actually participate, or are involved, in the semantic change. A further question is whether they actually benefit from such a process in terms of sustainability. The local population, and its agency, usually constitutes the heritage custody system. However, in the case studied, part of the new intangible heritage has been imposed by external actors or interests. In this sense, the cultural change lacks authenticity, at least partially, and some local actors might feel uncomfortable, confused or simply marginalised, especially those who suffer from cultural substitution,

Fig. 3 Sample of working map with identification of references to Picasso and other tourist attractions in the historic city (Source: the authors)

such as the local artisans. Even if other social actors might identify with the new proposal, it still prevails that the system changed through alien agency (Fig. 4).

Heritage usually implies both tangible and intangible components. In the case study, some buildings relate to historic events about Picasso, thus representing the tangible asset. On the other hand, the discourse about the artist and its symbolisation within the imaginary realm constitute part of Malaga's intangible heritage. Regardless of whether the arguments correspond to historic facts, being recently enhanced or even created due to modern requirements, they still affect the cultural and social behaviour in the present through a branding process. During the heritage selection and urban theming around Picasso in Malaga, local policies have played a major role. Culture, tourism, urban planning and economic fields were included in

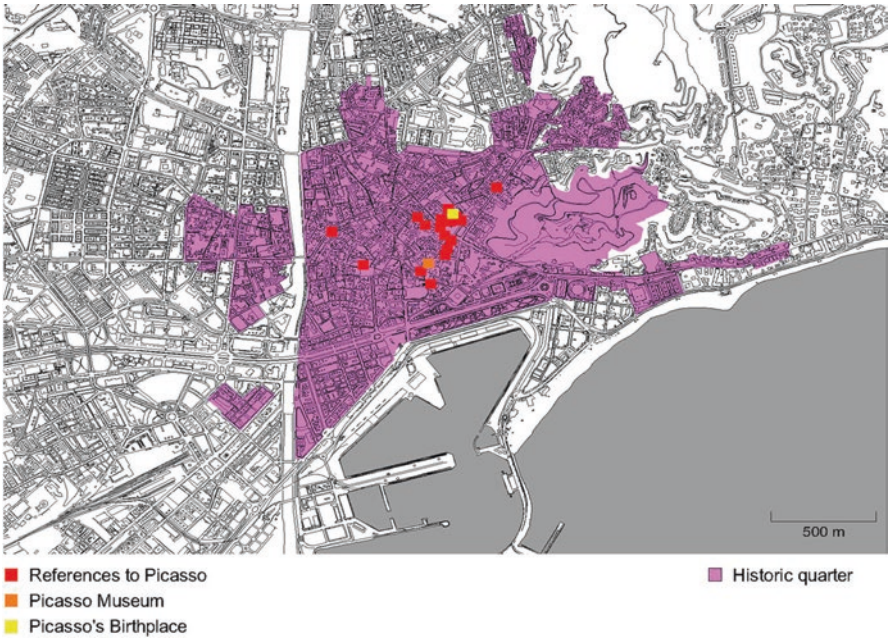

Fig. 4 References made to Picasso in the streets of Malaga (Source: the authors)

such decisions (Barrera-Fernández 2013). Based on Malaga's Tourist Development Plan 1996–1998, a number of interventions in built heritage were performed in order to create more attractive tourist assets (Pascual Villamor 2011), including the renovation of Picasso's Birthplace. Later on, the Urban Cultural Tourism Special Plan was created, and its main goal was 'to consolidate the city of Malaga as the capital of urban cultural tourism, positioning it in its strong relationship with the figure of Picasso, understanding that tourism represents both an economic development as well as an urban development driver' (Malaga City Council). The plan proposed to create tourist routes linked to the painter, stressing the fact that Malaga was his birthplace, highlighting every reference to his life and work as well as promoting gastronomy, handicrafts, commerce and cultural products visibly associated with the artist. It also established the creation of six specialised tourist packages, namely, Heritage, Malaga Fair, Holy Week, Spanish Cinema Festival, Picasso's Malaga and Shopping and Congress Tourism. In addition, the plan sought to 'establish incentives and promote the creation of Picasso-themed hotels, restaurants and shops in the city centre, building on the works developed since 2006 under the project Picasso's Malaga' (Malaga City Council 2008a). The Picasso's Malaga project joined the City Council, Chamber of Commerce, Andalusian Tourism Board, Costa del Sol Tourism Board and Unicaja Bank, and its main objective was to promote tourism around the figure of Pablo Ruiz Picasso.

Furthermore, it has been common to take advantage of the co-branding Malaga-Picasso in all kinds of tourism promotion campaigns. One of the main examples

was using references to the painter to develop a combined package of cultural and business tourism. To do so, the organisation responsible for Picasso's Birthplace collaborated with Malaga Convention Bureau in the presentation of the project in Brussels and Paris (Martínez 2012).

References to Picasso are also socially reinforced through a great number of events managed by the City Council in the city. The International Cultural Tourism and City Break Fair 2008 used a picture of the painter as its own image. The Spanish Cinema Festival did the same in 2009. Moreover, the main gate of the Fair in the city centre had a Picasso-inspired design several years. In addition, in the competition to select the God and the Goddess of the Carnival 2013, the costumes had to be inspired in Picasso's works. Furthermore, since 2009 a Picasso-inspired bullfight takes place every year in Holy Week. Finally, Picasso's Month in October celebrates every year the anniversary of Picasso's birth with workshops, visits and roundtables (Fig. 5).

Urban plans have also contributed to highlighting the connection between Malaga and Picasso. The Zegrí Special Protection Plan (Malaga City Council 2001) was the most relevant; its main objective was to regenerate the surroundings of the Picasso Museum, especially Alcazabilla, Santiago and Granada streets. The document was approved in 2000 and modified in 2001. It was one of several projects

Fig. 5 The main gate of Malaga's Fair inspired by Picasso (Source: the authors)

funded by the European programme 'Urban'. The most controversial intervention that was made following this plan was the creation of a new square between Granada and Alcazabilla streets. The project involved the replacement of six historic buildings, two of them with legal protection. The solution did not consider the existing buildings and street pattern, thus creating a *tabula rasa*, with the exception of a small tower that has been left on its own and serves now as a visitor centre. The new buildings have been designed with an insensitive language in shape, volume, colours and materials, compared to the surrounding architecture. Apart from physical interventions, the initiative was meant to be completed with a 'theming project of the main streets in this area referring to the work of the artist' (Malaga City Council). This aggressive intervention on heritage was made possible after confirming that most of the buildings were occupied by tenants and many of their owners were unknown. As a result, it was easy to declare many of the structures in ruins, and some of them were annexed to the Picasso Museum. In this process, it can be concluded that the remodelling of the area to create a distinctive Picasso district has clearly contributed to gentrifying the city centre, replacing tenants with restaurants, and historic housing with facilities for the new museum.

In relation to strategic planning, references to Picasso appear repeatedly, even in the city's vision included in the Second Strategic Plan: 'Metropolis facing the sea, Picasso's Malaga, cultural and attractive at the forefront of the new knowledge society, in short, a renowned city, both for its citizens and visitors' (Malaga City Council 2006). One of the main proposals of this plan is called Agora Mediterranean, where the historic city is proposed to be converted into an 'open museum or megamuseum', the Picasso Museum being the anchor of the initiative. The plan considers the historic city as Malaga's main tourist asset and includes several proposals for its renovation, adding new attractions that communicate an image of culture, quality and sophistication. At this point, Picasso is deliberately mentioned one more time as the strongest element that has a potential for further enhancement.

Discussion: Does Rebranding Actually Contribute to Social and Economic Sustainability?

Field research has shown that almost all street references to Picasso are related to visitor attractions, as evidenced by the contrasting absence of signs in spaces frequented mostly by locals. This fact alone shows the weak identification of Malaga's residents with the painter. Although the painter was born in the city, Malaga and Picasso followed separate ways until his work was seen as a way to increase the number of visitors. Therefore, Picasso and his art are mostly seen in the context of their commercial value, and more needs to be done to make visible the cultural and historical value of the artist. Otherwise, investments made to make Picasso visible in the city, including his museum and birthplace, would become obsolete when the tourist appeal of Picasso is replaced by another product. Cultural tourism destinations lose competitiveness after a decade (Ashworth and Larkham 1994), and if Picasso is

not embraced in the local culture, the risks are high that Malaga will follow this trend. In other words, tourism images created with a purely commercial base might not take root deep enough in the locals' imaginary realm, leaving the permanence of such images volatile.

From another perspective, the intervention on Condes de Buenavista Palace and its surrounding neighbourhood meant the substitution of traditional commerce and the existing social network by a cultural-tourist district. It contributed to the replacement of residents in the city centre and encouraged a trend that has already proven irreversible. Between the mid-1990s and 2015, regeneration projects in Malaga, such as 'Iniciativa Urbana', 'Urban', 'Interreg' and 'Programa Transfronterizo', have received substantial investment, mostly from the EU. Nevertheless, the city centre's population has continued to decline, 42% from 1981 to 2009 (Malaga City Council 2010), and the trend has continued until 2012 (Marín Cots 2012). The situation is even grimmer considering many of the newcomers have a greater income power than previous tenants or are short time residents, such as tourists and Spanish language learners.

In relation to heritage interventions, Malaga has not preserved enough of its urban fabric during the last decades. This can be seen in the number of protected buildings that have been demolished or where only the façade has been preserved. In this context, the creation of the Picasso Museum began a new trend, consisting of occupying a large historic building and the surrounding blocks, prioritising private interest instead of maintaining a mix of uses and a well-preserved urban fabric. Carmen Thyssen Museum followed the same strategy when it occupied Villalón Palace and the buildings surrounding the monument. In other words, the Picasso Museum, instead of being an exemplary project that could have reversed the style of interventions of the last decades, contributed to the loss of built heritage in the city centre. Needless to say, the destruction of socially valued heritage during the whole process has left the locals with a sense of loss. Beyond local perception which could be measured through questionnaires, hard data shown above clearly supports that important assets of historic buildings and cultural practices have been simply erased through the rebranding process and on behalf of a transitory tourist benefit. A further potential risk is the weakening of more substantial historic discourses related to Malaga, such as the relevance of Phoenician, Roman and Muslim past.

Focusing on cultural policy, the Picasso Museum was the flagship of a new strategy that reduced cultural policy to the construction of new museums, especially local branches of international icons, such as the Carmen Thyssen Museum, Centre Pompidou and Russian Museum. There has not been any coherent strategy to open new museums when deciding topics, locations or potential visitors. As a result, many of them remain underused, and some of them have finally closed. It must be taken into account that a great number of those museums have been created with public funding that should have been allocated for other regeneration-related projects. Furthermore, Malaga put focus on the idea of culture as spectacle and brand, lacking roots in local cultural movements. This strategy has gone beyond architectural interventions, and it can be observed in the creation of the Spanish Cinema Festival, which brings important media coverage but is irrelevant for local cultural

producers. In the years following the creation of the Picasso Museum, the campaign for European Capital of Culture 2016 and the rebranding of the central neighbourhood of Ensanche de Heredia as Soho - Cultural District followed the same idea of culture reduced to spectacle.

Conclusions

Taking advantage of the strong appeal of Picasso-related intangible heritage in Malaga has proven successful in rebranding material, and non-material, resources that originally had less to do with art or culture. As López Cuenca (2011) highlights, Picasso's brand has clearly demonstrated its power to make links with every kind of product, including cars and perfumes. The co-branding of Malaga-Picasso is an ideal case study for analysing the way in which the transformation processes demanded by global tourist trends are implemented by cities competing in the global market of images, particularly due to the current centrality of cultural industries.

The anthropological perspective of this study yielded that, like many tourist cities, Malaga is under great pressure to remain a desirable destination. In response to this pressure, the symbolic discourse is constantly renewed in order to attract the attention of potential visitors. This implies all sorts of cognitive media transformations, from highlighting specific sets of material culture to image and discourse reinterpretation. During the process, there comes a point where the novelty value of the original set of traditional symbols becomes depleted. In order to alleviate this, new icons have been introduced into the imaginary realm of the city. In the specific case of Malaga and Picasso, a weak link, based on a true historic fact, was exploited to create new social and material representations. In terms of social sustainability, this kind of action can be assessed as only partially viable. The sudden addition of the new social construction provokes distance from more legitimate traditions and historical discourses. Even if some social sectors feel empathy for the new discourse, the cultural change remains somehow illegitimate, as other sectors feel direct consequences such as physical and cultural displacement. Cultural change might happen at an accelerated pace in modern times; if that change is based solely on economic motives, it will cause the loss of both material and non-material heritage. Therefore, from the heritage study and conservation point of view, the process and its consequences should be reduced, if not avoided.

Picasso Museum and his birthplace are among the least visited cultural facilities by local residents, representing 15% and 9% respectively, compared to Municipal Heritage Museum (70%), Centre for Contemporary Art (64%), Russian Museum (52%) and Carmen Thyssen Museum (40%) (López 2015). Three reasons could explain this distance between local residents and Picasso's attractions. One is the lack of interest once the opening year has passed. It could explain the shift of attention from Picasso Museum to the new local branches of international brands, Russian Museum and Carmen Thyssen Museum, which are currently more

attractive for locals, although they have a similar policy in relation to price and free days. Another reason is that Municipal Heritage Museum and Centre for Contemporary Art are not restricted to just one author or related artists and movements, and they are free of charge. Finally, it must be taken into account that Picasso spent only his first years of life in Malaga, and his creative work was mostly developed in other places including A Coruña, Barcelona, Paris, Madrid, Avignon, Vallauris and Mougins. As a result, the work of the painter was spread among these and other cities. These cities, with much stronger historic and artistic data, dispute Malaga's sense of symbolic belonging with Picasso.

In order to achieve a closer relationship between Picasso and the residents' imaginary realm, it could be suggested to expand the meaning of Picasso to encompass that of creativity and avant-garde in a broad sense. This would help to incorporate Picasso-related facilities with other local artists and historic and current characters that have contributed to expand local cultural manifestations. As a result, Picasso's international acclamation could serve as a platform to promote lesser known contemporary cultural expressions. As a general recommendation, a common strategy in the contemporary cultural offer is needed. In the case of Malaga, a network of facilities could be established including Picasso Museum, his birthplace, Carmen Thyssen Museum, Russian Museum, Municipal Heritage Museum and Centre for Contemporary Art, establishing a common policy of price, free days and special events and activities.

From another perspective, the economic impact of the studied phenomenon might be considered as a success, because of increased monetary income due to tourist presence. Indeed, economic growth apparently relates to quantity of attractions and visitors. However, quality, and not only quantity, becomes an important variable during the assessment of tourism contribution to the economy. More importantly, the social distribution of generated wealth constitutes a relevant aspect of economic sustainability. The observed data suggests that only small sectors receive the actual benefits of tourist activity. These sectors include restaurants, hotels, transport operators and souvenir shops. However, the overall population might not gain considerable profit. Sometimes the only advantage could be obtaining precarious jobs, resulting in social uncertainty. In any case, qualitative observations performed during this research need quantitative counterparts to better understand the effects of the studied case. It can be stated from the study that, in general, city branding might not be compatible with sustainability related to heritage since it usually results in unnecessary loss.

When messages selected for branding differ significantly from those commonly accepted by the local population, there is a risk of putting marketing interests over residents' concerns. A gap is created between the artificial, simple and forceful image promoted in tourist leaflets and the real cultural identity, much more varied and complex. This trend can lead to a concentration of investment in tourist areas, attractions, infrastructures, iconic architecture and special events, which is usually to the detriment of social and cohesion policies (Barrera-Fernández 2015). As a result, there is a reinforcement of the role of key urban spaces as entertainment centres. As it can be seen, such actions drift apart from actual people-centred sustainability

because the changes implied do not benefit the locals as directly as they should and because intangible heritage legitimacy might be lost in terms of social performance and identity. The present research can be useful to influence public policy of cities that might consider rebranding themselves around international icons, without losing their identification to cultural values rooted in their social network. This could be achieved by fostering community participation, thus enhancing sustainability, and by selecting more inclusive themes which might highlight more legitimate traditions, instead of creating alternative mythic pasts.

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Geoethics and Sustainability Education Through an Open Source CIGIS Application: The Memory of Places Project in Calabria, Southern Italy, as a Case Study

Francesco De Pascale

Introduction

In recent years, the terms *Geoethics* and *Anthropocene* have become increasingly recurrent in scientific discussions on environmental protection and climate change. Geoethics is the study of the evaluation and protection of the geosphere in which the disciplines of geoscience, geography, history, philosophy, sociology and economy intersect (Peppoloni and Di Capua 2012, 2015). According to Paul Crutzen and Eugene F. Stoermer (2000), the Anthropocene is a new geological epoch in which man has a marked impact on climate and the environment. In comparison with the slow change of previous millennia, our species has radically altered the world's ecosystems in a very short time. It is a modern-day paradigm asserting that mankind's pattern of production and consumption causes fluxes of matter that modify Earth system dynamics (Bohle 2016).

As a field, geoethics focuses its debates on the most pressing environmental emergencies, like the greenhouse effect and climate destabilization, in addition to pollution and problems of waste disposal. In simple terms, geoethics provides guidelines, through the introduction of ethical principles, for when our use of the planet's natural capital has an impact on the environment and society (Limaye 2015). Geoethics also promotes the social role of the geosciences and the idea of a common and shared 'geological' heritage. It recognizes that such a focus has cultural, educational and scientific value, as well as social capital. Ultimately, the goal of the geosciences is to steer choices made by society towards finding solutions that are compatible with the protection of human life, nature and the environment. Geoethics can contribute to the strengthening of man's connection with the environment as a common heritage for all. It provides an ethical lens, produced by scientific

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research and technological innovation, through which problems relating to major social changes and particularly human-environmental relationships can be examined.

A landscape can be viewed as an expression of a given culture, a given history and a special relationship between man and nature. As such it provides documentary evidence of a cultural heritage. From the standpoint of 'environmental ethics', the landscape has the right to exist and to be protected and appraised. Moreover, it is necessary to take advantage of new technologies in order to have greater 'geoethical control' of significant environmental emergencies and to preserve cultural heritage. In the proposed case study, the relationships between cultural heritage and sustainability are mediated by CIGIS technologies.

This chapter presents an open source GIS project which is divided into three sections: 'places of memory', 'perception of places' and 'perception of earthquakes'. Specifically, CIGIS[1] (community-integrated GIS) may prove effective in promoting sustainable tourism and risk reduction education in Calabria, Southern Italy, in the future. CIGIS would enrich and expand conventional methods and help achieve sustainability of cultural heritage in any human context (Giannopoulou et al. 2014). In fact, GIS is fast becoming the tool to use for sustainability and planning as we seek to maximize the efficiency of the environment around us and protect what needs to be protected while exploiting existing heritage and territorial potential in line with the principles of sustainable development (Restuccia et al. 2011).

The Geography of Sustainability, Cultural Heritage and GIS

The solution to the problem of the fragile concept of sustainability has been the subject of fierce scientific debate. It is surprising to think, if we accept the conventional view of its emergence from the 1992 Rio de Janeiro Conference, the idea of sustainability is 24 years old, yet the debate around it is still far from being considered mature or free of ambiguity. On the one hand, we might emphasize the unstoppable success that the concept has enjoyed over the last 20 years. By the mid-1990s, sustainable development had clearly prevailed over other ideas or formulas regarding man's rapport with the environment, consequently, drawing any

[1] Starting from the mid-1990s, criticism of this kind was met with renewed attention to the creating of cartographic systems which emphasized the role of local communities in the process of cartographic production. The aim is to carry out planning interventions on the basis of cartographic representations that take local interests into account. This is what is meant by participatory cartographic systems. Depending on the type of technology involved and on the level of participation, they include (1) participatory cartography, produced by local communities upon the request of an external agent; (2) GIS systems, including, in turn, CIGIS (community-integrated GIS) that are built and used by agents outside the local communities, but which also feature data gathered through participatory methods; and (3) PPGIS (public participation GIS), built and used directly by local communities in their interpersonal dialogue with their administrations or supervising institutions (Casti 2012).

environmental debate into the realm of sustainability (Gibbs 2005). The interdisciplinary character of the concept is also obvious in the field of education: not only did UNESCO dedicate the decade 2005–2014 to education on sustainable development, but the relationship between curricula and sustainability has also been at the centre of a growing international debate over the last 24 years (Jones et al. 2008).

On 1 January 2016, the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development officially came into force (un.org/sustainabledevelopment/development-agenda). With these new universally applying goals, countries will, over the next 15 years, mobilize efforts to end all forms of poverty, fight injustice and inequalities, and tackle climate change: areas of great geoethic and geographic interest. Indeed, the specific nature of a geographic reading proposes the concept of diversity, or better still the geodiversity of sustainability, as a basis for reasoning, while concentrating on a particular territory and geographical scale. Geography looks at sustainability in terms of problems at different scales: we cannot simply consider the global or local scale because the problems, relationships between actors and possibilities for action and strategy formulation change as territories and scales change. In other words, a geographical point of view does not assign a privileged position to just environmental, economic or social questions, but also holds these different aspects together (Puttilli 2011).

Talking about sustainability still means talking about the territory: that is, how the objective of sustainability is tailored, utilized, applied and presented to the individual and collective actors in the territory (Puttilli 2011). In the complex dialectic between territoriality and sustainability, exploiting the level of recognition of cultural assets in today's urban context and estimating its frequency and integration into the local *milieu* require a certain sensitivity in terms of strategic choices in environmental and landscape issues. Indeed, cultural assets turn out to be synthetic indicators of balanced eco-compatible assets, which are tell-tale signs of effective or transient territorial policies. From their state of conservation, whether they are being updated or not, we can deduce the tendency these assets have towards processes of approval or, on the other hand, the integrity of their identifying characteristics in the light of a prospective of solid, lasting competitivity (Ronza 2011).

It is useful, if not necessary, to introduce another technological element, GIS, into this relationship between geography and cultural assets. GIS is a support tool for traditional cartography, an element which integrates itself with other elements already present in the research method, particularly in support of territorial planning, management, safeguard and sustainability, without overlooking its didactic function (Leonardi 2010).

By its nature as a system of information management, GIS assumes a practical and irreplaceable support role in the analysis of geographical data. It allows an enormous amount of information to be integrated and archives, which otherwise would not communicate with one another, to be linked. What is more, GIS renders it possible to establish relationships which are of great importance for concrete territorial operations. It is possible to construct a single knowledge from the union of geography, cultural assets and GIS which is useful, if not fundamental, in territorial planning.

Therefore, the case study in question analyses a CIGIS which allows the collection of data about places of memory in Calabria to be managed and communicated structurally, functionally, symbolically and perceptively. Moreover, CIGIS is valuable, in an educational environment, in encouraging the younger generations to develop attention and sensitivity for their artistic-monumental heritage and, also, an awareness of the risk that this heritage faces. Furthermore, CIGIS is useful in evaluating the state of conservation of cultural assets and their classification and promoting the territory and sustainable cultural tourism. Indeed, with the support of GIS technology, geoethics and geography together can help to establish a new approach to educating people about the sustainability of cultural assets and the territory from a multiscalar and transcalar perspective. The CIGIS presented in this work analyses research carried out from an interdisciplinary point of view, focusing on four dimensions that appear unrelated, but which are, in fact, linked by the geography of perception.

An Open Source CIGIS Project: The Geohistorical Dimension

The case study presented in this chapter analyses an open source GIS project which has four dimensions to its research: the geohistorical, geoethical, participatory cartographic and geographical perceptual.

The *geohistorical* evaluation involved developing a census that analysed monuments, commemorative plaques, buildings and historical figures from the period of the Risorgimento and Italian Unification (1820–1861) in Calabria, Southern Italy. As a base for this study, French historian Pierre Nora's historiographical concept of 'place of memory', developed in the mid-1980s, was used. This conceives of a site as both a physical and a mental space, constructed from material or purely symbolic elements, where a group, a community or an entire society recognizes itself and its history in its collective memory (Nora 1984). Our research was inspired by the decision by the Italian Committee of Guarantors in 2011 to consider sites for the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Italian Unification. In order to study 'places of memory' and their relationship to historical figures, a tool for archiving and exploring historical information relating to place and cultural heritage was proposed. A survey which included information on the places and their historical reference in terms of the unification was compiled for each location. Data collected via this survey included the designation of the monument, its geographical location and GPS coordinates, any document or inscription associated with the site, the historical date and concise information concerning the monument, the physical characteristics of the monument, its conservation status, any restoration intervention on the monument, the author/creator of the monument and photographs of the site.

The survey was carried out using participatory methods. Local communities and municipalities played a key, collaborative, role in this effort, facilitating dialogue with local historians, allowing access to documents in private and state archives and providing testimonies written by local scholars. This allowed us to collate the analysis of documents, archival research, old texts, travel documents, newspapers and

reports by scholars.[2] The data collected via the survey forms was entered into a series of Excel spreadsheets and then automatically imported into a GIS database.

The CIGIS Project: The Participatory-Cartographic Dimension

Considering the complexity of information relevant to a specific territory, we paid particular attention to the *participatory-cartographic dimension*, with the aim of setting up an instrument not only for the collection and archiving of data but also for subsequent queries, thematic analysis or chronological and geographic retrieval of information.

Geographic information systems (GIS) are software suites which are implemented to manage and analyse geographic information correlated to a spatial reference, i.e. a specific position on the earth's surface (Ruoss 2013). GIS and spatial analysis have enjoyed a productive relationship over recent decades (Fotheringham and Rogerson 1994; Goodchild 1988; Goodchild et al. 1992). GIS has been recognized as the key to implementing methods of spatial analysis, making them more accessible to a broader range of users and, hopefully, more widely used in effective decision-making and in supporting scientific research (Goodchild and Longley 2005). GIS provides a digital platform upon which multiple map layers (called *shapefiles* and *rasters*) are electronically stacked on top of each other to create composite images (Travis 2015). The GIS operator digitally manipulates the order of the stacked layers and associated data tables, so creating any number of connections between the spatialized variables in order to produce composite mappings, visual representations and spatial models for analysis (Travis 2015).

The structure of the GIS archive was designed as an open system which could be updated to reflect the constant evolution of territorial studies and provide us with a methodological approach to reading and improving the understanding of local history. The GIS employed was based on the NASA World Wind Java open source framework, and it used Microsoft Virtual Earth maps. The maps in this platform were taken in real time from the Web Server worldwind28.arc.nasa.gov/vewms, displayed and stored in a cache memory on disk. This plug-in tool allows collected data to be imported via an Excel spreadsheet and features manual data insertion and editing. Our plug-in splits the data into three sections: 'places of memory', 'perception of places' and 'perception of earthquakes' (Fig. 1).

This platform can automatically generate documents and edit, track and annotate cartographic and geo-referenced images. It also allows 3D visualization of geographical areas by applying contour lines onto cartographic images. A version with

[2] Indeed, participative cartography is closely linked to listening to accounts regarding places while they are being reproduced onto paper. It is no coincidence that the testimony of local historians has such a fundamental role when carrying out a census. Besides foreseeing guided listening to these accounts, the use of a participative map is an investigative method which is aimed at the construction of an inventory of identified places and memories.

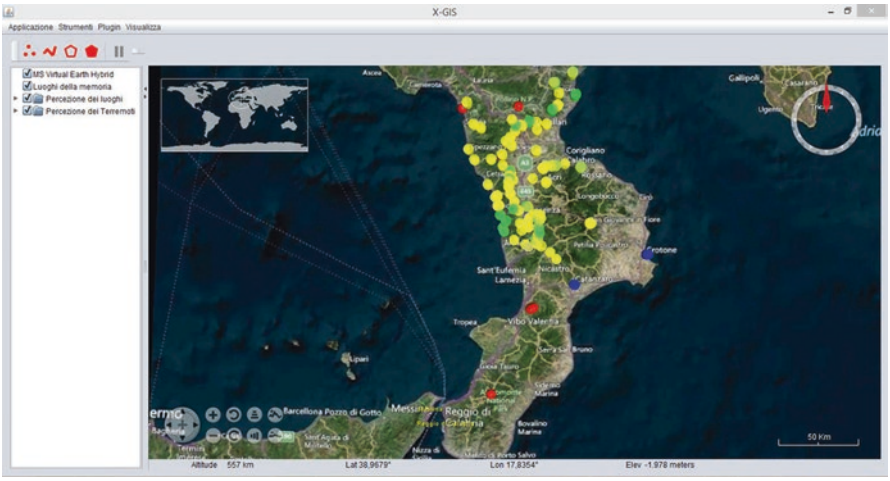

Fig. 1 A screenshot of the CIGIS project with all points of interest: *yellow*, *green*, *blue* and *red*. The *yellow* and *green* points of interest characterize the CIGIS section 'Places of memory'. The *blue* points of interest characterize the CIGIS section 'Perception of places'. Clicking on the *blue* points of interest, the user can view the pdf reports on learning module entitled 'The mental representation of memorial sites in the context of the Italian Unification', presented in urban primary school environments in Catanzaro, Cosenza and Crotone, in Calabria (Southern Italy). The *red* points of interest characterize the CIGIS section 'Perception of earthquakes'. Clicking on the *red* points of interest, the user can view the pdf reports on the experiments about perception of earthquake risk, carried out in Calabrian schools. In addition, the user can view images of memorial sites affected by past earthquakes. The user can select or deselect the sections he wants to display

reduced functionality is also available for mobile platforms (tablets and smartphones). The nature of the open source GIS and plug-in architecture make this platform extremely flexible and adaptable to various needs and applications, especially in the field of education.

The fact sheets with the information and photographs relating to these places of memory and important figures of the Risorgimento can be viewed in the 'places of memory' section of the GIS by clicking on the yellow (places) or green (people) points of interest (Fig. 2).

This GIS project includes a participatory mapping system which can be placed in the category of community-integrated GIS (CIGIS). This expression was used for the first time by the American geographers Craig et al. (2002). It refers to GIS systems which integrate information from local communities with information collected by an external actor. Their use is primarily aimed at knowledge acquisition, but they can also be used by round tables set up to find local or national solutions according to the scale of the problems. Its working phases allow the construction of a new cartography which depends directly on the people involved and their capacity to perceive the space they inhabit. CIGIS is an optimum tool in active planning as it is based on the conviction that, when planning a city, we should consult the citizens, even the children, who are to be the direct users of that territory.

The CIGIS Project: The Geographical-Perceptual Dimension

The third dimension of our research was *geographical perceptual* and involved the construction of a learning module entitled 'The mental representation of memorial sites in the context of the Italian Unification'. The module was presented in urban primary school environments in Catanzaro, Cosenza and Crotone, in Calabria (Southern Italy), and adhered to new requirements associated with the geography of perception curricula.

Teaching orientation means teaching individuals to ask themselves questions, place what they learn in networks of relationships and give them a global sense. Re-elaborating and replanning a territory means giving it significances, understanding it within its complexity and planning actions aimed at its safeguard and sustainability (Mason 2011). With this goal, a number of tools, such as mental maps and various didactic materials, are used.

The data relating to the learning module was included within the GIS project in readable pdf reports which allowed pupils to click on the blue points of interest in the section 'Perception of places'. Five areas of research were examined in the learning module:

- The ability to reach and access places of memory and eventual 'barriers' to this
- Pupils' aesthetic and practical impressions of the places visited
- The ability of pupils to orientate themselves on a journey from their school to the places of memory
- Pupils' knowledge of the most distinctive places of memory
- Each pupil's mental map

The main goal of the learning module is to examine the perception and mental maps children have of monuments and places of interest relating to the Italian Risorgimento. In this context, 'microperception' (Perussia 1980) was analysed to consider how and what children learned from using the Google Maps tools we designed for the survey. In contrast, 'macroperception' (Perussia 1980) relates to children's experience in visiting the urban areas of three major towns in Calabria (Cosenza, Catanzaro and Crotone). In the initial phase, a questionnaire was given to the children in order to evaluate their knowledge of the historical period, as well as their knowledge of the territories and key people of the period. Lectures focusing on the geographical and political situation during the Italian Risorgimento were given at a later stage. In this phase we used direct and indirect methods as, according to Antoine Bailly (1975), perceptions of territories can differ and be influenced by individual factors. A series of documents were shown to students in order to encourage discussion, and a questionnaire with multiple choice and open questions was also administered.

Consequently, children, municipalities and local scholars became providers of geographical information, using the tools we created to collect and disseminate their views and geographical knowledge. Therefore, the community-integrated GIS helped manage and communicate information about Risorgimento memorial sites in terms of cultural tourism, emphasizing the artistic and monumental heritage of

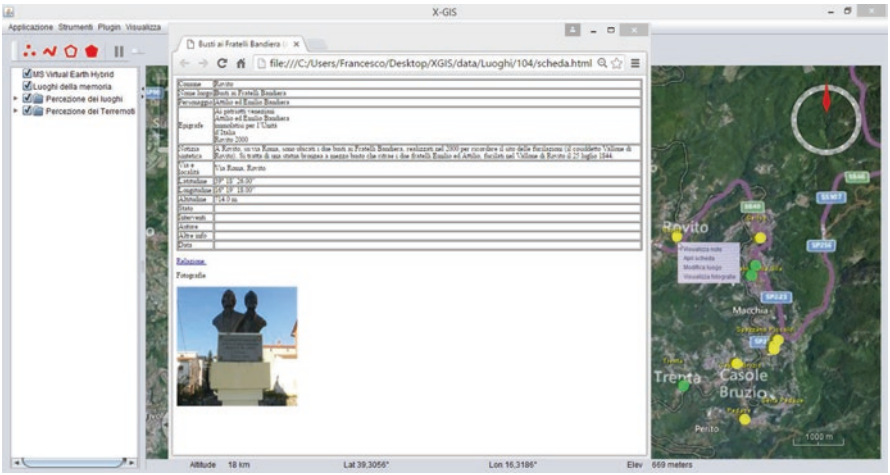

Fig. 2 Screenshot of the CIGIS: the fact sheet with the information and photographs relating to the monument 'Busti ai Fratelli Bandiera' (Rovito, Cosenza, Southern Italy). Clicking on the *yellow* point of interest near Rovito, the fact sheet and the photographs of 'Busti ai Fratelli Bandiera' are viewable

the Italian Unification in Calabria, Southern Italy. Moreover, GIS readings of the various meanings of heritage shifted their focus from the object to the viewing subject and from tangible forms to images and the various interpretations they create, so allowing communities to build a sense of belonging to a place and for their territories to become 'living spaces'.

Historical and artistic heritage data constitute fundamental resources for assessing the landscape of an area, promoting cultural tourism and facilitating the education of the public about geohazards. In order to effectively evaluate risk, it is not enough to simply know of the hazards; it is also necessary to assess carefully the cultural heritage of an area and its vulnerability to natural disasters. In this context, we find the geoethical dimension of the study which is a feature of the entire work and the subject of analysis in this discipline: communication and the perception of the risk of extreme events.

The CIGIS Project: The Geoethical Dimension

Among the topics which geoethics suggests should be studied in depth at school is risk communication and education, so as to protect a community from geological risk at critical moments. Geoethics promotes accurate information on natural hazards and the development of environmentally friendly technologies, focusing its concern on planetary protection and territorial resilience (Martínez-Frías et al. 2011). This involves increasing the prospects and expectations of geosciences and highlighting

the fundamental role of geological and geographical studies in finding solutions that are compatible with the preservation of nature, the planet and cultural heritage.

Man can be an active participant in natural catastrophes, in the sense that he is able to amplify damage and natural dynamics. To study perceptions of man's role in natural disasters, questionnaires were given to students and adults in an area of Calabria which had been affected by various seismic sequences. This allowed the perceptions that students and adults had of earthquake risk to emerge. It is clear from the answers that the young are developing an idea of human responsibility in turning the effects of extreme events into disasters. Indeed, according to a significant percentage of the students, 'An earthquake is an event whose effects are caused by man' and 'whose damage can be limited by the correct environmental planning' (De Pascale et al. 2015a, b, 2016). The students considered man's impact on natural catastrophes and the environment to be symptomatic of the new geological era: the Anthropocene. Later this year, the Anthropocene Working Group of the International Commission on Stratigraphy will meet to decide whether enough evidence exists to designate the Anthropocene as an official geological epoch.

All of the collected data, the questionnaires, the results obtained, the mental maps designed by the students, the slides shown in the classroom showing the correct actions to adopt in the case of an earthquake and the photographs of places affected by historical earthquakes were inserted into the project CIGIS in a section entitled 'Perception of earthquakes'. In this section, pdf reports concerning the 'perception of earthquakes' are available in readable format by clicking on the red points of interest.

This section demonstrates a geoethical model of the correct communication of seismic risk that could be used for future classroom experiments and improve citizen awareness of the importance of knowing about and perceiving environmental risk and historical memory. Environmental education at school might make use of the CIGIS, albeit from different methodological and ideological points of view, in order to develop geographical skills and abilities and greater resilience in pupils.

Conclusions

The importance of exploiting places of memory is tied to the transience of all things human. Given the modern paucity of a qualitative selection of artistic values, due to their becoming subordinate to economic values, it has become particularly important to underline to scholars and intellectuals the risk of losing information about places of memory.

In the expectation that the region can become a part of the global village, with worldwide demand for Calabrian agricultural and industrial products, a study is needed to create a prospective of an eventual territorial reawakening and development. Sustainable tourism and the promotion of cultural assets could create the conditions for new Calabrian development, through the growth of a tertiary sector which is able to exploit places of memory, cultural assets, monuments in the cities

and old towns full of art and beauty. Indeed, the future challenge in the promotion of cultural tourism will be that of sustainability and the promotion of cultural assets. This challenge will require the formation of specific professional competences, including knowledge of new GIS technology and the new geographies, which, in collaboration with Psychology, Sociology and Cultural Anthropology, will allow exploration of the geoethical problems of the Anthropocene.

From this point of view, CIGIS software is helpful in that it permits the acquisition and use of diverse data, also in time series, and for that data to be compared and combined. In this way, it is possible to carry out profound spatial analysis and to create a cartographic output that allows the many aspects of the territory to be studied and, so, becomes a valid support for the policies of sustainability, planning and protection of places of memory. Participative cartography is adopted along with a new awareness that the realization of sustainable development in a region is not possible without the consensus and involvement of the population that lives there.

CIGIS participatory approaches could also contribute to improving the dissemination of information to the general public and communicating how to reduce risk in relation to earthquakes. In addition, this may also help in the collection of historical data relating to natural phenomena which have not been fully included in the historical catalogue. In this way citizens will become the first volunteers of geographic information (Goodchild 2007) and will contribute to the scientific collection of data, so strengthening local resilience in the face of geohazards such as earthquakes. Indeed, the geoethical dimension of this ability is an important component in informing populations and further developing approaches of integrated risk management that might enhance the resilience of the communities affected (De Pascale et al. 2014).

Resilience and sustainability are keywords in the text of both the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Paris accord on climate change. Naturally, environmental problems are not exclusively tied to climate change, but also to keeping our planet habitable. By building links between levels, territories and actors, geography and geoethics together have the fundamental task of constructing a critical discourse on sustainability and expressing the various positions and representations which revolve around it.

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Integration of Cultural Heritage into Disaster Risk Management: Challenges and Opportunities for Increased Disaster Resilience

Mohammad Ravankhah, Ksenia Chmutina, Michael Schmidt, and Lee Bosher

Introduction

Cultural heritage consideration in the disaster risk management (DRM)[1] framework was particularly highlighted in the UN World Conference on Disaster Reduction in 2005 that led to the Hyogo Framework for Action 2005–2015 (HFA)[2]. The HFA's Priority for Action 3 emphasises 'traditional and indigenous knowledge and culture heritage' (UNISDR 2005, p. 9). In the light of the HFA's main priority areas, UNESCO adopted its 'Strategy for Reducing Risks at World Heritage Properties' in Christchurch in 2007, not only to enhance World Heritage protection from hazards but also to advocate cultural heritage in the international agenda. The document clearly emphasises 'strengthen[ing] support within relevant global, regional, national and local institutions for reducing risks at World Heritage properties' as one of the main objectives, with a view to 'promote cultural and natural heritage, and its

[1] Disaster risk management is 'the systematic process of using administrative directives, organisations, and operational skills and capacities to implement strategies, policies and improved coping capacities in order to lessen the adverse impacts of hazards and the possibility of disaster' (UNISDR 2009).

[2] The Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA) 2005–2015 'Building the Resilience of Nations and Communities to Disasters' was adopted in the UN World Conference on Disaster Reduction held on 18–22 January 2005 in Kobe, Hyogo, Japan.

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potential positive role for disaster reduction as part of sustainable development…' (UNESCO 2007). Subsequently, a collaborative paper on 'heritage contribution to resilience', prepared by ICOMOS-ICORP[3], UNISDR, UNESCO and ICCROM, was presented to the fourth session of the Global Platform on Disaster Risk Reduction[4] in Geneva in 2013 (Jigyasu et al. 2013). Apart from highlighting cultural heritage issues in reducing disaster risks, it aimed to draw the attention of the global community of disaster risk reduction to cultural heritage and later to stress cultural heritage in the upcoming international agenda.

The UN's report for the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda 'Realising the Future We Want for All' highlights the importance of disaster risk reduction and resilience within the context of environmental sustainability, one of the four core dimensions[5] of sustainability (UN 2012). The concepts of sustainability and resilience highlight the importance of long-term effects and of taking a holistic and systematic view of highly interconnected variables. Goal 11 of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development – 'make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable' – explicitly acknowledges 'heritage' in target 11.4: 'strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage' (UN 2015, p.18). Following the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the integration of the concept of 'Cultural Heritage' in disaster resilience has been emphasised in the recent UN's Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction (SFDRR) 2015–2030[6], particularly in the Priority for Action 1 'Understanding disaster risk and Priority' and in Action 3 'Investing in disaster risk reduction for resilience' (UNISDR 2015). While the above-mentioned efforts have considerably facilitated the progress of promoting heritage resilience and heritage contribution in disaster resilience, such a laudable aim may in reality pose a number of problems in relation to competing priorities, disciplinary boundaries and ultimately operational effectiveness, in particular when it comes to its implementation on the national and local levels.

This chapter explores the integration of cultural heritage into the overall framework of DRM, outlines potential challenges and emphasises that, aside from enhancing heritage protection from natural hazards and climate change-related extreme events, this can promote the overall disaster resilience of the social, built

[3] ICOMOS-ICORP is the International Scientific Committee on Risk Preparedness of ICOMOS.

[4] Disaster risk reduction is 'The concept and practice of reducing disaster risks through systematic efforts to analyse and manage the causal factors of disasters' (UNISDR 2009).

[5] According to the UN's report for the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda 'Realizing the Future We Want for All', the four core dimensions of sustainability include inclusive social development, environmental sustainability, inclusive economic development and peace and security; according to the report, environmental sustainability may refer to 'protecting biodiversity', 'stable climate' and 'resilience to natural hazards' (UN 2012).

[6] The Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015–2030 was adopted at the Third United Nations World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction, held from 14 to 18 March 2015 in Sendai, Japan.

and environmental systems to which cultural heritage belongs. The World Heritage Site of 'Bam and its Cultural Landscape', as a unique example of a traditional human settlement, is investigated through analysis of its multidimensional values associated with its contribution to post-disaster recovery, development and resilience of the city of Bam following the earthquake in 2003. In drawing upon this example, the integration and contribution of cultural heritage in the DRM framework are discussed through an interdisciplinary review of existing literature. This review demonstrates that despite the opportunities for proactive long-term economic and social coping capacity, potential challenges, primarily in respect to safeguarding heritage values within overall risk reduction policies, may also be generated.

Bam and Its Cultural Landscape

The city of Bam is located in the desert environment of south-eastern Iran, in the high seismic zone. A 6.6 magnitude earthquake struck the city of Bam in December 2003, and this caused a tragic loss of life (more than 26,000 people died) and partially destroyed Arg-e Bam (Bam citadel), a world-renowned site for its earthen architecture. The earthquake caused destruction of more than 90% of the traditional adobe dwellings and a large number of engineered and unreinforced masonry buildings, as well as the failure of underground channel walls and wells of the traditional water distribution system in the city of Bam (Moghtaderi-Zadeh et al. 2004). Following the earthquake, 'Bam[7] and its Cultural Landscape' was inscribed on the World Heritage List (under criteria ii, iii, iv and v)[8] in 2004 through an emergency nomination and simultaneously on the List of World Heritage in Danger[9]. The core zone of the property, which comprises Bam citadel, architectural remains, archaeological sites and the associated cultural landscape, is located in the eastern side of the modern city of Bam. The following section aims to demonstrate the role of three main elements of the dynamic system of the old settlement that influenced the adaptive capacity of Bam's local community, through fostering architectural, economic and sociocultural rehabilitation and recovery following the earthquake.

[7] Here, Bam refers to the fortified old settlement of Bam (Arg-e Bam) and does not mean the current city of Bam.

[8] For more information about the criteria of inscription of Bam and its Cultural Landscape on the WH List, please see http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1208.

[9] Bam and its Cultural Landscape was placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger mainly due to massive impact to the site caused by the earthquake in 2003, as well as potential development pressures associated with the post-disaster reconstruction. In 2013, it was removed from the List of World Heritage in Danger.

Key Attributes of Bam and Its Cultural Landscape Contributing to Bam's Coping Capacities

Arg-e Bam (*Bam citadel*) is considered to be one of the oldest Islamic city models in Iran, representing a rich cultural civilisation in a desert environment. Bam citadel is the origin of the current city of Bam and according to the archaeological evidence dates back to the Achaemenid period between the sixth and fourth century B.C (ICHO 2004a). It was gradually abandoned in the nineteenth century, and local residents moved into the adobe buildings within their date palm orchards surrounding the citadel. The unique urban complex of the citadel comprises the governor's quarter and a residential area that includes a bazaar, school, mosque and other structures, all employing a unique sun-dried mud construction technique. Restored parts of the Arg partially or severely collapsed during the earthquake, while those structures that were not subject to retrofitting or restoration suffered only minor damage (Langenbach 2005; Parsizadeh et al. 2015); it was revealed that improper interventions resulting in changes to the original plan layouts, loss of the cohesion of the clay from drying out, termites and deterioration, contributed to increased seismic vulnerability of the citadel (Langenbach 2005; Mokhtari et al. 2008). Although Bam citadel was seriously damaged, it continued in its role as an economic driver linked to the tourism industry, in particular providing employment opportunities for the local community. The damaged citadel was turned into a museum of earthen construction, seismic engineering and traditional knowledge, for national and international multidisciplinary specialists.

The survival of the Bam old settlement in the arid region relied heavily on an ancient underground irrigation system called *qanat*, an example of environmental resilience and the sustainable interaction of nature and humankind. Qanat, which consists of a gradually sloping underground channel and vertical shafts, is a method of supplying groundwater that transfers water from an aquifer to a human settlement in arid and semiarid regions. Qanat is vital for continuity of the cultivation and irrigation of date palms in Bam. Although the system was partially damaged by the earthquake and liquefaction, it continues to irrigate Bam's gardens and supply drinking water. Since the qanat system is owned by local inhabitants, communal meetings take place to dedicate the required funds for annual repair and cleaning of the system in a socially cooperative manner (Ward English 1998), in order to ensure the supply of water to all dwellings and gardens. Such a linkage between traditional environmental management and social structure can be viewed as a positive factor for the rebuilding of Bam's community after the disaster.

Date palm orchards are another significant element of Bam's cultural landscape, highly dependent on the qanat system. Sabri et al. (2006, p. 50), in describing the 'garden city' of Bam as a 'microecosystem', state that 'it is a network of gardens mixed into the urban fabric which extend to the outskirts of the town' and stress the understanding of this model in the reconstruction of the city of Bam. Many date palms survived the earthquake and are still considered as the main source of agricultural production. For the local residents, date orchards are not just a source of

Fig. 1 Values and associated attributes of Bam and its Cultural Landscape that have had a significant contribution to post-disaster recovery of the city. *Top image*, Arg-e Bam after the earthquake © Moh Ravankhah, 2008; *bottom image*: A view from Arg-e Bam to the garden city of Bam and its date palm orchards © Moh Ravankhah, 2013

income but a part of family identity (Fallahi 2007). The gardens represent a traditional agricultural land use adapted to a desert area that, combined with the qanat system, reflects an ecosystem management that takes full advantage of locally available resources.

Despite the enormous impact of the earthquake, multidimensional values of the tangible and intangible attributes of Bam and its Cultural Landscape (including diverse sociocultural, environmental and economic values) have made a significant contribution to the post-quake rehabilitation and recovery of the city (Fig. 1). Multi-stakeholder cooperation in protection of the property led to a comprehensive management plan (2008–2017) for Bam and its Cultural Landscape. The plan encompasses cultural and natural aspects, including territorial and environmental management, urban development control, safeguarding of built and intangible heritage, tourism development and a risk preparedness and disaster mitigation plan that did not previously exist (ICHHTO 2008). According to the plan (2008–2017), stakeholders from non-heritage sectors (e.g. environment and urban planning) have been also engaged in its preparation, but the agency responsible for

disaster management of the property is solely heritage sector. The management plan was approved by the Iranian Higher Council for Architecture and Urban Planning, as an annex to the existing Bam Special Structural Master Plan for Bam City, in 2010 (UNESCO WHC, SOC 2010). Despite this valuable progress, a further step is necessary. It is recommended that Bam's heritage be fully integrated (as an integral part of the city, not as a separate fragment) into the urban planning and disaster management process to reconsider heritage and non-heritage in the same context within the future development planning, in particular disaster resilience.

Contribution of DRM to Disaster Resilience

Recent policy frameworks (e.g. SFDRR and SDGs) are addressing the importance of DRM in both the sustainability and resilience agendas. Despite a shift to more proactive and pre-emptive approaches to managing disaster risk, DRM is still largely influenced by more reactive emergency management practices (UN 2015). The term 'resilience', while being surrounded by various debates on its meaning, usefulness and characteristics (see Chmutina et al. 2016; Alexander 2013; Bahadur et al. 2010), has become an integral part of DRM terminology, as this concept captures the ability of a system to rebound or resume its original form after a stress or perturbation. The original meaning of resilience is hundreds of years old but more recently was largely adopted and promoted in the field of ecology by authors such as Holling (1973) and then gradually adapted (and, while doing so, diluted and stretched) by many other disciplines, creating ambiguity and uncertainty (Brand and Jax 2007). Unsurprisingly, this has led to major difficulties in operationalising and applying resilience in the search for more harmonious relationships between the natural, the social and the built environment (Alexander 2013). The vagueness and malleability of the term 'resilience' have led to a variety of interpretations and applications, thus making the term politically successful in reconciling the interests of politicians and practitioners (Bosher 2014). On the other hand, the extension of the term has become so wide that it hides conflicts and power relations, since everyone agrees on 'implementing resilience' while implying different meanings (Chmutina et al. 2014a).

Nevertheless, the term is widely used. Within the context of DRM and as defined by the UNSIDR[10], different approaches to resilience provide different levels of importance to the objectives of avoidance (avoid the shock), recovery (rebound after the shock) and withstanding (resist the shock). Tobin (1999) suggests that resilience

[10] UNISDR (2009) defines resilience as 'The ability of a system, community or society exposed to hazards to resist, absorb, accommodate to and recover from the effects of a hazard in a timely and efficient manner, including through the preservation and restoration of its essential basic structures and functions' (UNSIDR 2009).

is adopted in three ways: to mitigate (emphasising a reduction of exposures and risks), to recover (accepting that not all the shocks can be eliminated and thus embrace post-disaster actions) and to instigate structural changes in society and institutions based on the importance of situational and cognitive factors. From a holistic or a broader systems approach (e.g. Martin-Breen and Anderies 2011; Lizarralde et al. 2013), resilience needs to be considered in multiple sectors of intervention, including emergency action, environmental protection, urban development and, as argued here, cultural heritage.

Incorporation of Cultural Heritage into DRM System

In the context of heritage, 'resilience may be understood as the ability to experience shocks while retaining heritage values' (Australia State of the Environment 2011, p. 780). In fact, heritage disaster resilience relies greatly on continuity of cultural significance and values rather than merely on fabric. Within the heritage community, any stakeholders involved in decision-making regarding conservation, and those who influence the delivery and management of the site, should be increasingly asked to respond simultaneously to the challenges posed by DRM. Discussing reconsideration of mitigation in heritage conservation, Boccardi (2015, p. 94) states that 'in the new circumstances, the heritage paradigm should thus be reassessed by dissolving the artificial boundaries that kept it for so long segregated from the non-heritage'. The current holistic approaches to heritage, such as the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) approach, can better facilitate a proactive heritage role in disaster resilience planning. The HUL approach emphasises the intangible sociocultural and economic patterns of community associated with cultural heritage on one side and broader public-private stakeholder network and institutions on the other. Within DRM planning, instead of merely focusing on the regional geographical and hydrometeorological conditions, such an approach could contribute to reducing nonstructural vulnerability on which disaster resilience greatly relies.

However, heritage is occasionally viewed as an obstacle for implementing disaster mitigation policies or recovery plans. The European Parliament Committee report on 'Protecting the Cultural Heritage from Natural Disasters' (Drdacky 2007, p. iii) realised that '...effective risk management of cultural assets is rare because of inadequate understanding of the assets, failure to calculate the true cost of loss and damage, and difficulty in putting a value on the non-market nature of many cultural heritage values'. The following section discusses heritage contributions to the DRM system that may cause challenges while bringing opportunities for increased disaster resilience.

Challenges for Increased Disaster Resilience

Multi-assessment Tools in Decision-Making Procedure

While DRM seeks to maximise safety through enhancing structural and nonstructural performance, heritage conservation aims at keeping a balance between safety and value. Heritage conservation principles, such as 'minimal changes to significant fabric and use' in the Burra Charter (see Australia ICOMOS 2000), play a vital role in formulating adequate disaster mitigation strategies to retain a balance between structural stability and heritage values. Methodology to assess loss of value, which demands a qualitative and systematic multirisk analysis in a value-based system, is still extremely complex (Ravankhah and Schmidt 2014). This is particularly true of World Heritage properties, for which loss of outstanding universal values (OUV) as well as associated conditions of authenticity and integrity should be adequately estimated within risk assessment procedures. In a more holistic view, heritage resilience should be linked to three different assessment tools: disaster risk assessment, climate change impact assessment and heritage impact assessment (HIA)[11]. With respect to implementation of DRM policies in historic environments, for example, new challenges may emerge calling for mitigating the potential effects of structural risk reduction measures (e.g. flood control embankments, urban drainage system and fire prevention installations) on cultural heritage. Such conflicts should be considered earlier in the planning procedure, through multiple risk assessment and weighing risk reduction and heritage protection strategies in a multi-criteria decision-making context.

Post-disaster Reconstruction and New Development Versus Maintaining Cultural Heritage

Within post-disaster rehabilitation and recovery, there is a unique opportunity for transformation and modernisation, but heritage properties are expected to be preserved with minimal change in order to retain their values and authenticity. This might be compromised for individual monuments, but heritage buildings that exist in a context of a non-heritage built environment (e.g. in urban areas) cannot be overlooked, since failure in some elements will result in declining resilience of the whole system. Such a conflict arose between two principles of the post-disaster Bam Sustainable Reconstruction Manifesto (The Committee on Sustainable Development 2004), 'preserving the city identity in urban design' and

[11] HIA is 'a process of identifying, predicting, evaluating and communicating the probable effects of a current or proposed development policy or action on the cultural life, institutions and resources of communities … with a view to mitigating adverse impacts and enhancing positive outcomes' (Sagnia and INCD 2004, p. 6).

'strengthening the new houses against the national building code'. In the case of Bam, Asgary et al. (2006, p. 7) believe that 'most of the damaged buildings in the affected area were constructed by sun-dried brick masonry with extremely poor seismic resistance', while Langenbach (2005, p. 23) states 'the houses in which people died were modern houses. Their walls may have been of Khesht[12], but many also had roof beams of steel, and floors or roofs of fired brick'. In fact, improper reconstruction of the adobe buildings was the principal cause of damage rather than merely the traditional adobe materials (ICHO 2004b). Even though Bam's declaration (ICHO 2004b, p. 5) stressed that 'it is important to upgrade the social image of vernacular architecture among the local people, without which this kind of architecture will be inevitably lost due to the loss of the relevant traditional skills and know-how', the Council of Architecture and Urban Development decided to rebuild the houses applying modern building codes to increase the seismic performance of the urban fabric. The earthen construction technique has been mainly applied to the World Heritage Site, in particular Bam citadel. In fact, recovery processes of the World Heritage boundary (the core zone) and the city (the buffer zone) have experienced almost two different approaches in respect to earthen heritage. Consequently, the adobe buildings of the city (which are mostly located in the buffer zone) have been mostly replaced by steel frame structures and reinforced concrete with a view to building a disaster-resilient city.

Multi-sector Cooperation for Risk Preparedness and Recovery

Timely and effective reactive measures (i.e. emergency management) are not sufficient for keeping the built environment safe; it is vital to deal with hazards and threats proactively, with a broad range of stakeholders being involved, and to ensure interaction among them (Chmutina et al. 2014b). Multi-stakeholder cooperation, if not synchronised adequately in advance, may result in delaying the recovery process due to potential conflicts of perceptions, expectations and capacities of the sectors engaged in the process (Aysan and Davis 1993). Bam's post-disaster reconstruction involved multi-stakeholder cooperation with a large number of local and national stakeholders (e.g. National Disaster Task Force, International Institute for Earthquake and Earthquake Engineering and the Bam municipality) and international organisations (e.g. UNDP, UNESCO), as well as various non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Despite such unique collaboration, which became a turning point in the disaster management of Iran, Asgary et al. (2006) state that the post-disaster physical planning of Bam was the most challenging aspect of the reconstruction due to conflicting interests among stakeholders (e.g. land owners, municipality and reconstruction office). To ensure that cultural

[12] Sun-dried (unfired) mud brick is called 'Khesht' in Iran and has been applied as a local material in the earthen architecture of the city of Bam.

heritage is considered in multidimensional disaster resilience planning, raising awareness of heritage values among stakeholders involved in DRM should be encouraged while increasing their competencies in dealing with cultural heritage in cases of emergency.

Opportunities for Proactive Long-Term Resilience

Heritage Contribution to Economic Coping Capacity and Post-disaster Recovery

Cultural heritage as an integral part of economic evolution of the built environment plays a significant role in contemporary economic development models. Historic urban environments attract considerable tourist revenue while creating diverse types of employment; this can improve economic coping capacities of urban systems to build back better following disasters. Cultural resources in both tangible heritage, such as palaces, museums, gardens and architectural monuments, and intangible forms, including traditional performance and festivals, can facilitate financial resources needed for risk preparedness programmes, in particular public awareness raising. The recent ICOMOS Concept Note for the United Nations Post-2015 Agenda and Habitat III also highlights the economic role of heritage at a local level, where it asserts 'Culture based livelihoods have the potential for small and micro-entrepreneurship that empowers local communities and can contribute substantially to poverty alleviation' (Hosagrahar et al. 2015, p. 9). Such diversification of economy through cultural resources can provide various alternatives for financial resources in disaster resilience planning. In respect to post-conflict recovery, for instance, cultural heritage-related programmes have been recognised by the World Bank as a significant opportunity for rehabilitation and revival of conflict-affected economies (Worthing and Bond 2008, p. 52). As mentioned earlier, Bam's heritage has considerably accelerated the post-quake economic recovery of the city through the tourism industry and financial and technical assistance provided by UNESCO, donor countries and NGOs.

Heritage as an Enabler for Coherent Social Coping Capacity and Cultural Identity

In contrast to post-disaster physical and economic reconstruction, social and cultural losses to communities cannot be tangibly compensated through external assistance. This demands an inclusive sociocultural structure based on patterns of previous societies and approaches to adapt to shocks. Heritage can contribute to this in generating and strengthening social capital through the promotion of

cultural diversity and intercultural discourses (EU 2014). In a disaster resilience model, a system with diverse elements can better absorb shocks since it has more alternatives for response capacities (Pisano 2012). One of the main factors affecting DRM strategies is different risk perception and prioritisation between DRM organisations and local inhabitants (Krüger et al. 2015). Community risk perception, which needs to be adequately considered in DRM procedures, can be better recognised through analysing their historical sociocultural background. Furthermore, the shared cultural identities and sense of belonging among a community can also foster public participation, which is vital for public acceptance and effectiveness of risk preparedness policies and post-disaster recovery. A community-based resilience approach can increase adaptive capacity to disasters and climate change extremes; it can also enhance risk reduction policies to meet sustainable development criteria in disaster-prone regions. In the case of Bam, local religious rituals taking place in Arg-e Bam (e.g. Ashura ceremony the so-called Ta'zieh[13] in the courtyard of tekiyyeh in the citadel) have been an enabler for retaining the sense of identity and belonging to the property among local inhabitants for many years and can be considered as a positive factor in the post-disaster sociocultural rehabilitation of the city.

Traditional Know-how Contribution to Vulnerability Reduction

Indigenous knowledge and techniques associated with historic built environments represent the evolution of human settlement adaptability to surrounding environments and a culture of living with natural hazards. Traditional knowledge for disaster management can be available as indigenous management systems, indigenous monitoring systems, traditional skills and techniques, local ecological relationships and indigenous planning (Jigyasu et al. 2010). Concerning the high level of damage in the restored part of Bam citadel, it was revealed that 'traditional shredded date tree materials were replaced during renovation works by big quantities of straw which is a material very much on the appetite of termites' and this improper intervention contributed to a poor seismic performance of the citadel during the earthquake 2003 (Parsizadeh et al. 2015, p. 6). Palm fibres, which are easily available in Bam, proved to be perfect in enhancing the ductility of adobe materials in the laboratory test and were applied in the post-earthquake seismic reinforcement of Sistani house in Arg-e Bam (Fuchs and Jaeger 2008). As mentioned earlier, qanat water distribution and maintenance required a social structure and traditional management system that has a great potential for improving risk communication, emergency response and awareness raising among the local inhabitants. Traditional know-how

[13] Ta'zieh has been inscribed on the Representative List of the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) of Humanity in 2010. 'Ta'zīye (or Ta'azyeh) is a ritual dramatic art that recounts religious events, historical and mythical stories and folk tales' (UNESCO ICH 2010).

in planning, building design and coping mechanisms, which developed historically through trial and error, deserves adequate consideration when drawing up new policies and regulations in disaster-prone areas.

Conclusion

Even though the city of Bam appeared to be highly vulnerable in the 2003 earthquake, particularly in terms of loss of life and structural collapse, Bam's cultural landscape had a vital role in the rehabilitation and recovery of the city. The multidimensional values of the site, associated with traditional agricultural land use, qanat distribution system and the unique architectural and archaeological attributes of Arg-e Bam, made a significant contribution to the sociocultural, environmental and economic recovery of the city. However, some conflicts arose in respect to the reconstruction strategies, such as 'preserving the cultural identity and earthen architectural townscape of Bam', while 'applying the modern building codes to increase the seismic performance of the urban fabric'. Integrating the World Heritage Site of Bam (or Bam's heritage in general) into the DRM and the urban recovery planning (as an integral part from the beginning, not as an additional annex) might better facilitate protection of Bam's identity during the emergency phase and the reconstruction (e.g. to avoid additional risks from development pressure on cultural heritage). However, the challenge would still exist: how can the structural seismic resilience be improved while maintaining the vernacular earthen architecture in Bam, particularly considering such a tragic loss of life in the 2003 earthquake.

To address the challenge, interdisciplinary research needs to be carried out to develop multi-assessment tools for integrating heritage considerations into the pre-disaster procedure and strategies of DRM (e.g. risk assessment, mitigation and preparedness), as well as into the post-disaster plans (e.g. emergency response and recovery plan) while evaluating their potential direct and consequential impacts on heritage values. The effectiveness of the tools, however, relies heavily on the site-specific multisectoral cooperation mechanisms (taking into account the existing legal system) between the heritage sector and those engaged in the DRM framework. This should go beyond the simple preservation of heritage sites and seek for including heritage as an integral part of resilience planning within the broader urban and reginal context while transferring the role of heritage values and traditional knowledge in disaster coping capacities to other sectors.

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Facilitating the Process Towards Social Sustainability: A Culture-Based Method for Mapping Historic Public Places, Applied to the Example of Tabriz Bazaar, Iran

Solmaz Yadollahi and Silke Weidner

Introduction

As the current literature on public space shows, the significant role of public space in enhancing social sustainability is justified – at least theoretically (Yadollahi 2015)[1]. Nevertheless, in empirical research and practice, a more comprehensive methodological framework is required which takes into account the complexities of local understandings of public space and social sustainability. This paper is a contribution to the development of such a framework. The following discussion is based on a number of concepts that need to be clarified. Concepts used in this paper such as social sustainability, publicness and culture (including how they are related to each other in the context of this discussion) are defined below.

Social Sustainability

Conceptually speaking, international documents such as the Brundtland Report (WCED, 1987) define social sustainability as the ability of the human community (locally and globally) to administer environmental and economic resources in

[1] A literature review of methodological approaches to assessing and implementing social sustainability in historic public spaces was published in the latest issue of the Heritage Studies series. Therefore, the discussion about physical public space and its relationship with social sustainability will not be repeated here.

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accordance with social justice, social cohesion, equality, and the right of future generations to benefit from these resources.

Based on a literature review of different approaches to social sustainability, Vallance et al. (2011, p. 342) suggest that it is a "concept in chaos". They argue that current scholarship uses and discusses the concept of social sustainability as a tool to achieve biophysical, environmental and economic goals of sustainable development by changing certain social behaviours or preserving certain traditional socio-cultural practices (ibid. p. 342). In particular, they point out that different fields approach social sustainability in different, partly contradictory ways and call for an underlying understanding of these contradictions and conflicts.

Since social sustainability can have different meanings and functions in different contexts, a single, generalized view of social sustainability cannot lead to feasible solutions. Dealing with social sustainability in connection with real problems prompts important questions: What social behaviours can be considered sustainable? Should all social behaviours that have been traditionally developed and established be sustained? And in the event of contradictory, conflicting views, what interpretation of social sustainability is acceptable?

We pose these questions in relation to historic public spaces – a type of urban heritage, which is a common asset of society as national or world heritage, and a common place for social interaction. This paper follows a holistic approach towards understanding urban heritage and urban heritage management (Labadi and Logan 2016; Bandarin and Oers 2012). This approach considers urban heritage an integrated part of the city, which is a dynamic whole with tangible and intangible dimensions. In this context, we approach social sustainability by discussing publicness in historic public places (as a category of urban heritage).

Publicness

A physical public space is a place for human face-to-face communication and where members of a society share physical space as well as the functions associated with it. Its form and use are in constant correlation with the boundaries of private space, which is "*a part of space that individuals enclose to control for their exclusive use*" (Madanipour 2003). In principle, public space is a place of tolerance for diverse people and ideas. Generally speaking, scholarship (in disciplines such as urban planning, political sciences and sociology) on public space suggests the key concepts of "commonness, openness and accessibility" to be the basic constructors of the significance of public space (Yadollahi 2015, p.164).

Obviously, the ability of a place to offer these qualities is limited by its political, economic and cultural context. The capability of a given place to meet the above-mentioned principal qualities of public space is considered its level of *publicness*. *Publicness* here means the ability of a place to host public life such that the rights of users to express themselves and take decisions about their common space are equally respected.

In other words, the level of publicness of a public place hinges on how the above-mentioned fundamental values are actually practiced. Just like social sustainability, publicness is a concept that should not be viewed from a single angle. Since it can be used for completely contradictory purposes, the contradictions in its definition in local contexts need to be understood and highlighted. Therefore, the first step to understand the level of publicness and social sustainability in a public place is to highlight local conflicts in the interpretations of these concepts. This is where understanding local culture(s) in public places plays a significant role.

Culture

In this paper, the term culture is employed from an anthropological point of view. According to Malinowski[2], "*Culture is a well organized unity divided into two fundamental aspects—a body of artefacts and a system of customs*"[3] (Prinz 2013). Here, the term *culture* in relation to a public space refers to the patterns of use of spaces that have been developed and learned by a community through history. More precisely, *culture* is understood as the repeated and established patterns of relationships between people and places that can be studied through ethnographic research. Before entering a more detailed discussion in this regard, the approach of this paper towards the concept of *culture* should be clarified.

Pointing out that the three pillars of sustainability (environmental, economic and social) do not sufficiently reflect the complexity of societies, Agenda 21 for culture introduced culture as the fourth pillar of sustainability in 2004 (United Cities and Local Governments, Committee on culture 2004)[4]. It was the first time that the development of cities was linked to cultural development. *The Concept study on the role of Cultural Heritage as the fourth pillar of Sustainable Development* by the South East Europe Transitional Cooperation Program goes beyond Agenda 21 for culture. It differentiates the narrow understanding of culture as a sector that includes arts and cultural industries from the broader anthropological understanding that views culture as sets of values that form and guide choices and behaviours of communities in governing the process of development (South East Europe Transitional Cooperation Program 2012). Based on this anthropological understanding, this document argues that culture is not only a fourth pillar but the origin and a "fundamental element of sustainable development" (ibid, p.43). This understanding of culture in relation to social sustainability is applicable to many cases in which the relationship with a current culture and social sustainability is not the subject of conflict. However, this harmony does not always exist.

[2] Polish anthropologist (1884–1942)

[3] Available from http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2011/entries/culture-cogsci/> [Accessed: 9.3. 2015]

[4] It was approved by the Fourth Forum of Local Authorities for Social Inclusion in Barcelona.

A mindful focus on the relationship between culture and social sustainability is particularly important in studying traditional urban spaces where the everyday use of spaces is strongly influenced by the local culture. When dealing with historic public places located in traditional neighbourhoods (in cases where the traditional ways of life are still practiced), we need to have a multi-angled view of concepts of culture, publicness and social sustainability. Here again, we turn to the questions regarding the sustainability of cultures as established behaviours. Should all behavioural patterns that are traditionally developed and established be sustained in a historic public place? Does the current culture in a community promote justice and equality in their public space? Finally, how can urban researchers contribute to addressing these questions?

A Method for Studying Publicness in a Historic Public Place

From an urban planning viewpoint, social dynamics are always understood in connection with particular locations. Therefore, providing a location-based understanding of the social, legal and economic status of an urban area (i.e. mapping them) forms the basis for understanding its publicness. Depending on the desired outcome and the scope of research, this mapping system can zoom in or out to cover different scales of the city.

Because of the differences between the paces and patterns of development in historic centres and the modern parts of the surrounding city, their integrity with the city as a whole should be studied as the first step of exploring the publicness and social sustainability of a city centre.

Urban researchers such as Gehl (2013) and Whyte (1980) offer tools and indicators to study social life in urban public spaces. Some of them can be used to assess the connectedness of the historic centre (as a public place) to the rest of the city. For example, when evaluating historic commercial complexes, indicators could include the historic centre's current share in the commercial activities of the city, its pedestrian flow and activity level, the diversity of the services offered there, a breakdown of users' age and gender (including compared to other public spaces and the city as a whole), the level of public infrastructure and safety, the availability and quality of public transportation, the permeability of the area, road traffic and air pollution statistics, the quality of the built environment in surrounding neighbourhoods and any physical or visual barriers blocking access to it.

Explaining these assessment methods calls for an extended discussion on an urban scale. However, the discussion in this paper is focused on an urban district scale. With the above-mentioned brief introduction in mind, we concentrate on explaining methods for mapping the multilayered structure of a public place inside the historic centre.

Understanding the publicness of a public place always involves the problem of the ambiguity of public-private boundaries within it. Due to the complex, overlapping forces that influence urban space use, physical boundaries cannot be drawn

between public and private spaces. Therefore, in reality, the publicity and privacy of urban spaces are experienced as a continuum in which many "semi-public or semi-private spaces can be identified" (Madanipour 2003, p. 210). To map the continuum or spectrum of the publicity–privacy of a space, we have to convert the publicness qualities into factors that can be defined and assigned to individual places.

Ideas presented by scholars such as Canter and Habraken about the organization of the built environment take us one step further. Approaching the phenomenon of place from an architectural-psychological point of view, Canter (1977) explains it as a product of *conceptions*, *actions* and *physical environment*. Similarly, Habraken (1998) argues that the built environment is organized by three types of orders: *physical structure*, *control and territory* and *common understanding*. In order to be able to map the structure of a public place, these dimensions were elaborated into measurable factors.

The soft (social) and hard (physical) structures that make up a public place are constructed by physical accessibility, legal control (enforced by ownership), the local culture of territory-defining and the current use of spaces. In other words, influences enforced by these four factors jointly define the levels of public and private control in a public space. These four factors help to compare publicness qualities (openness, accessibility and commonness) of different spaces and to map the differences. We can use them to define the position of each space in the spectrum of publicity–privacy in a public place (Fig. 1).

Naturally, the types of use in spaces can attract different numbers and types of people. The structure of the physical space also influences the publicity–privacy situation by facilitating the control of access to the space by different groups at different times of the day. In addition, to assess the commonness of spaces and the participation of actors in their use and control, their ownership status must be taken into account. Considering the factor of ownership ensures that the rights of private owners are respected when the publicness spectrum is mapped.

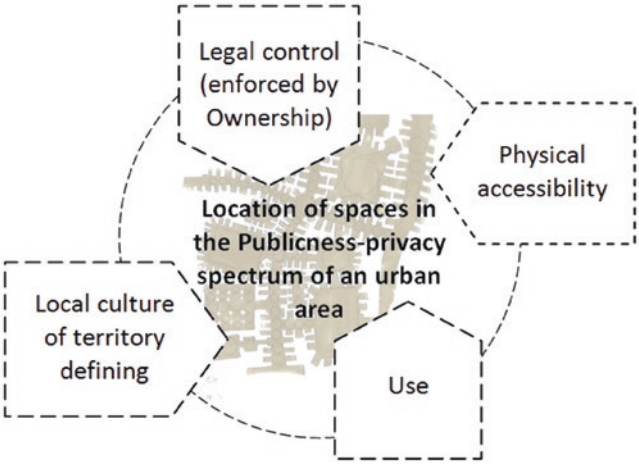

Fig. 1 Four factors defining the publicity or privacy of a space

The cultural norms forming the patterns and use of territorial definition also shape the character of a public place. What is referred to in this paper as the *culture of territory-defining* is identified and explained by observing repeated and culturally established human behaviours such as sitting, resting, chatting, drinking tea and standing in the spaces studied. Recording activities indicating that a certain group considers a space safe and culturally appropriate to slow down from necessary activities such as passing by or shopping, for having the above-mentioned optional activities, helps to identify the territory definers and those who merely act based on the defined territories. The map showing the culture of territory-defining aims to categorize zones in a public space according to their regular dominant users.

The patterns of territorial definition need not necessarily follow patterns of ownership or physical form. As discussed below, these traditional territories may be defended, questioned or challenged by different user groups. Figure 2 shows the recommended data collection techniques for mapping the aforementioned four factors in an urban setting.

As explained below, inserting these four factors into a matrix helps relate them to each other (Table 1 shows this matrix using the example of Tabriz Bazaar). The matrix has one row for each factor. The columns indicate the degrees of publicity–privacy that can be identified in an area. The number of columns depends on the precision of the study as well as the numbers of identifiable categories in architectural typologies affecting accessibility, use diversity, ownership types and the diversity of user groups.

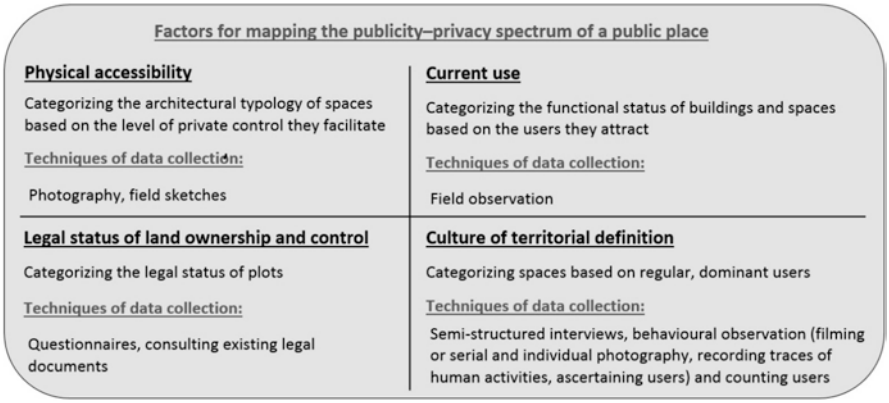

Fig. 2 Techniques of data collection for studying and mapping the publicity–privacy spectrum of a historic public place

[a]**Saras are similar to Carvansaras in terms of architectural design but are not built for serving caravans. They include merchant offices and wholesale shops.**

[b]Timchehs are arcades and covered buildings that provide space for offices and wholesale shops, usually for goods like textiles, carpets and jewellery.

[c]Dalans are corridors in which specialized functions such as wholesale spaces, workshops, commercial offices and storehouses are located.

[d]Vaqf (endowment) properties are inconsumable properties like buildings. Vaqf properties cannot be sold and are not considered as private or public properties because they are supervised by the Owqaf and Endowment Affairs Organization

Table 1 The publicity–privacy spectrum matrix for Tabriz Bazaar

Level of public control / Factors defining openness and accessibility	5 (public)	4	3	2	1 (private)
Physical accessibility	Rastehs (covered pathways)	Central spaces in Saras,[a] Carvansaras, Timchehs,[b] Dalans,[c] mosques with two or more controllable openings	Central spaces in Saras, Carvansaras, Timchehs, Dalans and mosques with one controllable opening	Hojrehs (small rooms used for various purposes) in open Rastehs	Hojrehs in privately controlled buildings
Current use	Retail with weekly and daily shopping potential and mosques	Retail with yearly and monthly shopping potential	Gold and carpet workshops, storage spaces and offices mixed with retail	Non-commercial institutions (accepting individuals based on payment or membership)	Workshops and storage spaces (noisy, requiring plenty of space)
Ownership	Public – state ownership	–	–	–	Private and Vaqf[d] ownership
Culture of territorial definition	Relatively even mix of people from different age and gender groups	10–35% of regular users are women and children	Less than 10% of regular users are women and children (these are normally spaces for storing goods and places where porters rest)	Seminary schools and other institutes (used mainly by certain users)	Used mainly by staff (work places and workshops
Outcome: Publicity–privacy spectrum	17–20	14–16	11–13	8–10	4–7

Application of the Method Using the Example of Tabriz Bazaar, Iran

Tabriz Bazaar is a marketplace located in the Eastern Azerbaijan province in northwest Iran. It has an area of about 29 hectares according to its World Heritage nomination dossier[5]. The method discussed was adapted to local conditions influencing publicness at the Tabriz Bazaar World Heritage site.

Table 1 shows the matrix designed to achieve a qualitative understanding of the current *publicity–privacy spectrum* in Tabriz Bazaar. The interpretation of this matrix is based on the identification and behavioural studies of the groups involved in public life in the bazaar: the bazaar community (men, women and children) and the general public (men, traditional women, nontraditional women and children).

The numbers in the matrix are indicators to compare spaces in terms of the levels of public or private control in them. These indicators do not represent quantitative values. 1 indicates the highest degree of private control of a space assessed within the ownership, cultural, use or physical conditions of a particular space or zone; 5 represents the highest level of public control of spaces. The final row showing the degrees of publicity–privacy is a result of adding the indicators for each factor in the first column. Scores of 17–20 represent zone 5 spaces, which are the most legally, culturally, physically and functionally open and accessible zones to everyone. Obviously, zone 5 does not mean absolute openness and accessibility. Instead, it indicates the highest degree of publicness within Tabriz Bazaar considering the physical, legal, functional and cultural conditions. Similarly, spaces with an indicator score of 4–7 indicate the most private zone (zone 1) of the bazaar.

This matrix is a tool to understand the current levels of responsibility and rights of public and private actors in particular zones in the bazaar. It is not meant to show the desired state of publicity–privacy; it only reflects the current structure of the public space in this regard.

Using the results obtained from this matrix, four maps were prepared to show how the state of physical form, use, ownership and culture of territory-defining in each space in Tabriz Bazaar allow higher or lower levels of publicity and privacy. These four maps were juxtaposed to produce the map of the publicity–privacy spectrum of Tabriz Bazaar (Fig. 3).

As can be seen in the matrix (Table 1) and the map (Fig. 3), areas in zones 1 and 2 are Hojrehs (used as shops, workshops and offices) inside privately owned and controlled buildings or along pathways. The main groups involved in these zones are the bazaar community members and institutions. As we approach zones 2, 3 and 4, public involvement rises.

Zone 3 areas are mostly privately owned central spaces that are physically open to the public and are suitable for slowing down and taking part in social interaction. These zones are currently the middle zones. Public and private actors are involved in shaping the activities in these zones. As a bazaar is a mostly privately owned public place, the higher the number of orange central spaces, the more public the

[5] Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1346 [Accessed: 3.12.2015]

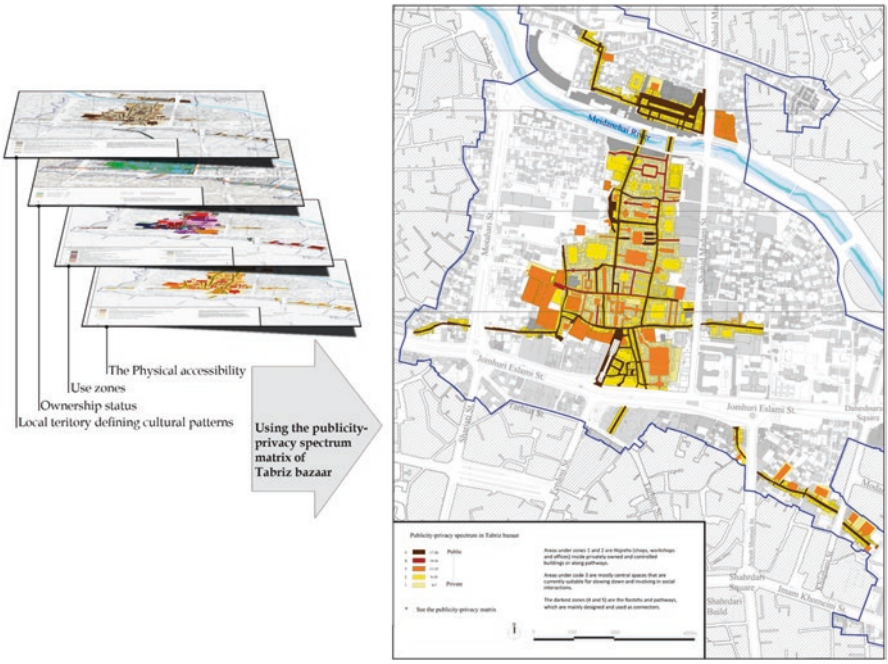

Fig 3 Publicity–privacy spectrum map of Tabriz Bazaar

bazaar, because the darkest (the most public) parts are actually the pathways, which mainly function as connectors.

In the map of the culture of territory-defining, a nearby shopping street was included in the studies to show that in Tabriz Bazaar there is no zone 5 in this factor. In other words, no space with equal influence and power shared by different users was found in the bazaar. The highest rate recorded for women and children involved in optional activities in spaces was 35% of all regular users[6]. This map indicates the limited ability of Tabriz Bazaar as an urban public place to foster social diversity in terms of gender and age[7].

In the current socio-physical structure of public life in the bazaar, enhancing the involvement of women and children appears easier in zone 3 areas because they are usually safe; they are neither overcrowded nor empty; their function is public-friendly; and the architecture allows public access. Accordingly, these spaces should be the first to be facilitated for public use. If they start to attract a wider diversity of people, they will influence other adjacent open spaces that today are classified as

[6] These findings were obtained by regular quantitative and qualitative ethnographic studies in Tabriz Bazaar between March 2013 and September 2015 (Yadollahi, unpublished PhD dissertation).

[7] The study conducted to assess the connectedness of Tabriz Bazaar to the surrounding city on an urban scale reveals the limited diversity of social classes using Tabriz Bazaar as a public place (Yadollahi, unpublished PhD dissertation).

zone 2. This will generate growth in the orange (3) and red (4) zones in the bazaar. Of course, the quality of this growth should be discussed with private owners. If the policy of enhancing the current orange zones is successful and leads to the emergence of new orange and red zones, the next step for planners would be to equip them with public infrastructure.

Note that the darkest areas (zones 5 and 4) form a spine which keeps elements of the whole structure together. Without these connecters, the bazaar would be a miscellany of adjacent private and semiprivate spaces without constituting a meaningful whole. This underlines the vital role played by the presence of diverse social groups in the bazaar in preserving its integrity as a marketplace and a public place.

The Contribution of Publicness Assessment Mapping to Social Sustainability

As explained in the introduction, the main aim of this paper is to discuss how urban research can contribute to solving questions regarding conflicts in interpreting social sustainability in relation to culture. The method presented here based on publicness indicators and the four factors of *use*, *physical accessibility*, *ownership* and *local culture of territory-defining* is a step towards this goal. The present contribution is a step beyond *methodological approaches of assessing and implementing social sustainability in historic public spaces* (this issue is discussed in a paper written by Yadollahi (2015) in a recent Heritage Studies Series volume, Perceptions of Sustainable Development of Sustainability in Heritage Studies).

As urban researchers, we do not argue for or against any traditional social order of public place use. Our aim is to understand the cultural patterns of the distribution of influence and power in a place from the perspectives of different user groups. In the process of achieving social sustainability, sooner or later a community has to reach a point at which it can discuss and decide whether it wants to sustain or transform certain cultural behaviours. It is this community who should openly discuss and come to a final conclusion about whether or not existing cultural norms enhance values such as social justice and inclusive use in their common urban spaces. The role of urban research is to scientifically explain the current multilayered structure of power in the public place and facilitate a knowledge-based public discussion.

More precisely, the territory-defining map and its relationship with the publicity–privacy map highlight the diversity of the presence of social groups with respect to the dominant culture in the space. This is particularly sensitive in historic neighbourhoods in which traditional norms control the social hierarchy of public places. By highlighting the current power relations in the use of a historic public place, this mapping system enables the territory definers and those who follow the defined territories to develop a more conscious and responsible understanding of their public life rather than overlooking or ignoring the conflicts and regarding the present situation as unquestionable and unchangeable.

Practically and professionally speaking, this place-based understanding of the current effectiveness of the actors involved helps urban planners identify and prioritize

Table 2 The publicity–privacy spectrum mapping tool can offer an important contribution to urban governance process, when the issue of power balance is important or problematic

The main questions regarding the understanding of the power balance in a historic urban area		The contribution of the mapping tool in addressing these questions
Current situation	Who is involved, to what extent, where? Who are the main negotiation partners in each zone?	Showing the existing publicity–privacy patterns in each zone
Desired situation	Who should be involved, in which zone, and to what extent?	Illustrating the desired patterns of publicity–privacy in each zone *(after these patterns are decided by the community and planners)*
Finding solutions	How to attract and involve people who are excluded or needed for the liveliness of a place?	Providing the basic knowledge on the interrelation of the functional, legal, physical and cultural causes of the current pattern of power balance in a place. This knowledge is needed for a fair decision-making

the negotiation strategies for each zone. It is a tool to understand the current levels of responsibilities, rights and vulnerabilities of public and private actors in different zones. This mapping system is not designed to define the desired state of publicity and privacy in a public place. Of course, using this method, the desired publicity–privacy map can be prepared based on the goals of an urban conservation plan. The mapping method can highlight the differences between the desired and existing power balance patterns in each studied zone. It also helps the planner to identify the interrelationship between functional, legal (ownership-related), physical and cultural causes of attractiveness or unattractiveness of a place for certain users. This knowledge provides the basis for planning and navigating the path from the current publicity–privacy situation to the desired level Table 2.

In a nutshell, the method presented suggests that the urban governance system needs to be flexible regarding the publicity–privacy spectrum of the place indicating the current power relations of different actors in each zone. It provides a place-based and a culture-based model of the public place. The outcome of this method (the final publicity–privacy map) is easily understandable for the actors involved. Therefore, it can facilitate a more knowledge-based negotiation process, which is the basis for social sustainability. That is how the presented method goes beyond the traditional engineering approaches of urban heritage management in relation with power conflicts and social sustainability.

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Heritage Impact Assessments as an Advanced Tool for a Sustainable Management of Cultural UNESCO World Heritage Sites: From Theory to Practice

Michael Kloos

Introduction

UNESCO's decisions to include cultural landscapes as a separate category of cultural sites into the World Heritage Programme, to approve the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* and to use cultural heritage as a pillar of sustainable development have resulted in a paradigm shift with regard to the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Instead of focusing on the conservation of isolated monuments, ensembles or natural areas devoid of people, preservation strategies now have to concentrate on the sustainable development of inhabited areas on a wider scale with a high degree of complexity. This has raised new theoretical and practical challenges regarding how ongoing and sudden transformations in cultural World Heritage properties, and their environment, should be managed in a wider context.

This reveals that there is a general need for appropriate instruments to evaluate and monitor the complex relationships between UNESCO World Heritage sites and the communities living there and thereby activate a stewardship in line with UNESCO's overall strategy of sustainable development. Heritage Impact Assessments (HIAs) have been identified in recent years as such an instrument, and they have been increasingly applied to assess transformations in various UNESCO World Heritage sites (Kloos 2015). However, apart from initial successes, HIAs still show highly variable qualities when implemented in praxis. This raises questions concerning the scientific background, the applied methodologies and the local effectiveness of HIAs (Kloos 2015, Bond et al. 2013).

Against this background, this paper argues that UNESCO's new landscape approaches, and the attempt to use cultural heritage as a pillar for sustainable

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development, lead to the need to position heritage management more centrally in strategies of urban and regional planning and related governance policies. Consequently, the theoretical starting point of this paper is that HIAs also need to be combined closely with suitable communication, mediation and participation strategies in order to avoid failures in assessment processes and to fully explore their potential to support the sustainable development of World Heritage sites. With reference to this theoretical approach, both present shortcomings and potentials in the practical application of HIAs will be illustrated through several case studies. Finally, drawing on first results of the ongoing research project *Heritage Impact Assessments in Cultural World Properties*, an outline of necessary future steps in research and education with regard to the practical use of HIAs in cultural UNESCO World Heritage sites will be provided.

The Impact of UNESCO's Landscape Approaches and Paradigm Shift Towards Sustainable Development on the Role and Tasks of Heritage Management

One of the key principles of UNESCO's 1972 World Heritage Convention, specified in Art. 4, is the protection of the heritage of humankind for 'transmission to future generations' (UNESCO 1972). The Convention can therefore be seen as a precursor of the basic principle of sustainability defined in the *Brundtland Report*, which stated that 'sustainable development meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED 1987). In keeping with this, UNESCO has identified culture in general, and World Heritage in particular, as a fourth pillar of sustainability in addition to the three distinct but mutually supportive elements of environmental, economic and social aspects.

For various reasons, the introduction of the concept of cultural landscapes in the year 1992 was a crucial step towards this decision. For the first time, the Outstanding Universal Value of cultural World Heritage sites was defined by the mutual relationships between humankind and nature. Thus, a focus was placed on inhabited areas on a wider scale rather than on the conservation of isolated monuments and natural areas without people. World Heritage now embraced non-monumental sites and intangible associative values which social communities attributed to them as cultural heritage. Additionally, vernacular architecture could be recognised as cultural World Heritage, and customary law was consciously accepted as an important management tool. In the context of urban World Heritage properties, these principles were included in the *2011 Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (HUL) (UNESCO, 2011). The *2005 Vienna Memorandum*, which pointed to 'a change towards sustainable development and a broader concept of urban space suggested as a 'landscape'', influenced a shift from the previous emphasis on protecting designated buildings or ensembles to a wider understanding of urban heritage. This wider understanding goes beyond the 'traditional' static values of built heritage and

includes social, aesthetic, ecological and economical values so as to lay an 'emphasis on continuity - of relationships, values and management' (van Oers 2010).

UNESCO's focus on inhabited cultural and urban landscapes on a wider scale combined with the strategic aim to use culture as a pillar for sustainable development significantly widened the notion of cultural heritage (Kloos 2014). This caused a paradigm shift in the implementation of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention. According to ICOMOS, heritage should now 'no longer be 'confined to the role of passive conservation of the past', but should instead provide tools and frameworks to help shape, delineate and drive the [sustainable] development of tomorrow's societies' (ICOMOS 2011b). As a result, it has now been recognised that heritage management is 'both determined by and is the responsibility of local communities' (Ripp and Rodwell 2016).

But this paradigm shift, which is documented by various Charters[1] and UNESCO's 2005 Convention affirming cultural diversity, also generated a large number of questions with regard to the management of heritage sites (Guzmán et al. 2014). Those same communities that are increasingly recognised as important stakeholders in heritage management and preservation modify their heritage places every day. As a result, *change management* has now become a central challenge in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Looking through UNESCO State of Conservation reports reveals why this is the case. World Heritage sites are witnessing an increasing pressure due to buildings and development (79%), transportation infrastructure (62%) and utility and service infrastructure (44%) (Veillon 2014). World Heritage cultural and urban landscapes are especially vulnerable with respect to such transformations. London's skyline is only one example which demonstrates these issues. An increase in the number of high-rise building in recent years has seen the skyline changed drastically, so that even protected vistas from and to the city's three World Heritage properties have been modified irreversibly (Greater London Authority 2012). Additionally, London's city silhouette could be further transformed in the near future by 240 new high-rise projects (Murray 2014). Though London's three World Heritage sites may not be affected by all of these developments, it is certain that their setting will undergo significant changes in the future (Fig. 1).

In recent years, various disputes illustrated that such transformations in or nearby World Heritage properties can easily lead to tensions between both local communities and international decision-makers. One example for this is the friction between local and international decision-makers in Cologne because of the inclusion of Cologne Cathedral on the List of World Heritage in Danger due to planned high-rise developments in 2004. An exemplar of such conflicts was the removal of the World Heritage site *Dresden Elbe Valley* from the UNESCO World Heritage List, due to the construction of the Waldschlösschen Bridge which took place against the will of

[1] Charters with particular relevance in this context: *Nara Document*; *Burra Charter*, revised in 2013, and the *Xi'an Declaration*. A series of guidelines, such as the 1994 *Aalborg Charter* and the 2012 *Memorandum Urban Energies – Urban Challenges*, are also putting a strong focus on issues under the broad headings of urban sustainability and climate change.

Fig. 1 UNESCO World Heritage site *Tower of London* within London's skyline (©Christine Matthews, www.geography.org)

local and regional decision-makers of Dresden and the Federal State of Saxony (Kloos 2015). In addition, the intended paradigm shift within the UNESCO World Heritage Convention raised tensions between the World Heritage Committee and its Advisory Body ICOMOS. Whether change should be handled by integrating heritage conservation into local management systems, or if the focus should be on 'classical conservation' as a separate discipline, avoiding any change, in general, has been (and still is) the subject of intensive discussion (Petzet 2009; Kloos 2014). As a consequence, *change management* has been replaced by the term *management of continuity* in the context of World Heritage. Nevertheless, the questions of to what extent change might be accepted, and which instruments and strategies could support continuous sustainable development, remain. In general, it can be concluded that UNESCO's approaches towards cultural and urban landscapes caused considerable challenges to the objective of using cultural heritage as an engine for sustainability (Kloos 2014, 2015).

Besides World Heritage Management Plans, two-dimensional instruments such as land use and land development plans, monument protection areas and, in the context of World Heritage, particularly buffer zones have up until now been the only tools to manage change (or continuity, respectively) in UNESCO World Heritage sites. However, similar to the case of London, Vienna's current situation clearly shows the ineffectiveness of this tool. Several of the recently built or currently

planned high-rise buildings are located outside of Vienna's buffer zone, but they are nevertheless affecting the city's two World Heritage properties. As will be shown in one of the following case studies, the installation of energy and service infrastructure such as wind turbines can lead to similar problems. Hence, it can be concluded that 'classic tools' based on two-dimensional protection zones are too static because they cannot be adapted to ongoing changes resulting from requirements such as spatial, socio-economical or environmental transformations, demographical changes leading to growth or shrinkage, climate change and mass tourism. Alongside this, buffer zones can cause confusion and misunderstandings in urban and regional planning practice because in most countries they are not anchored in national monumental preservation laws.

It can be concluded that the paradigm shift in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention has raised a large number of new challenges for both urban and regional planning practice and heritage management. Due to UNESCO's aim to use heritage as a pillar for sustainable development and the landscape approaches combined with this strategy, heritage management can no longer be understood as a discipline focusing on heritage precincts detached from their urban or regional context. Rather, it must be seen as an asset to actively shape our environment and therefore as a central element of urban and regional planning. Reciprocally, strategies of urban and regional planning must embrace urban and regional heritage as a valuable element to build up identity, strengthen resilience of urban agglomerations and establish a system of integrated conservation (Ripp and Rodwell 2015). In other words, heritage management has shifted from the periphery into a central position within urban and regional development. As a consequence, the management of UNESCO World Heritage properties must be tightly connected with current strategies in urban and regional planning and related governance policies (Bandarin and van Oers 2015; Ripp and Rodwell 2016). This creates a need for effective tools that identify, assess, evaluate and monitor changes which support heritage-led planning processes in World Heritage cultural and urban landscapes and their surroundings.

Heritage Impact Assessments Between Ideal Theoretical Standards and Challenges in Praxis

In this context, the World Heritage Committee and ICOMOS have increasingly requested States Parties to carry out HIAs, in order to assess the impact of new interventions on the Outstanding Universal Value of cultural World Heritage properties. A closer examination of UNESCO State of Conservation reports reveals that the World Heritage Committee and its Advisory Bodies have requested approximately 100 HIAs to date.[2] As a result, the Operational Guidelines clearly states that 'Impact assessments for proposed interventions are essential for all World Heritage properties' (Operational Guidelines 2015, para. 104). In line with this development, several manuals have been developed to support and facilitate the

[2] The author would like to thank MSc Maaike Goedkoop for this information.

Fig. 2 Basic steps in cultural impact assessment processes as defined by the International Network of Cultural Diversity (INCD / Sagnia 2004) (© Michael Kloos 2015)

implementation of HIAs and to streamline their assessment methodologies in cultural World Heritage sites. In 2011, ICOMOS published *Guidance on Heritage Impact Assessments for Cultural World Heritage Properties* which is addressed to heritage managers, developers, consultants and decision-makers but also to the World Heritage Committee and States Parties (ICOMOS 2011a). Furthermore, guidelines on HIAs were developed by international donor agencies such as the World Bank, and several countries published manuals for the implementation of HIAs, addressing specific types of cultural heritage(Rodgers 2011, Lambrick and Hind 2005). In addition, ICCROM has initiated training modules in cooperation with scientific institutes such as *World Heritage Institute of Training and Research for the Asian and the Pacific Region* (WHITR-AP) *under Auspices of UNESCO* and the *Asian Academy* to stimulate capacity building for practitioners in HIAs (Rogers, accessed 2015).

According to this theoretical background, HIAs should be conceived as process-related studies comprised of various steps that combine assessment with an in-depth analysis of the Outstanding Universal Value and other attributes of World Heritage properties. A crucial element of such studies is the scoping process, where, inter alia, all relevant stakeholders must be identified; the content, important subjects and issues and the time corridor of the study must be defined; and potential risks concerning these factors must be discussed within the stakeholder group. A second crucial aspect of HIAs is the definition of potential mitigation measures in case of negative findings and the feedback of crucial results into planning processes (Fig. 2).[3]

Despite these efforts to establish a theoretical background and to streamline assessment methodologies, we face highly diverse local practices and experiences in performing HIAs in or for UNESCO sites today. One example of such inconsistencies is the three HIAs carried out in the World Heritage property *Liverpool – Maritime Mercantile City* with regard to the project *Liverpool Waters*. Despite these three impact assessments aimed at evaluating the same planned new waterfront with high-rise tower blocks in the immediate vicinity of the city's World Heritage property, they all led to different end results.

[3] The *International Network of Cultural Diversity* defined impact assessments as the 'process of *identifying*, *predicting*, *evaluating* and *communicating* the probable effects of a current or proposed development policy or action on the cultural life, institutions and resources of communities, then *integrating* these findings and conclusions into the planning and decision-making process, with a view to *mitigating* adverse impacts and *enhancing* positive outcomes' (Sangria/INCD, 2004, emphasis added by the author).

This example shows that there are considerable challenges to be tackled when it comes to practical implementations of HIAs. One of these challenges is that such studies are often commissioned in a late stage of planning processes or even when projects have already been realised. This results in time pressure, making it often impossible to carry out thorough scoping processes prior to such studies or to feed results of HIAs back into planning processes (Kloos 2015). Hence, the above-mentioned theoretical framework often cannot be fully implemented in practice. Two examples of HIAs which had to be carried out under such circumstances are the cases of the *Golden Horn Metro Crossing Bridge* and the *Yenikapi Landfill Project* in Istanbul. Both projects were fully designed, granted building permits and partly completed before the HIAs had been started. It is obvious that HIAs carried out on such finished plans or even faits accomplis can only lead to a limited performance. While the design of the Golden Horn Metro Crossing Bridge could be slightly modified since a working process with local stakeholders had been included into the HIA process (Kloos et al. 2011, 2015), the Yenikapi Landfill Project has meanwhile been realised despite the HIA declaring that the project would have a negative impact on the Outstanding Universal Value of the World Heritage property (Kloos et al. 2014) (Fig. 3).

It can be concluded that the practical implementation of HIAs in cultural World Heritage properties frequently differs considerably from the ideal standards of the above-mentioned manuals and theoretical framework. Particularly because HIAs are often conducted too late, they are seldom compiled as a proactive and process-related instrument to generate a basis for bottom-up, cultural heritage-led planning processes. Instead, HIAs are often used either to justify or to destabilise the quality of completed planning schemes on a political level. In the author's experience, they are also mostly carried out without participation of relevant stakeholders and the public. Often, as in the case of Dresden, such 'belated' HIAs are compiled because the World Heritage Committee and its Advisory Bodies have requested States Parties to report on ongoing planning processes according to §172 of the Operational Guidelines (Ringbeck and Rössler 2011). However, recent experiences show that, especially in countries where there is not yet sufficient experience in the implementation of HIAs, such top-down procedures can lead to misunderstandings and long communication loops without satisfying end results.

Heritage Impact Assessments as a Proactive Tool to Combine Heritage Management with Participatory Urban and Regional Planning Processes

In contrast to this, the following two examples show that the potential of HIAs should rather be seen in their ability to support heritage-led participatory planning processes and conflict prevention in an early stage of planning processes. The first case where an HIA was used in such a context was the evaluation of a new railroad track in the Upper Middle Rhine Valley. This approximately 50-km-long, narrow

Fig. 3 The *Yenikapi Landfill Project*, a new assembly area for one million people in the immediate vicinity of the World Heritage property *Historic Areas of Istanbul*, was already under construction (*top*) when the HIA process started (*bottom*) (© Michael Kloos, v-cube GbR 2014)

but nevertheless strongly urbanised stretch of the River Rhine between the cities Mainz and Koblenz was inscribed as a cultural landscape in the World Heritage List in 2001. Here, three listed railway tunnels, between the towns Oberwesel and St. Goar on the Western Bank of the River Rhine, could no longer be used for double-tracked railway traffic following their necessary renovation due to current safety regulations. As a result, an evaluation of whether this section of the railway track could be shifted into a new railway tunnel was necessary.

In contrast to the above-mentioned examples in Dresden, Liverpool and Istanbul, the request to assess the impact of potential alternatives for the existing railway track on the Outstanding Universal Value of the World Heritage property by an HIA was not voiced by the World Heritage Committee, ICOMOS or other local or regional heritage specialists and institutions. Instead, the responsible railway network operator, *DB Netze*, took the initiative to commission the impact study. The reason for this decision was that DB Netze had only limited experience in how to handle such a complex planning process within a UNESCO World Heritage site.

Against this background, a thorough scoping process was carried out together with the client prior to the HIA. As a first step, important stakeholders on local,

regional and national levels, including the German World Heritage focal point and ICOMOS, were identified, informed and invited to participate in the planning process. DB Netze particularly wanted to discuss potential consequences of the planned measures, especially the impact of the new tunnel entrances and railway tracks, as transparently as possible with this stakeholder group. Hence, visualisations were generated which played a twofold role during the planning and assessment process. The visualisations were used to evaluate potential risks of the planned transformations with regard to the Outstanding Universal Value of the World Heritage property and, in parallel, to discuss the consequences of the new planning scheme with the stakeholder group with a view to subsequently elaborating the planning scheme. As a basis for this planning, communication and assessment process, DB Netze commissioned a structural engineering company to provide four alternative solutions for the existing railway track. In addition, the communication office *IFOK* was hired to organise and supervise the participation process.

This combination of the HIA with an intensive participation strategy led to several interesting results. In one of the alternative railway tracks, it had been accepted by the structural planners that a tower of St. Goar's medieval city ramparts would have been irreversibly lost. Due to the use of the visualisations, this could be corrected during this early stage of the planning process. As a consequence of the process-related setup, the HIA could also provide clear directives regarding which of the suggested four alternatives would probably be compatible with the property's Outstanding Universal Value and which would not. A third interesting component of this planning process was the dialogue with the stakeholder group. Even the variant which had been judged to be the least critical with regard to the Outstanding Universal Value was sharply criticised on the local level. The stakeholders were particularly concerned because one of the vineyards, the most successful in attempts to restimulate wine cultivation in the area, would have been damaged. As a result, DB Netze provided a fifth alternative that moved the planned tunnel entrance to another, less sensitive point of the valley. Another additional alternative was provided because citizens of the adjacent town Oberwesel were asking for a longer tunnel, intended to solve the noise problems caused by the freight train traffic in the valley.

Due to this iterative planning and assessment strategy, the planning scheme could be successively concretised. In the second phase of the project, the chosen alternatives were further elaborated by the architectural office *Iva architects*. A preliminary design for the various tunnel entrances was provided and discussed again with the stakeholder group. A third phase of this planning process is currently under preparation (Fig. 4).

A second example of an HIA being proactively used in order to prevent potential conflicts was seen during the nomination process of the site *Residence Ensemble Schwerin – Cultural Landscape of Romantic Historicism.* This site was included on Germany's Tentative List in 2014 and is scheduled to be nominated for the World Heritage List in 2020. The city of Schwerin, with the Residence Ensemble in its centre, was largely designed and built through the period of historicism. It is embedded in a consciously designed cultural landscape characterised by several lakes and various scenic vistas which connect the Residence Ensemble with its

Fig. 4 Visualisation of planned tunnel entrances, first state (*left*) and second state (*right*) (© v-cube GbR)

Fig. 5 The *Residence Ensemble Schwerin* (*left*) (© Landeshauptstadt Schwerin)

environment. The visibility of the Residence Ensemble from various directions ('Allansichtigkeit') is considered as an important attribute of the potential Outstanding Universal Value of the property.

As several wind farms, with up to 200-metre-high turbines, are currently planned in the environment of Schwerin, the impact of these plans on the potential Outstanding Universal Value of the property had to be evaluated in the HIA. The central task of the study was therefore to provide information regarding which of the wind farms, planned at distances of up to 15 kilometres from the Residence Ensemble, could cause conflicts with the planned World Heritage nomination. A second task of the study was to define future measures regarding the management of the property (Fig. 5).

Fig. 6 Field-of-view analysis at *Residence Ensemble Schwerin*. Planned wind farms (*left*) and field-of-view-analysis (*right*) (© Michael Kloos / v-cube GbR)

Firstly, an existing 3D computer model of Schwerin's inner city was extended with data of the planned wind energy plants. Secondly, a site survey was carried out in order to document the most important vistas with historical relevance using GPS-related photographs. Finally, field-of-view analyses were generated by superimposing the digital photographs on the computer model data (Fig. 6).

Due to this compact preliminary study, the wind farms that would endanger the potential Outstanding Universal Value of the *Residence Ensemble Schwerin* were identified at a relatively early stage of the nomination process. As a result of the study, the client was advised to develop a strategy to coordinate, and communicate, the current World Heritage nomination process thoroughly, both with the goals defined in the Regional Development Plan and with the decision-makers of the surrounding municipalities. As a result, there are now plans to carry out a more in-depth study defining the relevant historical sight corridors that are to be preserved. A second aim of this study will be to intensify and to concretise the communication between both the stakeholders involved in Schwerin's World Heritage nomination and the decision-makers in the surrounding municipalities. Consequently, this study will also serve as a basis for the future management plan of the property (Kloos, 2016).

Conclusion: Future Research Steps with Regard to the Practical Use of Heritage Impact Assessments in Cultural World Heritage Sites

The above-mentioned case studies were intended to illustrate that HIAs can support sustainable development in complex World Heritage cultural and urban landscapes, particularly if they are used as a proactive tool combined with 'tailor-made'

communication and process management strategies to elaborate and adjust interventions in early stages of planning processes. In contrast to that, the current HIA praxis in the context of World Heritage is dominated by the World Heritage Committee and its Advisory Bodies' attempts to stimulate the use of HIAs through 'inviting' (or compelling) States Parties to provide information about ongoing transformation processes. However, such assessments mostly result in HIAs that remain merely on a political level. In the worst case, they lead to long communication loops without clear outcomes or even to contradicting results as in the case of Liverpool.

To bridge this gap between theory and praxis, it will be crucial to stimulate an integrated use of HIAs in planning processes in World Heritage sites and their surroundings. However, one of the main obstacles presently preventing HIAs being compiled in an early stage of planning processes is that they are not embedded in European planning legislations. Hence, the application of these studies still works on a voluntary basis. Since HIAs also have to be fully financed on a national, regional and local level, they are frequently avoided until their implementation becomes inescapable – either due to the above-mentioned requests of the World Heritage Committee or because of other factors, e.g. political tensions voiced by local pressure groups. To stimulate a more regular and appropriate use of HIAs in World Heritage sites, a systematic investigation, on both a scientific and practical level, of how HIAs can be combined with the existing European evaluation framework, especially Strategic Environmental Assessments (SEAs) and Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs), must therefore be undertaken. This necessity to link HIAs to the existing European legislative framework has also been pointed out in UNESCO's second cycle of World Heritage Periodic Reporting (UNESCO 2014). Within these research activities, it has to be taken into account that one of the main reasons for ICOMOS definition of the *2011 Guidance on Heritage Impact Assessments for Cultural World Heritage Properties* was that the Outstanding Universal Value of World Heritage sites had often been insufficiently addressed in SEAs and EIAs. Scientific research also shows that cultural heritage is frequently not afforded the same importance as other aspects in EIA and SEA evaluation processes. Besides that, in EIAs and SEAs, the understanding of cultural heritage is often limited to designated buildings and protected areas, while intangible aspects such as 'cultural identity, community cohesion and language are rarely assessed' (Bond & Teller, in: Dupagne et al. 2004, 105; see also Bond et al. 2004). Therefore, determining the extent to which SEAs and EIAs can be combined with HIAs so as to feed into each other is a crucial research question. In this respect, an analysis of best practices could be helpful to start future research activities.

To stimulate their proactive use, it is also necessary to consider how HIAs can be linked more closely to World Heritage Management Plans. Here, it should be clearly outlined how mechanisms to implement HIA processes should work according to the type, characteristics and needs of nominated properties and available resources. In addition, World Heritage Management Plans should define which relevant stakeholders have to be addressed according to the local management systems. Consequently, it will also be necessary to update existing World Heritage Resource Manuals. These currently clearly emphasise the necessity of monitoring, but no

references are made to HIAs (UNESCO 2013; Ringbeck 2008). In general, the relevance of risk management in World Heritage sites, especially in World Heritage cultural and urban landscapes, should also be clearly underlined on this level.

A second future research field is the combination of HIAs with strategies of urban and regional planning and related governance policies. The above-mentioned case studies showed clearly that HIAs can only be an effective instrument to support sustainable development in the world cultural and urban landscapes when combined with thoroughly planned participation and communication strategies, which include all relevant 'players'. Hence, possibilities to link HIAs to urban and regional planning processes and related governance policies should be systematically explored. Such studies should also critically investigate accompanying instruments to increase the effectiveness of HIAs in integrated heritage-led planning and communication processes. An example for this is the above-mentioned case study in the Upper Middle Rhine Valley where it was demonstrated that visualisations are a promising tool to support communication processes with stakeholders on a local and regional level. Similarly, the use of visualisations as a tool to support participation processes led recently to positive experiences in Switzerland (Schroth 2010).

In this context it should also be noted that most manuals and guidelines on World Heritage management, including the Operational Guidelines, currently refer to the use of a 'participatory planning and stakeholder consultation process' (UNESCO 2015a, b, para. 111) or 'community involvement' (e.g. Rössler 2012). However, concrete information about how such processes work and, even more importantly, why they can fail is rarely provided. Consequently, both future research and pertinent resource manuals should provide far more detailed information in this respect. In this context, references to both scientific knowledge in evaluation processes and existing expertise in urban and regional planning regarding governance strategies would be helpful (Lisitzin 2005)

Finally, all HIA case studies discussed in this paper illustrated clearly that due to the various procedural steps as well as the sectoral knowledge that HIA studies have to include, authors of HIAs have to cover a wide range of interdisciplinary skills. Since scoping processes have a large impact on the outcome and the quality of the studies, it is of fundamental importance that persons or teams in charge are able to acquire the necessary capability. In addition to a broad expertise in both urban and regional planning processes and the related governance policies, know-how in communication, mediation and conflict management strategies is especially necessary. The education of heritage managers must therefore involve conveying a comprehensive understanding of these skills not only on a theoretical but also on a practical level. To support heritage practitioners, such education should also comprise options for Continuing Professional Development (CPD). As a foundation for such educational activities, a compilation of best practices in HIA process management could be extremely helpful for all stakeholders involved in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention.

At the international level, impact assessments were already fully recognised, at the *United Nations Conference on Environment and Development* held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, as an instrument to provide a framework for the integration of the

Fig. 7 Concept of a European HIA platform (© Maaike Goedkoop)

principles of sustainable development into national policies and programmes (IAIA 2009). However, as has been shown, several challenges have to be tackled to guarantee the effectiveness of HIAs in the practical implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Against the background of the above-mentioned case studies and aspects, it is obvious that future research on HIAs must combine the fields of practical consultancy, scientific research and education. Additionally, decision-makers in charge of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, especially the World Heritage Centre, the Committee's Advisory Bodies and political stakeholders such as national focal points, must be included in such future research activities.

Taking these aspects as a starting point, Eindhoven University of Technology (the Netherlands), Danube University Krems (Austria) and RWTH Aachen University (Germany) initiated the research project *Heritage Impact Assessments for Cultural World Heritage Properties*. During three workshops in the fall of 2015, international experts in the field of practice and science, as well as representatives of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, ICOMOS, ICCROM, IUCN and the States Parties of the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Austria, were invited to discuss the current HIA praxis in Europe. One of the goals of the project was to provide the first systematic investigation of HIAs, their methodology, effectiveness and legislative context in various European countries, so as to define necessary future research steps (Fig. 7).

All participants agreed that a particularly valuable element of the workshops was that, for the first time, a shared platform was created where a large variety of experts with a political, scientific and practical background could meet and exchange their know-how and experiences. Consequently, it was decided to establish a European HIA platform which helps to safeguard, enhance and disseminate knowledge on HIAs in cultural World Heritage properties in Europe and other regions of the world. The objective of this virtual HIA platform will be to support heritage specialists facing the practical challenges resulting from UNESCO's paradigm shift, caused by the inclusion of cultural landscapes as a separate category in the World Heritage Programme in 1992 and the 2011 Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape. In other words, the HIA platform should support the sustainable development of complex cultural World Heritage sites.

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Annex

The following annex is a compilation of websites, documents, resolutions, declarations and scientific publications with further information on heritage, culture, sustainability and sustainable development. The editors would like to indicate that the accessibility of the listed publications and websites has been checked in November 2016.

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