The Significance of World Heritage: Origins, Management, Consequences
The Future of the World Heritage Convention in a Nordic Perspective

Papers Presented at Two Conferences
in Falun (Sweden) 2010
and in Vasa (Finland) 2011

Edited by Bo G Jansson
This anthology contains papers presented at two international conferences on World Heritage organized by WHILD (= The World Heritages: Global Discourse and Local Implementations) - a Scandinavian network for the development of knowledge in the fields of research, education and tourism related to World Heritage. The network is hosted by Dalarna University, Falun, Sweden. The first of the two conferences - The Significance of World Heritage: Origins, Management, Consequences - was held in Falun December 8th-10th 2010 under the direction of Professor Bo G Jansson and Dr Cecilia Mörner. The latter of the two conferences, a follow up to the first one, was held in Vasa, Finland December 13th-16th 2011 under the direction of an organizing committee consisting of Professor Emeritus Erland Eklund (Åbo Academy), Doctoral student Kristina Svels (Åbo Academy), Dr Jan Turtinen (Swedish Heritage National Board), and Senior Adviser Barbara Engels (Federal Agency for Nature Conservation, Germany). The two conferences are, taken together as a unit, the first of their kind in Scandinavia.
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Foreword

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Time spent reading this book with care will be most worthwhile. Some of the contributors to the book belong to the internationally most prominent scholars in the field of World Heritage research today, among them are Professor Marie-Theres Albert (Brandenburg University, Cottbus) and Professor Emeritus Ken Taylor (The Australian National University, Canberra). All in all, the volume gives a good picture of the current understanding in Scandinavia of the phenomenon of World Heritage.

Falun in January 2013
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1
Global Strategies and Policies of World Heritage in the Future
Chapter 1

The Global Strategy of World Heritage – Challenges and Weaknesses of the 5 C’s

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Abstract
Since adopting the Budapest Declaration on World Heritage in 2002, the World Heritage Committee has been implementing a new global strategy to recognize the universality of the 1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. As an instrument for sustainable development of all societies the declaration clearly promotes heritage in all its diversity by means of dialogue and mutual understanding. Even though the Budapest Declaration included measures on how diversity, sustainable development or mutual understanding through World Heritage nominations could be achieved, the implementation of this new strategy had not been successful. Consequently, at the 31st Session of the WH Committee in New Zealand in 2007, additional strategies were agreed upon. In confronting the global challenges facing World Heritage the Committee decided on strengthening community involvement as a strategic objective for the years to come. What follows is a critically reflective presentation and discussion of UNESCO’s Global Strategy.
Introduction

When, in November 1972, UNESCO’s General Conference adopted a convention for the protection and conservation of natural and cultural assets of all kinds and from all eras, UNESCO itself looked back on almost 30 years of experience. The living memory of the Second World War and the repercussions of the holocaust were so grave that not only individual countries, but the entire world community committed itself to ensuring world peace and the peaceful coexistence of nations. It followed that in November 1945 the world community felt encouraged to found the United Nations Organization. Shortly thereafter England and France took the initiative to establish UNESCO. The men and women who founded UNESCO did so in reaction to Nazism. They wanted to establish an organization that would respect the rights of all peoples in regards to their spiritual and intellectual progress, freedom of speech and development, as well as culture and education. UNESCO was to be as a specialized agency of the UN—belonging to one of the main bodies of the UN, The Economic and Social Council. Since its founding, UNESCO has been the only organisation within the UN with a mandate on Culture. Its most important aims include: equal access to education for all people, the right of each individual person to seek objective truth, and to guarantee the free exchange of thoughts and knowledge (Albert 2000, pp. 11–14).

Policies for peace are based on recognizing the rights and duties of individuals within the community of nations. This requires that each individual be granted the right to search for and defend his or her individual truth. Already at UNESCO’s beginning in 1945, the community of nations recognized free speech and individual life expressions as important factors for human development. Based on this consensus, in 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the International Community. A humanistic understanding of culture was introduced into the collective consciousness of the World Community. After the experiences of World War II, the founders of UNESCO recognized that people can only live in peace if the peoples of the world accept each other. This necessitated acceptance (and appreciation) of the world’s diverse material (tangible) and the immaterial (intangible) heritage.

The first initiatives to protect the heritage of humanity date back to the immediate post war years. They culminated in the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event
of Armed Conflict adopted in 1954. Although this convention did not express the concept of heritage yet, it did put forward the perspective that material (tangible) objects of cultural value have an influence on identity. A catalyst to the development of this perspective was the fact that nations who engaged in warfare did not shy away from the destruction of cultural heritage. Cases in point that are relevant to the World Heritage Convention are the cities of Warsaw\textsuperscript{1} and Dresden\textsuperscript{2}.

Another important initiative prior to the World Heritage Convention was the joint international effort to relocate Abu Simbel because of the construction of Aswan High Dam. From 1964 to 1969, a campaign for the protection of this cultural heritage was started—the first of its kind. The campaign remains unparalleled until this day, not only for its engineering and financial achievements, but also for the concerted involvement of experts from the international community. The temples of Abu-Simbel, Philae (and others) were identified as cultural goods worthy of protection for humanity. Abu-Simbel temple, for example, was carefully cut apart into thousands of individual pieces, and then re-assembled on higher ground almost one hundred meters above its original location.

The effort to rescue the temples was more than a mere engineering achievement. It was a milestone that measured solidarity among the peoples of the world who were concerned about the protection of the cultural heritage of humanity. The adoption of the World Heritage Convention soon followed in 1972. Today it is considered to be the most effective tool and instrument within UNESCO’s international strategy in protecting the material (tangible) and the immaterial (intangible) heritage of humanity (Al-

\textsuperscript{1} Albert 2006, p. 31 “Warsaw was destroyed at least twice by the Nazis. Already during the attack on Poland at the end of 1939 and still at the beginning of 1940, many historic buildings, such as the palace, the Primas Hall, or the great theatre, were burned down. After crushing the Warsaw uprising between October 1944 and January 1945, the Nazis destroyed the city yet again to about 80%. An estimated number of 700,000 citizens lost their lives. The rebuilding of Warsaw between 1945 and 1947 is noted as one of the greatest cultural achievements in the post-war area and inspires Poland to this day with a high degree of cultural identity. Since 1980 the old town centre of Warsaw is inscribed on the World Heritage List.”

\textsuperscript{2} Albert 2006, p. 31 “Dresden also developed historically into a social and cultural centre, which showed since the seventeenth century a constant development of industry, infrastructure and intellectual life. Dresden had a wide range of splendid buildings. The town was bombed in February by allied forces. 25% of the city area was destroyed and a great number of people killed, which cannot be clearly specified to this day.”
Currently, 911 World Heritage Sites have been inscribed in 151 states parties. Out of these, 704 Heritage Sites are listed as cultural properties, 180 as natural and 27 as mixed properties.

Retrospectively, it can be said that protecting the heritage of mankind has become a concern of all peoples; in other words, and that the globalisation of the fields of science and economics has now successfully been implemented at a cultural level. How could it be otherwise? The global processes underpinning science and economics would not have been possible without the contribution of the cultures of the world. Globalisation has internationalized the Convention and at the same time has led to the protection of our cultural and natural heritage. Heritage protection is considered not only an international task but also an interdisciplinary field. However, the implementation of the World Heritage Convention is not just a success story; it is also an account of problematic developments. Issues, for example with the World Heritage List, were identified at various levels. First of all, the international community criticized the unequal distribution of sites around the world: 50% of all sites inscribed on the list are in Europe. (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2007, p.36)

Secondly, the state of conservation worldwide had been deemed deficient. This inadequacy ran parallel to the needs of training and education which in turn were crucial in building the capacities of people involved in world heritage. Communication was therefore envisioned as the basis from which these processes could evolve. Acknowledging this fact, the World Heritage during its 26th session in Budapest 2002, entitled The Global Strategy of World, agreed on the 4 C’s in what is otherwise known as the Budapest Declaration (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2005, pp. 5-6). The four C’s entailed strengthening the credibility of the World Heritage List, ensuring the effective conservation of World Heritage properties, promoting the development of effective capacity-building measures, and increasing public awareness, involvement and support for World Heritage through communication. Later, at the World Heritage Committee’s Session in New Zealand, 2007, a fifth ‘C’ was added to the 2002 Budapest Declaration: the meaningful involvement of human communities. Since then, 5 ‘C’s form the core of the global strategy of world heritage with the aim of achieving a more balanced and representative heritage list (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2007, pp. 25-63).
2. Credibility

The initial strategic objective decided upon in 2002 aims to “strengthen the credibility of the World Heritage List, as a representative and geographically balanced testimony of cultural and natural properties of outstanding universal value” (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2005, p. 6). Essentially this strategic objective allows for a more balanced World Heritage list than the earlier one by distributing the diverse categories of sites representively within regions and nations worldwide. In practice this means reducing the existing geographical and typological inequality of heritage sites on the list.

The unbalanced distribution of cultural and natural sites around the world is mirrored by the unequal representation of categories for Outstanding Universal Value. Out of the 704 cultural sites on the list, Monuments and Historic Buildings are proportionally overrepresented. These sites are mainly nominated under category IV. In 2005 there were almost 340 sites nominated as Monuments and Historic Buildings. Out of these, nearly 200 properties were found in Europe and North America (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2007, p.103). Second most numerous were the approximately 190 World Heritage Cities found worldwide out of which 100 properties could be found in Europe and North America (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2007, p.93). Rock Art, on the other hand, was represented by approximately 30 entries, and Archaeological Sites were represented by approximately 170 locations (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2007, p.87). These geographical disparities, as in the case of cities and monuments, often correlate to densely populated areas like Europe, whereas rock art, archaeological sites or natural heritage sites are more representative of sparsely populated regions in Africa, the Americas, and / or Australia.

Another aspect worth mentioning is that the World Heritage List has become more and more contentious due to the misappropriation of value – there is a conflict between what is actually and supposedly the “best.” Furthermore, “World Heritage Sites” have been used to a certain degree for branding by the tourism industry. Neither of these instances conforms to the original idea of the protection of cultural assets of outstanding value.
Top 10 countries with World Heritage inscriptions in 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>CULTURAL</th>
<th>NATURAL</th>
<th>MIXED</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Top 5</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian Federation</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Top 10</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Authors design, based on http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Table_of_World_Heritage_Sites_by_country

When looking at the Top 10 list of countries with World Heritage sites, one cannot help but notice that 5 out of the 187 States Parties to the Convention represent 195 inscribed sites alone, which makes up for 21% of all inscribed sites. This table also clearly depicts how unbalanced the distribution of sites is between the cultural and natural categories. Out of the 195 sites indicated, only 19 are inscribed as natural sites. It is difficult to understand why Spain, Italy, Germany or China can justify similar nomination types using the so-called OUV (Outstanding Universal Values) when other countries lack representation in the same values. It is apparent that the concepts of authenticity and integrity which are formally part of the nominations require further consideration. One also becomes attuned to the urgent need of developing preventative strategies against the rise of widespread improprieties associated with the prestige and importance of World Heritage.
In order to establish the desired balance, the 30th Session of the World Heritage Committee called to attention the 2003 Cairns Decision and decided in Vilnius in 2006 that certain measures had to be taken. These included among others:

- to have an annual limit for new inscriptions—not more than 25
- to encourage states parties to nominate natural sites,
- to nominate more cross-border cultural landscapes, such as transnational routes, or parks, and not least
- to preferentially nominate heritage sites from underrepresented types of heritage, e.g. modern heritage (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2007)

In addition the Committee reconfirmed its 1999 appeal to the industrialized countries to refrain from nominating new sites to give some advantage to developing countries. Despite these efforts, the Western industrialized world still dominates the List. There are many reasons for this. First and foremost the categories for nominating and protecting sites are Eurocentric. An example for this is the complex nominating procedure. It requires human resources that are not readily available in every part of the world, and makes ever so more relevant the strategic goal of “Capacity Building “(UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2005 a). Another reason for the unequal distribution of World Heritage Sites is the conservation guidelines which require a huge financial effort on the part of developing countries if they are to follow through on the nomination procedures. It becomes apparent, then, that to balance the Inscription List between developing and developed countries requires more than a definition of goals. It emphatically – and urgently – requires the equalization of development policy.

Moreover, a geographically, typologically and equally balanced distribution of cultural and natural assets on the World Heritage List can only be attained by radical intervention. And although such a measure is considered “politically incorrect” in the context of the UN system, I advocate that the applications from countries with already more than 20 heritage sites on the Inventory List not be considered for a limited period of time. If this intervention were realized, the predominance of similar types of heritage, such as sacred buildings, monuments, or historical old towns, would decrease. Conversely the nominations of natural heritage sites would increase and preferably so. The indirect restrictions on cultural property nominations would automatically improve the ratio of natural heritage sites over cultural heritage sites.
3. Conservation

Another strategic ‘C’ goal adopted in Budapest is ‘Conservation.’ In the Budapest Declaration this goal is meant to “ensure the effective conservation of World Heritage properties” (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2005, p. 6). How one understands effectiveness and its implementation isn’t made clear in the ‘C’ goal definition. However, if one acknowledges past experiences, sustainability must be specifically included. Conservation which aims at sustainability should use proven technologies, be application oriented, and suited to the local conditions. It follows that sustainable conservation should be regarded as a key concept to all the strategies, and yet be seen mainly as a tool for the management of a World Heritage site (ICCROM 2005).

But how can this be done? Sustainable conservation can definitely not stand alone in regards to the communicative and participative processes of site management. A site should be managed by incorporating authentic local know-how existent in every country. For example, I would like to call attention to the traditional knowledge of the Australian Aborigines in their use of fire to manage land. Without their knowledge of fire regimen it would be impossible to sustainably protect Kakadu National Park. Nevertheless, in view of global climate change we have to ask whether this traditional practice can still be applied responsibly. Conservation may need to be adaptive in this instance which means joining traditional and modern knowledge to develop and further the interests of the global community (Kakadu National Park Board of Management 2006).

Apart from such positive developments in conservation strategies that adequately protect World Heritage, there are also less encouraging ones. Please let me recall some current situations of conflict. The first example typifies the situation for most historic cities listed as World Heritage. I would like to present the World Heritage city of Quedlinburg as a case in point. It is a small city in the middle of Germany. Quedlinburg was inscribed in 1994 under Criterion (iv). In the master plan, a framework of measures for conserving and protecting the site was elaborated. All of the protection measures had to observe “Conservation” criteria important to the site’s World Heritage status. They proved to be expensive and unattractive to private investors.

The restored houses did not meet the expectations of private investors who demanded better standards of living and not UN-
ESCO standards. As a result, the number of residents in the city centre has been decreasing and is expected to drop to 60,934 in the year 2020 from a population of 76,812 in the year 2002. This will have further consequences: the city not only have to initiate development with less tax revenue, but will have to do so with the additional loss of attractiveness to tourism. Further reflection upon the topic of conservation is therefore needed (Landesportal Sachsen-Anhalt).

The same trend can be observed in many other cities nominated as historic World Heritage. People move away from historic centres because the houses do not meet modern living requirements, rendering them unacceptable to prospective inhabitants. Houses renovated according to World Heritage conservation standards are either unattractive or too expensive. Hence people leave and the historic town centres lose their vital function. It is therefore not surprising that many historical town centres have gone through a change of function. Inhabited World Heritage cities have turned into cities visited or rather invaded by tourists. The World Heritage status has turned the cultural asset of the city into a commodity exploited by tour operators. At bargain prices these cities are enticing hundreds of thousands of visitors per year.

Countless examples further illustrate how the second ‘C,’ ‘Conservation,’ is still far from reaching its desired goal. In order to prevent negative reaction to this strategic goal, I would point out that the conservation of World Heritage must consider the suitability of cultural assets for conservation by weighing the compatibility of museality on one hand with the compatibility of modernity on the other. These considerations would provide a possibly new formulation to the strategic objective of ‘Conservation.’ Only then could adequate strategies for World Heritage conservation emerge.

4. Capacity-building

An additional strategic objective is ‘Capacity-building.’ According to the Budapest Declaration, ‘Capacity-building’ aims “to promote the development of effective capacity-building measures, including assistance for preparing the nomination of properties to the World Heritage List, for the understanding and implementation of the World Heritage Convention and related instruments” (Fejér 2003, p. 35). The United Nations Development Programme recognizes that ‘Capacity-building’ is process that continues over the long-term in which all stakeholders participate (ministries, local
authorities, non-governmental organizations, user groups, professional associations, academics and others) (Global Development Research Center).

Together with ‘Communication’ the strategic goal of ‘Capacity-building’ not only aims to improve the World Heritage Convention, but to implement UNESCO’s objectives in general. UNESCO’s larger objectives include creating world peace. To this end the World Heritage Convention is complemented by other legal instruments created by the international community, most recently the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. Peace in the world is based on a common agreement on the diversity of cultures and therefore on raising awareness about diversity itself. The diversity of cultures is further based on the recognition that the heritage of mankind is a resource which creates identities. This is why it needs to be safeguarded as a lasting resource open to as much of the world’s population of as possible. In addition, it requires comprehensive ‘Capacity-building’ programmes, delivered within the contexts of education and training.

To understand this strategic objective better, we need to recognize that ‘Capacity-building’ includes education on different levels and for different target groups. Education itself needs to consider historical, philosophical and political contexts. ‘Capacity-building’ is therefore quite a complex goal and this must be understood for it to be successfully implemented in the short term. At the first level, education and capacity-building generally deal with future-oriented approaches to World Heritage studies and specifically deal with heritage management and conservation strategies (see list of authors in: Albert, Gauer-Lietz 2006 and in Albert et al. 2007). A shortage of local experts in these fields exists worldwide and therefore an urgent need for training is required at institutions of higher education. The teaching staff dealing with heritage management and conservation training at universities around the globe should cooperate with practitioners in the field in developing heritage management training concepts (ibid.). These concepts should include the development of management skills, standards in both teaching and learning methods, as well as multi-disciplinary conservation concepts of heritage sites whose implementation meet the demands of tourism development.

At the second level, education and capacity-building, in a practical sense, deal with a variety of target groups. Here the everyday
management of a heritage site and its related problems is considered. As mentioned earlier the development of sites has many socio-economic factors attached to it and this may lead to conflicts between protection and use. Heritage site stakeholders need to learn how to involve different target groups and to explore the possibilities and potential limitations (ibid.). The current economic downturn experienced by many countries in the world must also be kept in mind, because this has led to a decrease in public funding for education and professional training—including cultural programmes in the narrowest sense. For this reason, new ways of participating, cooperating and finding financial support must be thought of. Concepts like public private partnerships, corporate social responsibility and entrepreneurship are important counter-measures to economic recession. Involving and training children and teenagers in the development of sustainable concepts of heritage use, and creating a sense of responsibility among them are also needed (ibid.). Cooperation with the private sector is a further means to this end. The implementation of these respective concepts has to be analysed and conveyed through academic research and teaching. In so doing, necessary participation can be defined and developed in a balanced and in a sustainable manner of ‘give and take.’ The task for universities is to address these concepts scientifically, technologically, knowledgeably and creatively.

At the third level, education and ‘Capacity-building’ takes a future-oriented approach for heritage education in schools. Teaching staff and educational planners from national and international educational institutions need to be prepared for the implementation of heritage education in school curricula. Conceptually, this has to be done with pupils and experts together within educational studies and curriculum development. However, not only do the teaching and learning concepts of heritage need to be developed, they also need to be implemented. Furthermore, multidisciplinary and sustainable heritage education strategies need to be expanded in order to heighten the awareness and consciousness of future generations on this subject (ibid.; ICCROM 2000; UNESCO World Heritage Center 2005).
5. Communication

So far, I have covered the strategic goals of Credibility, Conservation, and Capacity-building and have referred to their strengths and weaknesses. Now, we will look more closely at the fourth ‘C’ – ‘Communication.’ The Budapest Declaration identifies the importance to ‘increase public awareness, involvement and support for World Heritage through ‘Communication’’ (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2005, p. 6). In the World Heritage PACT (Partnerships Initiative), aspects of ‘Communication’ and education are also emphasized, in particular computer-based communication strategies. Moreover, heritage communication in museums has reinforced (not only by means of the production of photographs and of their archiving in databases) the implementation of ‘Communication’ as a strategic goal. School endeavours such as the establishment of ‘heritage days’ should also not be overlooked for their positive communication outcomes. The strategic goal of ‘Communication’ is essential to improving awareness, involvement and support within communities and municipalities, and is key to the overall presentation of heritage in different media.

Heritage (which is our mission to protect) can be understood within the dual context of human know-how and its communication. It can be realized within the tangible and technological application of this dual context. Understanding heritage relies on complex communication and negotiation processes with different stakeholders and interest groups who offer either support or resistance. Only by considering these various processes and interests, can the protection of World Heritage turn into a living and ‘lived’ reality. Once more this reality presupposes there is ‘Communication’ of the processes around protection and use.

How can such processes be organized? I would like to refer here to some new ideas which were developed by Britta Rudolff in her outstanding doctoral work. Using the example of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, she proves that the value of a heritage site cannot be classified only on the basis of architectural quality, and / or artistic, historical and technological significance. Nor can value be simply an outstanding example or unique representation. Heritage always contains immaterial (intangible) values – meanings or functions – which are ascribed to heritage in communicative processes. Only through these processes does heritage become attractive to a local population. She writes: “Other themes approach the Umayyad Mosque in the role of an assistant of religious duties
or the search or proximity to Allah ... further roles are those of a social platform, ... with the character of a facilitator of social exchange, social encounters or social practices; and last but not least it (the Mosque) constitutes a symbol, home, power, government legitimation or religious identity” (Rudolff 2006, p.200).

How could we express this better that heritage always has a personal dimension and that in the discovery of this dimension the actual and lasting goal of heritage protection becomes a reality? In order for the strategic goals of ‘Community involvement’ and ‘Communication’ to be realized, the population living near the heritage site must participate actively. The local community must ascribe its respective values or functions to the site. Only in doing so will people accept and value their heritage sites (such as the Umayyad Mosque). Only in doing so will lasting protection and sustainable use become possible. The aforementioned strategic objectives are therefore, on the one hand, steps in the right direction. On the other hand, they must be supported by and founded in subjective factors and experiences. Only if individuals are enabled to understand, interpret and appropriate the heritage of mankind as personal heritage and inheritance, can protection and use of heritage become sustainable. Only in doing so will individuals develop a relationship with heritage and only then can they act responsibly. Feeling and behaving responsibly for any kind of heritage is a challenge for future oriented developments and only possible if the goal is accepted by both individuals and communities. Individual and collective responsibility is therefore the precondition for sustainable community development. This fundamental belief is what led to the incorporation of the fifth ‘C’, the global strategy of ‘Community Involvement.’

6. Community Involvement

The realization of the four objectives of the Global Strategy was evaluated at the 31st session of the World Heritage Committee in New Zealand in 2007 and it was also there that the fifth objective was added. Because of the global challenges confronting World Heritage, representatives agreed to this strategic objective of strengthening ‘Community Involvement’ in the coming years. The New Zealand session thereby acknowledged that the identification, management and conservation of heritage must succeed, where possible, with the meaningful involvement of human communities, and, where necessary, the reconciliation of conflicting
interests. This was not to be done against the interests, or with the exclusion or omission of local communities (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2007).

In this understanding and interpretation of ‘Community Involvement,’ a key concept for the future of World Heritage arose. Together with the other four objectives, ‘Community Involvement’ was to minimize the problem caused by different stakeholder interests and was to concurrently support the development of communities. The five ‘C’s’ were also needed because in the nearly forty years of implementing the World Heritage Convention, major conflicts always arose in the context of local, national or international interests and in the duties of different stakeholders involved in the whole process of World Heritage. The case of the Dresden Elbe Valley in Germany, in which a bridge built over the Elbe river, a protected landscape, is the most recent and striking example for these kinds of conflicts. The World Heritage Committee was induced to delete the valley from the World Heritage List. This case revealed that the status of any heritage site with or without problems is in general dependant on the cooperation of multiple groups. Inevitably the protection and use of a site also involves many stakeholders. Different stakeholders pursue different interests, and when different people or groups with different interests meet each other, conflicts abound.

Within the context of World Heritage, conflicts usually arise on different levels between all of the different stakeholders, i.e. between local actors, consultants, the respective communities and their respective governments. A case in point is when a local community is forced to initiate a nomination procedure in response to a decision made by their government. This often arises because a significant number of States Parties still hope that their international reputation might increase by regularly nominating World Heritage sites. However, it is not always the national government that is interested in nominating a site, but the local community because they hope to increase the number of tourists visiting their site. One of the problems of the decision-making process is that both interests are usually justified by expert surveys.

Independent of the special interests of a local or national group intending to nominate a World Heritage site, the long lasting nomination procedure often begins with a specific political interest and sufficient know-how at the local community level. The procedure ends successfully with a nomination by the World Herita-
ge Committee. To meet this end the nomination process requires community involvement with a clearly defined concept right from the beginning. It also requires a clear communication strategy and sufficient conservation knowledge. Also the community has to provide sufficient technical and human resources for the whole nomination procedure. It becomes apparent then that the second strategic objective of ‘Conservation,’ the third strategic objective of ‘Capacity-building’ and the fourth strategic objective of ‘Communication’ are constituent components of the fifth objective, ‘Community Involvement.’

‘Community Involvement’ is not only needed in the nomination process; it is also needed when conflicts arise due to the clash of diverse interests between different stakeholders. The underlying concept of stakeholders is a holistic one which includes individuals, institutions and organizations on different levels and from different backgrounds. For example, stakeholders often reside in a World Heritage site. They may feel that the spaces of their daily lives are being taken over or even stolen by the many visiting tourists. However, stakeholders are also business people, who make their living from the tourists and who probably feel their businesses restricted by protective conservation regulations. There are countless examples of such conflicts which cannot be listed here. In response, the World Heritage Committee advanced ‘Community Involvement,’ as a way of immediately recognizing and resolving conflicts of interest.

However involving stakeholders, as it was formulated by the Committee in New Zealand in 2007, is nothing new. The concept goes back to the 1980s, when participative approaches with a focus on regional development emerged. Since the 1980’s stakeholder involvement has been declared as the most effective strategy to ensure balanced socio-economic and political-cultural development for structurally weak regions (Harrison, 1980). Furthermore, the concept of community involvement had already been used in (earlier) development policies. For proof we only have to go back to the approaches and theories of Dependencia, developed in Latin America (Frank, 1969). The Latin American concept of Dependencia was defined as ‘an approach dealing with ideas for solving the problem of underdevelopment.’ The main strategy of this approach was to sever the link to the economic dominance of the world market so as to allow local populations to initiate local development. Today this approach has been transformed on
different levels into the strategies of education and these generally facilitate the implementation of the UNESCO strategic goal of ‘Capacity-building’ (Schimpf-Herken and Jung 2002). And currently we are also using a ‘Community involvement’ planning approach based on developments in the 1980’s and 1990’s. These are exemplified by the strategies of objectives-oriented project planning, project cycle management and logical framework analyses.

These (ideas, processes, global strategies) are discussed in the UNESCO report, *Our Creative Diversity* edited by Pérez de Cuellar from the UNESCO World Commission on Culture and Development (1996). The report argues that the nomination and implementation of World Heritage sites should be contextualized within social, cultural, political and economic development—processes which involve a variety of stakeholders. It logically follows that these become an integral part of the new Global Strategy of the World Heritage Committee.

The current challenges we face in heritage occur for a variety of reasons not only for the lack of local ‘Community Involvement in processes of nomination and protection. They occur because of a disparity between cultural and economic development interests, even when stakeholders have been involved. They can also occur because the official UNESCO criteria of outstanding universal value, including the authenticity and integrity of a World Heritage site, are far from what people at a local level identify with in terms of their own heritage. Local communities and their experts, such as administrators, private benefactors, business people, or consultants, frequently do not know what the World Heritage criteria mean. And if they do know, the criteria are deconstructed so as to appease their own perceptions of heritage. Naturally, the process should be communicated, but it rarely is.

Heritage, by definition, requires that tangible and intangible goods be transmitted and disseminated from one generation to the next. ‘Community Involvement’ is thereby understood as a constituent component of these processes. Heritage both presents and represents humanity’s historical, contemporary and future-oriented dimensions. As such it is constructed by (dominant) stakeholder interests, which may be in conflict. These interests need to be moderated and communicated between stakeholders with the aim of finding problem-solving strategies. In order to prevent conflicts two things must be done at the same time. Firstly, all stakeholders representing different interests have to be responsibly and
adequately informed and involved in the nomination process right from the start. This includes communicating the other strategic objectives to them. In the end the success of the Global Strategy depends on the implementation of the five C’s, coordinated as a policy between professionals and (local) communities. This goal has not yet been achieved.
References

The Policies of the World Heritage In the Future

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Abstract
The World Heritage Convention has implemented for 40 years and has many remarkable achievements. We stress that giving special emphasis on the typical characteristic of World Heritage because of irreplaceable ‘outstanding universal value’. The rate of increase for the World Heritage List should slow down. Analyze outstanding cases and bad cases, in order to helping for the optimal policy. We can combine the World Heritage Convention and the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and promote the theme of peace, human rights and environment.

KEYWORDS: outstanding universal value; legal policy; future of Convention; sustainability
1. Introduction

The World Heritage Convention has run for 40 years and there are remarkable achievements, e.g. 936 World Heritage properties, 189 States Parties, 153 States have their properties. That’s reflecting ‘outstanding universal value’ of the spiritual essence of the World Heritage. The theme to include peace, human rights and environment has been promoted.

Meanwhile, the process of implementation of the Convention also entrained some problems, even led to local conflicts along the border. Which direction will the future of the Convention go towards? How to establish better mechanisms in the legal policy? How to ensure sustainability development of the Convention? Thus, we need to consider seriously and answer to them. It’s so important and imperative that establishing better mechanisms in the legal policy.

2. Give Special Emphasis on the Typical Characteristic of World Heritage

Firstly we stress that giving special emphasis on the typical characteristic of World Heritage because of irreplaceable ‘outstanding universal value’. Based on the ‘global strategy’ of UNESCO, the future policy of World Heritage must enhance special requirements about the typical characteristic which is a true reflection of the spirit of World Heritage. It’s essential for irreplaceable values of World Heritage.

Here is an example of China.

In China, the archaeological type of World Heritage is an important part of all of its World Heritage (41 properties). The properties have more advantage than other types of World Heritage on describing prehistoric civilization and the context of the ancient history. Their characteristics, classification, meaning, but also have high value for study. For example, Peking Man Site at Zhoukoudian[Date of Inscription 1987], Yin Xu[2006], Mausoleum of the First Qin Emperor[1987], Leshan Giant Buddha Scenic Area[1996], Dazu Rock Carvings[1999], Longmen Grottoes[2000], Yungang Grottoes[2001], Imperial Tombs of the Ming and Qing Dynasties[2000, 2003, 2004], Capital Cities and Tombs of the Ancient Koguryo Kingdom[2004], It simply is a ‘red line’ of the Chinese ancient culture.

This is a kind of the World Heritage, about where we came
from, about how to be for human in different places, different historical stages---this is archaeological type of World Heritage. The archaeological type of World Heritage with the content of ancient tradition and rich variety of methods makes dialogue and exchange to the world of today. So, the development of human civilization has a long and clear context. The World Heritage Convention of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization gives just normal forms and rules on the international law. Meanwhile, the Convention promotes and protects the dialogue and exchange.

The archaeological type of World Heritage is mature World Heritage systematization with prominent features and functions during the Convention’s practice for nearly 40 years. Those properties can call and show come out disappeared culture or civilization memories. They also have meticulous description and expounded on the values and the significance of the World Heritage. Thus, what kind of archaeological site can become the World Heritage? How the archaeological type of World Heritage came about ‘outstanding universal value’? It’s necessary that we establish a more detailed legal standard, basic principles and protection rules.

Therefore protecting all World Heritage sites by the angle of view and method of World Heritage is similar to protecting archaeology sites. The typical characteristic must be accentuated.

3. Control Total Number of the World Heritage List

The total number of the World Heritage List is growing year after year. Controlling it means responsibility. As continue to implement the ‘5C’ strategy, the rate of increase for the list should slow down. World Heritage properties are going to break the four-digit numbers, and the value of World Heritage will be greatly reduced.

Do not encourage that States Parties which have enough properties nominate new heritage project------that’s a good choice. For example, China has 41 World Heritage sites, there is no need to increase. Their main focus should be placed on the protection of existing properties carefully.

In this regard, different levels on the protection of natural heritage would be paid more attention. There are excellent natural heritage like Three Parallel Rivers of Yunnan Protected Areas [2003], Sichuan Giant Panda Sanctuary-Wulong, Mt.Siguniang, and Jiajin Mountains [2006], Wulingyuan Scenic and Historic Interest Area [1992], Huanglong Scenic and Historic Interest Area [1992], Jiuz-

The problem of cultural heritage may be more trouble. Few people know Historic Monuments of Dengfeng, in the ‘Centre of Heaven and Earth’ [2010]. Ancient Building Complex in the Wudang Mountains [1994] was in case of fire in 2003 and a temple disappeared.

As China, Italy, Spain and Germany should not continue to grow their numbers. They are the big World Heritage nations. (Hongying, 2006, p.233)

4. Analyze Outstanding Cases and Bad Cases in order to Helping for the Optimal Policy

There have been some typical cases during implementation of the Convention. It’s necessary analyzing outstanding cases and bad cases in order to helping for the optimal policy.


Democratic Republic of the Congo have Garamba National Park [1996], Kahuzi Biega National Park [1997], Okapi Wildlife Reserve [1997], Salonga National Park [1999] and Virunga National Park [1994]. All the sits are in the List of World Heritage in Danger. The reasons are local war and illegal poaching.

Preah Vihear Temple [2008], the Temple, composed on series of sanctuaries with carved stone ornamentation, dates back to the 11th century AD. It’s inscription in to the World Heritage List caused by local war between Cambodia and Thailand. Why? Why are there some distance to the aim of the Convention? The better policy must defuse them.

A recent example is Marshall Islands Bikini Atoll Nuclear Test Site [2010]. The violence exerted on the natural, geophysical and living elements by nuclear weapons illustrates the relationship which can develop between man and the environment. This is reflected in the ecosystems and the terrestrial, marine and underwater landscapes of Bikini Atoll. The nuclear tests changed the history of Bikini Atoll and the Marshall Islands, through the displacement of inhabitants, and the human irradiation and contamination caused by radionuclides produced by the tests. The Bikini Atoll tests, and
tests carried out in general during the Cold War, gave rise to a series of images and symbols of the nuclear era. They also led to the development of widespread international movements advocating disarmament. (WHC, 2011) Its theme is closely related with the current international affairs. That is to reduce nuclear.

5. Reciprocal Symbiosis: Tangible and Intangible Heritage

5.1 A Pair of Conventions

When the World Heritage Convention is more than 40 years old and the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage is nearly 10 years old, many new challenges appear during practical operation. The conventions need to combine.

There are practical experience and academic resources which need comparative study in concept, character, criterion. The relation between tangible heritage and intangible heritage becomes an outstanding issue. In other words, the relationship between tangible heritage and intangible heritage, which is an important part of the challenges, require synchronous theory and further studies.

5.2 The Concept on Public Law: Common Heritage of Mankind

With the development of international law, a legal concept on public law which is beyond property concept on private law, has quietly grown up: the common heritage of mankind. For the non-traditional terms, the world needs to set a big goal of collective concern. (Hongying, 2008, p.45)

The concept ‘common heritage of mankind’ has been established by public law is a product of modern values, and hold a target relating to the collective fate of humanity and the future development of the Earth.

The ‘common heritage of mankind’ is recognized by international law, related to the common interests of mankind as a whole, forward to the purpose of peace and development.

World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity belong to the heritage of public law. So being in Institutional framework of the United Nations, public law values are consistent with international law and national law each country, from the top down, together, constitute statutory recognition system.

Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage underscores: Considering the deep-seated interdependence between the intangible cultural heritage and the tangible
cultural and natural heritage, Considering the importance of the intangible cultural heritage as a mainspring of cultural diversity and a guarantee of sustainable development. (UNESCO, 2003)

5.3 The Heritage Pair Patterns

One side, according to the rules of the conventions, legal system include international law and national law that offers policies and strategies had to be established.

Another side, the cases from different parts of the world had been described into the lists, are physical evidences like Rice Terraces of Philippine Cordilleras [1995] and Hudhud Chants of the Ifugao [2001] in Philippines, Medina of Marrakesh [1985] and The Cultural Space of Djamaa el-Fna Square [2001] in Morocco, Old City of Dubrovnik [1979, 1994] and The Festivity of Saint Blaise, the Patron of Dubrovnik [2009] in Croatia, also are patterns. We can style them ‘a couple of heritages’. It’s a symbol there is the heritage pair at a heritage area.

Rice Terraces of Philippine Cordilleras, (iii)(iv)(v), 1995

Hudhud Chants of the Ifugao, 2001

For 2,000 years, the high rice fields of the Ifugao have followed the contours of the mountains. The fruit of knowledge handed down from one generation to the next, and the expression of sacred traditions and a delicate social balance, they have helped to create a landscape of great beauty that expresses the harmony between humankind and the environment.

The Ifugao Rice Terraces epitomize the absolute blending of the physical, socio-cultural, economic, religious, and political environment. Indeed, it is a living cultural landscape of unparalleled beauty. (WHC, 2011)

The Hudhud consists of narrative chants traditionally performed by the Ifugao community, which is well known for its rice terraces extending over the highlands of the northern island of the Philippine archipelago. It is practised during the rice sowing season, at harvest time and at funeral wakes and rituals. Thought to have originated before the seventh century, the Hudhud comprises more than 200 chants, each divided into 40 episodes. A complete recitation may last several days.

Since the Ifugao’s culture is matrilineal, the wife generally takes the main part in the chants, and her brother occupies a higher position than her husband. The language of the stories abounds
in figurative expressions and repetitions and employs metonymy, metaphor and onomatopoeia, rendering transcription very difficult. Thus, there are very few written expressions of this tradition. The chant tells about ancestral heroes, customary law, religious beliefs and traditional practices, and reflects the importance of rice cultivation. The narrators, mainly elderly women, hold a key position in the community, both as historians and preachers. The Hudhud epic is chanted alternately by the first narrator and a choir, employing a single melody for all the verses.

The conversion of the Ifugao to Catholicism has weakened their traditional culture. Furthermore, the Hudhud is linked to the manual harvesting of rice, which is now mechanized. Although the rice terraces are listed as a World Heritage Site, the number of growers has been in constant decline. The few remaining narrators, who are already very old, need to be supported in their efforts to transmit their knowledge and to raise awareness among young people. (UNESCO, 2011)

Rice Terraces provide the basic symbols for the chants which images the rich harvest of life; the chants recited the Intangible forms of expression, is growing with the terrace farming. They are the part of Ifugao overall culture. These two heritages are interdependent and mutually interpretation.

Medina of Marrakesh, (i)(ii)(iv)(v), 1985

The Cultural Space of Djamaa el-Fna Square—Morocco, 2001

Founded in 1070–72 by the Almoravids, Marrakesh remained a political, economic and cultural centre for a long period. Its influence was felt throughout the western Muslim world, from North Africa to Andalusia. It has several impressive monuments dating from that period: the Koutoubiya Mosque, the Kasbah, the battlements, monumental doors, gardens, etc. Later architectural jewels include the Bandiâ Palace, the Ben Youssef Madrasa, the Saadian Tombs, several great residences and Place Jamaâ El Fna, a veritable open-air theatre. (WHC, 2011)

The Jemaa el-Fna Square is one of the main cultural spaces in Marrakesh and has become one of the symbols of the city since its foundation in the eleventh century. It represents a unique concentration of popular Moroccan cultural traditions performed through musical, religious and artistic expressions.

Located at the entrance of the Medina, this triangular square, which is surrounded by restaurants, stands and public buildings,
provides everyday commercial activities and various forms of entertainment. It is a meeting point for both the local population and people from elsewhere. All through the day, and well into the night, a variety of services are offered, such as dental care, traditional medicine, fortune-telling, preaching, and henna tattooing; water-carrying, fruit and traditional food may be bought. In addition, one can enjoy many performances by storytellers, poets, snake-charmers, Berber musicians (mazighen), Gnaoua dancers and senthir (hajouj) players. The oral expressions would be continually renewed by bards (imayazen), who used to travel through Berber territories. They continue to combine speech and gesture to teach, entertain and charm the audience. Adapting their art to contemporary contexts, they now improvise on an outline of an ancient text, making their recital accessible to a wider audience. (UNESCO, 2011)

Can be said that because of the city being, a square being. The same time, the city’s cultural vitality was able to continue with the popularity of the square every day. This complementary are a perfect match.

**Old City of Dubrovnik, (i)(iii)(iv), 1979, 1994**

*Croatia – The festivity of Saint Blaise, the patron of Dubrovnik 2009*

The ‘Pearl of the Adriatic’, situated on the Dalmatian coast, became an important Mediterranean sea power from the 13th century onwards. Although severely damaged by an earthquake in 1667, Dubrovnik managed to preserve its beautiful Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque churches, monasteries, palaces and fountains.

The evening before the festivity of Saint Blaise in Dubrovnik, Croatia, as all the church bells in the city ring and white doves are released as symbols of peace, worshippers gather for a ritual healing of the throat to preserve them against illness. On the third of February, the official day of both saint and city, parish banner bearers flow into the city in folk costume for the centrepiece of the festival, a procession attended by bishops, ambassadors, civic leaders, visiting notables and the people of Dubrovnik. The festivity embodies many aspects of human creativity, from rituals to folk songs, from performance to traditional crafts (including the making of the historical weapons fired in celebration). The ritual dates back in some form to at least 1195 and has reinforced a close identification of Dubrovnik’s residents with the city’s patron, Saint
Blaise. Over time, the festivity has evolved as Dubrovnik and the world have changed. Each generation adapts it slightly, inspired by its own ideas and needs to make the ritual its own. On Saint Blaise’s day, Dubrovnik gathers not only its residents, but all those who pay respect to tradition and the right to one’s freedom and peace. (WHC, 2011)

The tangible qualities of the ancient city and the intangible qualities of festivals have been blending in one place. The ancient city is the carrier of history and culture, and with the same festivals in the ancient city.

As wonderful examples, they highlight the orientation of the evaluation criteria to property. They have made sense of reality that we can review, that two entries from the same land of cultural heritage correspond to each other by two categories. They use the core values of indigenous culture, from two different heritage angles, show out the inherent spirit of the world heritage and intangible cultural heritage.

The examples of ‘a couple of heritages’ have already come from the World Heritage List and the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Currently, as the most representative, added heritage groups from other countries appear and are convincing.

5.4 The Significance of Reciprocal Symbiosis

These interactions arise from, and cause, cultural values for development and peace. Managing these values, with tangible and intangible heritages, so that they remain of outstanding universal value, is a particular mission for us.

Although the difference in time 31 years between the World Heritage Convention and the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, they are inseparable affinity laws in the terms of content or the terms of significance.

These two classes identified by the conventions on tangible World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity are dependency to each other. They form full integrity of the heritage concept, and have strong support and statutory rules for global legal philosophy of heritage protection.

‘A couple of heritages’ show three-dimensional display that as particular local cultural heritage resources, emphasizing the unity of elements of cultural humanities and natural environment, which reflects the significance of the cause of tangible world heri-
itage and intangible cultural heritage, can express outstanding universal value of heritages.

It is a clear direction that the lists of heritage at all levels may describe more and more ‘a couple of heritages’. Especially, the lists carried by the two conventions focus on the composition ‘a couple of heritage’, has become a trend forward.

Future World Heritage law and rules will have continuous renewal. According to the Database of National Cultural Heritage Laws, this free and user-friendly online database contains over 2,000 laws from over 170 countries in 42 languages. It aims to protect cultural heritage by sharing knowledge and best practice. (UNESCO, 2010, p.9) On this basis international law can be continuous optimization and presentation of creative programme and new policy framework for cultural and natural heritage followed by a practical order.

References
2

Cultural Landscapes, Cultural Commons, Historic Urban Landscapes
Cultural Landscapes: Global Meanings and Values with some Thoughts on Asia

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‘Our human landscape is our unwitting biography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears in tangible visible form.’ (Lewis 1979:12)

Abstract

The UNESCO World Heritage (WH) Convention of 1972 firmly placed cultural heritage (and natural heritage) conservation on the world stage. Early inscriptions on the WH List focused on famous monuments and sites. As the management of cultural heritage resources developed professionally and philosophically a challenge emerged in the late 1980s/early 1990s to the focus on monuments and archaeological locations, famous architectural ensembles, or historic sites with connections to the rich and famous. Here was the inception of an enlarged value system embracing such issues as cultural landscapes and settings, living history and heritage, intangible values, vernacular heritage, and community involvement. The idea that the everyday, the ordinary, became a lively area of interest. The cultural landscape construct proposes that heritage places are not isolated islands and that there is an interdependence between people, social structures and the landscape. Inextricably linked to this cultural concept of landscape is that one of our deepest needs is for a sense of identity and belonging and a common denominator in this is human attachment to landscape and how we find identity in landscape and place. This paper

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reviews emerging trends in the non-monumental cultural landscape approach; reflects on how the innovative ideas of cultural geographers and anthropologists from the late nineteenth/early twentieth century through the twentieth century shifted intellectual discussion on landscape from physical determinant to cultural construct creating a context for a global cultural landscape discourse; and reflects on cultural landscape opportunities in Asia.
Product or process: post 1970

Over the last thirty years or so there has emerged the idea of historic cultural landscapes being worthy of heritage conservation action. It is reasonable to ask why this has occurred? Where does the philosophical basis lie for the current interest in cultural landscapes, particularly in the interpretation of their meanings and their associative/intangible values. Here I propose to look critically at two periods in reverse chronological order. Inquiry on landscape in cultural (human) geography and related disciplines such as anthropology since the late 1970s has progressively delved into landscape not simply or predominantly as history or a physical cultural product, but also – and more significantly – as cultural process reflecting human action over time with associated pluralistic meanings and human values.

From a cultural geography perspective landscape as process has connections with the aim of visual theorist, WJT Mitchell (1994:1) ‘to change “landscape” from a noun to a verb … [so] that we think of landscape not as object to be seen or a text to be read, but as a process by which identities are formed’ Landscape therefore infers cultural context, human action and activity and also change over time. It is what Olwig (2007) calls ‘an active scene of practice.’ Mitchell sees his approach as absorbing two approaches to landscape. The first he calls contemplative, founded in art historical paradigms of reading landscape history. The second is interpretative, with efforts to decode landscape as a body of signs. Therefore:

Landscape and Power aims to absorb these approaches into a more comprehensive model that would ask not just what landscape “is” or “means”, but what it does, how it works as cultural practice. Landscape, we suggest, doesn’t merely signify or symbolise power relations; it is an instrument of cultural power, perhaps even an agent of power … independent of human intentions.

Mitchell (1994:1/2)

Robertson and Richardson (2003:7) recognise that, whilst there has been within cultural geography ‘a shift from textual interpretation … to an interpretation of these texts in popular cultural practice’, it is also within the field of anthropology that the notion of landscape as cultural process finds consistent expression. The definition of landscape as cultural process is the stance taken by Hirsch (1995:3) when he acknowledges the existence of cultural meaning in landscape but that this must be viewed in the context
of ‘the concrete actuality of everyday social life (‘the way we now are’).’ Like Mitchell, Hirsch proposes two landscapes: the one ‘we initially see and a second landscape produced through local practice and which we recognise and understand through fieldwork and through ethnographic description and interpretation.’ (ibid:2)

The landscape as process thesis can be seen to have connections with the etymological derivation of the word in English from its Germanic roots (Jackson J.B.1984, Olwig 1993 and 2002). This dates back to 500 AD in Europe when the words – landskipe or landscaef – and the notions implied were taken to Britain by Anglo-Saxon settlers. The meaning was a clearing in the forest with animals, huts, fields, fences. It was essentially a peasant landscape carved out of the original forest or weald, that is, out of the wilderness with interconnections to patterns of occupation and associated customs and ways of doing things. Jackson further indicates the equivalent word in Latin languages – with its antecedent like Germanic and other languages harking back to the Indo-European idiom – derives from the Latin pagus, meaning a defined rural district. He notes that this gives the French words pays and paysage, but that there are other French words for landscape including campagne deriving from champagne meaning a countryside of fields; the English equivalent once being ‘champion’.

‘Landscape’ from its beginnings therefore has meant a human-made artefact with associated cultural process values. It is an holistic view of landscape with its morphology resulting from the interplay between cultural values, customs and land-use practices critically explored by Wylie (2007).

The conjunction of the word ‘cultural’ with landscape also infers an inhabited, active being. Olwig (1993) links this to its Latin origin colere (culture), with various meanings including inhabit, cultivate as in tillage, protect, honour. Additionally ‘culture’ like the German kultur (and therefore ‘cultural’) is about development of human intellectual achievement, care (Oxford English Dictionary): hence the German term ‘kulturlandschaft’ (see below). French usage gives us paysage culturel, the term used in the World Heritage List inscription (2000) for The Loire Valley which notably includes urban settlements as well as rural land. The assumption that is often made that ‘cultural landscape’ is only to do with agricultural settings is misplaced: it is concerned with all human places and the process of making them and inhabiting them.
Landscape as idea in the Western genre also has had since the sixteenth century art historical connections with painterly renditions of landscapes, whether they be the history painting genre of the Italianate School (Poussin, Lorrain et al) or the realism of the ordinary everyday landscapes of the Dutch School. This is the landscape as scenery interpretation. Wylie calls it ‘representational, symbolic and iconic meanings’, aestheticized pictures of the natural world and culture-nature relations, or a landowning elite way of seeing. It was the focus of critical commentary by cultural geographers in the 1990s. Olwig (1996), for example, proposes the need to understand and return to the substantive nature of landscape: a landscape that is real, not artistic, real in a legal sense, real rather than apparent. This standpoint meshes in a sense with his argument that landscape originally means a political community of people (polity) and associated customary, administrative local laws: ‘a nexus of law and cultural identity’ (Olwig 2002:19). He points to the diverse local polities, ie landscapes or in German, landschaft, a term still used (Jackson J.B.1984) for a territory or administrative unit.

We may ask whether this attitude to landscape and art, which it must be noted is not universal, is representative of a wider view system that sees landscape art representation with its symbolism somewhat suspiciously. Is it predominantly a western view? How does it sit with Eastern views? Western landscape art since the Renaissance has focused substantially on portraying landscape reality even when the landscape portrayed is symbolic. In contrast, Eastern landscape art has often focused more on imaginary landscapes as in Chinese landscape art (and literature) where, over one thousand years ago at the end of the Tang Dynasty (618–907 CE), a deconstruction of material nature was taking place. This genre was accompanied by a representation of nature which ‘began to express its more spiritual side. Appearances became less important and spiritual reality emerged as the main focus . . . paintings became more and more abstract and symbolic.’ (Feng Han 2006:79/80; Gong 2001:228 in Feng Han). In this way, Chinese depictions of nature – cultivated landscapes – were expressions of the mind and heart of the individual artist rather than of the real world, reflections of human beliefs and emotions (Metropolitan Museum of Art 2000). Even so, the often seemingly fantastic renditions in these landscapes do reflect the hauntingly beautiful shapes seen in Chinese landscapes. Nevertheless both forms, Eastern and Wes-
tern, represent subjective notions of an ideal, perhaps illusive, nature. If this is a way of seeing landscape should it be eschewed? I think not: it is for me integral with the idea of landscape as process even if it is the process of making imaginary landscapes.

To this end modern cultural geography as Denis Cosgrove (1993) suggested delves into how intellectual forces and spiritual sensibilities are as important as economic, social and environmental constraints in understanding how people transform and view their surrounds. He points out that landscape interpretation involves a dialogue between changing social and economic structures and human visions of a harmonious life within the natural order. As a result ‘no longer is the geographical landscape confined to visible and material features on the earth’s surface’ (ibid: xiv).

**Pre-1970s: environmental product or cultural process?**

In the early nineteenth century the primacy of the natural order and creationist views in determining environmental form were clear. Whilst Darwin rocked the theological boat, he did little to shake the conviction that natural forces shaped us and our world. Alternative evolutionary theories as in the Neo-Lamarckian model of adaptive modification of organisms passing on qualities they acquired entrenched the scientific view that environment was the shaper of people, their landscape and even their values. Such views were attractive to the increasingly vocal discipline of geography which craved to be accepted into the scholarly world as a science in the latter half of the nineteenth century. A scientifically deterministic view of environment firmly established itself in the geographical mindset. But this was challenged by an emergent German human geography tradition, thereby laying the foundations for how we have come to understand the cultural landscape construct.

Nevertheless the early foundations still inferred natural factors as the determining agent. Alfred Hettner (1859–1941) emphasised the concept and practice of *Länderkunde* (regional study). Here distinctive regional landscapes are established as a reflection of the relationship between people and their environment where natural factors determine regional landscape patterns. It was a continuation of the early nineteenth century geographic tradition of Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859). Humboldt, one of the founders of modern geography, emphasised measurement and mapping based on the inter-connectedness between life forms and environment. The earth for Humboldt consisted of distinctive natural regions each with its own particular life forms.
This view was supported by the English geographer Halford Mackinder. In 1887 in his address to the Royal Geographical Society Mackinder maintained that geography’s task was to reintegrate society and environment and to build a bridge over the gap between the natural sciences and the study of humanity. The growing union between the natural sciences, particularly biological sciences, and geography was a significant aspect of the developing nineteenth century scholarly base of geography. Livingstone (1992:190/192) in his history of the foundations of geography calls Mackinder’s approach ‘the geographical experiment – an experiment to keep nature and culture under one conceptual umbrella’ and proposes that whilst this was centred on the relationship between nature and culture with Mackinder seeing man as the initiator, nevertheless ‘nature in large measure controls.’ In these evolving constructs we may, I suggest, see early stirrings of the current view of cultural landscapes being at what Rössler (2006) calls ‘the interface between nature and culture, tangible and intangible heritage, biological and cultural diversity.’

In a reaction to Hettner’s physical basis for regional geography – *Länderkunde* – there was a move towards emphasising human activity – culture – in shaping landscape patterns. Thus started the German geographical tradition of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in landscape studies. Its recognition of the significance of *Kulturlandschaft*, as for example in the work of Otto Schlüter (1872–1959), is seminal to our present understanding of cultural landscapes.

The emergent German school of cultural geography questioned the entrenched deterministic view of geographers which concentrated on the thesis that regional landscape form was determined by natural factors. It was Otto Schlüter who ‘came to champion the view that the essential object of geographical inquiry was landscape morphology as a cultural product’ and he ‘emerged as a major exponent of the significance of the cultural landscape (*Kulturlandschaft*) in contrast to the natural landscape (*Naturlandschaft*).’ (Livingstone:264). Principles of *Landschaftkunde* were seen to offer a more holistic view of the relationship between people and land: the landscape. Nevertheless the German cultural geographers first concentrated on the material aspects of culture visible in the landscape rather than including aspects of custom, values or traditions. Interest in non-material aspects of landscape making came later. Neither did Schlüter abandon the notion of the
influence of natural environment on regional human landscapes. It was left to subsequent geography scholars to trace the influence of non-material culture on regional landscape morphology.

The perceptive and innovative thinking and practice of Franz Boas’ (1858–1942), anthropologist and geographer, extended the new human geography to embrace the idea that different cultures adjusted to similar environments and taught the historicist mode of conceptualising environment (ibid). It was a philosophy that emphasizes culture as a context (»surroundings«), and the importance of history: a Boasian anthropological approach referred to as historical particularism. Boas argued that it was important to understand the cultural traits of societies – their behaviours, beliefs, and symbols – and the necessity for examining them in their local context. He established the contextualist approach to culture known as cultural relativism. He also understood that as people migrate, and as the cultural context changes over time, the elements of a culture, and their meanings, will change. This led him to emphasise the importance of studying local histories to aid the analysis of cultures. His teachings and ideas in social anthropology and geography remain central to present-day interest in the cultural landscape idea where landscape, as Lewis (1979) opines, is a clue to culture.

Coincidental with the work of the German human geographers was that of the French geographer Paul Vidal de La Blache who pioneered a French school of géographie humaine. Aitchison (1995) draws attention to the way in which Vidal inquired into how ‘homme, milieu et genre de vie determine la physionomie des paysages’ (people, environment, life-style determine the face of the country). Vidal’s approach acknowledged the way in which people changed their natural surrounds and that different regions have their own characteristics as a result of human intervention. But, like Schlüter, Vidal was unable to make the step of seeing geography as a social, as opposed to a natural science, and always elucidated that natural factors influenced ‘the history, anthropology, and physiology of the human species.’ (Livingstone1992:267) Nevertheless in his work, like that of Schlüter, can be seen the beginnings of connections between regional landscapes and sense of place.

2 Franz Boas: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franz_Boas
Geographical scholarly endeavour was continued in the twentieth century through the work and writings of influential thinkers. Nevertheless there have been, and remain, tensions in various schools of cultural geography landscape studies. It is a tension that Wylie posits is ‘between proximity and distance, body and mind, sensuous immersion and detached observation. Is landscape the world we are living in, or a scene we are looking at, from afar ... a set of visual strategies and devices for distancing and observing?’ (Wylie:1/2). Here is the tension between our lived-in world concept and landscape as an artistic and historical genre.

Landscape as lived-in process has built on the work of scholars such as Carl Sauer, Fred Kniffen, Wilbur Zilensky, David Lowenthal; Peirce Lewis, Marwyn Samuels, Donald Meinig, Tuan, Denis Cosgrove, Duncan and Duncan, historians such as W.G. Hoskins. It was Hoskins as a landscape historian in the 1950s in England who saw the advantages of being out in the landscape rather than just studying in the archives. In this mode his work had similarities to that of Carl Sauer. It is a body of work that I contend acted as a necessary precursor to the establishment in the 1990s of the construct of landscape as process discussed above.

Sauer established the Berkeley School of cultural geography in the 1920s. He continued the *kulturlandschaft* tradition and elaborated an empirical cultural and historical geography tradition by championing the idea of reading the landscape based on clear observation and recording in the field. Sauer’s view that ‘The cultural landscape is fashioned out of the natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result’ (Sauer 1925:46) is still quoted, and all too often uncritically in relation to cultural landscape and heritage conservation concerns for it remains a too positivist view of landscape as product rather than as process. Sauer’s approach to landscape morphology narrowly kept within the bounds of scientific method and he concentrated on material aspects of cultural diversity in what Robertson and Richards (2003:2) regard as ‘unnecessarily deterministic.’ He did not emphasise the visual and affective aspects of landscapes or what Peter Jackson (1989:19 quoted in Wylie) refers to as its ‘social dimensions.’ Jackson proposes more consideration be given to the non-material or symbolic qualities of culture that cannot be ‘read off’ directly from the landscape.
In this vein an enduring contribution has been the writings and understanding by J.B. Jackson of the American vernacular landscape, the landscape people inhabit and make through everyday activities. He suggests, for example, that ‘we are not spectators: the human landscape is not a work of art. It is the temporary product of sweat, hardship and earnest thought’ (Jackson J.B. 1997:343). His interest essentially was in patterns in the landscape and the processes that shaped these, rather than individual buildings. Jackson’s writings in Landscape, the journal he started are still worth reading. Notably also he gave attention to the contemporary urban landscape rather than the rural. Current interest in the idea of Historic Urban Landscapes (HULs) at World Heritage level has antecedents here.

During the late 1980s and 1990s humanistic approaches to understanding landscape as a cultural construct used the metaphor of landscape as text. Duncan and Duncan (1988) claim texts ‘are transformations of ideologies into a concrete form.’ They argue cogently that landscapes can be seen as transformations of social and political ideologies. They base their claim on insights from literary theory applied to the analysis of landscapes and reading them as texts. Duncan and Duncan were dismissive of the then contemporary work of cultural geographers as naïve (a word they use twice in their opening paragraph) in that it views landscape as a kind of cultural spoor, indicating the presence of a cultural group. In my view their argument of landscape as text is better seen as adding further to the insights on symbolism in landscapes. Central to these has been the connection between present landscapes and the way in which they reflect vital links, tangible and intangible, with history. As a result we respond affectively to them, to the symbolism of the memories, ideas, and associations inherent in their very existence, as well as to the tangible material patterns and structures which represent how the landscape has been, and is continually actively used, shaped, and changed.

A coherent aspect of an accumulation of approaches is, therefore, that landscape is a cultural, or social, construct that demands examination. It is not simply what is seen as an assembly of physical components and natural elements, but rather, as Cosgrove proposes (1984:1), it is

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3 This quote is from Jackson’s article ‘Goodbye to Evolution’, Landscape 13:2; 1–2. It is included p.343 in J B Jackson , (1997), Landscape in Sight. Looking at America, edited by Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz.
a way of seeing that has its own history, but a history that can be understood only as part of a wider history of economy and society; that has its own assumptions and consequences, but assumptions and consequences whose origins and implications extend well beyond the use and perception of land; that has its own techniques of expression, but techniques which it shares with other areas of cultural practice.

Cosgrove further argues that landscape is an ideological concept and this theme resonates through his writings (Cosgrove 1984 and 1990). Cultural landscape form, past and present, is therefore profoundly and systematically influenced by political, religious, economic, and social values and forces. More recently new forces such as tourism and its ideological baggage mould cultural landscapes. They add new layers to an already rich assemblage. The growth in cultural tourism, for example, has enormous potential to influence cultural landscape morphology and, coincidentally, our view of the past through interpretations and presentations of history. A series of essays in a volume edited by Ringer (1998/2005) delves into these considerations through viewing cultural landscapes of tourist destinations as socially constructed places, the extent to which tourism both establishes and falsifies local reality and effects on local cultures not least through manipulations of history and culture.

The cultural geography, anthropological and historical discourses on constructs of landscape cumulatively may be seen to have created a context for a global cultural landscapes discourse on a World Heritage scale that developed in the 1980s/1990s. As the management of cultural heritage resources developed professionally and philosophically a challenge emerged in the late 1980s/early 1990s to the 1960s and 1970s concept of heritage focusing on monuments and archaeological locations, famous architectural ensembles, or historic sites with connections to the rich and famous. Here was the inception of an enlarged value system embracing such issues as cultural landscapes and settings, living history and heritage, intangible values, vernacular heritage, and community involvement. It was the beginning of the shift from concentrating wholly on what Engelhardt (2007) pithily designates the three ‘Ps’ of Princes, Priests, and Politicians to include PEOPLE.

The rise of cultural landscapes

The 1990s expansion of interest in, and enlarging understanding of, cultural landscapes is what Jacques (1995) nicely calls ‘the rise
of cultural landscapes.’ Cultural landscape study at this time was also coincidental with a widening interest in the public history movement and everyday landscapes. It underpinned the notion that landscapes reflecting everyday ways of life, the ideologies that compel people to create places, and the sequence or rhythm of life over time in Olwig’s (2007 op. cit.) active scene of practice are significant. They tell the story of people, events and places through time, offering a sense of continuity: a sense of the stream of time. They also offer the context for concepts and understandings of cultural heritage.

The concept of cultural context is critical to an appreciation of the rich layering inherent in the cultural landscape idea. The theme of the 2005 International ICOMOS conference held in Xi’an, China stressed the importance of context within the parameters of the concept of setting in the practice of conserving cultural heritage in changing townscapes and landscapes:

setting is not just about physical protection; it may have cultural or social dimension. Tools need to acknowledge both the tangible and intangible aspects of setting. They also need to reflect the complexity of ownership, legal structures, economic and social pressures that impinge on the physical and cultural settings of immovable heritage assets (ICOMOS 2005a).

The term ‘cultural landscape’ is now widely used internationally. In 1992 cultural landscapes arrived on the world heritage scene with the declaration of three categories of cultural landscapes of outstanding universal value for World Heritage purposes.

- **Clearly defined landscapes designed and intentionally created by man:** eg Aranjuez Cultural Landscape, Spain (2001); no Asian inscriptions exist notwithstanding places like Suzhou, China or Kyoto temples with their gardens being WH listed cultural properties.

- **Organically evolved landscapes in two categories:**
  1. A relict or fossil landscape in which an evolutionary process has come to an end but where its distinguishing features are still visible, eg Gusuku Sites, Ryuku, Japan.
  2. Continuing landscape which retains an active social role in contemporary society associated with a traditional way of life and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress and where it exhibits significant material evidence of its evolution over time. Cultural landscapes inscribed on the WH list in the
Asia-Pacific region include for example: Rice Terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras (1995); Champasak cultural landscape including the Vat Phou temple complex, Lao PDR (inscribed 2001) in recognition of its presentation as a remarkably well preserved planned landscape more than 1000 years old, shaped to express the Hindu relationship between nature and culture from the 5th to 15th centuries; Orkhon valley cultural landscape, Mongolia (2004) reflecting the symbiotic relationship between nomadic, pastoral societies and their administrative and religious centres and the importance of the area in the history of central Asia.

- **Associative cultural landscapes:** the inclusion of such landscapes is justifiable by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic, or cultural associations of the natural element rather than the material cultural evidence. Tongariro New Zealand (1993), Uluru/Kata Tjuta National Park, Australia (1994) are two Asia/Pacific example. UNESCO (2007:115) suggests that:

  The category of associative cultural landscape has been particularly crucial in the recognition of intangible values and the heritage of local communities and indigenous people. In 1992 their cultural heritage received worldwide recognition for the first time under an international legal instrument. This symbolizes the acceptance and integration of communities and their relationship to the environment, even if such landscapes are linked to powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural elements rather than material cultural evidence.

The declaration stands as a timely initiative and precursor to the 1994 *Global Strategy for a Balanced, Representative and Credible World Heritage List*. The strategy acknowledged lack of balance in the World Heritage List in the type and geographical distribution of properties represented, with the lionisation of the List by developed countries, notably Europe. Cultural landscapes are regarded as being ‘at the interface between nature and culture, tangible and intangible heritage, biological and cultural diversity – they represent a closely woven net of relationships, the essence of culture and people’s identity ... they are a symbol of the growing recognition of the fundamental links between local communities and their heritage, humankind and its natural environment’ (Rössler 2006). Enlarging on this the current Operational Guidelines for the World Heritage Convention propose that ‘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’ (UNESCO 2011: Annex 3, para 9, p. 88).

By mid-2010 sixty-six cultural landscapes had been inscribed on the World Heritage List. Bandarin (2009) reflects most of these are living cultural landscapes and that over time cultural landscape categories (including relict and associative) provide an opening of the World Heritage Convention for cultures not [represented] or under-represented prior to 1992. He quotes as examples the inscription of the Kaya Forest Systems in Kenya or the Chief Roi Mata’s Domain in Vanuatu, the Kuk Early Agricultural site in Papua New Guinea or the Tobacco production of Vinales Valley in Cuba, reflecting that none of these sites would have had a chance prior to 1992 of being recognized as cultural heritage on a global scale. Herein lies the major importance of the inclusion of the cultural landscape category in the operations of the Convention.

Of the sixty-six inscriptions only twelve are located in the Asia-Pacific region, plus two in the Eurasian region. In contrast many inscribed properties in the region listed as natural sites or mixed natural/cultural are in fact cultural landscapes and offer considerable scope for renomination and re-inscription as happened in 1992 with Tongariro (New Zealand) and 1994 with Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park (Australia). Mount Lushan in China is an interesting example inscribed in 1996 as a mixed site but with ICOMOS assessors commenting that it ought also be recognised as a cultural landscape. The cultural landscape values of Lushan are now being re-investigated in China. The general question of renomination of landscapes was addressed by Fowler (2003) in his ten year review of the cultural landscape categories and by Taylor and Altenburg (2006) for the Asia-Pacific.

When the term ‘cultural landscape’ is used in SE and E Asia there is often confusion as to what it really means. There is, therefore, a need to address this uncertainty through a global consensus on what the term signifies in order to reconcile international and SE and E Asian regional values, because the region has so much to

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NB Dresden Elbe Valley, Germany, was delisted by the World Heritage Committee in July 2009.
offer the world in the cultural landscape arena. Indeed it is my view that some of the world’s greatest cultural landscapes of potential outstanding universal value exist here. These landscapes represent a particular way of living and provide examples of a continuous living history. They are therefore representative treasures, not only of living regional landscape culture, but of world culture and deserve to be recognised and celebrated as such. (Taylor 2009). They are a vivid embodiment of landscape as cultural process as opposed to being an objective cultural product.

The culture-nature dilemma: eastern and western views

A cogent example of divergent western and eastern views relative to cultural landscape concerns is that of the concept of nature (Taylor 2009). Until the late 1980s there was some tension between cultural and natural heritage conservation. Culture and nature were uneasy, sometimes suspicious, companions. Reflective of this, cultural and natural criteria for assessment of properties of OUV for World Heritage nomination and listing were separate when they were sensibly combined into one set of ten criteria in UNESCO 2005 Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (para. 77). The separation was originally based on a hegemony of Western values where cultural heritage resided mainly in great monuments and sites and natural heritage in scientific ideas of nature and wilderness as something separate from people. The latter was an ideal espoused particularly in the USA reflective of Roderick Nash’s (1967) critical analysis of the American concept of wilderness. Nash posits its adoption was grounded in the idea of something distinctively American and superior to anything in the Old World: the sublime versus the antique. He refers to the wilderness idea as critical to a unique American white identity (my bold).

Examination of the World Heritage List for natural heritage and mixed properties in Asian countries shows some properties included where local community associations with these places are omitted, or worse, obliterated. In contrast to this approach ought to be recognition of the value systems that traditional communities associate deeply with so-called natural areas as part of their cultural beliefs. Added to this is the fact that many traditional communities live in or visit these places as part of their life systems and have done so for millennia, for example Nanda Devi and Valley of Flowers National Parks (India) or Sagamartha National
Park, Nepal. These are listed only under natural criteria for World Heritage inscription although at least the nomination of the latter does refer to presence of Sherpas, with their unique culture that adds further interest to this site. A 1999 state of conservation report adds ‘The significant culture of the Sherpas is an integral part of the nature-culture continuum.’ Of note in this culture-nature and tangible-intangible relationships is the mounting appreciation of links between cultural and biological diversity and traditional sustainable land-use. It begs the questions of whether renomination as cultural landscapes ought to be seriously contemplated and what do we mean by nature? Is it the 1960s American model enshrined in the Wilderness Act with its connections to Protestant Christian, colonial, and post-colonial cultural associations from the English speaking Western world? Or ought it to be the concept of nature and culture not as opposites, but where nature is part of the human condition? In this connection is J.B. Jackson’s (1984:156) view that landscape ‘is never simply a natural space, a feature of the natural environment . . . every landscape is the place where we establish our own human organization of space and time.’

Jackson’s aphorism has particular import in Asia where links between culture and nature are traditional. People are part of nature within a humanistic philosophy of the world. Here is an holistic approach to the human-nature relationship as opposed to the idea of human detachment from nature. Lennon (2007) referring to Barrow and Pathak (2005) importantly notes that whilst there is an increasing number of World Heritage cultural landscapes, there are hundreds of community-based cultural landscapes across the Asia–Pacific region, officially unprotected areas but protected by communities for their own livelihoods. Not all cultural landscapes have universal values but they have national and regional values and form the basis of sustainable landscapes worthy of conservation.

A landmark UNESCO-IUCN international symposium in 2005 on sacred natural sites and cultural landscapes (UNESCO IUCN 2006) explored the culture/nature diversity links. In an eloquent paper Lhakpa N Sherpa (2006) enlarges on how beyul, the cultural phenomenon of sacred hidden valleys in the Nepalese Himalaya, traditionally support biodiversity conservation. Lhakpa (2006) shows how western influenced initiatives are targeting beyul for establishing protected areas without proper recognition of the symbiotic relationship between local communities and
environmental conservation: the message is modern development, education, globalisation, and tourism are not supporting traditional stewardship. Lhakpa suggests that beyul and other sacred natural sites can be an asset for ecosystem conservation and lead to conservation of significant intangible cultural values. He proposes a series of actions involving strengthening involvement of local people with greater recognition of indigenous knowledge; physical surveys; collection of oral and written evidence; documentation and publication of material; dissemination of information to local schools and communities to rekindle the spirit and pride in beyul. Notably this theme of the important conservation network value of recognizing the inextricable links between nature and culture and linked protection of biological and cultural diversity at sacred natural sites is continued by Verschuuren et al (eds 2010). The theme of cultural landscapes as a bridge between culture and nature is similarly explored by Taylor and Lennon (2011).

In contrast to purely nature conservation in some Asian national parks is the Thai example of Doi Suthep-Pui National Park, Chiang Mai, where culture and nature coexist in terms of traditional Hmong communities allowed to remain living in the park and where interpretative presentation acknowledges the immutable relationship between people and nature. This is seen also in the value placed on the temples in the park, as with the venerable Pra That Doi Suthep Temple (Nantawan Muangyai and Vital Lieorungruang 2006)

Despite all the stunning natural beauty, the main reason many visitors come... is to visit Phra That Doi Suthep Temple. For Thais, this site is a must for the visit, as it is a sacred place to pay homage to the Lord Buddha’s relic, ...[it is] one of the most holy Buddhist sites in Thailand.

The Doi Suthep landscape is representative of the deeply felt associative values between local communities and indigenous people in Asia and their cultural landscapes. It underscores the need for intercultural dialogue and for initiation of local community and indigenous participation in cultural landscape conservation and management so that the links between physical and spiritual aspects of landscape are respected. This view is grounded in the fact that it is the cognitive and spiritual values of cultural landscapes in the Asia-Pacific region that are their most salient features (Engelhardt 2001). Recognition of a cultural place as a World Heritage site can intentionally or unintentionally mar-
ginalise certain groups, the unrecognised ‘others’ with a long and verifiable association with the place. The World Heritage site and archaeological park at places like Borobudur, Indonesia, and Angkor, Cambodia, are cases in point where the surrounding cultural landscape and its meanings are seemingly divorced from the archaeological monuments. At Angkor, for example, is an extensive engineered landscape extending over 5,000 sq kms: a relic cultural landscape reflecting the history of the area and everyday activities of people which continue to this day (Taylor and Altenburg 2006; Engelhardt 1995). ICOMOS and IUCN are active in dialogue with the World Heritage Committee (WHC) on outstanding universal values and ‘how references to values of minorities, indigenous and/or local people were made or obviously omitted’ in nominations (UNESCO 2007b:3). IUCN notes in its commentary that it ‘has long emphasised the importance of involving indigenous people in the planning and management of protected areas’[and that] ‘many natural World Heritage properties have very significant cultural and spiritual values for local communities and customary owners’ [but that] ‘in recent years, the natural World Heritage nominations of the States Parties only rarely reflect on local cultures, the rights of these cultures, and prospective conflicts between these cultures and international efforts for protection (ibid;33/34).

Filling the gaps and thematic studies: cultural landscapes and Asia
UNESCO (2007a:116) in its report World Heritage Challenges for the Millennium reflected that ‘The geographically unbalanced representation of cultural landscapes on the World Heritage List ... is striking.’ By mid-2010 this still prevailed with around forty-two of the inscriptions being European. Asia is not well represented with twelve inscriptions. The Millennium report also notes that many cultural landscapes have building techniques, vernacular architecture and management schemes that often relate to complex social and contractual arrangements. The example of the rice terraces and irrigation system of the Philippine Cordilleras is indicative of this where indeed, if the physical or the social structure collapses, the whole landscape and ecological system is threatened. UNESCO further notes that the category of continuing landscapes, particularly agricultural landscapes, has great potential but needs to be backed by global and thematic studies to provide a

5 An additional two sites are in Eurasia (Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan).
basis for nominations. Such studies would also guide the World Heritage Committee in its listing decision making.

An ICOMOS (2005b) report highlights the gaps in the Asia-Pacific Region in the inscription of cultural properties on the World Heritage List in general, and cultural landscapes in particular. It indicates that the majority of places on the World Heritage or Tentative Lists are archaeological, architectural monuments and religious properties. Whilst this logically reflects the importance, for example, of Buddhist or Islamic places and archaeological sites, the paucity of such ensembles as cultural landscapes, vernacular architecture, technological and agricultural sites – all within the cultural landscape spectrum – represents a missed opportunity taking into account the spirit of places in the region. Notable in this regard is the fact that many existing Asia-Pacific Region properties on the World Heritage List would admirably fulfil the category of continuing landscape of outstanding universal value with cross references to the associative cultural landscape category. They offer scope for renomination; for example, Ayutthaya in Thailand, whilst in China there are the Mount Qingcheng and the Dujiangyan Irrigation System or the Ancient Villages in southern Anhui-Xidi and Hongcun.

Another important area for consideration is that of vernacular villages with the ICOMOS report noting the lack of vernacular buildings and settlements on the World Heritage list. It is another area where Asia has a rich heritage and where cultural diversity and biological diversity are palpable.

Conclusions

In reviewing a periphery perspective from Asia on cultural landscape heritage values, significance, and protection it is instructive to look at the issue through the lens of **authenticity** and **integrity**. These are characteristics from UNESCO 2011 Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (op cit) where the spirit of place resides as much in the meaning and symbolism of places and their setting – intangible values – as it does in tangible physical fabric, i.e landscape seen holistically. **Authenticity** (para. 8o of the Guidelines) concerns ‘the ability to understand the value attributed to the heritage depending on the degree to which information sources about this value may be understood as credible or truthful.’ We may see authenticity, therefore, as ability of a place to represent accurately/truthfully what it purports to be. Figure 1 Dimensions of Authenticity from UNES-
CO Bangkok’s (2009:8) *Hoi An Protocols* document illustrates the importance of authenticity within an Asian context. 6

Integrity is a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the cultural heritage and its attributes. Examining the conditions of integrity, therefore requires assessing the extent to which the property a) includes all elements necessary to express its outstanding universal value; b) is of adequate size to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes which convey the property’s significance; c) suffers from adverse effects of development and/or neglect. In relation to (c) I would add that judgement will be required when the whole might lack sense of integrity yet some parts or remnants possess it. The decision on overall integrity then will depend on how the parts with integrity are able to be read and interpreted to give an overall sense of continuity.

Finally it is apt to close with a quintessentially timeless quote by David Lowenthal (1975:12):

> It is the landscape as a whole – that largely manmade tapestry, in which all other artefacts are embedded ... which gives them their sense of place.

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Management of UNESCO World Heritage Sites: From Cultural Districts to Commons

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Abstract
This paper is intended as a potential contribution into the growing literature on UNESCO World Heritage sites, and presents the preliminary results of a research project about innovative strategies for cultural heritage management.

More in detail, the issue of the text is to contribute to explore, from a multidisciplinary point of view, the concept of cultural commons towards a reference to the UNESCO vision and approach about culture. Considering the debate around the concept of (world) cultural heritage, around the same concept of “value” as an ever-changing prospective. Here is proposed a shift from the theory of cultural districts to the innovative idea of “cultural commons”, it could appear useful in understanding new forms of world heritage sites. It could also contribute to face the challenges posed by heritage management in relation with local communities, for instance it can provide an evaluation of social carrying capacity for safeguarding cultural values and authenticity.
1. Cultural Districts and World Heritage

This research project start from a reflection on commons, how they could be defined and applied to WH Sites, in order to contribute to their proper management. In this sense, the paper is a first draft with the aim of designing a categorization on what are commons and how they entered into the cultural debate. We looked at the commons as a natural evolution of a research going on from the '90s about material culture and its localization. This kind of work took Santagata and other scholars to define the idea of cultural districts as a particular kind of localization for cultural heritage, in particular material culture.

Simplifying the definition of cultural district it could be given by the concentration, in a well defined area, of cultural facilities, as museums, artist studios and shops, libraries and arts schools (Santagata, 2002). A district could be identified with places where a system of economic activities is clustered in a defined area and some resources, like tacit knowledge, trust, institutions, are shared among the members of the community. These few features are also able and proper to describe many of the sites inscribed, during the last years, in the UNESCO World Heritage List. Approved in 1972, the “Convention concerning the protection of the World’s Cultural and Natural Heritage” was adopted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural organization (UNESCO) and came into force in 1976. It has been ratified by 183 States Parties across the world. The List includes at present (April 2011) 911 sites and it can be probably considered the most significant representation of active heritage policies at a global level. According to the article 1 we shall consider as “cultural heritage” the following three categories:

- monuments: architectural works, monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science point of view;
- groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science point of view;
- sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and of man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view. (UNESCO, 1972)
Following this definition of culture, the World Heritage List was adopted for protecting the “Outstanding Universal Value” of monuments, groups of buildings and sites. The notion of OUV is the key and central concept of the Convention, based on the idea that some cultural and natural heritage sites are of such outstanding and universal importance for ‘all the people of the world’ (preamble of the Convention) indiscriminately, that they need to ‘be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole’. This kind of approach can be seen in some way as closely related to the concept of cultural district, mainly because both of them appear to be strongly connected with the concepts of time and space. As the World Heritage List includes sites that represent a specific culture in a given time and space, the cultural district uses to include the products from a specific material culture, again delimited in a specific time and space. In this sense, many examples taken from the Italian world heritage sites can be seen as representative: among them the Caltagirone district (Baroque towns of Val di Noto), the Murano district (Venice and its lagoon), Naples and, more recently the Val d’Orcia and Val Camonica ones.

Apart from this, we also should consider that in present time the concept of cultural districts appear to be not enough flexible for understanding many new complex forms of contemporary cultural production and consumption. The concept of art has passed through infinite revolutions in the last 40 years and we cannot imagine what it will be in the next future. Nowadays, conserving and safeguarding contemporary art pieces means dealing with new practices and very high levels of innovation. For instance, due to the new technologies diffusion, the strong consideration for the production spatial component tends to lose his physical meaning without decreasing in importance. Taking in consideration, for instance, the form of art created and diffused through internet, we can still recognize forms of the so called Marshallian atmosphere, distinguishing the cultural districts, but the place of production moved into the virtual reality and web 2.0, a well defined but not physical place. The same phenomena could be recognized into the new chains of consumption and distribution based on internet like social networks and e-commerce. Cao Fei for example, a Chinese artist known as China Tracy, produces her art works interacting in various ways with internet and virtuality. For the 52° Biennale di Venezia she presented a documentary, iMirror, entirely shot on Second Life interacting with common web users and showing vir-
tual groups’ interactions similar to the real ones analyzed in the definition of cultural districts. (http://www.caofei.com/)

Cultural commons may help in understanding this forms of culture created thanks to a strong exchange of information, with a shared knowledge and with recognizable forms of production, exactly like the material culture for cultural districts.


Moving back to UNESCO World Heritage List we can notice even in this field how much the discussions and reflections on and around the concept of cultural value have become central in debates and practices, moving away from the one expressed in the 1972 Convention. The concept of heritage has changed content considerably, being extended from the beginning of the 1980s to include intangible expressions, as defined in the 2003 Convention for the safeguarding of intangible heritage, such as popular festivities, spiritual customs, holy rites, intellectual “material” goods. Cultural heritage does not end at monuments and collections of objects. It also includes traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as the ones from oral traditions to knowledge, practices and skills such as the ones necessary to produce traditional crafts. According to the definition stated in the Convention for the safeguarding of intangible heritage, 2003, there are five broad ‘domains’ in which intangible cultural heritage is manifested:

- Oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;
- Performing arts;
- Social practices, rituals and festive events;
- Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;
- Traditional craftsmanship.

Those categories, as well as the serial sites among different nations, the “cultural routes” (introduced in 1993) and the so called “cultural landscapes” (introduced in 1994) are just single thematic examples of how UNESCO changed and is still changing its tools and its interpretation in trying to adapt to a more credible vision of contemporary cultural heritage. They reflect and show clearly the fact that in the contemporary view, cultural heritage is considered as living heritage. Dance, music, theatre and craft traditions are invaluable because they manifest dynamic communities and
are a driving force in cultural diversity. They are constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and they provide communities with a sense of identity and continuity. While they are bound to tradition, they are also constantly evolving and it depends on the community to maintain and transmit them to future generations.

Despite their individualities, tangible and intangible cultural heritage together create a full picture of the richness and diversity of the world cultural traditions. The 2004 Yamato Declaration (on Integrated Approaches for Safeguarding Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage) affirms that safeguarding tangible and intangible cultural heritage demands an integrated approach that recognizes both their interdependence and their distinct characters. (UNESCO Bangkok, 2008)

Though we can say that the intangible and tangible may thus be connected in material cultural heritage, the safeguarding of what we call intangible cultural heritage refers to something distinct from the recognition of intangible elements associated with tangible heritage.

What appears extremely relevant in designing policies for heritage, is the fact that the importance of cultural heritage is not (only) in the cultural manifestation itself but rather in the wealth of knowledge transmitted through it from one generation to the next. The social and economic value of this transmission of knowledge is for instance relevant for minority groups and for mainstream social groups within a State, and is as important for developing States as for developed ones. (…) This issue is actually enlarged to everything related to the history of a civilization: culture is the totality of life expressions of an ethnic group at a particular time and within a specific area.

Culture comprises arts and science, politics and economy, language and religion of a specific group as well as life expressions developed in historical processes – under specific temporal and spatial conditions.

This new viewpoint on culture brings a strong revolution in analyzing cultures that now appear as a dynamic process always subject to different influences to which, when in contact, they react, develop, adapt and change.

The issue is deeply analyzed in the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expression in which
Cultural Contents are defined as “Cultural content” referring to the symbolic meaning, artistic dimension and cultural values that originate from or express cultural identities” (UNESCO, 2005, art 4.2)

3. New forms of heritage

Furthermore, a large part of the scientific community is now proposing a new definition of heritage, not only as the product of a determined society and culture, but also as generator of culture (Santagata, 2008). UNESCO itself, among protection, affirms (see Convention on cultural diversity, 2005) that placing culture at the heart of development policy constitutes an essential investment in the world future and a pre-condition to successful globalization processes that take into account the principles of cultural diversity.

Following this logic, the “new” forms of heritage recognition, strongly encouraged by the historic scientists and clearly showed in the recent inscriptions to the WHL, can be seen and interpreted as a good example, again in the direction of de-spatialization, of the cultural commons. Thinking, for instance, to serial sites and cultural routes (inscribed or under proposal) like the “Camino de Santiago”\(^1\), the “Main Andean Road”, the “Silk road”, the “Vikings routes”, the “Theutonic route for the crusades”, the “Venetian trade route” and so on, they are the geographical representation of a cultural heritage that crosses the national borders but still define or used to define a specific cultural community.

The nature of the concept is open, dynamic and evocative and offers a privileged framework in which mutual understanding and a plural approach to history and culture can operate. It is based on population movements, encounters and dialogues, cultural exchanges and cross-fertilization, taking place both in space and time.

People that walk the pilgrimage routes share a sense of belonging to the same values, not depending on their nationalities but based on the fact of participating to a ritual that goes on from centuries. Cities and villages built on the Silk road symbolize in their architecture the passage of different cultures, that create a specific style, present on the whole road. In this sense also these kind of “narrative” sites (sites narrating an historical period/activity/complexity of events linked with different places) are a case of cultural

\(^1\) It was the first cultural route added into the WHL, in 1993.
commons, the number of pilgrims or merchants has no limitation but strongly influence the creation and transmission of the culture itself. Again, the case of cultural landscapes, is maybe even more significative, in consideration of their productive characterization. The same concept of landscape, as the one of space comes from remote theories, whose intention is to give an interpretation to the complex features of a given territory. During the years, each culture create a specific relationship towards the years with nature, originating places with specific characters, becoming the mirror of the society that created them. Debated since the 1980s, in 1992 the Committee of WHC adopted 3 categories of cultural landscape (clearly defined, organically evolved and associative cultural landscapes), in order to reveal and sustain the great diversity of the interactions between humans and their environment and to protect living traditional cultures. To date, 66 properties on the WHL have been included as cultural landscapes.

And again, talking about the intangible heritage, it includes “practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills, etc., transmitted from generation to generation, it is constantly recreated by communities and groups …provides them with a sense of identity and continuity...oral traditions and expressions, performing arts, rituals and festive events, traditional craftsmanship that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage.” (art. 2, UNESCO, 2003) This concept appears to be crucial. It is only the community itself that can decide whether or not something is part of its heritage and, to every community or group, each element of its intangible heritage has value that can neither be quantified nor compared to other elements of other communities heritage (UNESCO Bangkok, 2008). All these key concepts, taken from the definition of Intangible Heritage in the 2003 Convention, seem to be also a good description of what a cultural common could be.

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2 Among this “typology”, as examples, the proposal of Leipzig (Germany), narrating the music history of the town, and of the “Pearling in Bahrain”, made by 5 different placed sites telling the social and economical history of pearling, from “fishing” underwater, to the selling markets in the urban district of Muharraq Island.
4. World Heritage and Cultural Commons

The Convention conceives intangible heritage as a phenomenon always being created and recreated, transmitted from generation to generation or shared from one community to another. In the Convention’s words, it “is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history.”

In this sense, expressions like the “Canto a Tenore of the Sardinian shepherds” or “Vedic Chanting of Indian Brahmins” inscribed from 2008 in the UNESCO Intangible list, represent good examples of cultural commons. They are traditional knowledge transmitted along centuries, they represent a specific community, whose members could be spread around the world but still recognizing themselves in the shared singing tradition.

As for classical commons, there is no easy exclusion in the cultural commons, in her article Zhang demonstrates very clearly why and how tangible heritage inscribed in the WH List has to be conceived as a Common Pool Resource (CPR). Here we are trying to enlarge this approach to other forms of cultures considered by UNESCO’s conventions. For doing this we want to start from basic considerations about CPR and intangible heritage, that is non excludability and rivalry. Anyone could potentially learn and sing the Canto a Tenore or the Vedic Chanting exactly like every prepared fisherman could go in a lake to fish. As the number of fishermen increases the characteristics of the fishing will change due to congestions effects into the lake, in a similar way congestion effects could change the authenticity of the Sardinian or Indian traditions if too many people participate to the performances of traditional chants.

In the definition of cultural commons presented at the head of this book is underlined the absence of a carrying capacity effect for cultural commons is underlined. Talking about new technologies, it is correct that there isn’t a maximum number of users, the more participant to Facebook are the better for the network. On the contrary analyzing the traditional cultural heritage from an UNESCO view point, worried about maintaining OUV and au-

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3 In this traditional practice, listed in 2008, Sardinian men gather to sing in circles of four, spontaneously in local bars, or more formally at weddings, festivals and carnivals. The leader sings verses, expressing both traditional and contemporary issues and the other singers respond in a complex polyphony that is marked by a deep voice quality.
authenticity, we cannot forget the risk of overexposure due to a too much growing participation.

Is there a form of “tragedy of commons” also for the cultural heritage?

The topic is strictly related to tourism, and becomes a critical issue when heritage is the major attraction of tourists.

Authentic and genuine values of the heritage may be in fact be compromised in the process of making it more attractive to the tastes of the consumers. There are plenty of examples of places where such kind of changes have happened or are happening. Heritage (tangible and intangible) may get standardized and homogenized in the local community concerted efforts to present the heritage in a more congruous manner to the tourists.

A good example of the Hardin’s phenomena could be represented by performing events like rituals and ceremonies: more the festival is exploited on the market more it risks to be compromised in its authenticity, a sort of carrying capacity could be easily overlapped, compromising the fragile equilibrium between traditions and local community.

For example the Dragon Boat Festival in China, like many other events in the Intangible Heritage List, with ceremonies, dances performances displayed on the river, is exposed to high risks to be compromised if too many people start moving there in uncontrolled way; exactly like Venezia, Lijiang or Quito that are losing day by day their authentic value for the inhabitants.

“One authentic object of cultural heritage, therefore, is a movement-inducing medium that not only indexes the link between individuals and their culture, but constructively conjoins the two. If a heritage object connects an individual with the socio-cultural milieu from which he came, UNESCO’s World Heritage objects are intended to transcend the temporal and spatial situatedness of one culture heritage claims...” (Di Giovine, 2009). If we differentiate UNESCO cultural heritage from the other cultural commons, introducing a maximum caring capacity, there is no difference considering the minimum number of users. Exactly like Facebook also UNESCO tangible and intangible heritage need a critical mass to survive, empty archaeological sites or abandoned traditions risk to disappear and to lose their value.

UNESCO underlines quite strongly this aspect of safeguarding the intangible heritage because negative effects on it are not reversible: once the tradition is compromised it will be almost im-
possible to move back. For that reason the Urgent Safeguarding list aims to protect the intangible heritage in strong danger of disappearing. The Traditional Li textile techniques in China, inscribed in 2009 on the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding, are one of these cases. This complex set of material cultural traditions and rituals are going to fade away just because present market characteristics, rules and trends make impossible for those products to have a real business chance and to produce some profits. “The traditional Li textile techniques of spinning, dyeing, weaving and embroidering are employed by women of the Li ethnic group of Hainan Province, China, to make cotton, hemp and other fibres into clothing and other daily necessities. The textiles form an indispensable part of important social and cultural occasions such as religious rituals and festivals, and in particular weddings, for which Li women design their own dresses. As carriers of Li culture, traditional Li textile techniques are an indispensable part of the cultural heritage of the Li ethnic group. However, in recent decades the numbers of women with the weaving and embroidery skills at their command has severely declined to the extent that traditional Li textile techniques are exposed to the risk of extinction and are in urgent need of protection” (http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/USL/00302).

What we suggest is the identification of two different lines of carrying capacity for these forms of cultural heritage. Under the minimum carrying capacity the good will disappear, if it is an intangible cultural good, or it will become useless and empty, if it is a tangible cultural heritage. Over the maximum carrying capacity the good risks to be compromised in its authenticity and physical integrity.

A research on those topics is conducted by Mansfeld and Jonas studying the rural tourism in several kibbutz placed in the northern area of Israel. They argue the existence of a socio-cultural carrying capacity represented by the resistance of the local population to the changes introduced by the tourists incoming. Once the

4 http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/USL/00302
maximum capacity is overlapped the local population considers tourism as a damage instead of a benefit and starts to react against this phenomena, compromising the authentic value of the place and the significance of the experience for the visitor (Mansfeld, 2006).

In short, “...measuring tourism carrying capacity does not have to lead to a single number. Even when this is achieved, this limit does not necessarily obey to objectively, unchangeable, ever lasting criteria. An upper and lower limit of TCC can be of more use than a fixed value. TCC assessment should provide not only maximum but also the minimum level of development, which is the lowest level necessary for sustaining local communities.” (Pedersen, 2002)

5. Governance of Cultural Commons

One possible solution for helping the survival of this kind of traditions could come from the studies on commons made by Ostrom and Hess (Hess, Ostrom, 2007)\(^5\), in which the active involvement of the local community is essential for guaranteeing a sustainable use of the resource.

Zhang’s paper clarifies, with a very clear economic approach, the application to cultural heritage of the eight Ostrom’s principles for governing commons. An other approach in the governance of common heritage is well described for the organization of cultural districts, see San Gregorio Armeno in Naples (Manna, Marrelli, 2007), where the setting up of producers associations represents the optimal solution for safeguarding the traditional knowledge from an uncontrolled opening to the international market of counterfeited goods.

Also in the field of UNESCO World Heritage sites some similar example already exist.

The Sacred Mijikenda Kaya Forests in Kenya are listed both under the World Heritage List and the Intangible one. The forests represent a sacred place for the Mijikenda inhabitants and there they use to show their rituals. The forest risks to disappear from the physical viewpoint due to the forest destruction and it risks to disappear from the intangible viewpoint because no more people are willing to take care of it. The inscription under the UNESCO lists is aimed to preserve the forest and conserve its values. For a right

conservation of these values, the elders community is involved and the Kambi (Councils of Elders) appointed to directly manage the preservation of the tangible and intangible aspects, also to regulate the tourists flows. This system was established because after the inscription on the WHL a big increase of tourists was expected, and the sacred value for the inhabitants would be compromised if no pure people entered into the forests. Thanks to a self regulation of the tourists flow, decided in agreement with the elders, the forest could be purified through to specific magical rituals. Doing so the local community will maintain the sacred rituals alive and will benefit from the economic development of the tourists incoming, finding out the correct balance between conservation and tourist market. In this case the two lines of the carrying capacity are naturally exploited and managed. If we consider the Mijikenda culture, and its relation with the forest, as a cultural common constituted by traditions and practices, the direct involvement of the local community represents the optimal solution for the management of the cultural heritage, from the tangible and the intangible side.

An interesting point of view quite close to these considerations comes from the anthropological theory of “cultural area”, which came up in Germany and US between the end of the XIX century and the beginning of the XX century. With this definition, it is intended a geographical space characterized by common cultural features, and which includes integrated cultural goods. Many times this concept has been applied to cultural heritage, trying to revise the concept, and this seems to have many interesting and contemporary points in understanding what a management plan, as instrument required by UNESCO since 2002, should be referred to. In this sense the concept can be associated to the cultural economy theory, which has stressed for many years the relevance of communities and the cultural districts mentioned at the beginning of this paper. In the cultural heritage field, the cultural area can be associated to the buffer zone, not only intended as a protective tool for the site, but also as a “place” to integrate the heritage with its territory and the community living in it, crossing, in some way, the boundaries of the “island of excellence” as it is considered the core zone (and meeting the principles affirmed by the EU Landscape Convention).

Some other sites included in both lists (tangible and intangible heritage) seem to represent this direction. It is the case of The Cultural Space of Jemaa el-Fna Square in Morocco (inscribed in the
Intangible List in 2008) which features a unique concentration of traditions, such as storytelling, healing and various forms of entertainment as well as commercial activities, and that complements the Medina of Marrakesh (inscribed in the tangible list in 1985). The same aspect can be seen in the Rice terraces of the Philippines (Tangible 1995) among which was inscribed also (Intangible, 2001) The Hudhud Chants of the Ifugao people who work on these terraces. The Terraces and the Hudhud Chants, which are sung during the sowing season and the rice harvest, are intimately linked and present a unique interdependence of a World Heritage site and a Masterpiece.

The knowledge and skills handed down from generation to generation together with a delicate social balance have helped to create a landscape and musical and other cultural traditions that testify to the harmony between people and their environment. Both the terraces and the chants are endangered; local experts and practitioners claim that coordinated protection action is required and that neither the terraces nor the chants can be safeguarded in isolation.

6. What conclusions?

Continuing on this last example, cultural landscapes reflect different claims and social requests such as the reaffirmation of the founding role of the common heritage, the search for identity values, the increasing demand for environmental qualities, and even the affirmation of new citizens rights (Greffe, 2010).

The incorporation of the underlined aspects seems to be something missing in the present WH management approach.

Some experimentations have been done on management plans and systems, and have made raise a dimension of complexity, because many of the WH sites are both tangible and intangible, relate to the juxtaposition of global status symbols, international attractions, and local cultural provision. The intersection of these elements, defined here as the cultural area/space where common cultural features are strongly integrated with cultural goods, is the one that provide the key interpretation in recognizing and managing the WH sites.

A theory of cultural commons may help in understanding these forms of culture created thanks to a strong exchange of information, with a shared knowledge and with recognizable forms of production, and could play in this sense a potential central role to
face these issues and to address the problems in the right direction, not considering the management as something separate from the cultural characters of the site, but in itself as a cultural product of the local culture.

We can notice that using the cultural common prospective the whole WHL could be considered as a unique common. A global community of owners and visitors sharing similar values and interests could be identified. This new approach led to consider the World Heritage List as a cultural resource in its unity and not a simple list of cultural goods of exceptional value. The differences of nation, tangibility, categories, etc. would be naturally harmonized and would become the strength of a complex global network.

Adopting this perspective, a huge number of issues requires to be explored starting from those, still unsolved, of the credibility of listed heritage (see Vilnius conference, 2006), of the meaning to be attributed to the protection of intangible-based heritage categories (see the debate animated by ICOMOS) (Araoz, 2010), of the resources distribution (Bertacchini et al., 2010), and, not last, the one of incorporating culture into development policies, supporting the development of the cultural sector through creative industries.

References
chapter 2

cultural landscapes, cultural commons, historic urban landscapes


Conceptual Proximity between “Cultural Landscape” and “Historic Urban Landscape”

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Abstract
This paper aims to present a brief theoretical reflection on the close relationship between Cultural Landscape and the emerging concept of Historic Urban Landscape. Complex and comprehensive, in line with the current meaning of Cultural Heritage these concepts represent in different contexts, the new paradigm of UNESCO in the safeguarding and protection of cultural territories. The terminological and conceptual proximity between these notions, has lead the debate on convergence and overlap of both. In this brief and not exhaustive study, is intended to help clarify some issues arising from this concern which may allow a better approach and understanding of both, in particular about the recent concept of Historic Urban Landscape. The relevance of this theme is on the agenda. Presently, UNESCO has recommended in the Vienna Memorandum. World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture – Managing the Historic Urban Landscape “that the concept of the historic urban landscape be included in the nomination and evaluation process.” (UNESCO 2005:5). This conceptualization has been developed internationally, although in Portugal is almost nonexistent. Its introduction in Portuguese reality is for this reason a fundamental and important contribution to the scientific area of Urbanism within safeguard and protection of cultural territories. This study, currently under construction and without the requirement and desired depth, is part of the research work of the PhD in Urban Planning at the Faculty of Architecture of Lisbon, under the scientific orientation of Professor Maria Calado (FAUTL, Lisbon) and Professor Joaquín Sabaté (UPC, Barcelona), entitled: Historic Urban Landscape. Methodologies for evaluating the cultural territories, which has been subject of Scientific Assessment in 5th January of 2010.
1. Conceptual proximity between Cultural Landscape and Historic Urban Landscape

The dimension of contemporary Cultural Heritage

The importance of culture is defined as an aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present and future generations (OERS, 2008). The cultural values are essential for preserving the collective memory of past and present, identity and sense of belonging of a community. Currently, with the increasingly globalized world and the consequent tendency towards standardization of lifestyles and spatial organization, the Cultural Heritage is assumed great importance in virtually worldwide and in nearly all subject areas. Confronting the contemporary transformation of the territories that cause the increasingly discontinuous, fragmented and unreadable areas (BARATA SALGUEIRO, 1999) in which there is loss of aesthetic value, cultural, sense of identity and belonging, a concern with anthropological places of identity, relational and historical has been growing (AUGÈ, 2007). The identity and sense of belonging is an undeniable need for any human being who should stay and prevail in the territorial planning. This line of thinking is evidenced in the increasing concern with the actions of safeguard and protection of places of memory (NORA, 1989) in order to transmit to future generations, in their integrity the heritage reminiscences and identity of a community in which are valued the historical, cultural and socioeconomic dimensions.

In 1972 the Convention for the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage (UNESCO, 1972) highlights the international importance acquired by the Cultural Heritage, through the concept of Outstanding Universal Value. The principles and criteria for classification and preservation of Cultural Heritage are guided by an overall philosophy. The protection and safeguarding of Cultural Heritage becomes an object of study and specific methodologies of work. In parallel with its increased importance, the meaning of Cultural Heritage has been gradually expanded typological, chronological and geographical (CHOAY, 2000) until the recent inclusion of immaterial values in its meaning.

The concept of Cultural Heritage has been under study for decades and their approaches have led to many discussions and opinions and suffered several developments over the past years. Opposed to the sixties and seventies, in which the recognition of Cultural Heritage was under discussion, the political and social
relevance of this issue (emphasized in 1975, European Year of Architectural Heritage), was gradually increased and, paradoxically, at present, part of the major challenges that cultural territories are facing result from the excessive appreciation of this Cultural Heritage.

Presently, the interventions in these cultural territories must be based on concepts, strategies and methodologies appropriate to the requirements, singularities and scale of current problems. From this set stand out the pressures resulting from growth population, exponentially urban development, traffic pressures, large-scale tourism, pollution, climate changes, the irreversible material deterioration of Cultural Heritage, vandalism, the out of scale building and changes in existing uses and functions in the cultural territories. In this context, the concepts expressed in the “Recommendation on the safeguarding of historic areas and their role in contemporary life” (UNESCO, 1976), the last on this matter, taken more than thirty years, has been overtaken by these evolving threats and this current understanding of Cultural Heritage. Presently this complex concept, comprising a large universe of skills, is embodied in values and seemingly opposing realities: the tangible and intangible, present and history, the cultural and natural. It is this comprehensive set of values and realities that actually can legitimize our collective memory and identity, which contribute to the understanding of history, present and future prospects.

In line with the recent more comprehensive understanding of Cultural Heritage, the cultural territories are the aggregators of that set of values and realities. Cannot be understood in isolation just limited to physical and visual realities, without taking into account the intangible values in its evolution over the time. Places of memory are currently considered the key factors in safeguarding and protecting the community’s collective Cultural Heritage. Parallel to this set of factors, there is gradually and increasingly widespread appreciation and concern for environmental issues, resulting from changes of biological, physical, climatic, economic, cultural and social dimensions. This set of factors together with the recent process of globalization and consequent uniformity of society and territorial planning; have caused several modifications on the traditional landscapes. Some changes have contributed to widespread degradation of the natural and urban environment, with the production of more and more indistinguishable landscapes, in which it is difficult to establish relations of identity and
belonging. These changes and the disappearance of the cultural references of the community have turned some of these territories into pieces of land without aesthetic value, economic or cultural (ALVES, 2001). Given this situation and jointly with our concern for environmental issues, the Landscape concept has become prominent. It is currently a key component in local and regional identity of European territorial planning strategies within the safeguarding and protection of cultural territories, as reflected in European Landscape Convention (COUNCIL OF EUROPE, 2000).

This set of issues combined with the evolution of the notion of Cultural Heritage can legitimize the origins of the concepts of Cultural Landscape and Historic Urban Landscape.

Within UNESCO, the categories defined in the Convention for the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage (UNESCO, 1972), Monuments, Ensembles and Sites, became insufficient to cover all Cultural Heritage which may be registered in that List. Thus, despite these three categories are fundamental, once they are listed in the Convention, deemed other sub-categories of Cultural Heritage, set from that Convention, notably the Mixed Heritage and Cultural Landscapes (UNESCO, 2008) with the exception of the intangible cultural heritage. The universal recognition of these values resulted in a legal instrument: Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO, 2003).

Presently it is considered that the Cultural Landscape and Historic Urban Landscape, in its specificity and in different contexts, are the key concepts of the current dominant paradigm of safeguard and protection of cultural territories. In essence are binders of different values and realities, and in line with the current meaning of Cultural Heritage. They can be defined as vast, complex and dynamic realities in the sense of continuous evolution and transformation. They are aggregators of different valences materials and immaterial values, the natural and cultural, the history and contemporary and generate a sense of belonging and cultural identity of the territories as places of memory.

The concept of Cultural Landscape

The category of Cultural Landscape has been recognized internationally for the first time in 1992 by UNESCO, subsequently resulting in different classifications of Cultural Landscapes and their inclusion on the List of World Heritage. The definition of
this new category of World Heritage has been stated in the follow up form “illustrate the evolution of society and human settlements throughout history, under the influence of material conditions resulting from its natural environment and social, economic and successive cultural, internal and external”. There was established three categories of Cultural Landscapes: Man defined; evolutionary landscapes (may be old cultural landscapes – active or fossil) and associative (UNESCO, 2008, Appendix 3 par. 10, p.86). Despite this statement has been declared internationally in 1992 by UNESCO, the definition of Cultural Landscape dating back to the Convention for the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage (UNESCO, 1972), Article 1: “Cultural Properties are the result of the combination of Man and Nature. Show the evolution of society and settlements over time, under the influence of physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by the natural environment and social conditions, economic and cultural, both external and internal”.

The U.S. National Park Service, in the Guidelines for the treatment of Cultural Landscapes – Defining Landscape Terminology, defines Cultural Landscapes as “a geographic area (including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein), associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values (NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, 1996).

More recently Sabaté underlines this definition: “a geographical scope associated with an event, a deed or a historical figure and that for this reason holds aesthetic and cultural values” (SABATÉ, 2004).

Between us, under Portuguese Law, the concept of Cultural Landscape is first referenced in 2007 regarding the scope of assignments of the present IGESPAR: “to provide and safeguard national Cultural Landscape classified by UNESCO”, although not stated their definition

The Cultural Landscape of Sintra (Portugal) was inscribed on the List of World Heritage by UNESCO in 1995. Sintra was the first registration in this field in Europe and also in Portugal (Figure

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1 Dec. lei nº 9607 de 29 de Março. Iª série, n° 63, p. 1924
The first classification of Cultural Landscape accepted by UNESCO was formalized in 1993, the Tongariro National Park in New Zealand, important cultural and religious place of the Maori people.

The category of Cultural Landscape has been gradually taking a prominent place in the World Heritage List. If the proposals in the first years were exceptional, currently this List indicates that there are more than a hundred cultural objects in this class.

Presently the fast and multiple social and economic transformations that have been processed in almost the entire World threaten the cultural significance of the cultural territories. The gradually broader contours of the Cultural Heritage concept and the inclusion of values and meanings increasingly complex are both accompanied by the general importance of the meaning of protection and safeguard of places of memory on a global scale. The preservation of Cultural Landscapes is a major player not only at local level but as Cultural Heritage of all mankind. These attest the knowledge of a community, its beliefs and ways of understanding the universe, shaped on the organization of the territories. The dimension of this concept, inclusive and comprehensive, provides a holistic framework for understanding the form of territorial organization and human thought.

The concept of Cultural Landscape results from the natural dimension combined with the historical, cultural, social and economic specificities of a community. Agglutinates the material dimensions related to the territory, including the topography and the relevant biophysical components but also the intangible values that include aesthetic and spiritual valances, identity and sense of belonging of the community. This new concept can help to redefine the perception of the environment, not only in scenic and aesthetic components but including the understanding of interactions between community and territory.

This concept tends to cover an ever wider scope, because of the gradual and increasing depth understanding of the complexity of the World we live in and the Cultural Heritage to safeguard and protect. Currently, in addition to the tangible and intangible dimensions implied has been discussed as part the vault of heaven (and thus astronomy and archaeoastronomy). This will certainly be a challenge for the identification, characterization, protection and management of Cultural Landscapes. Opposed to the dichotomy heaven / earth, in which the traditional reading of the cul-
tural territories ignores the sky, this holistic approach of Cultural Landscapes considers equally the sky as real as the landscape that surrounds us, as well as the threats that affect it, such as pollution light. The sky cannot be separated from the surface contributing to an approach of the concept become more complete, comprehensive and multidisciplinary (IWANISZEWSKI, 2006).

There is a strong link between the conceptual meaning, beyond the obvious similarity in terminology between Landscape and Cultural Landscape. In fact, today almost all Landscapes (if not all Landscapes), even those that reflect the domain of Nature, are the result of a human construction. Despite being essentially characterized by the dominance of the impermanence of living materials and human, Landscapes may be incorporated in the definition of Cultural Landscape.

The scope of this concept allows several readings over the previous classifications of World Heritage. With this in mind the category of Natural Heritage, referred in the Article 2 of the Convention of Cultural and Natural Heritage (UNESCO, 1972), could also be incorporated into the Cultural Landscape? This contentious issue under discussion can review the classification of Natural Heritage in the World Heritage List. In this context also the Landscape, history and culture guidelines, which give identity to the monuments that have been classified separately in the World Heritage List could be part of this category of Cultural Landscape (FALZON, 2007).

Apart from these theoretical and conceptual issues, the emergence of the notion of Cultural Landscape is based on the aggregation of natural and cultural dimensions that calls for measures of interdisciplinary management. Sabaté advocates within sustainable development, appreciation of cultural expression and identity of the territories through new tools for strategy management and planning including the “cultural heritage parks”. These projects aim to ensure a Cultural Landscape preservation of identity and integration of the binomial nature and culture to contribute to the socioeconomic development of a region. Sabaté believes that the Cultural Landscapes have become increasingly important to improve the quality of community life, because they binding nature and culture and generate a sense of belonging and historical and cultural identity of the territories as places of memory. The Cultural Landscape embodies the long history of a community and its relationship with the territory. The perception of this particular
culture gives an understanding of cultural diversity and different forms of ownership of the territories. In turn, this allows for better understanding of the social, economic and cultural base for key decisions that contribute to a better territorial planning and sustainability (SABATÉ, 2004). There can be no sustainable development without culture or society without Nature (LOULANSKI, 1998). Some authors also highlight this issue: (...) cultural landscapes shall be construed as reference models in the face of the principles of sustainable development. (ANDRESEN, 1992). and this notion is not only comprehensive in the quantitative sense, but results from a change of the values underlying the policies of managing the assets, which come from a analysis territorial which highlights, not only the visual characteristics, but the relationship between human activities and environment (LAROCHELE, 2001).

3. The concept of Historic Urban Landscape

Some preliminary references on the changing concepts of Cultural Heritage, of protection and safeguarding of cultural territories expressed in the vast cultural production of Charters, Conventions and Recommendations of UNESCO and ICOMOS, that preceded the Vienna Memorandum, may be useful for reflection and clarification the concept of Historic Urban Landscape.

In this set of documents is a noticeable evolution of the concept of Cultural Heritage increasingly widespread, resulting from the progressive deeper understanding of this complexity. This notion in the Athens Charter (1931) was restricted to isolated monument, however incipient it also stressed the importance to be given to its surroundings. Following the prescribed in the Recommendations for the Safeguarding of Beauty and Character of Landscapes and Sites (1962), the Venice Charter (1964) assumes the importance of context in which the monument belongs. Thereafter the Convention for the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972) broadens the concept of Cultural Heritage, adding the concepts of nature protection and cultural property and defines the concept of Cultural Landscape. In the Declaration of Amsterdam (1975), Recommendation of Nairobi (1976), the Burra Charter (1979), the Charter of Florence (1982), the Charter of Toledo (1986), the Charter of Washington (1987) and the Convention for the protection of intangible cultural values (2003). In these set of documents is becoming increasingly clear distancing from the reductionist and isolated view of Cultural Heritage replaced by
a more comprehensive understanding, including urban and rural areas with cultural value, the historic towns, the historic gardens and the intangible cultural values. There is also the affirmation of the importance of Cultural Heritage through the need to implement methodologies and criteria of approach increasingly well defined, as evidenced in the Charter of Nara (1994).

The concept of Historic Urban Landscape was mentioned internationally for the first time in the Vienna Memorandum (UNESCO, 2005), resulting from the UNESCO International Conference: “World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture – Managing the Historic Urban Landscape” held in Vienna. Its principles were later reaffirmed in the Declaration of Conservation of Historic Urban Landscape (UNESCO, 2005). Recently, UNESCO issued a draft version of the “Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape” (UNESCO, Set. 2010) to be recognized and adopted later this year.

That conference preceded the debate occurred earlier, at the 27th Session of UNESCO General Conference held in Paris in 2003, generated by the controversy over the great height project of the Wien-Mitte station in Vienna’s historic center, inscribed on World Heritage List in 2001. It was considered that this iconic and self-referent project constituted a conflict that affect physically and visually the existing, the authenticity and integrity of the consolidated city’s historic fabric, so that put at risk the inclusion of Vienna at the World Heritage List (Figure 3). To avoid this exclusion was agreed a new solution resulting in a project with lower volume, (Figure 4) that would not interfere with the image of the historic city.

The Commission of UNESCO concerned about the increasing and widespread projects of this type in various cultural territories inscribed on the World Heritage List, advocated the appropriate measures to safeguard and protect those threatened cultural territories (LONGUET, 2009). On the Vienna Memorandum document, the concept of Historic Urban Landscape, proposed by UNESCO as a new category of classification of Cultural Heritage has been defined as follows:

“The group of buildings, structures and spaces inserted in their natural environment and ecological co, including archaeological and palaeontological sites, constituting a human in a crowded urban environment in a relevant time period, the cohesion of which are recognized and the value of the archaeological point of view, prehistoric, historic, scientific, aesthetic, ecological,
This notion, though vague, and including the ambiguities inherent of an emergent concept, offers, in addition to concerted efforts to a closer and consensus definition of the concept, a broad framework for reflection on Cultural Heritage. The debate on the safeguarding and protection of cultural territories is back on agenda. The new paradigm introduced by Historic Urban Landscape leads us to a new interpretation of this concept. This notion has been discussed from various points of view in several international events over the last six years, because this is a major objective of the concept (OERS, 2008). The main objective of this process, expected by UNESCO at year end, is the adoption of the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscapes. Resulting from this objective there was the occurrence of a large number of conferences on this subject together with relevant publications from UNESCO and ICOMOS.

The debate for agreement on this notion has no consensus yet and there is no specific bibliography. In Portugal, the research on this topic is almost nonexistent, but the conceptualization of Historic Urban Landscape has been developed internationally. In the lack of consensus, the absence of specific references, and incipient development of the conceptualization of this emerging concept lays the difficulty of approach and delimitate this complex notion.

To clarify this emerging concept that is still in the definition may be useful to understand the convergent concepts of Historic Urban Landscape. This concept covers a multidisciplinary approach implicit in its terminology, which may consist of the cumulative adding of Landscape, Urban Landscape and History and the annulment of its conceptual boundaries. Abolishing the sectionalism, combines the resources of the Landscape approach of the territory due to the concept of Landscape and the heritage of Urban Landscape and acquires a new dimension by the union of these cultural values, which include these aspects: culture, territory and urbanity.

Within safeguard and protection of Cultural Heritage, the Historic Urban Landscape terminology is ambiguous because unifies a paradoxical dichotomy. It is apparently difficult to reconcile the antagonism that seems to remain between the notion of Landscape and the safeguarding and protection of cultural territories. The difficulty in this approach is based on the essence of these
aggregated opposite concepts. The Landscape has the nature as object of intervention, because made of living materials and impermanent, inherently continuous process of transformation and evolution. The addition of this concept generates a conflictual relationship and a contradiction with the traditional conception of safeguarding and protecting the cultural territories. Traditionally, this concept is based on the dogma of conservation of inert materials, leading to the permanence, and whose intervention is aimed at “urban artificiality.” This paradox highlights the complexity of this new paradigm of safeguard and protecting the cultural territories, and is central to a reflection and approach to the definition of this emerging concept.

Beyond this density, the notion of Landscape, the key concept of the paradigm shift of these two new categories of Cultural Heritage, whose importance and relevance is evident in the nomenclature of both, is a complex notion. If our era is the “ubiquitous landscape”, its definition is not so simple. All attempts to locate from the theoretical and practical everyday language will necessarily be confronted with a series of paradoxes: the landscape is not measurable or identifiable and hardly representable. It is neither the country nor the country nor the site (JAKCOB, 2008).

The Portuguese term Landscape can be seen from the etymological point of view, either as action on a particular place and result of this action, and either as a set of places with common characteristics (LIMA, 2008). The Landscape has a plurality and complexity of the material aspects resulting from human action on nature, but also sensorial aspects, which can be perceived individually at any given time. The combination of these two components, both tangible and intangible, which encompass the biotic and abiotic factors, ecological, cultural, socioeconomic, and sensory, it is considered essential for a true understanding of the Landscape (CANCELA D’ABREU, et al. 2001).

The addition of Landscape concept on this new perspective of protection and safeguarding, emerging on the notion of Historic Urban Landscape, incorporates previously separate valances and creates a new dimension and a broader significance of Cultural Heritage. The identification and perception of evolving environment not as an immovable or pictorial object, which includes material realities but also the intangibles values resulting from the projected and individual perception is critical to understanding, protecting and safeguarding the cultural territories. This concept requires a
new methodology for identifying, characterizing, evaluating and approach of the cultural territories.

Near the references of the “The image of the city” (LYNCH, 1988) and “Urban Landscape” (CULLEN, 1990), this concept helps to accentuate the visual perspective and combines the natural and cultural, the spatial and temporal dimensions. LYNCH values the importance of successive eras in the city, producing palimpsest, (CORBOZ, 2004) which far from the dichotomy between tradition and rupture, isolated and crystallized preserving, made present the past in successive overlapping time.

This emerging concept, comprehensive and consistent with the current meaning of Cultural Heritage can recognize the cultural territories in a broad and dynamic perspective and includes the changes and developments over time. The Historic Urban Landscape is a key concept of the current dominant paradigm in the context of safeguard and protection the cultural territories. Vast and complex may help to reconcile the contemporary with the Cultural Heritage of a community, the material realities and intangible values, the past and present, the cultural and natural. The territory is in its cultural expression the aggregator of these values and realities.

This concept can be defined as an urban anthropology with cultural value, perceived through a framework of extensive territorial, geographic and landscape. It is the materialization of the resulting interaction between the biophysical system and the community, demonstrating the identity and relationship with the socio-economic context in permanent evolution over time. The Historic Urban Landscape shows the evolution of human society and sedimentation over time, as a result of the interaction of the natural environment, the socio-economic and cultural values.

Despite this interpretation of cultural territories be very different from previous classifications of Cultural World Heritage it approaches to the Cultural Landscape concept. The Historic Urban Landscape, integrating the concept of Landscape, generates a new methodological approach. AHLBERG believes that the usefulness of looking at cultural territories as Cultural Landscapes is methodological, because it broadens our understanding and provides new tools to analyze historical values in a holistic manner. On the other hand also points out that all the cities created by man should be seen as Cultural Landscapes (urban). (AHLBERG, 2005).
4. Conceptual proximity between Cultural Landscape and Historic Urban Landscape

*Are Historic Urban Landscapes a kind of Cultural Landscapes?*

The importance of this issue led to debate on conferences sponsored by UNESCO to discuss this issue. The question, which was the theme and title of a recent conference held in 2007 in St. Petersburg, has led to several disputes since the enunciation of the concept of *Historic Urban Landscape* in 2005 on the Vienna Memorandum document.

Chronologically the concept of *Cultural Landscape* came first and from the legal point of view it is possible to regard the *Historic Urban Landscape* as a subcategory of that (UNESCO, 2008), however these concepts are rooted in different contexts. This divergence has been demonstrated by several authors (AHLBERG, BEAUDET, FOLIN-CALABI). In fact, the enunciation of *Cultural Landscape* reveals the action of man on nature, while the concept of *Historic Urban Landscape* regards the urban environment, with particular emphasis on the inclusion of contemporary in these cultural territories as part of sustainable development.

The more clearly basic issue about this closeness is evident on the common nomenclature of the complex notion of *Landscape*. This concept composed mainly of natural elements resulting from human action, approaches in natural dimension with the notion of *Cultural Landscape* and in the urban dimension with the concept of *Historic Urban Landscape*. Although the objects of protect and safeguarding are different, both concepts have in common the inclusion of the *Landscape* concept, which implies a conceptual proximity, a similar methodological approach, problems and goals, but differentiated by the specific urban and natural.

The inclusion of *Landscape* in this new category of Cultural Heritage contributes to the understanding of cultural territories in an expanded geographical context, as a dynamic landscape system in which the material values and physical realities, the cultural and natural components are not objects isolated, static and musealized, they are in permanent evolution and transformation,

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and perceptual experience should be contextualized in the ongoing evolution in time.

The **Historic Urban Landscape** considers the cultural territories, similar to a “dynamic but artificial ecosystem” which includes the urban dimension in a permanent process of transformation and evolution. *This concept extends beyond the material realities and the intangibles values includes a physical approach and extended time which is seized upon the notion of landscape structures, ie the configuration that results from human interaction between a biophysical system (geology, ecology) and a social system (the set of socio-economic and policies activities) over time (LONGUET, 2009).* Understanding the city as an ecosystem is not a new theme (FADIGAS, 2007), but apart from this aspect, the emergent concept of **Historic Urban Landscape** contributes to join tangible and intangible dimensions and to evaluate and understand the city or urban space as a process and not as an object (OERS, 2008).

Despite the objects of intervention of **Historic Urban Landscape** and Cultural Landscape are different, remains the terminology and conceptual proximity between both. The definition of these concepts helps to accentuate the visual perspective and assemble the components of natural and cultural, temporal and spatial previously disjoint, in a new dimension and a broader sense of Cultural Heritage. For LAROCHELLE *this notion is not only comprehensive in the quantitative sense, but results from a change of the values underlying the policies of cultural heritage, which come from a form of territorial analysis which highlights, not only the visual characteristics, but the relationship between human activities and the environment (LAROCHELLE, 2001).*

In this regard, it is considered that the boundaries between **Cultural Landscape** and **Historic Urban Landscape** are tenuous. The **Cultural Landscape** corresponds mainly to the combined living evolutionary works of man and nature that show the evolution of the community. However, the origin of the urban territories was also an human activity on the existing natural. From another perspective, presently in a highly urban society which tends to the exponential growth of this component and the dispersion in an area where differences are increasingly illegible, sometimes is difficult to distinguish the cultural from the urban. The classification of the **Cultural Landscape** of Sintra (Portugal) is an example of this by including an urban area, showing the physical, visual and conceptual difficulty of this distinction in the cultural territories.
In this context it seems useful to mention the JAKCOB reference. The lack of references and the daily confrontation with non-places and other interstitial spaces inspired a huge desire to identify, preserve and celebrate what seems to escape this trend: the region, the wild scenery or scenic site. From where appears the paradoxical desire (in a perpetual rebuilding territorial tissue) to speak loud and strong about landscape (...). The landscape appears at first glance like a natural response to citizens currently subject to very fast changes in the World. In fact much more complicated frequently demonstrates the extreme artificiality, or if we want the cultural construction of the desire of Nature (...) (JAKCOB, 2008).

References


3

World Heritage and Public Awareness
Communicating World Heritage – Challenges for Serial World Heritage Properties

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Abstract
Communication plays an important role in the implementation of the World Heritage not only as a major tool for increasing public awareness, involvement and support as adopted by the World Heritage Committee in its 2002 Budapest Declaration as one of four Strategic objectives but also in relation to enhancing the role of communities in the implementation of the Convention’s objectives. Serial World Heritage properties present a current trend with several nominations being presented every year including more than one component part often geographically spread within a Member State or crossing country borders or even continents. Conveying the Outstanding Universal Value of these properties to stakeholders and visitors presents a major challenge and is crucial for the long-term conservation of these properties. In the exemplary case of the nomination project “Ancient beech forests of Germany” a strategic approach has been chosen to turn the challenges into opportunities and a communication strategy has been elaborated and implemented already during the preparation of the nomination. This includes a thorough analysis of communication objectives and contents, target groups and communication tools. This approach can be used as a model approach for similar projects and general conclusion can drawn for the communication and interpretation of World Heritage.
1. Definition and role of communication in the World Heritage Convention

Although communication does not play a major role in the basic texts of the World Heritage Convention, the convention itself in Article 27 states a clear obligation for States Parties:

“The States Parties to this Convention shall endeavour by all appropriate means, an in particular by educational and information programmes, to strengthen appreciation and respect their peoples of the cultural and natural heritage defined in Articles 1 and 2 of the Convention. They shall undertake to keep the public broadly informed of the dangers threatening this heritage and of the activities carried on in pursuance of this Convention.” (UNESCO World Heritage Convention, 1972).

This defines public information and awareness as the main roles of communication in the context of the Convention. The Operational Guidelines of the Convention – as the most important text for the implementation – have integrated the “Communication” in 2002 as a result of the Budapest Declaration (UNESCO, 2002) reaffirming the strategic objectives of the Convention, the so-called “5 Cs” including the objective to “Increase public awareness, involvement and support for World Heritage through Communication.” (para 26 of the Operational Guidelines, UNESCO, 2008).

The Action Plan which had been developed as a result of the 2003/2004 Periodic Reporting exercise for Europe reveals the urgent need for an enhanced communication to effectively implement the Convention in stating:

“The adequate protection of World Heritage sites requires the communication of World Heritage Convention intrinsic idea and concepts to all stakeholders. Inclusive partnership approach to World Heritage should therefore be reinforced.

All relevant stakeholders, especially on site level, should be updated about the results and decisions (....) There is a need for a dissemination of successful strategies to promote dialogue with the local community, decision makers on all levels, property owners, the broad public and within educational programmes.” (UNESCO, 2007)

Communication in the World Heritage plays an important role in visitor management, educational activities and raising support for conservation as awareness raising on World heritage values is essential to gain support from both local stakeholders and visitors for conservation (Shalaginova, 2009, 27f). Periodic reporting in Europe had shown, that there is adequate awareness of World heritage among visitors and officials but low awareness at the level of
Communication in the World Heritage context faces the more general challenges for communication such as the need to understand the needs of the audience and to communicate on the basis of a shared ground building on language, experiences, knowledge and values. More specific communication in individual World Heritage sites needs a very clear “Statement of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV)”, which enables the understanding of the World Heritage values of the site. In addition there might be the need to Overcome fears that OUV and preservation of OUV might prioritize over other heritage values (educational, cultural socio-economic values). (Shalaginova, 2009, 42ff).

2. Characteristics of Serial World Heritage properties

Definition and concept of Serial properties.

The definition of a serial World Heritage property is given in the Operational Guidelines of the Convention. Para. 37 sets them as follows:

“Serial properties will include component parts related because they belong to:
(a) the same historical-cultural group;
(b) the same type of property, which is characteristic of the geographical zone;
(c) the same geological, geomorphological formation, the same biogeographic province, or the same ecosystem type

and provided it is the series as a whole – and not necessarily the individual parts of it – which are of outstanding universal value” (UNESCO, 2008).

This implies that serial properties play an important role, especially in recognizing significant properties united within a single theme to be of Outstanding Universal Value. Since the inclusion of this definition in the Operational Guidelines (and even before) a broad variety of serial properties have been inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List. Where the key values cannot be displayed in only a single property, serial properties have the function of recognizing OUV. The OUV of a property may be expressed through the metaphor of it ‘telling a story’ and the component parts can be thought of as different chapters of this story. In relation to the
option of nominating a single property, serial properties can thus add value in when a series of distinct component parts is needed to ‘tell the story’ of the values within a coherent region, feature or set of values. In practical terms, this means that the nomination of a serial property needs a comprehensive idea of the ‘story’, the overall property wants to tell, and what the individual contribution of each component part is (Engels et al., 2009).

Challenges for Communication in Serial World Heritage Properties  
Communication in serial World Heritage properties faces specific challenges linked to the very nature of serial properties. As communication needs a shared ground language, experiences, knowledge and values which might differ considerably in different component parts (especially in the transnational context). Thus joint communication packages may be developed for serial properties but need to be adapted to site specific circumstances for the individual component parts. When communicating OUV at component part level the difficulty arises how to communicate the individual chapters (component parts) without the context of the others.

As communication is usually handled by the site management (national park authority or similar) the focus in communication is often laid on site specific issues and/or the regional context (especially for local politicians), but the overall context is missing. In terms of internal communication it seems therefore absolutely essential to ensure the required joint management and achieve a joint understanding of OUV among the component parts. For the use of communication instruments both an approach on component part level and on an overarching level are advisable (fig. 1).

![Figure 1: Approaches for Communication in Serial World Heritage Properties](image-url)
3. Example: The Ancient Beech forests of Germany

The nomination project

The nomination project is a proposed extension of the inscribed serial property “Primeval beech forests of the Carpathians“ (including ten component parts in Ukraine and the Slovak Republic) which has been inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2007. In January 2010 Germany has submitted the nomination of five additional component parts (four located in national parks, one is a core zone of a biosphere reserve). The project involved various stakeholders both on national and international level and the decision by the World heritage Committee is foreseen for June 2011.

Figure 2: Nomination Dossier “Ancient Beech forests of Germany”
The Communication Strategy

In view of the challenges outlined above, the nomination project included the development of a comprehensive communication strategy to assist all stakeholders involved and especially the leading authorities to deal with communication during the nomination process. The strategy is based on an analysis of the local situation at the five component parts, the definition of joint objectives and interim targets for communication, the selection of target groups, the development of a system of information clusters as well as a set of communication measures (Lenkungsgruppe der Länder Brandenburg, Hessen, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern und Thüringen, 2009). The development of the strategy was assisted by a professional communication consultancy, Atelier Papenfuss commissioned by the Federal Agency for Nature Conservation (BfN).

Table 1: Results of the initial analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REASONS FOR ACCEPTANCE PROBLEMS AMONG THE PUBLIC AT LARGE</th>
<th>SITE-SPECIFIC DIFFERENCES</th>
<th>PROBLEMS IN CONVEYING THE MESSAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Restrictions on freedom of movement</td>
<td>Accessibility of sites</td>
<td>Existing environmental education creates highly disparate conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hierarchy problems</td>
<td>Levels of awareness of the various sites</td>
<td>Differences in the extent to which beech forests are recognised as deserving protection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local conflicts</td>
<td>Regional settlement patterns and development structures</td>
<td>Differences in educational material available on this theme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property rights</td>
<td>Thematic focus of the protected areas</td>
<td>Different cultural connotations associated with the beech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural connotations of terms such as “wilderness” and “primeval forest”</td>
<td>Communication structures (various information agencies, frequency and regularity of information provision)</td>
<td>Different communication structures (various information agencies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling of being passed over by decision-makers</td>
<td>Levels of relevance to local communities’ daily lives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prejudices against stakeholders/nature conservation</td>
<td>Financial capacities</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The jointly defined communication objectives can be resumed as follows:

- Positive attitude to the nomination among the population at large
- Active support for the nomination from representatives of various population groups, without any suspicion of pseudo or tokenistic participation
- Provision of transparent, comprehensive and reliable information about the nomination process
- Involvement of the general public in the nomination process through the provision of practical opportunities to lend support.
- Longer-term support for the conservation process is ensured.

These overall objectives were underlined with defined interim targets:

- Raising regional awareness
- Filling the information gaps
- Creating forums for action
- Clarification of terms, re-interpretation
- Accessibility of knowledge
- Up-to datedness

The strategic approach is based on targeted distribution of information, in the form of information blocks, to identified target groups (regional population, children and young people, regional politicians and public personalities, tourists, the national public and multipliers). The key question is: which information is passed on, how and when and to whom? For each of these target groups, communication objectives are identified which define what needs to be achieved for the individual target group in order to involve it appropriately in the nomination process. In order to achieve an equivalent level of knowledge among all target groups, the information clusters are broken down into central, regional and individual clusters. This then linked to the choice of medium which included the identification of a format that conveys the information appropriately. In the follow up, all communication products (leaflet, brochure, website¹ etc.) have been created on the basis of the strategy:

¹ See www.weltmaturerbe-buchenwaelder.de
Figure 3: Linking information clusters to target groups
Challenges for future implementation

With a view to the future communication after a potential inscription on the World Heritage list challenges will remain and/or change. It will therefore be important to avoid local/regional individual approaches (on component part level) to benefit from the media interest after potential inscription. Developing joint signposts and a corporate design for World Heritage information based on the strategy will be one important task involving not only German but also the Ukrainian and Slovak partners. There will be a specific challenge on the trilateral level to cope with different views on communication and heritage management and different languages.

Conclusions

In summary, communication is an important instrument to enhance the role of communities in the implementation of the Convention’s objectives. Communicating serial World Heritage properties requires the multiplication of the analysis and communication work of an individual site to reach an overarching communication framework and should therefore be considered as part of the management framework of serial properties. This includes a thorough analyses of communication objectives and contents, target groups and communication tools. Conveying the Outstanding Universal Value of serial properties to stakeholders and visitors presents a major challenge and is crucial for the long-term conservation of these properties.

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2 To be noted: The World Heritage Committee has approved the extension of the „Primeval Beech forests of Carpathians“ by the „Ancient Beech forests of Germany“ at ist 35th Session in June 2011.
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What does Skiing have to do with World Heritage!?
Glimpses into Visitors Awareness of World Heritage

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Abstract
The World Heritage Convention has been described as a UNESCO flagship, and one of the organisation’s successes. While from an international policy and bureaucratic point of view it is well recognised, the extent to which this is the case with the international community of travellers is uncertain at present. Using data from a pilot survey undertaken at the World Heritage Areas of Tongariro National Park in New Zealand and Greater Blue Mountains in Australia, this article discusses visitors’ knowledge of the World Heritage phenomenon and their awareness of the reasons for why the given sites were World Heritage listed.
1. Introduction

From a noble desire to protect humanity’s natural and cultural heritage, UNESCO’s Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (hereafter the World Heritage Convention) has grown to be described as one of the organisation’s flagships and success stories (e.g. Cameron 2005, p. 3). While the World Heritage Convention often is criticised for being Eurocentric, it has become a significant player in the field of international heritage conservation. It is among the most widely ratified international conventions, and, even if unevenly distributed, there are World Heritage Sites on every continent. As such, World Heritage has become a global heritage phenomenon which, seen from an international political and bureaucratic point of view, has successfully engaged governments and non-governmental agencies working for a cause larger than themselves. However, there is another element which I believe is central to address when looking at the success of World Heritage as a phenomenon: the general public’s awareness, knowledge and appreciation of World Heritage.

World Heritage Sites draw millions of visitors each year, and Francesco Bandarin (2002, p. 3), former Director of the World Heritage Centre, sees this as an inevitable destiny: “…the very reasons why a property is chosen for inscription on the World Heritage List are also the reasons why millions of tourists flock to those sites each year”. The statement is vague enough to be interpreted in a number of ways: if we take it literally, it can read as an indication that there is a correlation between the values ascribed to the site/area by governments, experts, and ultimately the WH Committee, and tourists’ reasons for going. This is a fine ideal; it puts a lot of faith in the tourists, their interest in, knowledge of, and capability to identify heritage values. However, despite 40 years of World Heritage, the extent to which this is anything near the case at present is indeed uncertain. This article will briefly present the existing strategies for public dissemination before discussing the strategies in relation to some of the preliminary findings of a survey on visitors’ awareness and knowledge of World Heritage conducted as part of an ongoing research project1.

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1 The Survey has been undertaken as part of the PhD project of “Sites of Transformations? Global Perspectives on World Heritage”.
2. From information to communication

From the very beginning, the World Heritage Convention has stressed the importance of strengthening appreciation and respect for natural and cultural heritage as defined in the World Heritage Convention’s articles 1 and 2. This is made clear in the World Heritage Convention’s sixth section ‘Educational Programme’, article 27. Here it is stated that the State Parties shall, through educational and information programmes, ‘keep the public broadly informed of the dangers threatening this heritage and of the activities carried on in pursuance of this [World Heritage] Convention’. The roles of communication and dissemination are also noted in the Operational guidelines to the Convention’s paragraph 26 and section VI.C on Awareness-raising (UNESCO 2012). The latter encourages State Parties to raise awareness of the World Heritage Convention, to ensure that the World Heritage Sites are adequately marked and promoted on-site and makes clear that the Secretariat can provide assistance to make sure awareness-raising is achieved. Article 26 describes the strategic objectives – its ‘5 c’s’: Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-building, Communication (included in the 2002 Budapest Declaration) and Communities (added at the 31st session of the World Heritage Committee in Christchurch in 2007 (Decision 31 COM 13B)). Communication is the Budapest’s declaration’s 4th C, and the strategic objective is to ‘Increase public awareness, involvement and support for World Heritage through Communication’.

Thus while keeping the public informed has been a part of the World Heritage Convention since the beginning, a stronger emphasis on communication is relatively recent. Nevertheless, it is fair to argue that communication has been less visible in the overall UNESCO discourse on World Heritage, which to a larger extent has been dominated by defining criteria for outstanding universal values, the desire to create a balanced list and developing consistent management procedures to ensure the threats of sites are kept to a minimum. While educational material aimed at educational institutions such as schools have been developed, there is a need to address the global communities of (international) tourists. These are diverse and difficult communities to reach, but because of their mobility they are also communities by which the conservation ethic of the World Heritage Convention can be spread. For this to happen, World Heritage Sites need to be presented in a united manner – as one rather than several brands. At present, however,
the lack of rigorous attention towards communication and making World Heritage a central and meaningful concept in travellers’ consciousness is backed up findings of the following survey.

3. Partnering for wisdom

At present there is a lack of extensive research on how visitors understand, or even are familiar with, the World Heritage Convention. Recently the World Heritage Centre has tried to address this issue through their partnership with TripAdvisor (UNESCO 2011a and b; TripAdvisor 2011b). The TripAdvisor® Media Group is described as the world’s largest travel site, with more than 50 million hits per month over its 18 different travel sites, www.tripadvisor.com being one of them. In brief, TripAdvisor is a site where travellers can rate their travel experiences – hotels as well as sites – and get other travellers’ advice on where (not) to stay and what (not) to do. At present there are 20 million active users and 45 million reviews posted (TripAdvisor, 2011a). TripAdvisor has been rather fittingly described by Kira Cochrane (2011) as a “celebration of consumer power”. On the one hand it is beyond doubt that this TripAdvisor caters for what one may call ‘keen travellers’ as well as ‘keen complainers’, and as such is not representative for the full variety of travelling communities. On the other hand TripAdvisor has, not surprisingly, been criticised by over 1000 hoteliers through the company “Kwikcheck” which have threatened to take TripAdvisor to court, arguing there are at least 27,000 legally defamatory comments on the site (Cochrane 2011). Thus while TripAdvisor gets mixed reviews it can nevertheless provide a platform where UNESCO can gain more information about their visitors, and as such get UNESCO interacting with the global travelling community in a new way.

TripAdvisor users who have stayed at hotels close to World Heritage Sites, are invited to provide their views on their experiences. Furthermore, it is seen as a means to help tourists act upon World Heritage; Steve Kaufer, founder and CEO of TripAdvisor argues that they are “…calling on the world’s largest travel community to help preserve the places around the world that we all love …”, continuing “…we will give not only dollars but also the collective wisdom and support of TripAdvisor’s millions of travellers, and their trusted insights. We’re eager to build global awareness about World Heritage sites, and about sustainable and responsible travel” (UNESCO, 2011b). As such travellers can through their
observations make a difference for the preservation of the outstanding heritage of mankind (TripAdvisor, 2011b).

During the first year the scheme had more 80,000 responses (New Outreach, 2011, p.108). This is considerable when seen in relation to the general lack of information available at present and provides much needed feedback. Seen in relation to the overall users of the TripAdvisor, 80,000 is not a particularly high number over a year – considering there are 20 million active users and over 900 World Heritage Sites. It needs to be noted that the feedback forms are focused on threats to the sites rather than experiences and visitor’s knowledge of what World Heritage is about, and this raises a more fundamental challenge. Before we are in a position to ask travellers to judge whether a World Heritage Site is threatened, they need to be aware of what World Heritage is, and be able to identify the sites they are asked to evaluate as World Heritage Sites.

4. A glimpse into visitors’ World Heritage awareness

At present we have a poor understanding of visitors’ awareness and knowledge of World Heritage. Thus, we are yet to be in a situation where we know what is possible and useful to ask visitors. After a brief round of test interviews in Norway, it soon became clear while World Heritage is a known-of concept it is not a concept that most respondents are likely to be particularly familiar with. Rather than creating a fixed survey, the on-site research was therefore conducted as conversational interviews with a set interview guide with closed and open questions.

Convenience sampling was used as a means to gather respondents: random visitors were approached, the research presented and they were asked if they could participate. A total of 232 persons were approached, and 204 interviews were conducted, 102 at each World Heritage Site. The interviews were undertaken at Whakapapa visitor centre and Whakapapa ski field in Tongariro National Park World Heritage Area and at Echo Point in the Greater Blue Mountains World Heritage Area.² At Tongariro the vast majority of the approached were happy to participate. Only 3 of the approached did not answer, and this was due to the language barrier. This was, however, a considerably bigger problem in the Greater Blue Mountains World Heritage Area. Here, nearly a fifth

² These sites are the case studies of the PhD project, and were therefore used. However, the survey is not site-specific and can be conducted at any World Heritage Site.
of the approached were not able to participate due to the language barrier, which has meant it has been problematic to get the view of tourists visiting from Asian countries such as Japan and China.

While some interviews were considerably longer, most of the interviews varied from 2-5 min based on the tourists’ knowledge of World Heritage. The interviews were not recorded; rather the answers to the questions and possible relevant digressions were written up by hand directly after the interview and later typed into a Word document. The coding of the interviews was undertaken after all 204 interviews had been conducted.

Familiarity with World Heritage

Designed as a closed question, the respondents were asked whether they had heard of ‘World Heritage’. Overall, three quarters of the respondents answered they had heard about the concept.

Figure 1-3: Have you heard about World Heritage?

Interestingly more of the respondents in Tongariro (ca. 80%) stated they had heard of World Heritage than in the Greater Blue Mountains (ca. 71%). Thus a majority of the visitors had heard of the concept of World Heritage. Having heard of World Heritage does not, however, really give us any insights into the visitors’ understanding of the concept. Designed as an open question the respondents who were familiar with the concept of World Heritage were given the opportunity to explain in their own words what they associated with it. Based on the interviews as a whole, it is fair to argue that World Heritage is not something most people

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3 However, some respondents initially answered no, but then as the interview moved one it turned out they were familiar with the concept. They are here included in as ‘no’ answers.
were used to talking about; few had strong opinions about it and many found themselves surprised to be struggling to accurately articulate what they associated with it. Seen together, the responses can be divided into four main feedback categories which shed light on how visitors’ views and experiences diverge and intersect with more institutional discourses on World Heritage.

‘Have just heard of the term, but have no understanding what it really means’

22.5% of the respondents answered that they had not heard of the term World Heritage, whilst 15.2% of those who had heard of the term, said that they had only heard of it in passing, and did not associate it with anything in particular or had no understanding of what it meant. So in total 37.7% of the respondents had no or minimal knowledge of World Heritage. While this may be seen in relation to these two sites only, it is likely that it also reflects some of the difficulties explaining the term more generally. Where there is on-site information about the given site’s World Heritage status, there is a tendency to use the ‘World Heritage tag’ as a self explanatory sign. This is also the most common practice in guidebooks and other information and promotional material. As this survey shows, this is not necessarily the case.

*Figure 4 What do you associate World Heritage with?*
‘It is about going green, preserving the nature’
At present the cultural heritage sites by far outnumber the natural and mixed World Heritage sites, and this has caused internal concerns and contributed to strategies for creating a more balanced list. This is not reflected in the current data. Rather the contrary. The largest number of respondents, nearly 30%, associated World Heritage with some form of nature-related protection whilst less than 5% thought of it in terms of cultural/culture historic protection. Taking into consideration that the surveys were undertaken in Australia and New Zealand, and ca. 42% of the respondents came from the two countries, it is not surprising that there is a strong link between nature conservation and heritage. The natural environment plays a central role in both countries’ national heritage, and there is a tradition for having cultural heritage placed under agencies whose main focus is nature conservation. Only more recently has Indigenous and European cultural heritage been given a more central role within the larger heritage field in New Zealand and Australia. As such the countries stand apart from older European heritage legislation which tends to focus on the built historic environment and cultural property (e.g. Hall and McArthur, 1993; Smith, 2004, 2006; Jones and Shaw, 2007). Thus it is likely that the responses would have been different if the survey was conducted at a cultural site as many of the visitors to National Parks actively seek out natural experiences rather than cultural heritage sites. Furthermore, it is possible that the protection of cultural heritage would be more well-known if the number of European visitors had been higher.

‘Everything in Europe – when on honeymoon everything we went to was World Heritage, what is not?!’
The respondents from Europe, or tourists that had visited Europe or Asia, to a larger extent viewed World Heritage in terms of protection of cultural heritage or a combination of cultural and natural heritage. Furthermore, there was a tendency among the respondents from Europe or those who had visited Europe to have a more negative attitude towards World Heritage. Those lived in World Heritage Cities would often refer to the restrictions it put on development. Furthermore, as a (European) visitor pointed out in Europe, there was simply too much heritage, and it was hard to separate what made World Heritage different from other heritage tags. This was echoed by non-Europeans who had problems un-
understanding what was special about World Heritage when nearly everything they went to had the ‘World Heritage tag’. Reflecting on their own experiences from Europe, the restrictions natural heritage listings provided were praised as a good necessity by many visitors. European visitors were often impressed by the restrictive measures taken in New Zealand which ensured that the natural areas were not ‘overcrowded’ and certain parts were not accessible to the public.

**World Heritage and UNESCO**

The interview questions were designed in such a way that UNESCO was not mentioned when asking the respondents. This was done as a means to see whether the visitors connected World Heritage with UNESCO. Less than 7% mentioned UNESCO in relation to World Heritage. However, some of those who did had very negative views on both UNESCO and World Heritage, arguing it was all well and good preserving heritage, but at the end of the day there were more pressing issues to be dealt with in most places of the world. Thus if UNESCO wants to use World Heritage as a means to raise awareness of the organisation, the work it does and the values it stands for, UNESCO needs to gain a stronger presence and take a more active role in the dissemination of World Heritage.

**Awareness of the visited sites’ World Heritage status**

_Sat in one of the cafes at the Whakapapa ski field, an interview is moving towards the last questions. However, before reaching the question of whether the respondent knew Tongariro was World Heritage listed, the respondent, who happily has told how he, thorough his job in a large international firm, writes cheques for World Heritage projects in different parts of the world, runs ahead:_

TNP-X6: ‘So what has all this to do with mountains and skiing?’

_HH: ‘Well, you are actually sat in a World Heritage Area’_

TNP-X6: ‘Really?! I have been here many times, but I never knew that! But, why is it on?’(Field notes Sept 2010)

In addition to gaining information about visitors’ general knowledge of World Heritage, the survey also set out to find out whether visitors were aware of the fact they were visiting a World Heritage Area, and whether they knew the reasons why the given area was World Heritage listed.
Seen together nearly 50% of the visitors were not aware of the fact that they were visiting a World Heritage Site. Split up, more visitors to the Greater Blue Mountains World Heritage Area were aware of the area’s recognition than in Tongariro National Park World Heritage Area. Yet none, when asked, answered that they went to the given area because it was a World Heritage Area.

It is interesting to note that more visitors were aware of the Greater Blue Mountains World Heritage Area’s status than Tongariro. There are more signs and more consistent signage informing visitors to Tongariro National Park about its World Heritage Status than when entering the Greater Blue Mountains World Heritage Area, and most of the interviews were conducted in Whakapapa Visitor Centre which has clear displays and audiovisual material.

**Reasons for the areas’ World Heritage Listing**

Tongariro National Park was first World Heritage Listed in 1990 as a natural site for the outstanding scenic features the volcanoes represent (today’s criteria vii) and as part of the Pacific ring of fire, it is also listed as an example of the earth’s evolutionary history (today’s criteria viii). Originally nominated as a mixed site, the National Park gained recognition for the cultural and religious significance to the Maori people, both of which contributed to the gifting of the peaks of the volcanoes which is the nucleus of the national park and World Heritage Area, in 1993 (today’s criteria vi). This could only happen, however, after the cultural criteria were altered to include the new category of cultural landscape. After the re-nomination Tongariro became the first World Heritage Site to be listed as a cultural landscape, and is today one of 27 sites classified as mixed sites and one of 66 sites classified as cultural landscapes.

As Tongariro, the Greater Blue Mountains World Heritage Area was also put forward as a mixed site by the Australian government in 1998. It did, however, only gain recognition for its natural values when it was listed in 2000. Today it is listed under criteria (ix) for its eucalypt vegetation and its adaptability and evolution in the post-Gondwana isolation; and (x) as a significant natural habitat for in-situ conservation of eucalyptus, endemic taxa and rare and threatened species.

**Figure 5-6: Visitors awareness of the visited sites’ World Heritage Status**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tongariro National Park World Heritage Area</th>
<th>Greater Blue Mountains World Heritage Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not aware 58%</td>
<td>Not aware 38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aware 42%</td>
<td>Aware 62%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources DOC 2006; DECC 2009; UNESCO 2011c and d.
on the park’s World Heritage status. Visually, it should be easier to detect Tongariro’s World Heritage status than the Greater Blue Mountains’. However, the information material available (leaflets, brochures, internet pages) on the Blue Mountains are more abundant, and the area’s World Heritage status is more commonly highlighted whenever the area is mentioned than is the case with Tongariro. Compared to the Whakapapa Visitor Centre, the central gateway for exploring Tongariro, there is very little information about the Greater Blue Mountains World Heritage Area and the reasons for why it was listed at Echo Point, which is the most-visited viewing point of the mountains and where the interviews were conducted. This situation may have contributed to the fact that more of the visitors to Tongariro had an understanding of why the area was listed as a World Heritage area.

In Tongariro the visitors who were aware of the area’s World Heritage status were to a larger extent able to answer why it was listed. Around 10% answered that Tongariro was listed for both its cultural and natural values, and another 4% thought it was due to the Indigenous cultural heritage only. Out of these, most people referred to the gifting of the area as a core reason for its World Heritage listing. Thus while the level of understanding for the reasons behind the World Heritage listing in general is poor, both cultural and natural values were picked up by the visitors. Thus there does not seem to be any problems with disseminating the idea of associative cultural landscape to audiences more accustomed to a more ‘European’/tangible notion of cultural heritage. This stands in contrast to the situation in the Greater Blue Mountains World Heritage Area, which even though it is listed only for its natural values, also holds strong cultural associations.

Overall it is fair to argue that there is very little knowledge or understanding for why these sites are listed, this is in particular true for the Greater Blue Mountains where over 90% were either unaware of the area’s status or were unable to answer why it was listed. The lack of clear signage and information may have been partly to blame for the low response rate, but its rather complicated natural values may also contribute to the low response rate; only one person specifically referred to the eucalyptus vegetation. The cultural aspects of the Greater Blue Mountains are not part of the current listing, but there is ongoing work for it to be recognised for this in the future. At present, however, the cultural values of the landscape did not figure in respondents’ answers. Of all the
respondents, only one of the respondents, a European visitor who was not sure as to why it was listed, assumed it was likely to be due to the Aboriginal heritage. However, while few had any understanding of the reasons for why the area was listed, most people drew attention to the fact that the area was scenically beautiful – something which it is not recognised for at present.

*Figures 7-8: Reasons for why the given areas are World Heritage Listed*

**Tongariro National Park World Heritage Area**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Not answered</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Nature and culture</th>
<th>Nature related</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nature related</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Greater BlueMountains World Heritage Area**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Not answered</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Nature and culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nature related</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Greater BlueMountains World Heritage Area
5. Conclusions

As noted in the introduction there are several ways of judging whether a phenomenon is successful. World Heritage is successful as an international document being widely ratified, and as forum where experts and governmental representatives from the natural and cultural sectors meet to discuss and evaluate specific sites and more general matters. There is at present reasons to question the extent to which World Heritage has become a success for the vast majority of people who interact with the sites, the growing communities of visitors. That the sites are visited by millions of people is beyond questioning. However, are the reasons for why the sites made the list the reasons for why tourists visit them as indicated by Bandarin’s quote in the beginning? With over 900 sites and millions of visitors, there is no one simple answers to this question. Based on the research conducted in Tongariro and the Greater Blue Mountains, this does not seem to be the case. None of the respondents argued they went to either of the sites because they were World Heritage listed; and few had any understanding of why the specific site was listed. Thus, most visitors had heard about World Heritage so it is not something which is completely unfamiliar to tourists. However, it seems fair to argue that the ‘World Heritage tag’ has yet to become a well understood and meaningful among the visiting public. One of the reasons for this clearly has to do with the implementation of and (lack of) focus on the Budapest Declaration’s 4th C – communication.

At present communication is mainly a responsibility of the State Parties to the World Heritage Convention. This poses a considerable challenge if World Heritage is to be understood as one united phenomenon. There are few formal guidelines on how to keep the public informed not only on threats, but more fundamentally how to display and explain World Heritage Status at the given sites. Consequently on-site information varies greatly between and within countries: New Zealand provides consistent signage of their World Heritage properties; Australia and the United Kingdom have more varied signage practice, whilst the USA for the most part chooses not to display any connection with UNESCO and World Heritage. Furthermore, another important challenge for a united communication strategy is that a site’s World Heritage status is commonly only but one tag – sites are national parks, or belong to national heritage schemes and they are part of other tourist or heritage networks to name but a few. Thus while being
the highest international recognition a site can achieve, World Heritage is only one of a number of competing statuses a place can have, and this is often reflected in seemingly untidy and visually inconsistent signage and information practices. Furthermore, there is a need to create more dissemination-friendly descriptions and explanations of why sites are listed if World Heritage is to become meaningful and understandable for the non-experts. This filters back to the 4th C, and the need to take it seriously and not merely state its importance. Sadly, communication and dissemination to the general public is something which often ranks low within the management of past. A sign is a beginning, but it should not end there. If World Heritage is to be understood as one phenomenon by the visiting public, there is a need to develop a more stringent communication strategy where a common force, such as the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, develop and provide funds and resources to unify the dissemination. Only when World Heritage has become a meaningful, recognised and cherished phenomenon to the public, can it become a true international success story.

**Literature**


4
Local and Glocal Perspectives on World Heritage
4

Angra Do Heroismo
- a World Heritage Site
and a Hometown
A Study of the Local Effects
of a World Heritage Status

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Abstract
This paper presents my PhD research framework which aims to investigate the local effects of the World Heritage Status which the city of Angra do Heroísmo, situated in the Azores archipelago, was given in 1983. The specific effects of interest are: the consequences for local business, tourism and culture, and the possibilities and limitations for contemporary development within a World Heritage City in general. Additionally, the research will focus on how the World Heritage Status has affected the inhabitants on a personal level and in terms of their local identity. Through qualitative interviews it aspires to incorporate a broad range of viewpoints and values within the community, as well as among local authorities.
1. Introduction

“Criterion IV: Set in the mid-Atlantic, the port of Angra, obligatory port of call for fleets from Africa and the Indies, is the eminent example of a creation linked to the maritime world, within the framework of the great explorations. Criterion VI: Like the Tower of Belem, the Convent of the Hieronymites of Lisbon and Goa, Angra do Heroísmo is directly and tangibly associated with an event of a universal historic significance: the maritime exploration which permitted exchanges between the great civilizations of the world” (ICOMOS, 1982).

Based on these criteria, the central zone of the city of Angra do Heroísmo, situated in the Azores archipelago, was inscribed on the UNESCO’s World Heritage List. The justification of the inscription was mainly Angra do Heroísmo’s crucial importance during the maritime exploration of the 15th and the 16th centuries, when Angra, with its unique position in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, worked as a port of call. It was Vasco da Gama himself who first made Angra’s port obligatory for the merchant fleets, and as a consequence the city functioned as an important link between Europe and “the New World”, connecting four continents (ICOMOS, 1982).

Consequently, Angra grew both in size and population, and was finally raised to the status of a city in 1534. In the same year Angra do Heroísmo became the seat of the archbishop of the Azores. Its religious function contributed to a monumental character of the city where the cathedral Santissimo Salvador, as well as several churches and convents, were built in a classical baroque style. The town is also known for its two 400 year old forts, of São Sebastião and São João Baptista, which defended Angra from foreign attacks (ICOMOS, 1982, UNESCO, 2006).

The town is situated in a natural basin, and the very meaning of the name Angra is bay or cove. This was also the reason for choosing the site as a port for the merchant fleets, since the basin makes a natural harbor with its surrounding hills protecting it against prevailing winds from the Atlantic. The specific climatic conditions were taken into account when the city-plan was set out, and Angra offers an example of the adaption of an urban model to a particular climatic condition (ICOMOS, 1982).

Unfortunately, Angra do Heroísmo was struck by an earthquake in 1980, and as a result a large part of the historical town was damaged. The catastrophe brought Angra to the world’s attention once again and the city clearly showed the fragility of our cultural heritage. One of UNESCO’s objectives is to safeguard the cultural
heritage of outstanding value for future generations (UNESCO, 1972), and only three years after the earthquake the seventh ordinary session of the World Heritage Committee decided to include Angra do Heroísmo to the World Heritage List (UNESCO, 1983). During subsequent years following the earthquake, a great effort was made to restore the city to its former glory, and Angra is today an example of a restoration project where many of the old architectural principles have been respected (UNESCO, 1988, Legislativo Regional 15/2004/A 2010).

Presentation of the Research Problem

The special interest for Angra do Heroísmo as a World Heritage site is based on the personal knowledge I obtained while living and working in the town in 2008. Throughout the days I spent in Angra, I was constantly reminded of its historical value as a World Heritage City and its unique placement on the southern tip of an island in the mid-Atlantic. Based on my experience, it became clear that these spatial and historical factors must be essential for the identity of the people living in Angra do Heroísmo, and parts of the investigation aims to study the inhabitant’s local attachment and identity. However, the main task of this thesis is to investigate the local consequences of the decision, made by the World Heritage Committee, to give Angra do Heroísmo a World Heritage Status. I wish to understand what this implies for the inhabitants, and how it affects the local community. When working as an archaeologist for the Regional Directorate of Culture of the Azores (Direcção Regional da Cultura), I became aware of some of the challenges one faces leading the cultural heritage management of a dynamic and modern town such as Angra do Heroísmo. Its status gives a valuable protection of the historical centre of the city, but it may also cause limitations for development and natural evolvement of a vibrant city. The issue has been widely debated, and it is of specific relevance within a city which is exposed to massive pressure engendered by the needs of mobility, economy, housing and the service society (Schicker, 2009). Nevertheless, the status provides positive effects in terms of increased tourism which often leads to economic growth and a richer cultural and social life. Tourism might, however, also have negative effects, considering the fact that mass-tourism might deteriorate a site. Another positive aspect of being listed on the World Heritage List is the enhanced value it automatically gives the city. To be given outstan-
4

ding universal value is a tremendous recognition and thus an asset to the city’s character. On the basis of these areas of interest, I will conduct a qualitative study of the social consequences for Angra do Heroísmo as a World Heritage City.

2. Angra do Heroísmo - Cultural Heritage Management within a World Heritage City

After Angra do Heroísmo was enlisted to the World Heritage List, it became evident that the legacy needed official management. With reference to the Convention it is also an obligation “to take the appropriate legal, scientific, technical, administrative and financial measure necessary for the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and rehabilitation of this heritage” (UNESCO, 1972, article 5). The preservation of Angra do Heroísmo is now being monitored by the Regional Directorate of Culture which replaced the former office, Gabinete da Zona Classificada de Angra do Heroísmo, whilst the legislation, Legislativo Regional 15/2004/A, is ensuring the legal restrictions of the World Heritage City. The main task of the directorate is in many respects the same as the former Gabinete; to give their opinion on every rehabilitation or modernization project being undertaken within the classified zone of the city as well as supervising the process. Moreover, it is the responsibility of the regional government, in cooperation with the City Hall (Câmara Municipal de Angra do Heroísmo), to outline a management plan for the historical city centre (Legislativo Regional 15/2004/A). Management-strategies for the classified zone are presently being discussed in Angra do Heroísmo after the City Hall recently launched a new management plan (Gonçalves, 2010), and I consider it to be of great interest to get the point of view of the City Hall of Angra do Heroísmo on the matter of managing a World Heritage City. Furthermore, I believe it is of importance to investigate how the directorate is dealing with their task within the frames of the law.

Contemporary Development Projects in Angra do Heroísmo

The legal framework enforces restrictions in order to protect the central zone of Angra do Heroísmo (Gonçalves and Leitão, 2001). Nevertheless, there are several contemporary development projects being conducted within the city. For example, a new marina was constructed in the bay of Angra do Heroísmo at the end of the
1990s. The marina project was inspected by representatives of the ICOMOS who expressed their concern about its negative impact on the characteristics of the waterfront of the World Heritage Site (UNESCO, 1998). In order to safeguard the underwater heritage from being threatened by the marina project, an underwater archaeological intervention was conducted in which several Iberian constructed shipwrecks from the 16th century were discovered (Garcia and Monteiro, 2001).

At the present moment the marina is once again calling for modernization, and much local discourse has been provoked after the launch of new plans for a cruise ship terminal which is to be constructed outside of Angra do Heroísmo. According to archaeologist Paolo Monteiro, who has participated in many of the archaeological excavations in the bay area, this decision will have a clear negative effect on the shipwreck park in the bay of Angra do Heroísmo (Rocha, 2009). However, there are other voices within the local community who are welcoming the presidential initiative, and considering it to be valuable for both tourism and commerce.

The debate is a clear evidence of the core contradictions within cultural heritage politics, and the challenging task which lies in managing the World Heritage within the policies being outlined by the government and the UNESCO. The World Heritage Convention points out that the State Party should adopt a general policy which aims to give the cultural heritage a function in the life of the community, and integrate the protection of that heritage into comprehensive planning programs (UNESCO, 1972, article 5). However, the World Heritage Convention clearly states that once a property has been classified as being World Heritage, it is expected that the values and the conditions, which give it outstanding universal significance, will be maintained. In cases where the state of the World Heritage Sites are threatened by proposed treatment or used inappropriately, the World Heritage Committee might include the site on the List of World Heritage in Danger (UNESCO, 1990). UNESCO hereby gives the State Party and the local community a responsibility to make reasonable choices which allow room for local development, yet do not disturb the authenticity and integrity of the World Heritage Site.

The present discourse in Angra do Heroísmo is revealing the different prevailing opinions in the community. We can observe the existence of protectionists who are seeing the intrinsic value of the cultural heritage, and thinking that the modern society needs to
adapt in order to give the protection that the World Heritage City needs. On the other hand, there are others who think of cultural heritage as something which is compromising necessary development. In the specific case of the new cruise terminal, the community is forced to choose between safeguarding the cultural heritage or to let the modern society take the necessary measures to evolve. Might it be that the cultural heritage at times must suffer for the sake of the present society? *Are we forced to choose between the past and the present?* Or is there a possible coexistence between a sustainable development and the protection of the cultural heritage? These are some of the dilemmas which I will try to cover in my thesis. The research project is set to make a study of the different opinions existing in the community of Angra do Heroísmo; moreover I want to investigate how the inhabitants are affected by the restrictions given by the Directorate of Culture, the City Hall and regional legislation.

**Tourism in Angra do Heroísmo**

Despite the many challenges related to cultural heritage management within a cityscape, cultural heritage also holds positive connotations in terms of historical perspectives and aesthetic experiences. Additionally, it might be valuable for tourism and regional development, given that an increase in tourism often leads to an economical, social and cultural growth (Ronström, 2007, p. 98). However, as the former director of the World Heritage Centre Francesco Bandarin (2005, p. V) writes; “tourism is a double-edged sword, which on the one hand confers economic benefits (…), but on the other hand, places stress on the fabric of destinations and the communities who live in them”. As a Venetian he refers to first hand experiences from a city which benefits financially from its buoyant tourism industry, but which struggles to attend to the conservation problems it faces as a result of a large influx of tourists every year (2005). Previously, tourism was little explored in Angra, and the periodic world heritage report from 2006 also underlines the fact that visitor management is inadequate within Angra (Gonçalves and Leitão, 2001, UNESCO, 2006). However, as the former employees at the Gabinete da Zona Classificada de Angra do Heroísmo wrote in 2001: “tourism is one of the goals for the development of the city to a worldwide scale” (Gonçalves and Leitão, 2001). The Azores in general has experienced an increased influx of tourists during recent years, and Angra do He-
roísmo has been promoted as one of the few cultural attractions within the archipelago. In my study I would like to investigate the current status of visitor management, and how tourists are experiencing their visit to the World Heritage City.

In this chapter several questions and problems have been raised, which I wish to answer and investigate more closely. In the end, however, it all comes down to studying how resolutions issued on a regional, national and international level affect local communities. This theme is the core of my research, and I will approach it from two angles: through an enhanced insight in the common opinion of the local community, and by obtaining a better insight into decisions made by UNESCO, as well as the Portuguese and Azorean government.

**Theoretical Perspectives**

“This profound attachment to the homeland appears to be a worldwide phenomenon. It is not limited to any particular culture and economy. (…) The city or land is viewed as mother, and it nourishes; place is an archive of fond memories and splendid achievement that inspire the present; place is permanent and hence reassuring to man, who sees frailty in himself and chance and flux everywhere.” (Tuan, 1989, p. 154)

The American geographer Yi-Fu Tuan considers the ways in which people feel and think about space and place in his book *Space and Place – the Perspectives of Experience* (1989). The human experience of a place is highly relevant in a study which is so much related to a physical place. It is like he argues in his introduction; “space and place are basic components of the lived world” (1989, 5). For the people of Angra do Heroísmo, Angra is their basic component, and with its monuments and architectural expression of high visibility and significance it may enhance the identity of its inhabitants. Due to Angra’s historical value and unique architecture, it will surely awake a special experience to visitors and tourists spending a few days of their holiday in the city. Places which give an immediate feeling based on the visual, is something Tuan (1974) calls “public symbols”. On the other hand he believes there are the “fields of care”, which is a sense of a place which goes beyond the visual and which is rather based on personal experience. The home place can give such a deep felt sentiment towards a physical space, an emotion which is by far deeper than what any “public symbol” might trigger. However, in some cases a place can be both “a field of care” and “a public symbol”. A heritage site
might be a very good example of such a place where the historical surroundings might generate an aesthetic experience, yet it is also a home environment for the inhabitants, who additionally develop personal feelings connected to the cultural heritage site (Johansson, 2006).

I can hardly discuss the significance of physical space without drawing attention to the particular concept of an island. Angra do Heroísmo is situated on the southern side of the island of Terceira which is about 29 km long and 17 km wide. Evidently it is a fairly small island, and it never escapes your mind that you are on an island in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean. Even though Terceira is surrounded by eight other Azorean islands, you are separated from them by the rough sea, and due to the distance and the mist there are rarely views of the other islands. Throughout the time I spent on Terceira, I witnessed countless discussions on the subject of adjusting to the island life. The numerous settlers from the continent managed the adaptation in various ways, often fleeing to the continent in order to maintain their equilibrium.

So what is an island? What makes an island special? “An island can be both a prison and a paradise, both heaven and hell. An island is a contradiction between openness and closure, between roots and routes, which islanders must continually negotiate” writes Godfrey Baldacchino (2007, p. 165). The paradoxical space of the islands is probably the reason for our long lasting fascination for these geographical places. Ever since antiquity, islands have been ascribed a mythical value. Thus the Azores have been the subject of legends, and at one time were believed to be the lost Atlantis (Ronström, 2007). Historically, Angra do Heroísmo has in many regards had an island’s typically many folded dimension; being situated on an island with all the limitations and restrictions which that implies, yet receiving the whole world while working as a life line for the sailors and ships on the way to and from “the New World”.

I believe these factors of space and place mentioned above to be of immense importance for the identity of the people of Angra do Heroísmo, and furthermore I consider the historical value of the city to be influential. But let me pause on the subject of identity before going any further. According to Zygmunt Bauman, the focus on identity is fairly new in the history of man, occurring as a result of the lack of affiliation in the constantly shifting modern society (Bauman, 1996). Identity is understood to be determined by the
situatio...

As I mentioned previously, there have been several archaeologi-
cal interventions in the bay of Angra do Heroísmo during the last
decades. Due to the maritime history of Terceira and its abundant
coastline, shipwrecks are an important part of the island’s under-
water heritage, and there are recorded several shipwrecks within
the bay of Angra do Heroísmo (Garcia and Monteiro, 1998). Some
of the ships are still visible and can be seen by the many swimmers
and snorkelers within the bay. Thus the public is able to view ship-
wrecks which sank over 500 years ago. The immediate experiences
of the excavations and the shipwrecks also increase the historical
dimension of the city, and I am thus curious to explore whether
this has brought about a greater interest for history and cultural
heritage among its people. Additionally, I think it is essential for
the sake of the investigation to bring the matter of identity and
cultural heritage further to the decision makers.

Angra do Heroísmo as a Social Space

“My entire scientific enterprise is indeed based on the belief that the deepest
logic of the social world can be grasped only if one plunges into the parti-
cularity of an empirical reality, historically located and dated, (...)” (Bourdieu

In order to understand Angra do Heroísmo as a World Heritage
City and the local effects which the status provides, I wish to make
use of Pierre Bourdieu’s theories. Today, Bourdieu’s ideas are wide-
ly used within social sciences, as they enable us to analyze concrete
social systems and relations within a theoretical framework. One
of the central concepts of Bourdieu is the notion of field (champ),
a theoretical model which proclaims that all social formations are
structured by a hierarchy of fields such as the economic field, the cultural field or the educational field. According to Bourdieu, social fields function as structured spaces with their own laws and logics, which are “relatively autonomous, but structurally homologous with the others” (in Johnson, 1993, p. 6). In other words, social fields have a tendency to overlap one another and larger social fields might as well consist of smaller partial fields (Broady, 1991, p. 269). The concept of a social field is highly open; it can be both psychological and place determined, and for this reason each individual might belong to more than one field (Johansson, 2006).

A further definition of a social field is given as a system of relations between positions which are taken by agents and institutions, who fight for something which is considered to be common for the participants (Broady, 1991 p. 266). Bourdieu called this undisputed faith within the social field as the *doxa*, to which the agents are loyal (1986a, p. 167, 168).

In my view Angra do Heroísmo holds a web of different social fields which interact with each other, and the World Heritage City Angra do Heroísmo can be said to be the arena or the space where the various fields promote and negotiate their diverging interests and beliefs. Bourdieu also wrote about the meaning of a physical place which, in his opinion, served as both a physical and a social room. In relation to such a physical space he claimed that by being corporal individuals, humans will occupy physical places just as any other object (Bourdieu, 1994 p. 150). The space of Angra do Heroísmo is very much geographically and historically determined, and there are as well certain institutional boundaries. In addition, there are regional laws working as a legal framework for the management of the World Heritage City, and the World Heritage Convention, ratified by Portugal in 1980, is also a commitment which serves to control the different social fields and the arena itself. The various social fields have diverging interests for Angra, but whether they are fighting for the protection of the city or promoting contemporary development, there is a common agreement that the city is of special significance. I believe all the social fields involved have a commitment towards the city of Angra do Heroísmo.
4

Methodologies

There are many aspects which need to be considered when choosing the right methodology in a research project. The method is the instrument used to approach the objectives, and the preferred method will affect the results of the study. Choice of method must therefore be evaluated on the basis of practicalities, in terms of the objectives, hypothesis, possible results, personal preferences and experiences (Johansson, 2006).

Qualitative interviews

The purpose of this investigation is to gather personal opinions, attitudes and sentiments. It is my intention to get the full specter of different values existing within the society, among employees within the cultural heritage management sector and among representatives from the city council. Accordingly, the focal point of the research process is to grasp personal opinions in order to make general assumptions and conclusions. I therefore believe qualitative interviews to be the best approach in order to collect the data (Ryen, 2002). The interviews will be conducted in person in order to obtain a complete impression of the informant. In addition to interviews, it will also be needed to do several document studies to collect information about the administrative and political processes at UNESCO, as well as within the City Hall and the regional and national government.

In recent years qualitative research, concerned with interpretive practice, has employed many philosophical approaches to studying the social sphere. Husserl’s phenomenology has been the most fundamental because of its focus on the constitution and reconstitution of the human consciousness in the interaction with the lived world, something which is close to qualitative interviews – where dialectic processes such as experience, language, narratives and dialog is central (Holstein and Gubrium, 1994, Kvale, 2009). The purpose of this investigation is to understand the informants from their perspectives; it is their subjective understanding of reality which is interesting. This is in line with the phenomenology which seeks the subjective experience (Thagaard 2002: 36), and tries to understand the ways that the life world is produced and experienced by its members. As Alfred Shutz states in Holstein and Gubrium (1994, p. 263); “the safeguarding of the subjective point of view is the only but sufficient guarantee that the world of
social reality will not be replaced by a fictional non-existing world constructed by the scientific observer”. During an interview study, it will be impossible to grasp the data truly objectively, for I, as a researcher never will be able to exclude my own experiences and life philosophy. These aspects will thus always affect my interpretations and analysis.

There will mainly be three categories of informants in this study; the local inhabitants of Angra do Heroísmo and public employees from the city council of Angra do Heroísmo and the regional administration. At this stage, I can hardly get a full overview of all the informants who will be participating, so supplementary informants will probably come to my knowledge as the research project develops. It is my aspiration to carry out most of the interviews in Angra do Heroísmo in Portuguese, but upon possible language difficulties, which might occur, I will consider using a translator or speak English wherever possible.

Ethical considerations

Even though I am familiar with the Azorean culture and the mentality of the people living on the island of Terceira, I still regard my investigation to be close to an anthropological study. Researching within another culture needs particular considerations in the planning process and during fieldwork. As having a phenomenological approach to qualitative research and the qualitative interview, it causes certain challenges in perceiving the unspoken and the dialectical processes beyond the objectively apparent. Nevertheless, there might be certain advantages to being an outsider. For instance, it will be easier to take a neutral part in the local discourses, yet being an archaeologist might bring presumptions as to my opinions.

As to end this chapter, I would briefly like to draw attention to the ethical aspects of carrying out a qualitative research. An interview study in particular implies moral and ethical dimensions, as the whole process is relying on private information, personal relations and trust (Kvale, 1997, p. 65). Miles and Huberman (1994) explain the meaning of three essential terms in the ethics of qualitative research practice; privacy, confidentiality and anonymity. The authors tell us to bear in mind that privacy implies the “preservation of boundaries against giving the protected information or receiving unwanted information”, confidentiality means “agreements with person or organization about what will be done
with their data”, and finally *anonymity* is “lack of identifiers, information that would indicate which individuals or organization provided which data”. I already realize the challenges in keeping the information anonymous in a small community like Angra do Heroísmo, where local people can easily tell who is being depicted. Other ethical issues and dilemmas might occur through the investigation, and I will look to The Norwegian Guidelines for Research Ethics for guidance and navigation in order to avoid any ethical pit fall along the way (2006).

5. Conclusive aspects

There are several reasons for electing Angra do Heroísmo as a case study. Firstly, Angra do Heroísmo was chosen because of my first hand knowledge of this community, its history and its archaeology. However, Angra do Heroísmo is thought to be an example and it is my aspiration to highlight aspects which have transfer values to other World Heritage properties. I acknowledge the distinctiveness of each site, and it may be of significance to perform comparative studies to get a broader perspective.

One of the main objectives of this project is to conduct a study which can be a valuable resource for Angra do Heroísmo in their daily management of the World Heritage City. By increasing general awareness of the possible local affects of the World Heritage Status, I hope the outcome of the research might be of interest to countries which are in the process of submitting their cultural and natural sites to the World Heritage List.

The World Heritage List is continuously getting longer, and the World Heritage Committee makes annual evaluations of new cultural and natural sites which are nominated for inclusion on the List (UNESCO 2009). It is becoming highly prestigious to be included, and countries are making a considerable effort to reach the World Heritage Status for their cultural heritage sites. Considering the bureaucratic energy being put into the nomination process, I think it is crucial to perform a study of what this status means for the people who know a World Heritage Site as their home environment, and maybe even having their own home enlisted.

During the last years there have been several studies investigating the significance of World Heritage (Titchen, 1995, Omland, 1997, Harrison and Hitchcock, 2005, Turtinen, 2006), in which some have been dedicated to certain World Heritage Sites. For example, the Norwegian anthropologist Nina Haslie (2009) studied...
the impact in terms of local inhabitants in Trinidad in her thesis; “Living with heritage – Negotiating the Past, the Present and the Future at the World Heritage Site Trinidad de Cuba” (authors own translation). Furthermore, Owe Ronström’s book “Cultural Heritage Politics: From a Worn Down Village to a Medieval Icon” (authors own translation) presents a study of the transformation which the City of Visby in Sweden undertook after it was added to the World Heritage List. As well, an investigation is being carried out at the Norwegian World Heritage City Røros, by the Norwegian Institute of Cultural Heritage Research, in order to estimate the economic effect of the enlisting (Guttormsen and Ibenholt, 2009). In my study I intend to perceive the social consequences of the World Heritage Status for the City of Angra in general, including the effects in terms of the local inhabitants, as well as in respect of the public officials. I believe it is relevant perceiving all aspects of the enlistment, and in my opinion it is of special interest to study the consequences when urban areas are recognized to be of outstanding universal value, when we know they are under higher pressure than other sites and within a zone of higher density of population than most other World Heritage places. The dilemma is vast taking into account the fact that historical cities constitute the largest category on the World Heritage List, representing 255 out of a total of 911 World Heritage sites (Bandarin, 2010, OWHC, 2010). The former director of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, Francesco Bandarin, has been addressing the challenges of preserving the historic cities while allowing them to grow and develop naturally. Saying that when these issues are presented to local authorities and communities, “they test the limits of the legal, policy and public participation system, (…)” (Bandarin 2009, p. 2).

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The Changing Definitions of Global and Local in World Heritage Properties and its Implications

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Abstract
This paper attempts at highlighting the importance of realising the impact of changing definitions of global and local and the role of policies in protecting the interests of a ‘local’ for sustainable heritage management. Cultural resource can be defined by its nature and associational values rather than its location or its status as World Heritage. For example, sacred sites of Benaras, Haridwar or Kailash-Mansarover although not ‘World Heritage’, are more ‘local’ to the lives of Hindus world over. The same holds good for secular sites too. In such cases, the definition of local or global becomes immaterial as the ‘everyone’ is a stakeholder with varying responses and responsibilities. The nomination of a property as ‘World Heritage’, especially in countries where a standard approach towards heritage management at a national policy level is yet to be adopted, it initiates a chain reaction, that alters the definition of stakeholders, hence their responses to the site. The nominated property becomes a magnet for interested groups with respective agendas and monetary superiority to dominate decision-making. It is in such cases, that the definition of global or local becomes indispensible as will be demonstrated through the case of Hampi, World heritage area, India.
Introduction

World over, identification of a local from a global has been a challenge, especially when the two worlds today are constantly moving closer, defying boundaries to give rise to a new being called the ‘glocal’. The definition of who- is local to a specific context is crucial to enable value-based planning, conserving, protecting and management of cultural properties, as it is through them that the values of a site is respected, revered and is transcended through generations, hence kept alive. Therefore safeguarding values becomes synonymous to protecting the interest of the ‘local’ whose identity lies in the associations and values shared, the responses and relationship shared with the context rather than their geopolitical location, official document or any other proofs considered valid in the eyes of the law.

At an international platform, heritage, although understood as a shared property, where every man, irrespective of their citizenship, hence onus to safeguard it lies with all. Therefore, respecting and maintaining cultural diversity and protecting values that impact its authenticity and integrity, through contextual understanding is a universal responsibility. The World Heritage Convention’ 72, with its Operational Guidelines, the Nara Document, the Convention on Safeguarding Intangible Heritage and Cultural Diversity and the recent debates on the apt philosophy of conservation has brought in a new understanding of the significance of a ‘local’. In its perception, onus lies on the individual nation or a number of them together (for cases like cultural routes, viz the Silk Route), to ultimately identify and devise suitable mechanisms within respective framework to safeguard values of the cultural property, irrespective of it being World Heritage or not.

With the passage of time, processes of globalisation and the emerging concepts of ‘global village’, a certain degree of homogenisation through increased communication, exposure to a greater diaspora, has inadvertently occurred worldwide. Theoretically, a ‘local’ is now accepted as a part of the global populace, as glocal whereby having equal right, with responsibility. This concept, when applied to the field of heritage conservation and management has differential impact. At one end, it unites the world under the perception – that cultural resources are shared properties, where all, irrespective of geo-political standing or belief system, has a stake in safeguarding it. On the other hand, it attracts and gives rights to interest groups who assume the form of stakehol-
ders and whose relation with the site is established on the basis of anticipated flow of profits rather than responses stemming from associations or ascribed values. Ingress of such groups is heighte ned in the case of Heritage sites which when enlisted in the World Heritage List; as such status comes with a promise of an increased commercial activity, almost overnight. The interest groups, often stronger in organisation, monetary capacity, often supported by several sectors, are vociferous in their demands and often displace the true locals from their rights, but stop short before reciprocating the earned benefits through responsibilities. Under such circumstances, the intervention of the government or the public body becomes indispensible to first identify a local and then devise effective tools to protect their rights, hence safeguard values of a site for the future.

Understanding a Local differently
At the very onset of this paper, it is crucial to understand two concepts – first, the difference between a stakeholder and a local and second – an understanding of cultural resource and how humans relate to the same. Cultural resources of India are best understood in the light of traditional landscapes, as human beings relate to natural landscape by ascribing associations and values, thus emphasising more on the metaphysical aspects. Developing an understanding of such landscapes, becomes the basis to better appreciate cultural resources in the context of the Sub-continent and to define a local in the light of the paper.

Figure 1: Why Identify a Local?

Source: Illustration by author
Stakeholder

A stakeholder for the light of this paper, is any individual/ organisation/ group who are affected decision and its process, positively or negatively, directly or indirectly, to bring about change in circumstances in any place. They have the power to mobilise or resist implementation of a decision (under a democratic system). Stakeholders do not preclude locals, who become one of the smaller fraction representative groups among many interested groups and for whom, the flow of benefit may or may not be bi-directional.

For example, in any site frequented by tourists, a tourism operator who gains from the site without investing in the same could show an example of a parasitic gain, as opposed to centralised collection of benefits and its equitable distribution. A local person on the other hand has a connection which is independent of his existence being altered by changes in his locality, area or context. He may only be local in terms of proofs or documents, yet bear no stake or have no response to the changes occurring in a context. It is this response that differentiates a stakeholder from a non-responsive local.

For example, in the case of Hampi World Heritage Site, over and above UNESCO and other Advisory Bodies -

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1 In the Oxford dictionary, a Stakeholder is – ‘a person with an interest or concern in something, especially a business.’ (Oxford Dictionaries)
Non-governmental organisations
• INTACH, Karnataka Chapter
• The Kishkinda Trust
• Temple Trusts, Mathas and Peethas, such as Virupaksha Temple Trust

Other relevant government departments and agencies
• Govt. of India
  Ministry of Civil aviation
  National Highway Authority
  National Railway Authority
  South Indian Authority
  Airport Authority of India
• Govt. of Karnataka
  Dept of Education & Health
  Dept of Mining
  Dept of Environment
  Karnataka State Road and Transport Development Corporation
  Karnataka State Tourism Development Corporation
• Others
  Citizen’s Right group, Hampi
  ASTRA, IISC, Bangalore

Corporate sector partnership with public sector agencies
Banks and other private financial institution
Cultural Organisation in the region
Other Mathas and Peethas in and around Hampi

The opinion and decisions of the local people (59,941 Census 2001) are voiced by 2 heads - District Collector of Koppal and Bellary.

Source: Hampi Integrated Management Plan, 7th Volume, Final Draft
Out of 22 (Twenty two) agencies with different priorities, only 2 (Two) voices the concerns and demands of the people from their respective jurisdictions, i.e., the life and livelihood of 59,941 people from 29 (Twenty nine) villages, depends on two individuals, the District Collectors of respective Districts. Constitutionally, Indian governance practices decentralised process of decision-making; therefore, the heads of the nagar (town) and gram (village) Panchayat are entrusted to present the District Collectors with requirements of the people within respective jurisdiction.

Cultural Resources of India and Its people
Although a detailed discussion remains beyond the scope of this paper, in order to bring in greater clarity to the aforementioned qualities of a local, it becomes indispensable to discuss the complex nature of Indian cultural resources and how human being relate to the same. Heritage of India has been borne out of a complex process over a considerable length of time, under the hands of many. Known as the land of cultural diversities, there remains a certain degree of commonality sublimely enforced by geography that serves as a canvas for culture.

Topographically, India can be described as a landmass, where varied physical features remain enmeshed, forming a coherent geographic entity and greatly influenced man’s unique perception of geography, which differed vastly from a ‘physical’ description of the landmass through mountains, hills, river, plateaus, plains or forest, extant today. This formed the backdrop that influenced the traditional Indian perception of geography, where physical features were perceived through ascribed values and association - a fact that leant into shaping philosophy, religion, culture and the relation between man and his landscape. The traditional understanding of landscape also reflected in the manner in which communities engaged both actively and passively with the same since time immemorial. Through this process, different types of settlements, both religious and secular, dotted the sub-continent.

The paper ‘The Indian Cultural Landscape and its Protection & Management through Cultural & Historic Urban Landscape Concepts’ - Prof. Nalini Thakur’ (Thakur N., 2010) outlines Kshetras (a sacred expanse) (Baidyanath, 1975), for example Padmakshetra of Puri, state of Orissa), (Shakti) Peethas (Sites where the parts of the body of Sati was consecrated (Sengupta), like Ujjain, Maihar in Madhya Pradesh), Bhoomis ((Thakur P. N., 2001) Vraja or
Mathura Vrindavan, the Birthplace of Lord Krishna, expanding over Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Delhi), and Cultural Regions like those of Rajputana and Marwar evident as the Princely States of Rajasthan as some of the distinct types of Indian traditional landscapes that can be identified.

What needs to be specifically pointed out is that, irrespective of the nature and function of the aforementioned types of habitation patterns, there remained two important similarities, firstly, the extremes or boundaries were fluid and were based on a cultural or associative understanding of the natural landscape and its features. Secondly, every settlement developed a unique context-specific interaction of traditional communities with their geography manifesting in formulation of a traditional management structure that voiced itself through the evolved lifestyle, customs, belief and faith system, socio-cultural structure, traditions and knowledge systems\(^2\), thus their identity. Over generations, the traditional systems have developed and evolved and have been impacted by the changing social, political, economic, cultural and other aspects.

\[\text{Figure 3: Interaction of Human and Landscape}\]

\[\text{Source: Illustration by author}\]

Example – 1: Interaction of Communities with their Geography – a case of Bishnupur

The town of Bishnupur lies to the south of the River Dwarkeshwar Basin in the eastern part of the Bankura district, West Bengal, India and is a land of terracotta temples, craftsmanship and artefacts, baluchari saris, conch shell craft, *dasha avatar* cards and *Dhrupad Gharana* or school of music. Borrowing heavily from natural resources, this town became one of the most prominent urbanised centre of the medieval era, after the fall of Gaur as the capital of *Vanga* and shows the evidence of a unique relation forged by man with nature creating a society and culture that shaped its landscape, based on religion.

The Dwarkeshwar river valley was marked by thick sal forested, numerous depressions and water bodies and a home to tribal activities, Bagdis (Fishermen tribe) being one of them. Under the chieftainship of Adi Malla in 694 A.D. this tribe shifted their capital from Pradyumnapur to Dwarkeshwar valley, south of which was an orthodox Brahmanical Hindu hamlet of Bishnupur. The hollow laterite soil, with slightly raised central highland, surrounded by thick sal forest and a bounty of water bodies was seen as a strategic site, Jagat Malla a chieftain, established Bishnupur as a capital in 994 A.D.

A shift in religious practice together with the political instability of medieval Bengal demanded a shift in administrative strategy. This reflected in the evolution of a management mechanism stemming from a deep understanding of the then prevalent ecological and socio-cultural condition. Under the rule of Bir Hambir (1565–1620 A.D.) a secure defense system, within the thick Sal forest land, in combination with a series of 7 *bandhs* (water bodies created by tapping the hollow laterite soil) formed a protective moat for the entire town. The citadel, located on a highland, was also surrounded by a natural depression, acting as a moat. The interconnected *bandh* and the moats remained filled with rainwater and excess rainwater following the natural gradient, was channeled into the river Dwarkeshwar. Water bodies and forested land, inhabited by wild animals, especially poisonous snakes, created an impenetrable barrier for attackers. Religion, that is Vasishnavism, also played a critical role in protecting the defense system.

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3 The case study of Bishnupur was taken up during Masters Degree Course (School of Planning and Architecture, New Delhi) for a 2nd Semester Studio, conducted under Prof. N. Thakur.
With the elements of nature, that is water, groves, temples of terracotta, the Kings recreated Vrindavan, the birth place of Lord Krishna symbolically. This together with the tribal worships of nature, whereby, trees, animals were considered holy, provided protection, hence safeguarding the landscape automatically. Moreover, the Ghatchakki system was introduced for management and maintenance of the water bodies. Water bodies in general were community owned and were designated for a variety of purposes as drinking, pisciculture, household needs, over and above defence, depending on their geographic positions.

Patronisation of Vaishnavism and adopting its philosophy of thought introduced a series of changes to a society that was dominated by orthodox practices of Bramhanical Hinduism. The change in the nature of worship, demanded priests to be invited to perform the temple rights and rituals and to support a living, resources such as land and water grants were made by the King. A temple became a symbolic centre for not just religion but for resource protection and management. A series of trade formed pivoting around temple activity – to supply food, which was re-circulated as prasadam to the devotees, a group of cultivators (or Chasha) were engaged. To supply clothing for the temple and patrons, weavers (or Tantis) who wove the famous Baluchari sarees were invited to settle in Bishnupur. The Dasha Avatara card game, which was a played in veneration of Lord Vishnu was yet another artistic novelties associated with Bishnupur. These were some of the many artisanal practices evolved in the town, and were dedicated to the temple. Reflecting upon each occupation, classes of people were derived, which were only stringent, to maintain the larger system.

Understanding Humans from Land
Based on the discussions before, people, as an individual or a group, by the virtue of the nature of association with a location, the symbiotic relation established and the response towards the landscape, develop an identity for perpetuity. This cultural identity has evolved since time immemorial, becomes and forms an integral part of the value system of any site irrespective of its nature. It must also be mentioned here that, it is in the Indian ethos, that man is perceived not as an isolated entity, but as a part of a greater whole (Banerjee 2006).
To elaborate the aforementioned, traditionally, there are 3 cosmos – a macro, a meso and a micro. The Macrocosm is the celestial world, where the gods reside. The Mesocosm is the landscape, for example, the Indian subcontinent or Bharatavarsha, marked by a variety of natural features, like mountains, forests, rivers, etc. And on this platform exists the microcosm and communities, while existing as a part of the same, communicate with the macrocosm, through the mesocosm (Rana 2000) (Refer to: Figure 3: Interaction of the 3 cosmos). To simplify, sites where nature assumes unique forms, like northward bend of a river (eg. Hampi, Karnataka), lofty snow-capped peaks (eg. Mount Kailash, Tibet), lush forests (eg. Chitrakoot, Madhya Pradesh), confluence of river (eg. Prayag or Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh) are few examples of areas considered sacred by traditional communities and areas to achieve communion with god through acts such as pilgrimage. The point remains, that culturally, human beings were never perceived in isolation but as an integral part of his surrounds, with which he interacts. Therefore, it can summed up to say, that in the light of Indian heritage, defining people as local, should stem from a cultural understanding, rather than an administrative one, where identity remains arrested within limited legal documents.
Now, the question remains – who are the locals? Are they synonymous to stakeholders? If they are stakeholders too, then why is it essential to identify them and re-instate and safeguard their rights as different from a stakeholder?

To define ‘who are the locals’, especially pertaining to the Indian sub-continent, it is important to understand the word ‘local’ through the lens of associations and values and its departure from the modern official meaning. This difference answers why it is important to perceive a local as different from a stakeholder and protect the former’s interest. Moreover, it becomes a tool to ensure safeguarding the gamut of values of our heritage, irrespective of its status as World Heritage List.
Locals, in the light of this paper, are the people whose identity remains intricately woven with the site and its components, whose culture is shaped by the interaction with the context and whose existence is impacted by any alteration of the relation shared between them with the respective site or to the site itself. Their geopolitical location or physical remoteness from the site can be negated when compared to the response and interaction with a context that becomes of importance. It must also be mentioned here, that to define a local, as perceived in this paper, an official document or a well accepted identity proof like a passport or a voter’s identity card hold but little significance, when compared to the cultural identity created over a length of time through engaging with an area.

Pilgrims – a special case

Pilgrims can be mentioned, as a special group, whose interaction with the landscape is through the timeless act visitation or pilgrimage. Specific communities, who are remote to a sacred location, visit the same, on a designated period of the time, travel along a specific route, conducting a premeditated set of activities, since time immemorial. Pilgrims can be understood as remote locals, or a group, whose engagement and relation with a landscape is intricate and complex and is governed by religion. The interaction of the pilgrims and the in-situ residents is interesting, where institutions of varying scale, with assigned groups or classes of people who were allotted duties to facilitate the needs of the pilgrims emerged. Ashramas, mathas and other monastic institutes that had once been established by benevolent patrons, dot sacred cities like

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4 The concept of local in the light of the Indian Constitution and Law is jurisdiction based and not on a person. In the eyes of the Constitution and the Law all men are deemed equal, sharing equal rights. However, the closest to defining a people is through the description of a citizen or a national.

Citizenship at the commencement of the Constitution.-At the commencement of this Constitution, every person who has his domicile in the territory of India and-

(a) who was born in the territory of India; or
(b) either of whose parents was born in the territory of India; or
(c) who has been ordinarily resident in the territory of India for not less than five years immediately preceding such commencement, shall be a citizen of India.

The Citizenship Act’ 1955, Amended in 2005, however defines a person as – ‘a person does not include any company or association or body of individuals, whether incorporated or not’ (Clause 2 (f)) and is perhaps the closest to how the perceives its people. (http://www.mha.nic.in/pdfs/ic_act55.pdf)

In the Oxford Dictionary, a local (person or thing in particular) – an inhabitant of a particular area or neighbourhood (Oxford Dictionaries)
Benaras (Uttar Pradesh), Puri (Orissa), Kedarnath (Uttaranchal), and many more and bear the testimony of such a system of management. The Satra system of Majuli, a river island on the Brahmaputra River in Assam, India (potential World Heritage Site), shows the evidence of a well structured traditional management system, that is based on Vaishnavism (ASI, 2004).

4. The Point of Conflict

The modern Indian system of administration and governance borrows greatly from the former Colonial (British) one (A.S.I., 2006), devised almost over 200 years ago, with a physical not a cultural understanding of the sub-continent. The focus of the Colonials lay in maximising profit from lands parcels and easy governance, for which they devised a number of systematic measures. Of these that devised for revenue collection proved to be of great consequence with respect to cultural resources. In order to accrue benefits from land was conveniently divided along prominent natural features, when the same was commodified. A convenient system of governance was designed, that ensured an hierarchical flow of profit easily to the Raj (Gadgil & Ramachandra, 2000).

Such rigid systems practiced over two centuries were retained with minor modifications, and today, the political map of India clearly shows that its administrative organisation, i.e., into states, districts, taluks, panchayats (gram and nagar) and wards has evolved from the same. Today, people’s identity, in the eyes of the government lies with respect to their geopolitical location, i.e., the house number, adjacent street, ward, area and then the district, of a certain state, the person belongs. Census surveys became the new tool to group people based on quantitative grounds, like number per households, occupation, nature of property etc. This superimposition of this synthetic identity, discarded the possibility of the fact that any individual or a group has a sense of belonging, a response to the area, from which stems his identity. With the passage of time, it also resulted in gradual isolation of people from their landscape, culture and the roles performed by them in their context.

Example – 2: Pampakshetra in Hampi

Within the World Heritage Site of Hampi, is a Chakra Tirtha (where the River Tungabhadra takes a northward turn) and is a Tirthasthan (site for pilgrimage) venerated by Hindus world over
and spreads across two administrative divisions, i.e. Koppal and Bellary in the State of Karnataka. In the Hindu mythology, Pampa (Hampe) devi, a local deity and consort of Lord Virupaksha (incarnation of Shiva), was married to the later in Hampi. The Site of Pampa sarovar or lake (Koppal District, north of the Tungabhadra River) and the Virupaksha Temple (Bellary District, south of the Tungabhadra river), together with the Ratha Vidhi, the celebration of the Kalyana utsav (marriage festival) by devotees, together present a comprehensive view of the Pampakshetra, a much venerated sacred geography. However, the line of administrative division created prior to Indian independence is located along the banks of river Tungabhadra which bisect a continuous geographic setting into two unequal segments, wherein, in one – lies the Pampa sarovar and in the other lies the Virupaksha Temple. This plant the seed leading to fragmentation of a landscape bound by faith through planning and implementation carried out by the administration. Being under two districts that are independent in terms of decision-making, individually develop respective jurisdictions through construction of access-ways, land use planning and activities in the name of human development. The ultimate result is the complete reconfiguration of a landscape through isolation of its different parts, resulting in loss of integrity of the site and values.

Another critical implication of the Colonial rule was the gradual shift from a participatory decentralised form of resource management, inherent within the Indian culture to a centralised disposition (Jacob, 2008). That is, with the advent of the British Administrative system, the pattern of ownership, changed drastically - from community-owned to administration-owned. Natural resources, to which humans were bound to in many ways, were now owned by the British, causing a rift between people and their resources. This rift continued over generations and resulted in gradual cessation of the traditional practice of resource management, at large, as people were disallowed to actively engage with the landscape, and as a result became passive to the mainstream. The communities, who retained the practices, were reduced to a minority, whose knowledge and understanding of the environment remained largely unacknowledged for modern application and was often at cross-purposed with official rules and regulations, as these follow the contiguous nature of the landscape, not limited to geopolitical boundaries. As a result, the ‘local’, as defined before, were distanced from their context by systematic imposition of
rules and regulations, which were neither based on understanding
the resource or context or people belonging to it.

Today, in the administrator’s vocabulary, there is practically
little or no difference between a local and a stakeholder, beyond
that based on proximity. Rather, the terms are almost co-terminus,
where a local is one of the parties in a larger group called stake-
holder. The latter is classified as – primary, secondary and tertiary,
depending on the ‘stake’ or how a decision, irrespective of its na-
ture or validity, alters the status of a group.

Process of decision-making

Any decision taken by the governance, especially those affecting
‘public assets’, under the Indian democratic system, is required to
be through a consensus building process. By the virtue of the same,
the ‘public’ who in the purview of the government, is the stakehol-
der, is required to voice opposition, if any, through a certain of-
official format, against or pro a decision, when the same is notified.
When a hearing is organised, people, as individuals or as groups
are required to voice their concerns and the same is considered for
revision of a decision. This system in principle leaves ample scope
for individuals or groups to voice concerns, rectify or stall a decisi-
on, where intervention in much needed. However the prerequisite
to run such a system, or such a process of decision-making, is edu-
cation and not awareness among the respondent. The ground rea-
ality being, that the number of respondents to make an informed-decision being few in many cases, the vociferous groups, who have
a certain position or power, leverage the decision to their favour
without much effort. These groups are transient by nature and
seek opportunities in any situations, at any location, where their
demands or interests remain unquestioned and fulfilled. Therefore,
in order avoid such undue distortion in the process of effective
decision-making, it becomes a foremost duty for the government
to identify and empower the actual locals, for whom the site is a
repository of values, whose engagement with the site is a source
of identity and the traditional knowledge system that has evolved
over generations of practice, be recognised by the mainstream and
continued for posterity.
5. What happens in nominated Sites

In Sites with heritage resources, differentiating interest groups from stakeholders (as per the administrative understanding) is of extreme consequence, whether enlisted as World Heritage or not. Ethically, heritage is a common property, whereby, every man has a stake. Therefore, an interest group, whose, focus is commercial through tourism, hospitality, transportation, small scale and household industry business, have equal right in demanding his right. Thus, interest groups, whether in the form of a tourist, a donor, a tourism operator or a corporate house or a research groups approaches belonging to a global, national or regional arena, have an equal right, but affect a Site in varying manners and intensity. Some of the commonest impacts have been acculturation and loss of local values, restructuring of economic balance with sudden increase in commercial activity like hospitality facilities, recreation and shopping facilities etc, and in the process initiating sudden and unplanned development in the form of infrastructure and transport facility, construction works, increase in water consumption, waste generation and many more. In all the dynamics, the locals of the site, who are generally not as organised, become a minority group, losing their rights to a more powerful organised establishment or sector, for example tourism. Therefore, it becomes extremely critical to plan and monitor the nature of interaction between interest groups with a cultural property and herein lays the role of the government.

In case of it being an inscribed property, the complexity increases, it being under a global scanner, and being a focus by groups with myriad interest and responses. In a condition where the definition of a local is under debate, the difficulty in managing a cultural property, especially, those as complex as Hampi in Karnataka, Khajuraho in Madhya Pradesh and Champaner in Gujarat where heritage is more than just monuments, having living resources, like traditional communities with their customs and activities, associations and belief systems and most importantly a stable societal structure that has evolved over generations, drawing deeply from nature. Their geopolitical distribution does not follow the order of modern administrative boundaries, but rather a metaphysical one, following an understanding of the land. This fact poses a great challenge in delineating a boundary that ensures both – safeguarding all values and ease of management. It must be mentioned here that in order to nominate a property any State Party is required to
demarcate such limits of the property so that its gamut of values, its aspects of authenticity and integrity are truly represented

‘Article 99 - The delineation of boundaries is an essential requirement in the establishment of effective protection of nominated properties. Boundaries should be drawn to ensure the full expression of the outstanding universal value and the integrity and/or authenticity of the property.’

Therefore, the maintenance of the integrity of a property could require large scale reconfiguration of administrative boundaries of the sub-continent, so that they be in consonance with the cultural understanding of geography. Following this, the synchronization of concerned organisations and foremost, a strong local organisation, preferably within the government, which acts as a single-window interface to regulate all actions and interests, would be a logical action. And, in order to initiate such an attempt towards value-based management of heritage sites, the identification of ‘locals’ in their true light would be indispensable, as it is through them that a landscape can be rediscovered.

**Figure 7: Cultural and Official Identity – the point of Conflict**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OFFICIAL UNDERSTANDING</th>
<th>CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Based on ‘physical’ understanding of natural setting</td>
<td>- Based on ‘cultural value-based’ understanding of natural setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Interaction between Man and Land is regulated through rules, laws and regulations</td>
<td>- Interaction between Man and Land is mediated through mutually agreed codes of conduct bound by religion and social norms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Based on political boundaries</td>
<td>- Based on Associations and ascribed values</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Fragmentation of setting
2. Misinterpretation
3. Discontinuation of traditional systems of management
4. Growing distance of Man and Nature

Source: Illustration by author

**Example 3 – Defining Boundaries – Case of Hampi World Heritage Site**

The case of the World Heritage Site of Hampi is most apt to explain the challenges faced and the importance of, redefining boundaries so as to protect the interest of both heritage and locals. Like Hampi, there are many more historic landscapes though not an inscribed property, experience the same problem – fragmentation
of its integrity affecting complete comprehension of the site, resulting in the loss of values. Being an inscribed property, having a strong body of research and being under pressures at several levels, a value-based reconfiguration of boundaries (both core and buffer) was made possible for the case of Hampi.

Hampi, as an important archaeological site was realised since the 1880’s. The British Administrators identified an expanse on the south bank of the Tungabhadra River in the Koppal District to have ruins of the medieval capital city of Vijayanagara Kingdom. Over a period of almost a 100 years excavation, structural repairs, laying of new roads and carriage ways, dismantling of structures were carried out to conserve the site. However, it was not realised, that the site of Hampi was spread not only on the northern bank of the river, i.e. in the Bellary district, but much beyond - till the Sandur Hill, which acted as the outer most defence barriers. What also remained outside realisation was the fact that Hampi, was a Chakratiirtha, and a part of the great Ramayana landscape, where the Vijayanagara Kings established their capital, realising the strategic position and religious significance. In 1904, the British introduced the Ancient Monuments and Sites Remains Act (Amended in 1958 and 2010) and this became the tool to protect a Capital City, with systems devised drawing deeply from the natural landscape, from the perspective of Monuments.

The potential of Hampi, to be inscribed in the World Heritage Site was realised and it became one of the 3 National Projects in late 1970’s, spear headed by the State Department of Archaeology and Museum, Government of Karnataka. The Vijaynagara Research Project was initiated and this became an important source of information on Hampi. Although the research and the series of excavation showed that the site was more than a Group of Monuments, the State Party (India) submitted nominated Hampi in 1982, as so, because the official system was monument-centric, as under the Archaeological Survey of India. In 1983, ICOMOS, the Advisory Body to UNESCO, stated that –

“...the proposed Cultural Property be inscribed on the World Heritage List, on the condition that there be an extension of the area of protection to the whole of archaeological site...[ICOMOS] would suggest that a new definition of the cultural property of Hampi, which would take into account the whole of the natural and archaeological resources of the site and not just several isolated monuments, should be formulated in view of being able to justify its inscription on the World Heritage List based on Criteria I, III and IV.” (source: http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/241.pdf, pp. 1-2)’
Although the nomenclature and description for the site remained unchanged, this compelled the State Party to redefine the limits of the property based on the contiguous nature of archaeological resources and natural setting, thus justifying the statement of Outstanding Universal Values. This Site, which expanded over two districts, Koppal and Bellary, (Karnataka) was inscribed in the World Heritage List (Cultural Property) in 1986.

Heritage management, in India, retains the Colonial monument-centric perception, which also reflects in its legislature. The Ancient Monument and Sites Remains Act of 1904, (Amended in 1958 and 2010), the principle tool for heritage protection and management for the country reflects this limitation. Management of Hampi as a ‘Site’, required a co-ordinated action of agencies in the government (Refer to Figure 1: Stakeholders in Hampi World Heritage Site) not just those responsible for Koppal or Bellary alone, but also between the two districts. Such co-ordination of action was a new practice altogether, resulting in differential understanding of responsibilities and as a result, endangering the Site (in 1999).

The process of formation of the Integrated Management Plan for Hampi World Heritage Site, under the vision of Prof. N. Thakur, which though initiated as a compliance measure, devised a System effective for value-based Site management within the Indian framework. Maintaining the priorities as heritage, planning and human development, followed by commerce-lead development (in that order), the Integrated Management Plan has recommended a management framework that lays specific actions for co-ordinated administration of Hampi, thereby safeguarding its values.

The implementation of the Plan had started in 2005, and the path has been challenging, as it requires all mandated agencies\(^5\) to perceive the World Heritage Site in a new light, beyond administrative limitations. Though slow, progress has been made towards enabling value-based Site Management. A site-specific agency (the Hampi World Heritage Area Management Authority) been established under the Hampi World Heritage Area Management Authority Act- 2002 and a Joint Heritage Management Program, for uniform informed management has been initiated, however much more is left to do.

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\(^5\) Refer to Figure 01: Stakeholders in Hampi World Heritage Site
6. Cultural Landscape – a tool to identify and reinstate rights of a local

With the aim of safeguarding Indian historic landscapes, there is a need to develop a comprehensive method, which is context and resource specific, so that our cultural resources can be managed without restricting human development and progress. There needs to be a structured approach, which realises and responds to complex cultural resources as evident in India. Operationalising such an approach, would require the city managers to work in a co-ordinated manner and maintain respective priority as heritage management, followed by human development and lastly, commerce based development. It would also require a long-term institutional support so as to ensure informed decision-making towards heritage conservation, protection and management.

Developing a different perception towards management of Indian heritage is gradually gaining momentum, where individual disciplines, in their own unique way, have developed tools and methods to study, research and analyse the resource. Over the years, a host of studies have been conducted by foreign and Indian scholars on the various facets of the landscape, and through these works, disciplines have been further structured and crystallised itself. As a result, many interesting approach to study the Indian historic landscapes has developed in the recent past. Each has perceived the landscape through their individual niche and is in varying stage of research and analysis. Some scholars like J. Mc Malville, Lalit M. Gujral and Dr P.B. Singh Rana have used archaeo-astronomy and cultural geography to understand the relationship between traditional communities and their landscape and the manner in which Indian Sacred Landscapes have evolved over generations of engagement. Some others, like Madhav Gadgil, Ramachandra Guha and Dr P.S. Ramakrishna have understood the landscape through ecology, biodiversity and human geography. While other, like Dr Baidyanath Saraswati has looked at it from a social and anthropological point of view. In some cases, mapping on a GIS platform has also been applied to document and study complex sites. However, no one field of study or research has been able to provide all answers so as to enable value based management of Indian historic sites. It is probably a combination of all or atleast more than one discipline that is required to better comprehend the historic landscapes together with the integral relation shared by ‘locals’ with their geography.
In the field of conservation studies, world over, Cultural Landscape, has been a new approach to look at complex heritage resources, where human being share a unique bond with their environment. This approach creates opportunity to form an interdisciplinary platform, whereby, complex resources can be studied through varied perspectives and can transcend into developing an effective value-based management structure within the official system. However, it must be remembered that with the gradual cessation of traditional practices by many communities, it is difficult to piece together a complex management structure, like that in Majuli in Assam, Bishnupur in Bankura District of West Bengal. And as per Prof. N. Thakur (Thakur N., 2010) the regeneration of knowledge of Indian cultural landscapes can be achieved through holistic and integrated approaches, so that effective systems and frameworks that are context and resource specific, ensuring the continuity of the cultural landscapes, can be formulated.

**Figure 8: In a World Heritage Site**

Source: Illustration by author
Defining a local for governance

Figure 9: Cultural Landscape - Tool to identify & reinstate rights

Formulation of a management structure in the light of this paper should begin with the identification of ‘locals’ and their inter-relationships with the landscape, irrespective of their geo-political locations, ideally. This process will help bring into the forefront the groups or locals (in the light of this paper), whether in-situ or not, whose interest has to be considered as a-priori in the process of decision-making, as through them, the values of a site has been
created and is continued. In the language of modern planning and city management — perhaps, such groups can be called — the primary stakeholder.

As the next step, there is a need to identify those groups, who were once a part of the traditional system, but over the years have ceased to practices the same. Such groups become an important part of the knowledge base either actively or passively by supporting a host of research, therefore, having great potential to support value-based management. In the light of this paper, such groups can be considered under the bracket of secondary stakeholders, who share the potential to support the protection of values.

The other important group to consider in a historic site remain as domiciles, who have, over the years have migrated into the place for any reason and today form a part of the populace, but remain peripheral to the traditional system in culture and ethos. Management of such groups is a difficult process, as they may bear very little response towards the site as their sense of belonging to a context is purely need-based. Such transient groups can be categorised as tertiary stakeholders, who although have the power to stop or allow the implementation of a decision, but whose judgement may not be in the best interest of the site.

Over and above the three groups is the administration and institutions, who interact with the aforementioned three groups through decision, policies, planning and implementation activities. Their importance is peripheral to the immediate cultural system as they are in a position of power to take decision and hence make changes which do not affect them. Over and above this, as city managers, power also lies with them to regulate the nature of development and hence suitable policies that is in the best interest of a Site. India being a democracy and being decentralised constitutionally, immense opportunity lies within the local government to tailor context and resource specific policies for the best interest of human development.

Groups with commercial interest should occupy the last rung when stakes are being considered. Such groups, although critical to the local, regional and national economy, may have a different interest — it being profit. For such groups, a site is a resource for financial investment, and likewise returns with due profit. This becomes a dangerous relation to control as, in a country where

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6 It must be specified here, that agencies with commercial interest is not to be considered within the ambit of administration. Their role being very different, they are required to be categorized likewise.
development is much in demand, it becomes convenient to accept a short-term commerce-led one, over a long term conservation oriented path. This group includes any organisation, agency or private individual, whose primary interest lies in superimposing profit-based values over the inherent values of a cultural resource, leading to its commodification or commercialisation. As these groups, driven by monetary power have the potential to over-ride the interest of the mass, these require to be under constant regulation and monitoring by the administration to safeguard the interest of the real stakeholders of a Site.

It must be remembered that the aforementioned categorisation of actors and factors into groups is aimed not at practicing exclusion but to enable informed inclusive planning through participation and to ensure effective allocation of resources. Grouping of people can become an aid in capacity assessment of a site, where resources, especially spatial, is a constraint. This is important in case of nominated properties, so as to control development without opposing human growth. Such a perspective allows identification of the quantum resources such as land and water that needs to be allocated vis-a-vis what can be allocated, for equitable growth and development of the locals. Hence, setting a threshold based on actual facts and figures, i.e. capacity, can be enabled, as opposed to figures from empirical methods.

7. Conclusion
Cultural properties, irrespective of their scale, status (in the World Heritage List), or origin, is an important part of human history and identity. With globalisation, modernisation and changing philosophies, the manner in which humans perceive their culture and identity has changed dynamically. This fact has impacted how humans respond to the evidences of the past, which co-exist in their present. The very need to highlight the importance of safeguarding people who form an integral part of the cultural system shows the distance, modern man shared with his past. This gulf widens with the growing pressures and demands, as more effort is required from a larger populace to understand the importance to safeguard our heritage. Today, India is at a stage where development is yet to overtake the role of culture in a society or to define humans and their lives. Therefore, before the loss heightens to a point, where culture is read only in records and documents and visualised through simulations and graphics, this paper attempts to build a bridge between past and present for the future.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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Sengupta, P. *Satir Debached Ekanna Peeth (51 Pithas)*. Kolkata: Mitra and Ghosh.
Breaking the Norms
A Study of a Norm System within a World Heritage Nomination

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Abstract
This paper deals with the origin and a discourse of the ongoing World Heritage nomination of Hälsingegården in Sweden with a local but distant perspective in fragile balance. It is the result of a complex methodological approach while rising questions to the nomination process. Who promote Hälsingegården? Why? What are the expectations? Who leads and “owns” the nomination process? Who are invited to participate in the process and who are not? How does a culture heritage nomination process and mirror norms in the society? This study presents the results from discerning a discourse within the process. The project works with power, gender, class, norms with perspectives and theories drawn from the sociologists Berit Aas and Fanny Ambjörnsson as well as the ethnologist Owe Ronström concerning Visby. It is scrutinizing how the initiative was moved from a local arena and the National Heritage Board to the County Administration Board and the consequences of this power shift. As Ronström has observed World Heritage sites are shaped by the urban middleclass consolidating spectacular myths and narratives while locals are the audience to the transformation of their everyday life into a styled culture heritage. This study of the process in Hälsingland confirms the marginalizing and suppression of the locals in spite of UNESCO’s operational guidelines saying respectful collaboration with the locals. By studying the process in situ the suppression techniques have been identified. This study reveals how a middle-class management without adequate qualifications and politicians stick together to defend their positions in a complex norm system of power, gender, class in the culture heritage field to achieve a site on the UNESCO Heritage List for the Board of a County Administration.

KEYWORDS: interdisciplinary study, patriarchal norm system, power, gender, class, mechanisms
Norms and mechanisms revealed

A world heritage nomination can reveal norms and mechanisms within a society which it is not aware of, or pretend not to be aware of. Between 2000-2010, in a period of ten years, I have studied the still ongoing world heritage-nomination of Hälsingegårdar, Farms and Villages in Hälsingland in the County of Gävleborg in Sweden with a gender- class- and power perspective.

Sweden has a total of fourteen natural and cultural heritage sites on the UNESCO World Heritage List, and one is a mixed site. It was anticipated that the large timbered farmhouses of Hälsingland in the north of Sweden would be listed in June 2009. ICOMOS, however, came to another conclusion and deferred the nomination.

The nomination process has lasted for over 10 years and has been a painstirking process involving the local communities, the County Administration Board in the county town of Gävle and the National Heritage Board. The local people is partly thrilled, because they assume there is money to earn when they open their homes for tourists; an income that for some is badly needed because of the deterioration of the buildings due to the high costs of maintenance and renovation. But some are openly critical to the entire enterprise, which is seen as a status project for the County Administration Board and some politicians and threat to the landscape by disturbing the harmony between built environment, people and the natural landscape. In a cultural heritage nomination, a complicated interaction arises between expert knowledge and local knowledge, which generates insights that are crucial to capture and dress in words to be able to formulate a successful world heritage proposal and not least to make it operational.

I have studied the nomination process with focus on one person, a middle aged female academic researcher of vernacular architecture and folk art. She was born and brought up in a working class family in a house of a local building tradition in Hälsingland, a so called Hälsingegård, and she still lives there. This person formulated the proposal of Hälsingegårdarna in a letter to the National Heritage Board in 1999 but has not been invited to take part in the application or lead the nomination process. As a native of this part of Sweden and an academic researcher of Hälsingegårdar she combines local knowledge and expert knowledge. A gender-, class- and power perspective gives an answer to why she has been marginalized.
A Methodological Problem

Initially she was the local initiator and a participant observer but at the end of the period she was in the margin of the process as an outsider and an academic expert scrutinizing the nomination. At the beginning she had a methodological problem being too emotionally involved like many other local people. After the conference “Hälsingeårdar. People and Mentality” arranged by the County Administration Board of Gävle and the University College of Gävle in 2002, where she was working as a lecturer by then, she was no longer invited by the County Administration Board to conferences, meetings, books, articles etc concerning Hälsingeårdar. She became a persona non grata; she was not informed about the application or the nomination process, the county curator and his collaborators made fun of her, demonized and isolated her. She found herself being regarded as invisible. She recognized this mechanism as the power-techniques formulated by the Norwegian sociologist Berit Aas. At the conference she had experienced some aggressive attitudes, as women often do when they present their research with other conclusions than male experts. Further on she succeeded in analyzing the mechanisms and her personal role from an objective outside-perspective accepting the emotional experiences without allowing them to influence her research. It is painful to be invisible. She decided to take an outsider position with recognition and respect for her emotions as an important part and experience for her research. We are all more or less personally involved in our research. She was more emotionally involved than she could accept professionally and chose a strict position as an outside observer.

A professor of Ethnology at the University College of Gotland, Owe Ronström, has investigated the world heritage nomination of Visby and found it all a middle class project led by the Count Administration Board. This is also what happens in the County of Gävleborg. The County Administration Board of Gävleborg has a vision of Hälsingeårdar which does not correspond to the reality. Criticism of this vision is not accepted and listened to. The County of Gävleborg has a high degree of unemployment, a low educational level and a misogynic mentality. There is a gender-structure which does not accept that a woman from the working class achieves a Ph D in art history and comes back home to work within the culture heritage sector. She is “too much”, as people say. You should be a heterosexual white young or middle aged man with a...
master’s degree, wife and children, according to the official image established by the communities. Single women with a doctor’s degree are not as welcome home as less competent men with families. Being a successful woman is a handicap rather than an advantage in the County of Gävleborg, as in many other parts of the world still. They are told to be “too much”. If you don’t fit in the norms of how women are expected to live their lives it can be difficult to live in a society in this part of Sweden. You don’t find so many people who are “too much”, artists and other highly creative persons or LGBTQ persons as they find these old fashioned norms and gender structures limiting their lives.

Political reluctance against academics and expert knowledge led to incompetence in many fields of the society, not least concerning museums and culture heritage issues. These communities ruled by a traditional heterosexual middle aged male mentality will continue to lose inhabitants to Uppsala and Stockholm. A site on the UNESCO World Heritage List would make Hälsingegårdar and Hälsingland famous but as Ronström (2009) has noticed in Visby the local people is not positively involved. In Hälsingland there is a gentrifying process going on, which will continue, with or without a site on the UNESCO World Heritage List. A gentrifying process does not disturb the local or regional gender structure as the newcomers are not taken seriously. So far the nomination has been an issue for the County Administration Board of Gävle and not involved local people from Hälsingland in a deeper sense. Most people don’t care any more.

From Initiative to Application

The Swedish application of 2009 was compiled by the international secretary of the National Heritage Board who had many years of experience with previous successful world heritage nominations in Sweden. The National Heritage Board prepared the nomination based on data from the county curator who was an architect. The application consists of descriptions, explanations, maps, maintenance, protection and illustrations in accordance with UNESCO’s Operational Guidelines that give detailed instructions on how to formulate an application. It is always a loss of prestige if an application is denied. An application from Sweden had never before received this kind of response from ICOMOS and it is appropriate to say, in the light of the new circumstances, that the County Ad-
administrative Board of Gävleborg is facing a delicate situation after such a long and arduous process.

It took almost 10 years to produce an application from the time that the National Heritage Board approved the proposal of Hälsingegårdarna. This can be compared to the contemporaneous nominations of Falun and Kopparbergslanden that were accepted in 2001. The proposal of Hälsingegårdarna as a site on the UNESCO World Heritage List was first formulated by a native of Hälsingland in 1999 in a letter to the National Heritage Board. But before the letter was sent, the proposal was presented to the then director of Hälsinglands Museum and the county curator who both dismissed the proposal on indistinct grounds. The matter took a new turn when the National Heritage Board in a letter which was also forwarded to the County Administration Board and The Ministry of Culture urged the proposer to further develop the argument in collaboration with the County Administration Board in Gävleborg (RAA 302-1000-1999), where she was never invited.

**Fields of Tension and the Culture of Economy**

The County of Gävleborg consists of the provinces Hälsingland and Gästrikland and Gävle is the seat of the county government. There is a certain tension to be discerned between the local population in Hälsingland including the owners of the culturally historical farms and houses in Hälsingland called Hälsingegårdar and the authorities in Gävle. A great deal of the local population in Hälsingland have a historically dependent skepticism to authorities in all its different forms. In the application there is a weak tone of tension that can be discerned if one has followed the process and has had contact with the parties concerned. The proposal from the County Administration Board has an obvious lack of voices from the house owners despite the explicit mentioning in the text of the importance of a close collaboration with them. The UNESCO Operational Guidelines demand local participation. In the proposal there is a list of the different local collaborators which is very sympathetic. Nevertheless, it may appear that the world heritage nomination is not only about the houses and the places per se, but rather function as means, or a front, to achieve a certain status and maybe get access to financial resources in the form of EU-grants and others.

There is nothing wrong with these intentions as this is the way it is done in the rest of the world. There are great economic interests
in world heritage, but it is important to stress that the proper order would be that the owners of the houses benefit of that money, resources and prestige materialized in work opportunities and projects instead of going to clever cultural entrepreneurs, middle-men and administrators who sell their vision of the place. In the worse case scenarios, as in the County of Gävleborg, they are neither rooted there, nor do they have deep knowledge about the place.

It might be easy to forget, that the nomination of this particular vernacular architecture began with recognition of their international value and that these culturally historical buildings were jeopardized by lack of funding for maintenance. Neglected preservation and maintenance have not been attended to in any large extent with the many EU-millions that have been spent on different projects with their focus on rural development involving Hälsingegårdar. Excellent but damaged porches and portals as well as interior design from the 18th and 19th century by local craftsmen are in urgent need to be restored or to make a copy of.

The permanent demand from the owners of Hälsingegårdar is financial support for maintenance and restorations in order to facilitate and promote sustainable economic development. The world heritage nomination is estimated to have cost 15 million Swedish Crones (approx. 1.5 million EURO) according to the county curator in interviews 2008. The culture economy, however, does not seem to give preference to the farm owners’ economical and practical possibilities to straighten ramshackle buildings, stabilize house foundations, put new roofs on the large barns and to conserve beautifully carved porches and delicately ornamented doors, eliminate mildews and damp damages, or, acquire adequate knowledge and education. Hälsingegårdar are in great need of academic research as well as acute conservation and maintenance.

Resistance and Distaste

UNESCO emphasizes the importance to anchor the world heritage discussion on the local level to avoid a von- oben approach. Nevertheless, the investigation of Hälsingegårdar was early imbued with tensions between the local people and the County Administration Board. It is common that tension arises in the negotiations between authorities and local people during world heritage investigations. Basically this is about who has the preferential right of interpretation (the last saying) in combination with local economic struggle for access to resources. The Swedish process shows
similarities, but also differences to other world heritage nominations around the world (Turtinen 2006, Saltzman 2001 & 2002). But foremost, a site must always be situated in its historical, economic, cultural and political context, which in its turn means that every nomination process has its special characteristics and themes influencing the outcome and profile of the nomination.

In the case of Hälsingland, the work was initially characterized by reluctance, confusion, lack of competence, social skills and local participation, which unfortunately resulted in the rather hasty and superficial world heritage proposal. The first application by the County Administration Board was deferred by the National Heritage Board. The criteria for Hälsingeårdar were unclear from the start. In the northern parts of Sweden the lack of nobility and upper class culture has stamped the society and created a relatively weak social stratification. In the 19th century it can be read from the narratives of the county governor that the people of Hälsingland was more difficult to govern than the population of Gästrikland. Such a parish mentality still seems to be present in this part of the country. Parish mentality exists all over the world (in Italian campanilismo) and might explain to a certain extent the difficulties for the parties to co-operate effectively. It becomes difficult to join forces, when everyone stubbornly sticks to his/her own business instead of seeking compromises and co-operation towards a common goal that would gain everyone, even the culture heritage tourist industry. But to flatter and subordinate oneself, or brag, does not fit a person who belongs to a farm that has been in the family since the 16th century. And they are many in Hälsingland.

Moreover, the initiator of the world heritage nomination was a hälsing “from the people” which has certain advantages from the perspective of UNESCO as the Operational Guidelines stress the importance of local relations and consent. For the County Administration Board of Gävleborg the proposal, however, seems to have come from the “wrong direction”. It came from a female academic researcher, specialized in vernacular architecture, born and brought up in a Hälsingeård instead of a middleclass man from Gävle or somebody from Stockholm. The proposal came from a private person in Hälsingland and not from the county curator in Gävle. This circumstance colored the process in its initial phase.
"Wrung out dish-cloths"

The County Administration Board of Gävleborg has since the 1990s carried out a number of projects associated with “displaying, protecting and maintaining” Hälsingegårdar, but it was first ten years later that the world heritage topic was brought to the fore and implemented in the projects. At the beginning of this century, the world heritage idea attracted more and more attention and when the political elite realized that a nomination would benefit the area some voices spoke out louder than others and claimed ownership of the idea. The troops were gathered and when the county curator was retired he remained titled a regional world heritage expert and a close collaborator. An agronomist with no or little academic training in cultural heritage research and cultural studies was recruited for the position as county curator.

The proposal the National Heritage Board approved in 1999 coincided with the national interest from 1974 in the parish of Forsa, municipality of Hudiksvall. The 1999 proposal was postponed due to several reasons. Firstly, the area still lacked the necessary prescribed laws of protection, which were due to a combination of the county’s neglect and the local politicians’ lack of interests for the topic. Secondly, the county met with opposition from the local people in Forsa, a parish said to have stubborn inhabitants. After a wild “heritage meeting”, the representatives of the County Administration Board returned to Gävle as “wrung out dishcloths”, narrates one of the participants. This incident indicates that there was an urgent need for letting multiple voices speak out about the process and be met with respect and trust. At the same time we should carefully watch our steps and not let the local knowledge be the governing voice in projects of this magnitude. There is a tendency to glorify local knowledge and “sneak about” because one is afraid of offending the local people. This would be just as much a mistake as allowing the authorities in Gävle to solely governing the process. Culture heritage experts, politicians, administrators, culture entrepreneurs and owners of Hälsingegårdar all contribute to the knowledge on how we best carry out complex projects of this kind. These different, complimentary and even contradictory knowledges must be recognized, analyzed and made operational on all levels.

Such an approach demands that each party is prepared to let their knowledge be deconstructed and scrutinized and maybe discarded in order to enhance the quality of the nomination as a joint
effort. It also demands a transparency and distribution of information – also the unpleasant information that could upset people. I suggest a true dialogue between the parties, which is much more complicated and strenuous than a von-oben approach or an approach of compliancy.

A Serial Nomination
The serial nomination of 15 objects that made out the proposal to the World Heritage Committee in 2009 was an emergency solution and a response to the problems and difficulties the County Administration Board of Gävleborg and the National Heritage Board had encountered in their meetings with the local people. The stated aim of the proposal was to place the architecture of these large farms and villages on UNESCO’s World Heritage list. The buildings should furthermore be evaluated and located in their natural context. Among the objects are: the very large private owned farms of Jon Lars and Pallars in Långhed in Alfta parish; the museum farms Ystegårn in Hillsta in Forsa parish and Karls in Bondarv, Järvsö – both built in an ancient foursided square form enclosing a grassy courtyard. Villages that were nominated are the county’s culture reserve village Västeräng in Delso with the farms Ol Ers, Ersk Mickels, Schäftners and Bommens with the neighboring villages Vi, Ås, Tomta and Mora, Fjärsätter, Åkre and Duvnäs. The last mentioned are known as “Delsbobygden”. Nominated are also the village-museum of Rengsjö and the farms of Erik Anders and Västergården in Asta, Söderala parish. Växbo, in the parish of Ovanåkers, represents the indispensability of summer pasture for cattle breeding. Troldalen and Växbo mill represent entrepreneurship with flax production as a lucrative and complementary source of income for the farmers. The objects are scattered in the landscape. They represent an architectural variety and present different constellations of ownership. Each municipality is represented, which might be more a sign of equity thinking and lobbying than aspects of preservation. Some of the proposed world heritages sites are privately owned and run as farming and forest enterprises. Other sites are public museums.

The selection of objects consolidates the myth about Hälsingland as a landscape inhabited by well-off farmers, rather than the landscape that we encounter when studying the area maps and parish records of the 19th century. I suspect that this kind of discrepancy between facts and a consolidation of a mythical landscape
can be found in many of the UNESCO world heritage sites. This is in accordance with David Lowenthal (1998) theoretical model on how heritage relates to history. Lowenthal states that “Heritage is known as just demonstrated, in ways utterly unlike history. Like medieval relics, heritage is sanctioned not by proof or origins but by present exploits” (1998, p.127).

The Myth of Hälsingland consolidated

Consequently, the nomination that was prepared and finalized by the National Heritage Board and the County Administrative Board of Gävleborg in 2009 mirrors a wishful official image based on a corresponding selection of research results on the farms from different disciplines. In its Executive summary and the Justification for Inscription the nomination states that nowhere in the world there are as many well-off farmers who have built such great houses in order to manifest their social position in the agricultural society. The preference of building large is in line with a nowadays antiquated article by Fredric Bedoire & Lis Hogdal (1983) republished in 2000 as an offprint financed by the County Administrative Board of Gävleborg and used as a scientific background text for the proposal. The argument that the farmers in Hälsingland have built large to mark their social position leads to a false conclusion in so far as also landless in Hälsingland have built bigger than peasants in the south of Sweden. Furthermore, the farmers in Hälsingland were in the highest degree actively involved with the industrialization, that according to the arguments of Bedoire and Hogdal they were hesitant to. The entrepreneurship of the farmers, as already mentioned, played a crucial role in the accumulation of wealth to the farmsteads. To a certain extent the wealth was also spread to the landless population because as employees on the farms they were involved in the production of linen and other industrial enterprises.

A more functional explanation to their preferences of building large houses (even for the cattle) can be found when looking at the practical circumstances of every day life in Hälsingland. Lumber of great length from the forests have been available for rich and poor alike to be used for house building in Hälsingland at all times. The houses of the landless as well as a wealthy farmstead could have an elegantly carved porch and imposing interior decorations styled by skilful local craftsmen, most of them landless. For a person from Hälsingland the large buildings is the normal state
of building, but people unfamiliar with this architecture problems the size of the farms. Building large, hence, was a tradition and a norm in Hälsingland among both the well-off farmers and the landless. By ignoring the relatively weak social stratification in the north of Sweden one misses the point of connecting the right for all to build large with the modern Swedish well-fare equality model. The very Swedish preference for a red wooden house of one’s own might have its historical explanation in this early non-formulated but existing equality ideology (Harnesk 1990).

The Swedish well-fare state has largely been based on a landless working class with its roots in the 19th century rural society. In Hälsingland the landless were in majority during this century. The landless owned their houses located on the outskirts of the villages on the fringe of the forest or on other rugged land. They were called “utanvidsfolk”, “outsiders”, but nevertheless they were integrated in the society, in its value grounds, norm-systems, codes, aesthetics and economy through their work as craftsmen, maids, farmhands, day workers, soldiers and as “help women” who were hired for cleaning, baking, textile handicraft and other duties. In Hälsingland there are buildings of the landless and small farms that have earned a place in the nomination. In the proposal the homesteads of the landless population are treated as if they were the outcast of society (only large wealthy farms are nominated) but in reality they were a strong element in the socio-economic and aesthetic landscape of Hälsingland. Thereby the nomination misses recent research and a focal point in the concept of Hälsingegårdar.

**Interior Design Art defused**

The painters and carpenters are found among the landless, who were in majority in the countryside of Hälsingland during the 19th century when most of the large farm houses of today were constructed. They have created the high quality entrance porches, portals, doors and an exceptional interior design art of outstanding international class and quality born and generated within the a preindustrial rural society or at the fringe of industrialization. These excellent carpenters and painters have been noticed by the art historians Lars Stackell and Manne Hofrén and myself, but this research has not been emphasized in the proposal to the world heritage list. The illustrations in the application are surprisingly thin considering that Hälsingland is famous for its colourful high quality folk art. Surprisingly, more effort has been put on the in-
serting of empty quotes that simply confirms the buildings uniqueness and grandeur. I find that the proposal would have gained by inserting illustrations of e.g. a richly carved door from Forsa, an elegant porch from Ljusdal or Färila, a furniture typical for the Alfta master carpenter Olof Brunk, and flower-paintings by the tenement soldier Anders Ådel and the peasant painter Jonas Hertman trained by a town painter – often apprised as work by fraternity artisans from the town, but in reality produced by the local craftsmen (Andersson 2000).

The County Administration Board of Gävleborg leans firstly on the myth of Hälsingland as an ideal landscape of well-to-do farmers (storbönder) and secondly on its special interest in the wealthy vernacular architecture of the area. The proposal mirrors to a large degree these special interests, which can readily be seen from multiple and irrelevant drawings of frames for windows and doors. Moreover, the interiors with wallpaper get an unreasonably large space although they are not specific for the vernacular architecture of Hälsingland, but are present in different social spaces in Sweden and many other countries.

**Special Interests and Glorification**

The proposal would have gained on an in-depth critical close-up examination. It has little connection to the more recent culture heritage research findings and to the necessary broadening of the analysis to gender, power and class perspectives. The comparative outreaches are unsatisfactory due to the lack of comparative material from the magnificent vernacular architecture found in the world, for example, at the Black Sea in Turkey, in Romania, Austria, Switzerland.

The connection to academic research is weak and consequently new and highly relevant texts and insights have not been effectively communicated. This would have lifted and profiled the grandeur of Hälsingegårdar and toned down other less important aspects presented in the proposal. Unfortunately, the proposal is an example of the lacking of research competent staff at many of Sweden’s county administrative boards and The National Heritage Board and thereby creates a space where knowledge is based on personal interests and arbitrariness rather than on scientific systematic knowledge. There are several factual errors in the proposal text, for example, that an artistically unskillful family from Dalecarlia who earned their living as painters in Rengsjö during the
19th century had a great impact on the interior design in Hälsingland. On the other hand the high quality interior design of Jonas Hertman originating from the 18th century has not been communicated in a satisfactory manner although he was a native of the area where he successfully established himself as an artist.

The Operational Guidelines demand that the applicants prove the uniqueness of the proposed objects. In the case of this proposal, the words have literally been overused (e.g. on page 5 these words are to be found 6 times), which have the counter effect on the reader, as these key words are not well-founded in the text. As already mentioned, ICOMOS came to the conclusion that the uniqueness and authenticity were not proven in the proposal of Hälsingegårdar from the County of Administration Board in Gävle in 2009. In accordance with the demands of the Operational Guidelines an almost indefinite number of investments, preservation plans and protection of the historic buildings in Hälsingland have to be realized and reinforced if the nomination would have been accepted.

The proposal anticipated that the countryside must be prepared for a sharp increase in culture tourism and the University College of Gävle should introduce new courses on Hälsingegårdar and vernacular architecture. A new information centre is also planned. Again, these proposed plans are not in harmony with the reduction of the Hälsinglands Museum in Hudiksvall that in the last ten years has been degraded from a professional culture-historical museum to an amateur museum lacking personal and financial resources. Hälsinglands Museum is the natural node around which the world heritage nomination would revolve by functioning as a knowledge bank and information centre and with museum pedagogic educational activities. The County Administration Board has not strengthened the position of this museum as a visitor’s venue. With my inside perspective, I fear that the many promises in the nomination will never be realized, at least not on the soil of Hälsingland.

Finally, the cover sheet shows a winter picture of Norrgården in Flatmo, Forsa parish. It has the tight dignity that characterizes Hälsingegårdar. It stands above it all as if it contemplates over the business and intrigues of world heritage nominations. Norrgården lives up to the saying of UNESCO; “It is important to underline a fundamental principle of UNESCO, to the effect that the cultural heritage of each is the cultural heritage of all”.
Breaking Norms

By inviting an academic researcher of vernacular architecture who also is a native of Hälsingland to the nomination process the application had been compiled within 2 years, which is normal, instead of 12 and at a cost of far less than approximately 20 millions crowns, 2 millions euro, which have been spent by now. There had been less tension between the authorities and the local people with a key person knowing mentality, norms, values, codes in Hälsingland. The County Administration Board of Gävleborg did not take the chance to challenge the gender- class- and power structures by inviting a female native of Hälsingland academically specialized in vernacular architecture and folk art to the nomination process. That was “too much”.

Instead she took the chance to do a case study about the norms within a UNESCO world heritage nomination led by the County Administration of Gävleborg and the National Heritage Board in Sweden. Her results are in line with those of professor Ronström in Visby. They present that the world heritage nomination of Hälsinge gårdar mirrors a traditional Swedish gender-, class-, and power structure in favor of urban middle class men. In culture heritage nominations generally there seem to be an underlying discourse of conserving norm systems instead of scrutinizing them and break norms as we try to do in many other fields in our modern societies today. Gender-, class-, and power structures within culture heritage nominations do need more research. They do need to be conserved on the UNESCO World Heritage List rather than working in the culture heritage field of a modern society. On a list of their own.

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World Heritage Archaeology and Craftsmanship
Archaeological Heritage Management in the World Heritage: A Preventive Archaeology Proposal

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Abstract
A research line between management of archaeological properties and World Heritage (WH) sites in European and Latin-American is presented in this paper with special interest in the Spanish case, as it is the second country with the most WH sites inscribed (41).

The study is based upon Archaeological Heritage, which can be found in all types of WH properties, even in the cases in which the sites have been included in the List without “archaeological references”. In this way, managing World Heritage sites must include adequate measures for all kinds of cultural properties belonging to the site, even if they are not cited in official documentation of UNESCO nominations.

Analyzing the UNESCO and Advisor bodies’ reports, as well as bibliography and direct documents of some WH Sites, it can observed that there are a lot situations where Archeological Heritage is not considered or it is only valued as a scientific part of historical studies of the site. However, there are no programs, nor specific or adequate projects dealing with this archaeological category of Heritage (its conservation or diffusion).

Consequently, a model of Preventive Archeology is proposed to improve Archaeological Heritage Management in these WH sites. Several examples of activities to put in practice and to achieve greater diffusion are presented in this paper.

Keywords: Archaeological properties, World Heritage, treatment, regulations, protection and diffusion.
1. Introduction

A research team, with members from the Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, University of Brighton and other Spanish Culture administrations (Castilla la Mancha and Madrid) decided to work in WH from an archaeological point of view four years ago. As the responsible researcher for this investigation line, part of the conclusions and results of the research work performed until today will be presented here. Firstly, the need for these studies and the origin of the work is going to be explained.

1.1. World Heritage and its management.

In our opinion, WH must be exemplary not only for the universal or for authenticity of its values, but also because its management must be carried out better than that of other properties. If WH has the same value in the entire world, the measures for its treatment should also be the same, or at least, should have the same good results for conservation and protection than other cultural properties.

More research needs to be developed, specifically in an intermediate scale, where there seems to be a lack of specific studies dealing globally with World Heritage management. There are a lot of local and practical presentations about WH management (i.e., some publications about specific sites edited by Unesco). There are general observations and statistics on world heritage showing the imbalanced situations concerning the number of inscription in several aspects (regional, historical periods, kind of heritage, etc. i.e., statistics or several public information and report made by Unesco World Heritage Center). As it is well known, this was stated by UNESCO when presenting the global strategy in 2004. But today’s reality is that these skewed representations of WH continue. We do not have enough scientific-technical studies to know well what the real effects of WH inscriptions concerning cultural heritage management are in multiples matters. We are aware that probably these studies would not sort out the management problems, but, they could help to better understand the situation and will propo-

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1 The main Project is called “The treatment of archaeological properties in the World Heritage cities of the European Union & Latin America” HAR2009-08691). Specialists belonging to Archaeology, Architecture, Philology and Computer Science areas are working in this project funded by Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation. Web page: www.parquecipamu.es
se new ways to protect and spread our most important cultural heritage.

The opportunity to explore and contrast situations in different socio-economic and legal contexts has also proved to be very interesting, because one can distinguish whether the issues are circumstantial or structural in archaeological heritage management, and how this subject is extended or changed. The main goal of the research project is to know the impact and contribution of international conventions, chapters and the transversal dimension of WH.

A decision was made to focus our studies in WH for these stated reasons, but not only because of them. As mainly a Spanish team, we are deeply concerned with Spanish decision to transform everything into WH. Spain is the second country in the world with more WH inscribed sites. We do not really agree with this fact, and indeed, many other countries have cultural properties with good values that have not been submitted yet or would ever become WH. But certainly, today Spain has become a great laboratory to research the effects and management of WH inscribed sites.

Finally, the international aspect of the research line implies to study other countries in order to make a comparison among them. The European and Latin-American contexts have a lot of points in common with Spain and this was the main reason to focus the study on WH properties in these areas.

1.2. About Archaeological Heritage.

This is the WH context in which this research unfolds, and it is, at the same time Archaeological Heritage.

We understand Archaeological Heritage like a part of Cultural Heritage. And also, we understand Cultural Heritage like a wide and changing concept. The first cause to study it, is that we believe that Cultural Heritage must help us understand and respect ourselves and live better. At the same time, we try to analyze the management focusing on Archaeology like a science and consequently the case of Archeological Heritage. Of course, and nevertheless, as members of academia and university or research centre, working in these issues implies to work from an idealist perspective, where it is sometimes difficult to move into the practical dimension.

But, what do we understand by Archaeological Heritage? Certainly, there is an international consensus in conventions and scientific environments that Archaeological Heritage is all Cultural Heritage, which is studied using archaeological methodology.
However, since this methodology is useful for the vast majority of cultural properties, it is possible to find Archeological Heritage in all of them.

Besides, when Archaeology is defined as a science, the use of this methodology in all the cultural properties is very useful, because it allows to improve the historical content and consequently to increase the values of the mentioned properties.

Therefore, the idea is not that Archaeological Heritage will be the protagonist in all cultural properties, but that it is an added value and it needs our attention and consideration, because it enriches and promotes Cultural Heritage in general.

2. The kind of World Heritage concerning Archaeology.

With these introductory principles, three types of WH properties can be recognized.

First, those for which the reason of the inscription is archaeological. These are the easiest ones to identify: mainly sites like Pompeya and Herculano, Petra, Chichen-Irza, etc. All of them need Archaeology as a basic resource for their research and consequently, it is easy to identify the archaeological values of these properties.

The second group of WH properties is that where the archaeological values are clear, although other important reasons have motivated the WH inscription. For example, the Historic Centre of Rome or the Archaeological Landscape of the First Coffee Plantations in the South-East of Cuba. Archaeology is one of the key features for the inscription as WH, but not the only one.

And finally, most important for our study are the sites where the Archaeological Heritage is not easily recognized, but it is important and exists as well. Two properties are given here as examples:

Florence. The relationship between Archaeology and Architecture is clear here, because the monumentality of a lot of buildings in Florence sometimes prevents another approach, other perspectives, histories or overviews. However, it is important to remember that cities are live archeological sites. One monument has a historical context and a great part of its value is possible thank to its archaeological context.

The second example is Ngorongoro Conservation Area (Tanzania). This is mainly a natural area, consequently Natural heritage, but indeed, it is very difficult to find something really wild in the nature, without a human influence. In fact, this area has one of the
most important archeological sites in the world: those referring to our human remote past and our common origins.\(^2\)

However, researching from this position, a first step would be to know the role Archaeological Heritage plays in each property.

Of course, a key issue to progress in this research documental revision is mandatory. Knowing official information, and learning from other legal, administrative and technical documentation as well about the country and the socio-economic context has become seminal to this research work, trying to deepen into some examples throughout local information and direct field work, contacts, etc, to complete the survey.

We applied for several calls of proposals mainly in the Spanish support context with these ideas. But not only this, we also contacted with other organizations in order to launch the research line and today we have several ongoing projects and activities. Different specialists participate in these research actions: archaeologists, architects or engineers, philologists, tourist experts, and even professionals who are working in the practical world of Cultural or World Heritage management, as it needs to be a comprehensive approach.

3. Examples of studies results
3.1. The Spanish Case

The first case analyzed in this paper is about Spanish WH properties. When all the basic and official documentation concerning WH inscriptions are reviewed, it can be observed that only in a few cases are there some references to Archaeology or Archaeological Heritage. In all UNESCO reports (periodical reports and declaration files) in the case of Spanish WH properties, only in 10 out of 42, do not include archaeological researchers in the properties remarked. However, searching in other scientific information

\(^2\) The Ngorongoro Conservation Area spans vast expanses of highland plains, savanna, savanna woodlands and forests. Established in 1959 as a multiple land use area, with wildlife coexisting with semi-nomadic Maasai pastoralists practicing traditional livestock grazing, it includes the spectacular Ngorongoro Crater, the world’s largest caldera. The property has global importance for biodiversity conservation due to the presence of globally threatened species, the density of wildlife inhabiting the area, and the annual migration of wildebeest, zebra, gazelles and other animals into the northern plains. Extensive archaeological research has also yielded a long sequence of evidence of human evolution and human-environment dynamics, including early hominid footprints dating back 3.6 million years\(^*\) Source: World Heritage Center. UNESCO http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/39. 2010
in contrast, that archaeological studies have been made in most of them (Castillo 2009).

The following table shows a summary of this study. An evolution regarding archaeological issues can be seen. In fact, there is a greater presence of Archaeology in the official documents when these are newer. This increase in the archaeological references is specially significant in the case of the UNESCO periodic reports for the sites which were inscribed between 2005 and 2006.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>PROPERTY</th>
<th>EXTENSION</th>
<th>FIRST REFERENCES TO ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE/ARCHEOLOGY UNESCO PUBLIC FILES.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>INSCRIPTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Alhambra, Generalife and Albayzin, Granada</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Burgos Cathedral</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Historic Centre of Cordoba</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Monastery and Site of the Escorial, Madrid</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Works of Antoni Gaudi</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Cave of Altamira and Paleolithic Cave Art of Northern Spain</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Monuments of Oviedo and the Kingdom of the Asturias</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Old Town of Ávila with its Extra-Muros Churches</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Old Town of Segovia and its Aqueduct</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Santiago de Compostela (Old Town)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Garajonay National Park</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Historic City of Toledo</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Site Description</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Mudejar Architecture of Aragon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Old Town of Cáceres</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Cathedral, Alcázar and Archivo de Indias in Seville</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Old City of Salamanca</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Poblet Monastery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Archaeological Ensemble of Mérida</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Route of Santiago de Compostela</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Royal Monastery of Santa María de Guadalupe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Doñana National Park</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Historic Walled Town of Cuenca</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>La Lonja de la Seda de Valencia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Las Médulas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Palau de la Música Catalana and Hospital de Sant Pau, Barcelona</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Pyrénées - Mont Perdu *</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>San Millán Yuso and Suso Monasteries</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Site Description</td>
<td>WH Status</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>University and Historic Precint of Alcalá de Henares</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Ibiza, Biodiversity and Culture</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>San Cristóbal de La Laguna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Archaeological Ensemble of Tárraco</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Archaeological Site of Atapuerca</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Catalan Romanesque Churches of the Vall de Boí</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Palmeral of Elche</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Roman Walls of Lugo</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Aranjuez Cultural Landscape</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Renaissance Monumental Ensembles of Úbeda and Baeza</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Vizcaya Bridge</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Teide National Park</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Tower of Hercules</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1. Resource: World Heritage Center. Self-made.

3.2. The case of the cities

Probably this is our most ambitious project and we have been involved in it trying to deepen in the problem of archaeological urban heritage (see footnote 1) since 2008 with the support of the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation. We selected an important geographical and political area to be researched: WH cities from European Union and Hispano-America.

These are the main objectives of the project:

1. To study the state of the art and diffusion done on archaeological works in WH cities in Europe and Latin America. Special attention is payed to their considerations within the inscriptions,
the restorations carried out in Architectural Heritage and the physical presentation of the properties.

2. To develop new strategies based on a comparative analysis of the protection and valorization of Archaeological Heritage in WH Cities, with a practical use for the case of Spain.

3. To spread through different means, the research results obtained with this Project with a clear diffusion purpose.

4. To generate a meeting point, form a methodological platform, to work in the protection and valorization of urban Archaeological Heritage promoting the development of new projects in relation to this working area and encouraging the international multidisciplinary collaboration in Cultural Heritage management, both with research centres and with public and private organizations.

5. To use the Information Technologies Communications to digitalize all the documents generated so that it can be easily and widely spread.

The first challenge for this research was the concept of city, which was inscribed as WH. This a problem in two ways dealing with physical aspects: one of them concerns the delimitation of the city inscription, because, sometimes, important parts of the city are out of the official declarations and these hide other important values (not only “underground” archaeological elements or sites, even features concerning visual landscape and the historical interpretation of urban Archaeology).

At the same time, there are some inscriptions concerning specific buildings or elements in the city (i.e Cathedrals or bridges). These kinds of inscriptions are more difficult to consider. As the study focuses on heritage management, the role of organizations, administration and institutions is very important in this precise topic. In the case of the cities, the city council is the first agent in their management and its vision must be integrated concerning cultural and historical values in the city, independently of the area inscribed as WH. For this reason, mainly cities have been chosen to study and analyze where the city county has an important role as the institution “responsible” of WH. There is an important international organization joining city councils to WH: Organization of World Heritage Cities (OWHC). Cities that were members of this organization could be a good starting point for selecting the cities of our research. Recent publications by UNESCO note that there
are “about” 250 cities inscribed on the WH list (2010). More than half of all cities (134) were selected for our study, since most are located in our areas of interest and belong to that organization.

General studies about the inscriptions and the archaeological references have been performed. Unfortunately, little has been found about the precise archaeological topic, and results are similar to Spanish case. When any archeological topics are included, the files of inscriptions treat only aspects like diggings, prospections or support for restorations or general civil works. Usually the increasing number of diggings is the most underlined fact. However, the historical dimensions, the new knowledge developed through archaeological sites or an archeological heritage protection strategy hardly appear in the official files and the public information belonging to UNESCO World Heritage Center.

The fact that Archeology is linked to older periods is significant, although in recent inscriptions, it is more common that archeological works appear linked to “stages” closer to the Medieval or Modern period, and even to the Contemporary era.

Moreover, the use of this criterion to select cities for this research, has led us to contact the OWHC and to start a collaboration project³ with 16 cities in the European and Mediterranean context. A questionnaire has been drawn to be answered by professionals (mainly archeologists) belonging to several WH cities who are part of Regional Secretariat of Southern Europe and the Mediterranean area of Organization of World Heritage Cities. Three meetings have been celebrated during the last two years where information has been interchanged and discussed about the situation of Urban Archaeology and its relation with World Heritage contexts.

Some important conclusions are that although most of the cities had references or inventories about Archaeological Heritage, not all have archaeologists in their staff for the WH city management (only 10 cases) or have specific archaeological preventive measures through planning (like protected areas or others) (12). Another result was the imbalance concerning the number of Archaeological interventions per year in every city: ranging from 4 to 612. There is a high disparity of situations concerning these aspects and others, such as the rate between population and construction activities and the number or interventions, the quality of the implemented measures, etc.

³ The project is called “Archaeological Heritages and World Heritage Cities in the OWHC (2009-2010)” and was supported by Regional Secretariat of Southern Europe and Mediterranean area which is located in Córdoba (Spain).
Anyway, results of these surveys performed, show a very complex scope for comparative studies, with references to Archaeology and its management in several ways, but without clear and proportional measures in most cases. The reasons for these imbalance situations are many too. For example, the historical role of Archaeology in the city or the review of the town planning in the last years can be decisive for an adequate management.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WH CITY</th>
<th>ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVENTORIE</th>
<th>TOWN PLANNING ARCHAELOGICAL MEASURES</th>
<th>ARCHAEOLOGICAL AREAS RESERVED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angra do Heroismo</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Córdoba</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granada (Albaicin neighborhood)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>In progress</td>
<td>In progress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Québec</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ávila</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segovia</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>In progress</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évora</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cáceres</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Toledo</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>Estrasburgo</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lyon</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcalá de Henares</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guimarães</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aranjuez</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Úbeda</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burdeos</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 2. Some results of the studies in the cities concerning Preventive Archaeology actions. January 2010. Resource: Part of surveys responses by technical staff of the council participating in the project of the OWHC (see footnote 3). There are some cities without very important archaeological preventive measures. Self-Made.*

Finally, it is important to discuss the case of Latin America and compare it to the European context. There are two clear differences:

One of them concerns the own geographical area and history. It is important to observe how the Pre-Columbian past of many...
cities is less important in the context of WH inscription. There are 124 WH properties in this area and 46 are cities. Most of these cities have a pre-Columbian origin, but, in the WH files, this aspect is rarely underlined or is rarely included as the main reason for the inscription.

Probably the reason is the prominence of spectacular archaeology (Mayas, Incas, pyramids, etc.) and this determines the absence of pre-Columbian reference in the other inscriptions. Of course, we think part of this global imbalance in the treatment of these sites responds to UNESCO’s global strategy and the idea that Western past is “truly” important.

The second aspect concerns the diffusion of urban Archaeology and “rescues” Archaeology in general like a science that is more difficult to know in these countries. It is less developed there than in the European context, but it is starting to appear more frequently, as “Arqueología Histórica” for the urban case. Other reason for not identifying archaeological studies in the cities is sometimes that these are included with other names or in articles/texts about architectural works (i.e., restorations). It can even be seen in the legal context. For example, in Mexico, Archaeology is not “well regulated”, as Archaeology or archaeological zones are only pre-colonial past sites. Other countries are starting to change their legislation in this way and rename other kinds of Archaeology and consequently, another Archaeological Heritage. This is the case of Colombia, which has collective measures and rules that consider Preventive Archaeology (ICAHN 2010: 1.4). However, in general, normative and regulations concerning this issue are very young (from 2008 on) and only time will allow us to evaluate it.

3.3. Some conclusions

For the time being, we can observe some common conclusions from the different studies carried out:

In spite of archaeological studies having been extended to all types of WH properties in the analyzed area, especially in the

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4 Colombia published the Law about Culture in 1997, but it was partially modified in 2008 (Ley 1185 de 2008 «Por la cual se modifica y adiciona la Ley 397 de 1997 - Ley General de Cultura - y se dictan otras disposiciones»). This modification is specially interesting for the case of Archaeological Heritage (art. 3 in the revised legislation and 6 in the 2008 Law), because in the 1997 Law it is considered only for “pre-Colombine” properties. Nevertheless, in the 2008 Law, Archaeological Heritage is considered for any period where archaeological methodology can be applied.
last years, there are a few particular strategies on the treatment of Archaeological Heritage in the sites, and the majority of interventions and their results are still unknown. Probably, this is so because Archaeology is mainly understood as an excavation, not as a historical science to know better the whole property, not the specific cases of intervention.

Besides, these archaeological excavations are very linked to construction works and sometimes this kind of Archaeology must be avoided. It is important to remember that digging is destroying the Cultural Heritage. And, unfortunately, a lot of times the strategy towards Archaeological Heritage is more a legal imperative than the real consideration or valuation of the archaeological remains.

Consequently there is not a real strategy towards Archaeological Heritage management in World Heritage.

4. A proposal from Preventive Archaeology

These surveys carried out corroborate a general problem that Archaeology has today. Trying to improve the situation of archaeological properties we believe the work should be accomplish through Preventive Archaeology.

Preventive Archaeology comprises a series of activities aimed at discovering and protecting Archaeological Heritage before any type of incident may affect it. In cases when this is impossible, the aim will be to reduce the impact as much as possible, preventing that the elements are excavated or destroyed. (Martínez y Castillo, 2007).

The reason to focus our researches in protecting Archaeological Heritage is that a great deal of it is being lost every day, and consequently, Cultural Heritage is lost and future historical and social tangible and intangible values too.

Four actions at least, are necessary to put into practice in this matter (Querol 2010: 216-219):

• To know well the archaeological heritage in the considered property, with previous studies and prospections.
• To manage this information before any plan or strategy could affect it and to establish preventive measures: to preserve zones (only for spreading, conservation and archaeological reserves) and caution areas (with previous studies in the case of ground “movements” or destructive physical changes).
• To correct in the first stages of construction works, the affection of Archaeological Heritage which can destroy it.
• To avoid destructive archaeological interventions (excavations).

The aim is to preserve the site for future studies, public presentation and a long-term reservation.

And, of course, one of the main reasons for going so is to diffuse or spread the more unknown Archaeological Heritage, because it is the most common of this kind of Cultural heritage and, at the same time, society does not appreciate it as it deserves to be appreciated.

For all of this, we think management plans are a good opportunity to launch this proposal in the context of WH, because UNESCO is demanding more and more this treatment tool for the countries with inscribed sites. Some of these properties have this kind of plan or use urban plans to justify their way of acting, but we observe that the flexibility and trans-disciplinary proposal are not present in these tools.

In the case of Archaeological Heritage, promoting these strategies where the Archaeology must have a significant role and is in agreement with other interests and social values is a basic need. For this reason, we have developed presentations and publications in not only academic or scientific contexts, but also collaborating with other organizations to show the importance of our theoretical proposals and comparative studies. For example, in the project of the OWHC, we have participated in a Workshop about management plan (November, 2010) and we have published a document concerning Archaeology in the cities that participated in the project.

Other good example was the “First International Conference on Best Practises in World Heritage: Archaeology” celebrated in April 2012 (Castillo Ed.)5 We selected several topics that we considered key ones in order to achieve a good Archaeological Heritage management in WH (Social action, ITC, Architecture, Land planning, Preventive Archaeology, Education and diffusion).

We think it is another way to reach our objectives concerning diffusion and promotion of “unknown” Archaeological Heritage.

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5 Some papers and conferences of this event will be published by Springers ed., with the support of International Scientific Committee of Archaeological Heritage Management (ICOMOS). The Conferences was supported by Insular Government of Menorca (Spain) and Spanish Ministry of Industry, Tourism and Commerce.
We hope this event will be a success and it will make an impact on promoting studies and new measures about archaeological management.

Definitively, Preventive Archaeology and its practice is one of the challenges for the following years in the context of WH. We try to contribute to it and this paper fulfils this purpose.

References
Castillo Mena, A.

Cleere H.F.


Unesco
- World Heritage Centre: http://whc.unesco.org/
- (1972) Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.


*Seminar or Courses made by team of the WH Cities Project (see footnote 1):
Querol, M.A. and Castillo, A. (dir.)
- Patrimonio Arqueológico y Patrimonio Mundial en España. Encuentro de verano de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid. 7-9 de Julio de 2010. El Escorial. Madrid

Introduction: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=25uTwy8i3jk;
Florence: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ttSdz69_OJ4
Panama: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KtC8XKoagY
Debate 1: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kzbGijTc4QE
OWHC Project http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mci1mcqCmTQ
Barcelona: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hXDHPWpW_o
Granada: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dDtv2tGBwkw
Debate 2. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3DWX_ptoc_o
Abstract

World Heritage Sites strive to ensure the quality of the built heritage. One of the main contentions in this article is that the heritage craftsperson is of fundamental importance in the efforts to maintain World Heritage. He or she is a connecting link between the tangible (building) and intangible (crafts practice) heritage. Activities at the sites involve experts from various disciplines and approaches. When serious questions on how to manage and preserve the World Heritage are raised, various branches of antiquarian expertise on architecture, conservation and bureaucrats have their say when intervention is negotiated and decided upon. The empirical findings in this article stem from an international Leonardo da Vinci project that intended to honour the craftsperson and craftsmanship by developing knowledge that could contribute to recognition of their work. During the project, the World Heritage Town/Cities of Roros, Tallinn and Vilnius were arenas for three craftsmanship workshops. The workshops were targeted for craftspersons of different nationalities, education backgrounds...
and job situations. We describe and discuss the craftpersons’ participation in the World Heritage dialogues and the dialogic aspects of built heritage craftsmanship as this is expressed through knowledge exchange and collaboration, through action related requirements at the site and through the different stages when craftpersons in different sites enter the preservation scene. The craftpersons’ considerations about the interplay between modern and traditional tools, materials and work methods at different stages of preservation, as well as the uniqueness of each object, may enrich the built heritage dialogue. Questions related to whose interests are voiced in these decisions, and how these considerations are reflected in the restoration practices may be raised as it is the choices in tool and practice that literary marks the tangible heritage.
1. Introduction

Røros, Vilnius and Tallinn are three European towns on the UNESCO World Heritage List. Like other World Heritage Sites, they strive to reinforce the quality of the built heritage. Activities at the sites involve experts from various disciplines and approaches. When serious questions arise as to how to manage and preserve a World Heritage Site, various kinds of antiquarian expertise on architecture, conservation, and so on, and bureaucrats have their say. In this article we address a group that has seldom been addressed, even in the Charters (Eggen et. al. 2006), the broad heritage craftsperson. It may at first seem a little odd to ask for an opinion from the craftsperson’s perspective. They are, after all, the doers dealing with local on-site practicalities. The interest in craftsmanship competences seems, however, to be increasing at all levels. In the Official Norwegian Report on the cultural heritage it is argued that:

“Craftsmen and their competence are together with owners crucial for how cultural monuments and environments are maintained, restored and upheld. … A variety of competences is necessary to maintain our various cultural heritages.” (NOU 2002:1, p. 114)

However, there is a general problem in that competence in traditional crafts is disappearing due to low recruitment, even though traditional building and constructing practices need to be re-established. In other words, the sustainability of both the intangible and tangible heritage is at stake. When the work centres on the maintenance of buildings, this calls for a broad range of knowledge, competence and skills. Judgments involve how to go about the work, with what kind of tools and in which ways, and to what purpose. A general assessment is that the contemporary artisan education does not fully provide for the development of such competences:

“Artisan education does not provide sufficient knowledge and methodology to perform satisfactory work on existing buildings. Even though rough estimates show that between 50 and 60 per cent of all construction work is maintenance, rehabilitation and reconstruction, education in the building and construction industry is largely focused on new construction. And craftsmanship teaching is often given low priority,” (NOU 2002:1, p. 115).

Within vocational education, craftsmanship training is focused on and serves the modern building industry. The standards and control within this sector provide detailed regulations for all parts
of a building. For example, there are standards for all details in the building and for special rooms, such as bathrooms. With these thorough regulations it follows that it is sufficient to look into the standards and thus know what the inside of a building looks like. In accordance with the regulations, a range of certified craftsmen carry out specialised work within a building site. There is cohesion and matching between the building regulations and the craftsmanship competence and qualifications in this sector.

The standards for the modern building industry cannot be transferred as standards or methods for buildings and craftsmanship when restoring and preserving old houses. According to Sjur Mehlum (2005), from the Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage, this is a suitable system for new buildings, but not for old buildings and restoration. There is, however, no qualification system that separates modern and old buildings so that building experts from the modern building industry may very well also be responsible for work on old buildings without having any experience of such work. To explain why this is not necessarily a suitable solution for the built heritage, Mehlum pointed out that: “In the built heritage one finds the solution in the house or building, not in the regulations” (ibid.). In other words, the building must have a say, and the standards governing how to approach the maintenance tasks are to be found in the building itself. This requires a special kind of craftsmanship experience and expertise that is not easy to acquire.

Following this perspective, craftspersons who work in the midst of the heritage scene are in a key position. The craftsperson can be regarded as a connecting link between the tangible (building) and intangible (crafts practice) heritage. The craftsperson then has a very important role in managing knowledge and material at the World Heritage Site. The craftsperson will always be the one, based on his or her competence, to put his or her marks on the house.

Local craftsmanship is influenced by various discourses and dialogues of contemporary and historical interest on the local, national and global scale. Caring for the built heritage involves bringing together different perspectives, interests and standards of a local, national and global nature. The various interests may involve different standards and regulations, such as the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), regulations and modern national standards for buildings, bureaucratic procedures and heritage expertise, local owners, traditions and so on. In this context,
preservation practices at heritage sites may be understood as part of on-going dialogues. These continuous (changing) dialogues evolve over time and provide direction and meaning to practices. The dialogues comprise a knowledge base and performance base for heritage craftspersons in their daily work.

Taking our point of departure from the local level of the built heritage dialogue, we will discuss how craftsmanship and competence development is performed at built heritage sites. We will also look at how and when craftsmen are invited into the restoration work in progress.

2. The Celebration of Crafts Project

The empirical findings in this article stem from an international Leonardo de Vinci pilot project (2003 – 2005/2006) that aimed to honour the built heritage craftsperson and craftsmanship by developing knowledge that could contribute to the recognition of this work (Eggen et al., 2006).

The project owner was the local authority of the town of Røros, in addition to eight partners from Greece, Italy, Estonia, Lithuania, Finland and Norway who collaborated throughout the project period. The partners were educators from vocational schools, architects, heritage administrations and researchers. Included in the project were also critical friends from such institutions as ICO-MOS, and most important of all, craftspersons with experience from working on the built heritage.

The Celebration of Crafts Project (CoC) reflects the common understanding of the growing importance of the restoration of historical monuments. Teaching institutions are attempting to satisfy the needs this situation creates and the World Heritage Site managers are asking for better tools to deal with this wide ranging challenge. Self-employed craftspersons and those employed by companies and organisations operating in the heritage field are professionally interested in and genuinely motivated to increase the quality of craftsmanship. However, the lack of quality control effects the professional development of craftspersons. An information folder developed by the CoC Project states that “...craftsmanship has a world-wide tradition – learning systems and knowledge which are transmitted hand-to-hand through generations. Alone, no teaching institution can cover all aspects of this vast field of architectural heritage and crafts education” (Celebration of Crafts). These circumstances provide a strong motive for study-
ing craftsmanship, both as practice and as workplace learning (See e.g. Billett, 2006, Lave, 1997, Lave & Wenger, 1991, Säljö, 2001).

During the CoC project period the heritage towns and cities of Røros, Tallinn and Vilnius were arenas for three craftsmanship workshops. The three workshops were targeted for craftspersons of different nationalities, education backgrounds and job situations, the latter being the various heritage objects or contexts proposed by each organising partner. For the Røros workshop, the craftspersons worked on wooden houses included in the Uthus Project (Outbuildings Project). The workshop at Tallinn involved a conventional intervention on a church tower. The Vilnius workshop collaborated on timber houses.

The Røros and the Tallinn workshops serve as the empirical base for this article, with the Røros workshop and the Uthus Project as the main source of information. The Uthus Project at the World Heritage Site of Røros plays an important role as the backdrop for developing the ideas that are forwarded to the Leonardo da Vinci Project. The Uthus Project was the main starting point for the CoC Project and the place from where many of the craftspersons had their built heritage experience.

The article is based on analyses presented in papers and reports from the CoC Project (Rismark & Stenøien, 2004, 2005a, b, 2007, Stenøien, 2010).

The Uthus Project – The Røros Experience

The evaluation of Røros as a World Heritage Site, undertaken by ICOMOS in 1993, paved the way for the Uthus Project. Since 1980 Røros had been included on UNESCO’s World Cultural and Natural Heritage List.

The groundwork for the project was laid in 1994 and 1995, and it became a comprehensive preservation programme for close to 400 outbuildings (barns, stables, tool-sheds, wood-sheds) that comprise part of the farm complexes in the town. From 1995 to 2003, 150 outbuildings were preserved. In the spring of 2004, about 25 outbuildings were in the process of being preserved, and about 25 self-employed heritage craftspersons were working in the project. A new ICOMOS evaluation of Røros provided a list of 11 critical remarks on how Røros was mismanaging the World Heritage responsibility. However, the same report was positive to the Uthus Project and recommended that it should be made permanent and that it should be expanded to cover the district called
“Småsetran” outside the city centre (Hovland, 2004). According to a newspaper article on March 4, 2011, the Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage has found the competence-raising in traditional built heritage craftsmanship taking place in the project to be so interesting and important that they have decided to continue supporting it. One plan is to make Røros a centre for traditional craftsmanship (Tønset, 2011).

This project has been carried out in a way that has pleased various authorities. The Uthus Project is managed and for a large part funded by the Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage. Røros local authority has been delegated responsibility for carrying out the project and together with the house owners provides the rest of the funding. A reference group decides the basic principles for the on-going work. One requirement is that the experience gained through the project must be shared with others working in similar areas, in particular those repairing historically valuable buildings and collections of buildings. The Uthus Project also focuses on documentation of the entire process through such themes as: organisation and leadership, delivery of materials, training of craftspersons, relation to the house owners, management’s participation, degree of documentation, the relationship to international guidelines for protection and so on.

Already from the start-up this project was based on ideas of repair work that are very different from standards in the modern building industry, which could become an example for others. The first conservation officer at Røros, Fredrik Prøsch (2004), hoped that experiences from the Uthus Project could also serve as an example for the main buildings at Røros, and as a counterpoint for what he felt was a brutal modernisation, perhaps slowing down and even reversing the trend.

Background documents stipulate that the various actors involved in the project are required to work together (Uthusprosjekt, 1999). This involves bringing together different perspectives, interests and standards of a local, national and global nature. The fact that Røros is valued as a heritage site makes the unique experience of documentation and knowledge development in the Uthus Project an important key to understanding the interplay between cooperation, knowledge and learning processes in general. These different perspectives and interests comprise part of the platform for the craftspersons in their daily work. They are faced with the challenge of satisfying and combining the preservation requirements.
3. Knowledge and Collaboration in Craftsmanship within the Built Heritage

We see the heritage site as a unique and complex learning environment. In general, when discussing learning through work, subjective ascription and the social negotiation of meaning of the changing technical-organisational environments are essential (Jorgensen & Warring, 2000). Negotiating meaning naturally brings built heritage dialogues into attention. Through different dialogues, the heritage craftpersons play a role in knowledge construction processes. The concept of dialogue goes far beyond people talking together. According to Bakthin (1986), dialogue refers to dialogicality as a part of human language and thought (Wertsch, 1991). We apply the dialogue concept in a wide perspective, seeing all human action as dialogic in nature. Human consciousness and even existence itself may be considered dialogic. Our analysis is based on the craftpersons’ descriptions of their actions and involvements as dialogic partners in the joint efforts to strive for quality in maintenance at the heritage sites.

According to Richard Sennet, craftsmanship is “… the skill of making things well” (Sennet, 2009, p. 8). There should be no doubt that the World Heritage work needs and deserves competent craftpersons. But the traditional trades and guilds from the middle ages are long gone. Already around late 1800 these communities had lost much of their strength, and the master craftsman became the main figure (Farr 2000). Sennet (2009) speaks of two kinds of expert, one social and one anti-social, and at Røros, they appear to honour the social craftperson.

The Heritage Site Requires More than Routinized Action

At Røros, the craftpersons operate within a sociocultural context, and they participate in processes of satisfying, adjusting to and transforming different interests and standards into practical solutions and perspectives. This context constitutes both the working reality and the learning frames for the craftpersons and their various backgrounds. This brought attention to how the work context allows knowledge to be shared and developed and how the participants see the learning opportunities at the work sites.

One principal idea in the Uthus Project is that craftpersons need a broad competence to deal with the complex challenges of the heritage site. This is because the craftpersons here are invol-
provided in the total process of preserving a building. At the same time, the competence needed and possessed is not documented in any systematic way. Even though there are guidelines to follow in the preservation work and these provide some direction for the work processes, there are no fixed standards guiding the actions.

The craftsperson is responsible throughout the work process. The goal of the work is to raise the outbuildings to a good enough standard that they only require normal maintenance. Repair work is to be carried out according to preservation principles, using traditional materials, methods and tools. According to Fitsch’s (1998) list of levels of intervention (1) Preservation, 2) Restoration, 3) Conservation and Consolidation, 4) Reconstitution, 5) Adaptive Use, 6) Reconstruction, 7) Replication), the Uthus Project operates on the lowest of these levels of intervention preservation. Nonetheless, the expectation for the heritage craftsperson at Røros is that he or she should be able to carry out the designer’s intention, distinguishing between the following approaches: renovation, restoration (2), reconstruction (6), replication (7) and maintenance (Eggen et. al. 2006). Only three “levels” match Fitsch’s list (1998). In the Quality Assurance for the Cultural Heritage Craftsmen at Røros (Eggen et.al., 2006), the overall principle is: “to restore buildings with the utmost care, giving priority to the existing form and construction as the standard for craftsmanship and strength” (op.cit., p. 283). This is also reflected in the priorities within the CoC Project. The CoC Project also emphasises caution, underlining the importance of looking for good answers before acting to avoid meaningless action.

Preservation principles are to be applied within a complex restoration work process. Restoration work involves taking the whole building into consideration, at the same time the intervention mostly implies work with bits and pieces of a building, with as little interference as possible with the heritage. This leaves the workers in a situation with few opportunities to work on a building in its entirety. Their ability to read the houses is closely connected to knowledge about the construction complexity of heritage buildings per se. Craftspersons reflect on the limitations of just working on special aspects. One way of overcoming such limitations is to exploit the possibilities for knowledge flow between restoration work and the construction of new houses. This can benefit both practices. For example, knowledge about choosing materials is one element that may enrich the modern building process, and
turning this around, opportunities to construct new houses will allow craftsmen to develop and maintain understandings of the totality of the building.

The craftsperson needs to ensure that his or her intervention is as minimal as possible, but at the same time, the moment he or she decides to take action, it must be well thought out and take the form of skilled practice. Bearing this in mind, it becomes clear that restoration work requires more than routinized action, or as Langer (1989) says, this type of challenge calls for “mindfulness”.

Part of the restoration craftsperson’s competence deals with time and history. According to Jokilehto (1988), there are three periods in a building’s history. First, the construction period, second the period when it is used, and last, the period when the house is to be valued as a heritage building. The craftsperson needs knowledge about and must relate to all three periods. One craftsperson at Røros puts it this way:

“When we start on a job – we go and look at the house. You try to go back in history. Maybe 10-15 different people have been working on the house. We can see it on a log. We can see a pattern. We can see that good, average and bad craftsmen have worked on the same building. Some have smooth finishing and others were rougher. Skills were different among the craftsmen. It is interesting for us craftspersons to see the variation in the building itself. The trim work has been done by someone who has not done it before. The more heads, the more ideas will be developed. The main issue for us is that we need to talk about it. Overall, maybe 5-10 of us talk about the problem, while in the end, one craftsperson signs the form to confirm that the job is done. We’re not alone; we discuss things during our coffee breaks.”

When the craftsperson says “when we start on a job – we go and look at the house”, this expresses a starting point for the work process that activates a complex knowledge base. The craftsperson explains how they “read” the history of the house by going back in history. Knowledge about the three periods of construction, use and heritage value provides part of the knowledge base for deciding how much intervention to undertake and in which ways to go about the preservation work. This is about methods, materials and craftspersons’ skills at the time of construction and repair.

The decision-making processes imply craftsmanship skills as well as the ability to reflect upon action. Or as Richard Sennet (2009) has put it, there is an intimate connection between hand
and head: “Every good craftsman conducts a dialogue between concrete practices and thinking; this dialogue evolves into sustaining habits, and these habits establish a rhythm between problem solving and problem finding. ... (T)here is nothing mindlessly mechanical about technique itself” (ibid, p. 8).

Using Ellström’s (2004) terms of work and learning logic, these craftsmen have to be able to use and combine both the logic of doing and the logic of development. The logic of doing involves skills and knowledge needed to solve routine operations, while the logic of development reflects tasks that cannot be solved in a routinized way. This logic calls for the ability to learn to ask questions and to apply a critical approach to tasks. In the daily work the craftsperson is involved in both reproductive and developmental learning.

The dialogue is not only intra-personal; it is also inter-personal as it reflects the dialogue between craftsmen and other actors at the heritage scene. Moreover, the dialogue of problem solving and problem finding is not relying on a single knowledge source. In this decision-making process, many interests come into play. The Directorate for Cultural Heritage will have their say, as well as the house owners and the local authority. A craftsperson’s challenge is to become part of such broader dialogues, to negotiate meaning by “translating” differing interests into action and to combine different knowledge sources to form a good practice.

Entering the scene of restoration and the heritage dialogue at different stages

Our findings show that the craftsmen enter the built heritage scene at different stages in the preservation process. In the Tallinn workshop, we learned that when craftspersons encounter the preservation object, architects have already made a report describing the object and proposed levels of intervention. A local craftsperson says:

“Yes, the architect writes down what kind of work I must do, and I do it, yes. And sometimes he draws some pictures (to illustrate) how I must fix it, the tiles and so on.”

In the planning process the architect is a key figure among other voices that may have a saying in the dialogue as the plans take form. In the actual dialogue the craftsperson’s voice does not appear to be present in this initial phase of the work process. This may actually be one feasible scenario, and for the quality of the
built heritage dialogue, issues may be raised as to what it means if the preservation process starts without the presence of the craftspersons’ voices.

A Norwegian craftsperson makes a comparison of features in the Røros and Tallinn practices in this way:

“I think that including the craftsmen is a good idea, we make the craftperson aware of the decisions we make, and thus also make him aware through the next stage of the process why THIS is correct or not correct.”

It seems as if the Røros practice was distinguished by involving craftpersons in the decision-making processes, right from the planning stage of the project, and they kept this initiative throughout the work process. This level of involvement places the Røros craftpersons in a special position in the built heritage dialogue.

Generally, the craftsmen at Røros work in teams of two or more. They also arrange meetings to discuss common interests and common measures. The quotation below highlights and contrasts the difference between the Røros craftpersons’ community and the experiences of a visiting craftsperson from Finland at the Røros workshop. The craftperson says:

“This is a team-work method they have here in Røros. They work effectively. Here, I can join the team – not only as a helper, but as a partner. In Finland, I work differently. There I work alone in a corner.”

Entering the heritage scene at an early stage allows the craftpersons to participate both in the planning phase and the intervention phase of the work process. By doing it in this way, craftsmanship practice develops throughout the intervention process. In our work we were able to trace various features of the collaboration and the value it had for the work process. The craftpersons point out that collaboration entails practical gain in the sense that when two persons work together, heavy but straightforward work tasks are made easier. This is also time saving and efficient. When it comes to more “complex and demanding” work operations, collaboration is still found to be an asset that enhances work quality. The craftpersons understand their work situation as one of problem solving, and according to that process, collaboration strengthens quality:

“It can be good to have someone to discuss solutions with. It’s always good to have several points of view before you make up your mind what to do. If only one person is deciding, and that
person knows one way of doing things, then that’s the way it gets done, and you don’t see anything else.”

One person working alone will stick to and depend on his or her own skills and knowledge, and in this sense become an anti-social expert. The involvement of several people and approaches in problem-solving processes may ensure better quality of the work in that the final solution may combine elements from various approaches. In this way the social expert is honoured. It is evident that collaboration at the workplace is regarded as both efficient and time saving. Nonetheless, the workers also talk about collaboration as time consuming, as it takes time to have problem-solving discussions. Therefore, it is not as clear if collaboration has a potential to improve the financial situation by reducing costs. However, there is no doubt among the informants that collaboration in problem solving enhances the quality of the work. This illustrates an understanding that reflects a “best practice” approach based on a multitude of knowledge sources. This also means that the single self-sufficient anti-social expert does not play a prominent role in this work context.

Knowledge exchange may be encouraged when craftsmen enter the restoration scene at an early stage. Knowledge exchange may represent a potential both for learning how to perform routine skills and for acquiring more creative and developmental learning. In our view, this involves learning logic, the logic of the trade as well as the logic of the enterprises. One main approach is to bring multiple voices into the dialogue. This brings ambiguity into attention and questioning follows as a core strategy in deciding the levels of intervention. Substantiating and arguing in favour of a line of action and defending a rejection of a solution is regarded as core competence in this particular built heritage arena.

In our two examples of craftsmanship practices in Norway and Estonia, the participants considered the ways of performing the work to be quite similar. As described above, the craftspersons had different starting points. The scene was defined to varying degrees by others by the time they entered the restoration scene. As such, the craftspersons may have different levels of familiarity with the project when they start their work. Hence, the craftspersons may experience varying degrees of otherness and ‘our-own-ness’ in the actual intervention plans.
Extending the World Heritage Dialogue

The informants find that preservation work requires more than routinized action. The nature of their work demands a continuous flow of existing and new knowledge. The work situation requires knowledge and reflexive action. Such action implies access to explicit knowledge about the task, where causal connections are crucial to understanding the origin of the problem and to guiding subsequent action (Ellström, 2004, Ellström & Kock, 2009).

The participants understand the working environment as a knowledge sharing community. From the data, it is possible to trace a number of knowledge and learning assets. All craftspersons see individual competence as too limited to fulfil the tasks and they value different sources of knowledge coming from external sources. Knowledge and learning situations unfold in the newcomer-old-timer relationship and through contact with external work communities.

A person working close to the project characterises the spirit of sharing in the following way:

“What one learns won’t just be left with that one person, right? Because when they switch with each other, they have those things they work most together on, but OK, they meet and they talk together, and then the information is shared quickly but it appears they like what they’re doing. Not only for the money, and then it’s like when they meet they start talking…”

This reflects a motivation and dedication to the job and a willingness and need to share. The focus is not on performing work only for production or personal gain. This is about commitment to their job. Even though the work relations are stable, the craftspersons also alternate from time to time, giving a broad range of situations for knowledge exchange. The regular partner is in this respect the basis, but from time to time partners are changed, and this is seen as another source of knowledge exchange. The informant above points out that information easily spreads within the work community as their dedication to the work leads to discussions as soon as people get together.

Collaboration clearly enhances different learning paths for the craftspersons. The newcomer-old-timer relationship is one key element in competence building. The quality of this relationship is crucial for the outcome of learning.

At the Røros workshop it was made clear that the newcomer needs to understand such things as what function a mortise has. It
is not enough to tell how to do the job or just demonstrate or show the other person how to go about the work. Connections have to be explained and the craftsperson has to reflect on why things are done in this particular way. If the craftsperson simply learns how to copy the damaged part, this is not sufficient as the “why” question in fact places the detail worked on into a larger picture. In this way the craftsperson can learn how to “feel” what makes a good mortise.

The more experienced person took the role of guiding and supporting the other person to a better result. But the old-timers do not look at newcomers as being solely inexperienced and thus not able to add positively to the work process. The second opinion of the newcomer was seen as an asset that leads to better ways of performing the work. The basic attitude is to complement each other to attain the best result possible. The aim of the craftsperson training is not to train the newcomer so he or she can just copy the experienced craftsperson. The skills and knowledge called for at the heritage site exceed the picture of the inexperienced person who copies the more skilled craftsperson. The restoration job is to be done in a dynamic environment with no one single best way of approaching the job. Accordingly, mutuality in the sense that participants also value more inexperienced workers’ knowledge is the kind of reciprocity that enhances the logic of development.

At the same time, the craftspersons also introduce the idea that external traditions and knowledge are important, as they raise their own skills. Travelling to new places and working with other craftsmen in other communities and other kinds of heritage buildings is important for developing the local practice:

“From the craftsman’s point of view this is a good thing. Then you see other ways of notching wood together and other dialects of building. ... Other types, they put the roof beams differently, or slant them differently ... This you see much more if you go somewhere else, and many of the houses here at Røros, or some at least, have been moved here from where they were made.”

In this way, travelling provides a knowledge base that helps the craftspersons to read the houses in more accurate ways, and provides a potential to develop one’s own practice. New insights from several other approaches create a platform for developing and improving knowledge about the local area. In this way, knowledge sharing among craftsmen, training of newcomers and travelling activities are essential sources for extending the heritage dialogue.
4. Translations and considerations in craftsmanship

Up to this point we have described and discussed various dialogues the craftsmen take part in at the heritage site. The knowledge sharing dialogues evolved around knowledge flow in the restoration process. Our findings show that deciding intervention may or may not involve multi-voiced actions and thus illustrate that craftsmen have differing degrees of access to the restoration processes at built heritage sites. This means that dialogues, as performed and facilitated, are vital for the reinforcement of the tangible as well as the intangible heritage. Following these features of the heritage dialogue, the ways of transforming knowledge and deciding intervention come into attention.

During the craftsmanship workshops it became evident that craftsmanship competences were situated within each built heritage site. What the craftsmen participating at the Tallinn workshop pointed out was that in some respects the craftspersons at the heritage sites had different ways of performing the work. These were considerations about use of tools and materials, differing practices regarding surface finishing and issues regarding documentation procedures.

Considerations about practices revolved around questions about use of traditional versus modern tools and old versus new materials. Moreover, solutions to dilemmas about traditionally made or processed materials and the types of interventions were found along the “old-new” dimension. Heritage craftspersons evidently were challenged by these issues and their use of modern contra traditional tools. This included issues about which tools to select at which stages in the intervention.

The use of tools and the acquiring of skills in the use of traditional tools may be understood as comprising part of craftsmanship competence. In a wider perspective, both the use of traditional tools and the skills in using these tools may be seen as vital to enabling re-establishment of traditional knowledge and as a way of keeping intangible heritage alive.

How these considerations are addressed and brought into an on-going built heritage dialogue reveals the knowledge discourse. The craftspersons are the ones who carry out the planned intervention and thus put the final marks on the objects. In this regard, it is important to examine which frames of references guide the decisions.
Craftsmen argued differently about how to go about choosing tools, materials and lines of action. The range of the craftspersons’ preferences reflects the various understandings of how to work with and protect the built heritage. At the action level of the built heritage, crucial quality questions seem to be about how craftspersons actuate their judgements. Considerations are related to the interplay between modern and traditional tools, materials and work methods at different stages of preservation as well as the uniqueness of each object. Questions related to whose interests are voiced in these decisions, and how these considerations are reflected in the restoration practices may be raised.

Questions about developing knowledge are closely linked to the phenomenon of dialogue and of whose voices are heard (and seen). It is about studying if and how people come to express their knowledge, how they exchange skills and views and how they come to develop shared knowledge as a platform for individual and collective craftsmanship.

Within the built heritage, processes of increasing awareness about the learning force of dialogues may create shared platforms for actors. And the shared knowledge that is developed may become accessible and valid to many actors.

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fortidsmínneforeningen og museumsforbundet.
6
Reaffirmation of World Heritage in Serbia
Medieval Monasterial Complexes
Integral Protection
- Between the Cultural and Spiritual Heritage

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Abstract

Medieval monastery complexes are specific urban areas, defined by their spatial determinants as well as their origin, by recognition through their history/past. In the second half of the 20th century, systematic archeological investigations of the most important monasterial complexes in Serbia were conducted, providing the results that helped in understanding of their spatial geometry and the concept of their development. Numerous social and political changes led to, on the one hand, decrease in care for cultural heritage, thereby for the monasterial buildings, and on the other hand, to an expressed need to make these sanctified complexes living anew. Consequently it caused to numerous problems with utilization, management and maintenance of these complexes.

This paper discusses problems in processes of redefining archeological matrices into functionally reconstructed monasteries inscribed in the World Heritage List (Đurdevi Stupovi, Studenica, and Sopocani Monasteries). The complexity of the needs of a brotherhood, besides the material and functional ones, leads to solving the problems by including also intangible values in the revaluation system of these units.

Identifying causes of and possible steps in solving both problems and needs at the same time, opens up polysemous questions, leading to devising an instrumental, interdisciplinary form of action, creating cultural policy and management as mediators in establishing common goals, abolishing contradictions of reality.

Keywords: monasterial complexes, restoration, integral protection
Mediaeval monasteries are rather specific built complexes, integrating the natural, cultural and spiritual heritage. In the mediaeval Serbia, natural features of the countryside were important factors in building monasteries. The 12th and 13th century monasteries were always built near a body of water, on open, natural elevated places, which symbolised the political and cultural power of the Serbian state at that time.

Mediaeval monasteries architectural ground plan was of a somewhat round shape, with a church in its centre. Circular enclosing the complex with a church dominating the area is an original concept of separating the secular from the sacred. The monks lived and were engaged in their activities within the enclosed complex. The buildings assumed both the existential and symbolic/sacral character. The refectory was a place where meals were served, but also a place of an extended liturgy, whilst the cells were primarily the monks' living quarters, but also a place of prayer and austerity.

The most significant mediaeval 12th and 13th century monasteries were:

Djurdjevi Stupovi (St George's Towers), Studenica and Sopočani. Due to their cultural and historical values they are ranked as cultural monuments of outstanding value and are declared the World Heritage Sites. In addition to their historic, artistic and architectural characteristics, each monasterial complex is at a different stage of monument conservation and presentation.¹

The beginnings of the Serbian mediaeval art scientific studies, the mediaeval architecture and particularly the religious one, date back to the 1890s. Primary investigations were focused on collecting the historical and material data on artistic and architectural features of the religious building, which carried characteristics quite significant in the quest for the national identity, being at that time the central point of European civilisation. Through tracing a path of scientific terminology and methodological procedures in researching the Serbian mediaeval art and architecture a quite substantial amount of source material was created for numerous and

¹ The “Stari Ras and Sopocani” cultural property area was inscribed in the World Heritage List in 1979. This area ranks among the first monument ensembles listed as the UNESCO World Heritage Sites, inscribed only five years upon adopting the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, Paris, 1972.; and three year upon adopting the UNESCO Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas, 1976, formulated in Nairobi, pointing out that historic areas and their surroundings should be regarded as forming an irreplaceable universal heritage.
extensive research undertaken in the 20th century, yielding results of outstanding value.

Organised quest for the architectural remains of the monasterial complexes within their natural environments, where a church occupied a dominant position, started only in the second half of the 20th century. The previous scientific investigations had been focused mostly on the church architecture. The spatial position of the church building allowed interpretations of the monasterial settlement spatial definition.

In the early 20th century, little was known about the built structure of the mediaeval monasterial complexes. Turbulent Serbian history left its numerous marks on the sacral built heritage. Systematic archaeological investigations of the most significant mediaeval monasterial complexes in Serbia gave numerous results on a complex construction chronology, appearance and disappearance of the monasterial architecture.

It was established that the monasteries of mediaeval Serbia were formed according to a specific circularly defined area concept, where the structural relations inside the area, with their predetermined arrangement, created a specific spatial religious hierarchy.

A selection that was made while defining the archaeological traces contributed to the understanding of the area geometry and concept that were used in building these ensembles. Through conservation of archaeological remains, a building assemblage was presented, the functions of the space were marked through renovation of feature elements, the functions linked to individual rooms purposes, and also historic connections with various periods testifying to their duration were shown. The conducted conservation and restoration works respected all the relevant material information.

By the end of the 20th century the sacral heritage was evaluated solely as a cultural property. Protection strategies were focused on conservation, restorations and remedy, meaning the physical and legal protection. The conservation and restoration works bestowed a new integrity to these cultural properties, providing a

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2 Čanak-Medić, M. (2003-2004). Obnova crkvenih građevina posle Drugog svetskog rata. Saopštenja XXXV-XXXVI, 279-301. Church buildings architecture and art was a special field of research and today there are not only written works about it, but also results that came out of concrete works on safeguard, restoration and protection, that have been woven into their core and structure.

more comprehensive view of, first of all, the archaeological sites material testimony, identification of authenticity of the spatially shaped concept, building materials and techniques, but also of a special relationship with the environment.4

The maintenance plans for a complex, consisting of a church and an archaeological site, having a character of a monument in ruins, referred mostly to practical and technical measures undertaken in order to preserve a proper monument presentation concept. In times of communist social order, churches were often treated as fresco galleries and their monumental character made an impact on interpreting the values, whether historic or artistic, based mostly on a scientific, critical-historical assessment that formulated an approach to a cultural property.

With the discovery of traces of monasterial settlements, the category of cultural monuments underwent some transformations. At first, a church was treated as a monument, but with archaeological architectural remains of buildings and the surrounding wall that defined its urban structure, the area came to be a monument ensemble.

In the mid 1990’s, the Serbian Orthodox Church launched a campaign for renewal and building of new structures within the enclosed monasterial areas. The campaign initiated considerations about aesthetic and semantic criteria, pointing to better knowledge and understanding of intangible values. These considerations covered a support of authentic monastic way of life within the enclosed monasterial area.

The renewal objective was to return the liturgical life into the centuries long ruins of the Djurdjevi Stupovi, built in the 12th century. Systematic archaeological and architectural investigations on the monument have been going on for several decades. Complex conservation and restoration works have been done on the St George’s Church, but also on the monasterial complex on the whole. The scope of the works has been carefully evaluated in order to preserve the historic fabric of the monument. After com-

4 The Venice Charter for the conservation and restoration of monuments and sites (1964), in its Art. 11, points out that the valid contributions of all periods to the building of a monument must be respected and when a building includes the superimposed work of different periods, the revealing of the underlying state can only be justified in exceptional circumstances and when what is removed is of little interest and the material which is brought to light is of great historical, archaeological or aesthetic value, and its state of preservation good enough to justify the action.
Completing the archaeological and architectural works, the monument gained significant potential.

Integral protection of the complex is reflected in the unity of monument protection requirements; interest for the spiritual life to be re-established; unique natural environment preservation.\(^5\)

The revitalisation project included a partial restoration of the monks’ residential quarters, along with the King Dragutin’s Refectory. The idea of restoring the residential quarters opened up manifold questions about undertaking some new works on the church, as well. The life in a monastery, certainly unimaginable without the primary, divine service function, encouraged the works that entailed new interventions on the church (restoration of the altar space, as the most significant for the divine service within the temple hierarchy, the restoration of the north vestibule with its importance of linking the church with the quarters in spatial and functional terms, then resolving the issues of the church west façade, and so on).

The monasterial life cannot survive without the function of religious service, so some new requirements arose, leading to some new interventions on the St George’s Church. The works were performed by the use of two methods:

- restoration of all the architectural elements which could have been supported by definite material data and “re-composition” – reconstruction of the basic forms.\(^6\)

This Revitalisation Project was supported by numerous institutions, the media, public figures and the government. Promotion of the cultural and spiritual heritage integration went under a slogan, “Let’s Renew Ourselves, Let’s Build the Towers”. The design of the promotion and marketing material attracted a great number of donors. The new project was a reflection of the new social values. Reintegration of the Đurđevi Stupovi monasterial complex proved to be a positive step towards sustainability, usage, maintenance

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\(^6\) Đurđevi Stupovi in Stari Ras (12th century) is one of the oldest monasteries of the mediaeval Serbia, and the St George’s Church, with its architectural features, ranks among the most significant religious buildings in the history of Serbian mediaeval architecture. These extremely complex investigations and the conservation and restoration works were conducted by Prof. Dr Јован Нешковић. Short but instructive genesis of all the works was given in: Неšковић, Ј. (2010). *Архитектура Дурђевих Ступова – Истраживања, заштита и обнова манастира*, Manastir Đurđevi Stupovi u Starom Rasu. Манастир Дурђеви Ступови: Крагујевачка, 18-29.
and visitations to the monastery as a spiritual centre, which also gave a positive outcome for the monument itself.

One of the integral protection primary goals is to control the changes and curb the spread of negative and unrestrained development. The position of the monument in the altered social and economic order improved the cultural values, justifying its limited functional renewal.

He character of this important monument underwent numerous changes. Its journey from a monument in ruins to a live monastery was a complex one. In order to provide a clear picture of the cultural property ensembles, it is necessary to complete the process with symbolic, intangible indicators, necessary for understanding the monument as a live organism. For a comprehensive interpretation of such monument complexes it is also necessary to grasp the key metaphysical references, the non-materialised manifestations of the religious, which cannot be presented or made manifest, but just have to be understood or immanent.

The complexity of understanding a monument in this way requires a balanced relationship between its meaning and material manifestation, without underestimating, however, the religious side in the manifestations of a monument, an ensemble or a whole cultural monument area.

Significantly different from the Đurdevi Stupovi case, is the example of the Studenica Monastery. Here, the perpetuity in its functional and existential sense has been realised through centuries. All the south-west buildings have served almost all the meant purposes for an uninterrupted period up to the present day, contributing to safeguarding the authenticity of the cultural property.
The area of the Old Ras and Sopocani, including the Djurdjevi Stupovi, was declared a World Heritage Site in 1979. The Sopocani Monastery is an integral part of the whole area. And as a result of such understanding, similar problems and needs, the Sopocani monasterial buildings restoration project was made. In restoring the life in the Djurdjevi Stupovi Monastery, an initiative was launched for, above all, restoring the erstwhile buildings of other monasteries. The Sopocani Monastery was the next in the line.

In its spatial concept, the Sopocani Monastery architecture belongs to the same autochthon ground plan building expression. The interior of the St. Trinity Church preserved its frescoes whose artistic values rank the Sopočani among the most distinguished 13th century European monuments. The monastery was built in the second half of the 13th century, but in the 17th century the Turkish invaders devastated it and for a long time it remained lifeless. Systematic archaeological investigations yield the first results on the monasterial perimetral wall and the rooms inside. After the archaeological investigations, conservation and restoration works followed and the building activities from the mid 13th to the 17th century were defined. (Enclosure 3)

The conservation practice on the monument showed complex interventions of various sizes, particularly on the church. The monks’ quarters were built in the early 20th century, outside the monastery walls. At the beginning of the new millennium the mo-

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7 The criteria for selection the site as WH: i. to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius; ii. to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared.
nastery brotherhood grows in size, thus bringing a need for extending the capacities for fulfilling the basic functions and needs. The issue of restoration of the monasterial buildings over the conserved remains inside the walls was opened up.

The SOC requests related to restoration of all the structures within the complex. The monastery itself proposed a design, according to which the complex would be enclosed by three- or multi-storey structures. Such a design would completely change the historic fabric of the monument, as well as the character of the immediate environment around the St Trinity Church. The design showed excessive development, no respect for the archaeological matrix and destruction of material testimonies of the past. The issue became particularly heavy when the project gained a political significance. A negative influence of certain institutions and an unconditional support for the Church made a dialogue between the protection services and the monastery impossible.

The Sopocani restoration project was proposed by the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Serbia. The work on the project included extensive analyses of individual structures forms, composition and arrangement and presentation of the entire monasterial complex. The project meant a controlled and limited restoration of certain structures in combination with the presented archaeological remains. The proposal met all the functional requirements of the brotherhood.

The knowledge and understanding of the monastery spatial definition, its essence, its life, but also its history and the state of the cultural monument, were taken as starting points for identifying all the positive and negative effects that might have come out from careful study and analysis of numerous opposed views. The basic structural characteristics, such as the closure and a possibility of integration of some of the buildings into the extant matrix, pointed to a limited set of activities that may be undertaken in this particular case.
The Sopocani complex buildings partial restoration preliminary design considers numerous issues and problems concerning an approach that the protection services should adopt in such cases. It entailed comprehensive, detailed and careful analyses of both the individual buildings forms, and the fitting and arrangement and presentation of the whole monasterial complex. In the design process, the focus was on the principles a mediaeval builder could have followed, using ratio analyses, the mediaeval measures, as well as a shaping concept and use of materials which would clearly designate the new intervention lines, but on the other hand, would not depart from the old building techniques.

Due to insufficient reliable data on the monasterial structures, the conservation approach was based on a balanced restoration, in clear connection with the historic, architectural and even style features of the cultural property. The project also took care to use the proper materials, clearly differentiated from the original matrix. The restoration included the preservation of the monasterial body through the spiritual life itself, including all the intangible values into the area revalorisation system, as well.

In order to resolve this complex process and the confronted views between the Church and the experts and to try to meet all the needs in view of real possibilities, an ICOMOS professional expertise mission was called in by the UNESCO in 2009. The mission gave its support to the experts’ proposal – for a moderate and balanced restoration. (Enclosure 5)

All the stated problems, the nuances bordering the risky from the acceptable, the possible from the impossible, when speaking about the heritage listed as the World Heritage Site, challenge the safeguard of the extant historic corpus, but also point to a potential of re-establishing the functional and the architectural duration,

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8 A Sopocani Complex renovation works preliminary programme project was made at the Republic Institute for the protection of Cultural Monuments; the monasterial core buildings renovation preliminary project was made by Nevena Đebićović Ristić, arch.

9 In late November 2009, called in by the RIPCM of Belgrade, an ICOMOS Advisory Mission came because of the problems the protection services had concerning the World Heritage Sites. The Sopocani Monastery buildings renovation preliminary project, made by the Republic Institute for the protection of Cultural Monuments, was assessed as follows “…a successful balance between the authentic conserved katholikon and the ruins of the old southern wings, created as a testimony to the historical evidence that has come down to the present day, and the new northern wing reconstructed on the base of the old walls, on the background of the green hill-slope, has been achieved. All three stages will be completely distinct from one another and comprehensible for visitors.” Prepiš, A( 23-27 November 2009). Report of the Advisory Mission to Serbia, pp. 8.
converging all the elements of a monument ensemble sustainability. An integral perception of cultural heritage, viewed from a prism of intangible values, but also of knowledge and skills that are thereby being renewed, can contribute to creating a coherent approach to its long-term protection.

Therefore, it is necessary to create an instrumental and interdisciplinary action plan and a cultural policy and management which may serve as a mediator in setting the common goals, whilst dealing with the contradictions of reality.

References
Stari Ras and Sopoćani: Identifying Problems and Defining a Modern Protection Model

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Abstract
Cultural and historic area of the Stari Ras and Sopoćani was inscribed in the World Cultural and Natural Heritage List in 1979 as an area where the earliest Serbian state had been formed in the Middle Ages. Besides the fortified towns, courts of rulers and settlements, monasteries and church centres relevant to the key events of the Nemanjic dynasty, the founders of the Serbian state and national identity, this ensemble also includes significant monuments of Islamic monumental and folk architecture.

This paper will present a genesis of protection of the area, from the moment of its inscription in the World Heritage List up to the present day. The beginnings feature planned and economically organised and scientifically founded activities shaped in the Investigations, Protection, Area Arrangement and Utilisation Programme, which were the basis of archaeological investigations, conservation and restoration works, systematic terrain surveys and the map documentation.

Various historical, social and political circumstances caused these organised and focused protection works to be extinguished, whereas the changes in government and social systems, real estate proprietary rights and the legislation governing the cultural properties protection and planning have had their impact on this multiethnic and multicultural region.

Thirty years of experience in studying, protecting, revitalising and arranging this cultural and historic area is a starting point in the process of determining the condition of the cultural heritage and identifying problems under new and changed conditions, which is all relevant in defining a modern protection model.

Keywords: Stari Ras and Sopoćani, investigation, valorisation, protection, planning
The cultural property complex Stari Ras and Sopocani is of a particular significance among all other Serbian cultural properties. Because of the vast area that the complex covers, then its recognised cultural, historic and natural values and above all, the importance of the World Heritage site, the issue of protecting and safeguarding the spatial cultural and historical ensembles becomes rather complex.

In 1978, the Municipality of Novi Pazar passed a decision on declaring the cultural area of Stari Ras a cultural property – a cultural and historic ensemble, encompassing 15 cadastre municipalities, including the area of the town of Novi Pazar. The whole area was listed as a cultural monument of outstanding value in 1987, under the name Stari Ras and Sopocani.

This area was inscribed in the World Cultural and Natural Heritage List under the name Stari Ras and Sopocani, based upon two criteria:

- It is a masterpiece of the human creative ingenuity and
- It is a unique and outstanding evidence on the cultural tradition and civilisation that is still living or has come about.

It was in the group among the first monuments inscribed in the UNESCO’s List, only five years after the Convention on Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage had been adopted in 1972.

The basic criterion of cultural valorisation for listing the area as protected is its significance as an administrative seat of the mediaeval Serbian state, which is evident in the concentration of these highly significant cultural monuments, connected both by the same area and in their functions. The most important ones are listed in the nomination text: St Peter’s Church, the Gradina Fortress with Trgoviste, the Djurdjevi Stupovi Monastery and the Sopocani monastery as an outstanding monument due to its unique fresco paintings dating from the 13th century.1

The Holy Apostles St Peter’s and St Paul’s church – St Peter’s church is The oldest preserved monument of mediaeval architecture in Serbia. Different stages of construction, different layers of fresco paintings, archaeological findings, preserved remains of a media-

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1 Documentation of nomination on the World Heritage List; Identification: C 96; Date of inscription: April 10, 1979.
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Figure 1: Area of inscribed property – 15 cadastre municipalities: 10134ha 56a 32m²

eval necropolis and a 19th and early 20th century cemetery stand witness to continuous and stratified existence of this highly significant cultural complex.

As the 10th century Episcopate Seat, the place of significance of the Nemanjic Dynasty, the founders of the Serbian state and national identity – St Peter’s church is in the centre of the historic, spiritual and state mediaeval Serbian key events.

Figure 2: St Peter’s church
Djurdjevi Stupovi Monastery - One of the oldest mediaeval Serbian monasteries, erected by Stefan Nemanja soon upon coming to the throne in the second half of the 12th century. Its significance is reflected in its characteristic position on top of a hill, dominating over the Raska and Dezeva river valleys, in the special architecture of the St George’s church with its towers and in the old biography texts.

Mediaeval Town of Ras - The place is of a particular significance as a centre of and a spot where the Serbian mediaeval state was founded. In the Nemanjic period it was the seat of rulers and their
permanent place of residence. Development of this complex monument can be traced back through numerous fortification, sacral and other structure remains. The complex consists of: a fortification on the Gradina Hill, fortified settlement and Trgoviste below, churches with the cemeteries and the Archangel Michael’s Cave Monastery.

King Uros I’s endowment, the **Sopocani Monastery** was erected in the second half of 13th century, by the Raska river source, in the Ras area – the seat of the Serbian mediaeval state. The most important structure in the complex is the Trinity church with a subsequently added exonarthex and a centrally positioned west tower.

The greatest value of the church are the very well preserved frescoes dating from the second half of 13th century. Perfectly executed drawings, exquisite colouring, splendid and sublimated figures and particular prowess in composition creations make these frescoes a masterpiece of worldly proportions.

As this group of monuments was listed as cultural monuments of an outstanding value in 1946, investigations and conservation works on the monuments had started before it was listed a complex cultural and historic property and inscribed in the World Cultural and Natural Heritage List.

Historical research, along with the archaeological excavation results, provided conditions for uncovering and presenting the remains of the elaborate structure of the Ras town – the Serbian mediaeval capital.
Owing to the multidisciplinary investigations conducted in the St Peter’s Church, valuable archaeological prehistoric finds and various fresco painting layers have been revealed, the construction chronology established and the mediaeval cemetery remains investigated. The basic concept applied at conducting the quite extensive conservation works on both the building architecture and the frescoes aimed at preserving and presenting all the information relevant for reading and understanding the intricate and rich history of the erstwhile episcopal seat.²

The first investigations of the Sopocani Monastery were conducted on its church, so as to obtain the information relevant to its restoration and for establishing the requirements for undertaking systematic investigative and conservation – restoration works on the fresco paintings. The archaeological excavations followed, along with the architectural research of the whole monasterial complex, then the conservation and restoration works on the presentation of the revealed monasterial buildings, as well as further activities on uncovering and restoring the original form of the Holy Trinity Church.³

Systematic archaeological and architectural investigations allowed the restoration works to be conducted, as well as the Djurdjevi Stupovi monasterial complex presentation. All the undertaken activities restored the fundamental spatial, architectural and artistic values to this unique religious mediaeval Serbian complex, which was once in ruins.4

Based upon the research results obtained on these four most significant mediaeval monuments, valorisation was performed and established the character and spatial boundary of cultural and historic ensemble of the “Stari Ras and Sopocani”.

However, the inscription in the World Heritage List was a crucial point for this monument ensemble further treatment and protection procedures, as well as for establishing the organised, scheduled and continuous work on studying, investigating and protecting it. Making a note of previous flaws and weaknesses and having in mind all the obligations accepted by the Convention on Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, a Monument Area Investigation, Protection, Area Arrangement and Utilisation Programme in the 1984-1990 Period was adopted. It was the first long-term programme in the history of the monument heritage protection in Serbia.

Programme of investigations, protection, area regulation and utilisation of the cultural area is marked as the first long-term project in the history of heritage protection in Serbia, setting a plan of: investigation fields in history, history of art, ethnography and archaeology; works on conservation, restoration and presentation of some of the units; works on environment protection and improvement; legal protection measures; works on building access roads and other infrastructure; publishing and information activities.

Such a Programme concept, apart from comprising descriptions of all the activities undertaken for each individual element or site, also stated the necessary means for carrying them out on an annual basis and a recapitulation of the overall works performed by 1990. Resources for the Programme Project came from a special fund.

Participants in carrying out the Programme Project: The Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments; The Republic Institute for the protection of Nature; The National Museum; The Homeland Museum of Novi Pazar; Scientists associates

of the institutes of Philosophy, School of Architecture and the institutes of Archaeology and Ethnography.

Project Monitoring - Stari Ras Protection and Care Commission, and project verification and conservation and restoration works monitoring - Ministry of Culture Commission.

Owing to such a programme concept and the realisation monitoring instruments, this period saw the most extensive and intensive archaeological investigations, complex conservation and restoration works, systematic terrain reconnaissance and regular publishing the results of all the stated activities.

In addition, architectural heritage protection and revitalisation plan documentation was made, as well as the natural landscape betterment and protection studies were conducted. Protection and revitalisation plan of the Old Town Centre (çarsi) of Novi Pazar was made in 1987 and adopted in full as a detailed town plan. The significance of this Protection Plan, made in collaboration with the School of Architecture of Belgrade and the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of Kraljevo, is reflected in setting a methodology of making such plans.5

At the same period, the work on the Stari Ras and Sopocani Cultural Property Complex Protection Spatial Plan started. The principal goal was to define the area category and value based upon its valorisation and also to define the proper protection regimen for each area section. But although the Plan has never been completed or adopted, it is still in use and is one of the basic documents supporting all further protection activities on the complex.

The recognition of the property natural environment values, the importance of its protection, arrangement and preservation so that the whole Stari Ras and Sopocani heritage complex could be presented in full, resulted in collaboration between the cultural monument protection service and the natural environment protection one. They jointly worked on the area valorisation, on identifying the immediate surroundings of the monument and on investigating the possibilities of defining the landscapes of outstanding interest which could also be listed as natural property.

In the early 1990’s, due to the new social and political circumstances, the first hints of changes could be recognised, which led to extinguishing of any organised activity in the area of protection. It would give rise to lots of problems and frequent misunderstandings between the professionals, on the one hand and the local communities, the society in general and increasingly the religious communities, on the other.

Impoverishment of the society could be first seen in the area of protection, in gradual decrease and then complete stop of funding the investigations and technical protection works.

The local community started to view the protection of the area increasingly as a burden and a limiting factor of development. Unlike in the previous period, collaboration between the institutions in charge of the monument protection and the city planners started to be incompatible. Even though the protection activities were legal obligation, it became ever so formal, the situation deriving from incompatible laws on protection on the one hand and city planning laws, on the other. Thus, the protection conditions were not an integral part of city development plans, which were adopted anyway, either without a competent institution opinion or in spite of the existing negative opinion.

Furthermore, another problem arose in this period, a problem of legal protection. According to the law on immovable cultural properties, adopted in 1994, and still actual, decision documents on putting the cultural properties on a protection list have to state a clearly defined delimitation, i.e. exact area of the cultural property, determined upon the cadastre plots register, as well as precisely specified protection measures. Although the area cultural and historic ensemble Stari Ras and Sopocani is precisely defined as an

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6 Although there is an obligation of obtaining the prescribed protection conditions approval, there is no obligation of obtaining an approval for a city development plan, but only an opinion.
area encompassing 15 cadastre municipalities, stated in the Decisions passed in 1978, in concrete and particular cases the protection status is questioned ever so frequently for individual plots for which certain interventions are planned. The fact is that the area of this cultural ensemble is really a vast one and the protection services lack the material means for obtaining detailed cadastre maps, which would help define the whole area and individual plots delimitations; but such a fact has not been considered as a reason enough for accepting the existing legal document as an appropriate one – the Decision on Protection. The local community uses this argument ever so often, trying to negate the status of a cultural monument of the whole area.

Such circumstances gave rise to increasing illegal building on the whole area, particularly in the town historic core section. Building interventions on the existing structures and construction of new ones were done without any issued permits or approvals or with permits issued by the Municipal administration, but without stating the protection conditions. This period is marked by various interventions – shop windows changed, putting up another level (first floor) on the ground floor structures, construction of new structures – which mostly degraded the area of the old çarsı. The existing detailed city plan of the Old Town centre, integrated in the Protection and Revitalisation Plan, was not respected any more, which rendered this area cultural and historic ensemble devastated, previously classified as a cultural property of outstanding value.

Summer cottages built along the Raska river, all the way from its source in the immediate vicinity of the Sopocani Monastery to Pazariste which belongs to the mediaeval town of Ras complex, greatly changed not only this extraordinary natural setting, but in places even the topography of the terrain and the natural features of the river banks were completely changed, as well.

Along the road from Novi Pazar to Djurdjevi Strupovi, new houses and industrial structures started to be built. Development of the town endangered St Peter’s Church, in which immediate vicinity, on the road to Dezevo, a whole settlement was built illegally.

In order to resolve such a conflicting situation between the local community and the protection services, or better still, the Republic of Serbia as their founder, in late 2008 a joint initiative was launched to make a revision of the Decision on listing the area cultural...
and historic ensemble of Stari Ras and Sopocani. This complex and extensive task was undertaken based upon the previously made Programme, which envisaged honouring all the requirements deriving from the existing law on the protection of monuments of the Republic of Serbia, as well as the requirements the UNESCO prescribes for cultural areas on the World Heritage List. The work on updating the situation in the field, determining the protection zones and measures is underway and should be completed very soon.

Apart from all the above said, in this period there have also been changes that had a substantial impact on the works undertaken on individual elements in the area, concerning the monastery brotherhood communities, which have grown in size and influence. It resulted in their requests for extending the existing residential quarters and building new ones within the monastery complex.

To the initiative of the Serbian Orthodox Church, in the late 1990’s, revitalisation of the Djurdjevi Stupovi monastery started. The design project of the new quarters was made and verified by the Ministry of Culture Commission and the works started in 2000. Immediately upon the completion of the works, which enabled the brotherhood to settle in the monastery, an issue of renewing the church came out. Consequently, analyses were done to view the possibilities of undertaking new works on the church, as well as some different versions of the works, since a complete renovation of the church was not acceptable from the point of view of the cultural monument value protection and preservation, as well as of the whole monastery complex. The basic renewal concept leans on two methods: a method of restoration of those sections for which there are reliable information and a method of “re-composition” of the basic shapes and architectural elements which are to be made in another sort of material so that they could be clearly distinguishable from the original or restored ones.7

Also, in the same period, an extensive protection and area arrangements project for the St Peter’s Church was made based upon the needs of the Serbian Orthodox Church for a more active parish life. The project envisaged a construction of a new bell tower and a church house with a refectory and a stone fragments gallery over the existing remains of the structure at the north side of the complex. Also, an extension of a stone house at the entrance road to the complex was envisaged for the needs of the parish house,

7 All the works specified in the Project were performed from 2005 to 2010.
Figure 8: Djurdjevi Stupovi monastery - The new quarters

actually a residence of the priest. However, only the campanile was built and the rest of the project was put on hold, partially due to the lack of funding and partially to some new requests for somewhat more extensive constructions.

Even after 2000, tendency to extend the existing capacities within the monasterial complex continued. In the Sopocani Monastery, at the access road, new workshops and garages were built, the farm houses built in the previous period were now extended and the existing residential quarters outside the complex were built up by another level. Last year, the protection services faced another request from the brotherhood: to build up on the existing mediaeval structures remains.

In order to resolve such a conflicting situation, a joint initiative was launched to create a new valorisation plan in order to harmonise the situation in the field with the cultural property values and the protection requirements.

The key issue of the valorisation process will be re-examining the cultural property character. The property is defined a serial nomination with four individual monuments and a vast encompassing buffer zone. A possibility to treat the whole area as a cultural landscape will be considered through evaluating the unity of the cultural and natural features, as a consideration element of revalorisation.
References

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World Heritage and Environmental Sustainability
Heritage of Risk

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Abstract
In the old industrial western world many industrial buildings have been abandoned during the last three decades. There are examples where large complicated industrial buildings and whole industrial areas have been a starting point for a local renewal on the historical basis with museums in the center. We have also seen transformations of old industrial sites to universities, hotels, dwellings, restaurants, new kinds of workshops etc. At the same time there are a lot of works and areas that are too large and polluted and very difficult to transform for new purposes. Especially old mines which have produced copper, zinc, led, silver and gold containing a lot of sulphur contaminations leaves from a sustainability standpoint a difficult heritage. Furthermore, the mines often include wide dam systems, important because it gave both power to the water wheels and prevented the water from the surroundings to flow into the deep mines. But who takes responsibility for the old areas and all the equipment after the mines have been closed? In Falun in Dalarna there is a very old copper mine which first was closed 1992 by the international company Stora Enso and some years later by UNESCO was appointed to be a World Heritage Site. When the company left the area a Foundation took over the responsibility for the maintenance, but it lack both the economic resources and knowledge to keep the complicated dam system entirely intact. The question is consequently, who has the responsibility for this kind of heritage, who pays for a sustainable maintenance and how do we build up a knowledge base to manage the risks when the industrial company has left.
The problem

Since the mid-1970s, countless industrial plants in the old industrial world have been wholly or partially closed. In communities with high demand for facilities for service, education, recreation, museums or dwellings, unless they have been deprived or unmanageable, subsequently got a new use. There are many examples of both successful and less successful conversions of old industrial buildings and large scale industrial sites. Commercial service companies and museums are common. The latter depicts the location and history of the industry, sometimes combined with educational programs for schools, or with an ambitious cultural program aimed at adult audiences. In other places, the empty sites are left untouched and partially or fully in disrepair. In recent years we have seen a rapidly increasing interest in abandoned buildings and sites. The phenomenon is known as »urban exploration«. Where goods previously were produced and people earning a living, »Urban Explorers« today find adventures and experiences. The larger and more complex decay is, the greater the adventure and daring the story conveyed through Facebook and blogs.

In the high-industrialized period (1930s to 1980s) large scale establishment became very common in the Swedish basic industry, including mines, iron and steel, pulp and paper mills. Large companies with often complex installations were both transforming the landscape and gave environmental impact with significant emissions to land, water and air. In many places the inhabitants had for a long time to come to live with the heritage of the industrial operation in the form of heavily polluted environments, despite significant restructuring efforts in recent years by state, municipalities and businesses. Besides the historical environme-
ntal heritage of past industrial activities there are conditions that complicate the long-term sustainable care even more. A town with many severe durability problems is Falun in the province of Dalarna. Here the problems emanate from hundreds of years of mining activities. But Falun is far from alone. Similar problems have other mining and industrial towns in the old industrial world. In old mining districts the problems related to both pollution and the long range management of the old water system.

The main question in this article concerns the management of the industrial heritage to make it long-term sustainable. What are the risks and what is required to minimize these risks, locally for people, animals, buildings and infrastructure and regionally and globally for lakes and oceans? Falun is my example. My conclusion is that industrial historical knowledge is required for a long term sustainable management of the mining heritage.

The world heritage in Falun

In December 2001, the historic mining landscape around the Great Copper Mountain and Falun was by UNESCO promoted as one of 911 World Heritage sites in 151 countries. 14 of these are located in Sweden. The world heritage distinction indicates that they are of »outstanding universal value from the historical, artistic or scientific point of view«. Falun World Heritage site belongs to a small body of industrial heritage (about 30), several of which are former mining areas.

To be honored with the distinction World Heritage Site entails responsibility. The legacy will be managed in perpetuity, without distortion. This means additional and sometimes unexpected costs
and difficulties. The value of the title World Heritage Site are the chances of getting additional financial support for care and, especially, to attract more visitors, and this in turns give opportunities for service companies with increasing revenues for the municipality. In old industrial regions with a population decline, this is obviously a hope and an ambition.

Barely ten years before Falun became a World Heritage Site, in December 1992, the owner, the industrial world enterprise STORA, closed the mine where ore had been mined since probably 700’s AD.\(^9\) The mine was drained of mineable ore. Since long time it was also a significant tourists mine. In December 1999, the newly formed forest industry company Stora Enso\(^10\) conveyed the mine and associated facilities, including the works inside and outside Falun, to the Foundation, Stiftelsen Stora Kopperberget (Great Copper Mountain).\(^11\) The Foundation’s purpose is »to preserve and make available for both academic research and for the general public the cultural and historic industrial environments consisting of the building stock and the external and internal facilities, inventories, utility goods and objects of art«.\(^12\)

A larger capital was given to the Foundation. STORA gave 100 million SEK, Investor, a big investment company and former owner of the mine, 10 million and the municipality of Falun 1 million SEK in founding capital.\(^13\) The capital was invested in funds and shares. The return may, however, not be used for current expenses, only for maintenance of buildings and technical equipments above and under the ground. The current expenditure for personal, and materials are paid with revenues from rental and conferences, and sales in the store as well as from the raw material the Foundation sell to Falun Red AB, and, most importantly, from visitor entrance

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9 Olsson 2011.
10 Stora Kopperbergs Bergslags AB, or STORA, merged with the Finnish owned forest company Enso Oyj.
11 STORA transferred to the Foundation most of its historical properties - Falun Mine area and the surrounding industrial historic district, a hundred buildings of varying ages in the town of Falun, and the ironworks Svartnäs, Korså and Åg, and Vintjärn mines. The latter is called »utbruken«. »The urban works« are the industrial buildings in the town of Falun which are managed by the Foundation: The Silver foundry, Kopparsvitriolverket, Zinc and Copper foundry. http://www.falugruva.se/sv/Kopparberget/Gruvan/. See also Foundation charter, paragraph 1.
12 Foundation charter relating the Foundation Great Copper Mountain, paragraph 1.
13 Ibidem.
fees. The economic downturn a few years into the 2000s, however, almost halved the Foundation capital and the return ceased for several years. Through a more secure capital investment, and at times a better return, along with external resources, opportunities to maintain the plants improved. In 2007 the Foundation’s financial statements for the first time show a surplus on balance.14

**The management**

With the Foundation, the responsibility for maintenance of the facilities was transferred to a reduced and partly new team of employees who were educated and trained to perform tasks other than the daily management of (old) mining sites. As long as the mine was operated STORA’s staff controlled, and maintained and renewed buildings, equipment, roads, canals and ponds. During the last years of mining operation, the company had 4-5 people with the task to maintain and repair buildings and equipment above and below ground. Today the field of maintenance is much more limit but still there are many things to look after and repair. Only one person is working with maintenance.15 If required, firms and extra personnel are taken in. The needs are still great, although mining obviously put more demands on maintenance and repair compare to when the mine and the surrounding area turned into a tourist destination.

The World Heritage nomination increased for the first year the number of visitors as well as the requirements on new experiences and, above and under the surface of the ground, not least, the requirements for safety. Within the mining area, 70 buildings have to been looked after. During the period 2002-2010, the Foundation used about SEK 15 million to improve safety and preserve buildings and technical equipment. Investment costs have largely been paid through grants from foundations and government agencies. Among other things, the 55 meters high timber wall in Creutz

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14 Notes from the Mining Council meeting, May 14th 2008. The Mining Council is a forum with national external members linked to the Foundation. It will follow «the Foundation’s activities and submit wishes and suggestions, which can facilitate coordination between the Foundation’s activities and Swedish scientific research and Swedish education, culture and tourism interests.» The Council shall have a maximum of 24 members and meets a couple times a year.

15 Lena Myrberg, Januari 24th 2011.
shaft was repaired. It was built in the years 1833-1836, than it was 202 meters high and the world’s greatest building in wood.16

New investments were also necessary. World Heritage Centre, a brand new visitor center, was inaugurated in May 2005. The building, which cost just over SEK 25 million, was financed by contributions from individuals, companies, organizations and government agencies. A brand new entrance in the mine has also been built. The number of paying visitors to the mine, following the upturn in 2002, leveled off and reached in 2010 to 43 000. The number of people who annually visit the wide mining area is far larger, between 250 000 and 350 000. They pay no entrance fee, but are hopefully buying things in the Heritage Centre shop, or in one of the craft shops within the area, have lunch in the restaurant and or visit one of the cafés.

Mining Heritage 1: The environmental impact

In addition to the major requirements for security is the problem of leaching of heavy metals from mining slag, slag heaps, kisbränder17 and sand depositories into Lake Tisken flowing into Lake Runn which has connection to the Dala River/Dalälven and further on to the Baltic Sea. The waste from the Falu copper mine, along with waste product from the old zinc, lead and silver mines in Garpenberg, has for a long time been the large heavy metal pollution source to Dalälven – and therefore to the Baltic Sea. The treatment of the mine water in Falun started as late as in 1987. That same year, the government initiated a mapping and control project, the so-called “Mining-waste-project”. In 1992 STORA signed an agreement with the authorities in order to reduce metal emissions (zinc, iron, cadmium and copper) from the mining field in Falun.18 Through the 15-year lasted “Falun project”, the levels of heavy metals to the lake Runn, Dalälven and Baltic Sea have greatly been reduced.19 One measure was to cover the slag

16 In 2006 the National Heritage Board gave 4 million SEK in order to secure the wall. Notes from the meeting with the Mining Council, May 4th 2006.

17 “Kisbränder” is waste, a fine-grained and ferruginous material, from the sulphuric acid factory in Falun. The factory was in use between 1872 and 1993. After the closing down of the mine the primary product, pyrite, was not available anymore. Olsson (2011). In all, “kisbränderna”, is calculated to 400 000 cubic meters. Lindeström (2003), p. 28.


heaps and sand heaps. The quality of water in Faluån, Runn and Dalälven has significantly improved. The healing ability has proved surprisingly good. In short time, the fish population in Lake Runn recovered but the water in Faluån has become turbid and overgrowth of Tisken has increased.

Efforts to reduce leaching has also changed the landscape and not entirely positive. In the past so barren and sterile landscape around the mine the green is today spreading out in summer. This is contrary to UNESCO’s World Heritage nomination. The elimination of health risks has been given greater weight than the cultural heritage values. The combating of leaves shoots is now a regular and expensive (and rather hopeless) activity. Furthermore, the mining field hedges today at least 47 species of birds. The eagle owl attracts particular interest.

If it has been possible to halt the worst leaching from the mine depositories, it is harder to clean up the soil in the neighborhoods closest to the mine, especially in the old miner’s town Elsborg. Here the soil is contaminated by centuries of sulphurous smoke from the many copper smelting works in and around Falun. Cold roasting in furnaces embedded Falun in a thick smoke as through extensive sulfur fallout was killing all vegetation. The concentration of metals in soils closest to the mine is now at 1000 mg/kg which is far above the limit, but also in Grycksbo, more than 10 km north-west, lead levels of 100 mg/kg have been measured, against the 60 mg/kg as is considered normal in this part of the country.

The measures taken in Falun from the beginning of the 1990s have improved the local environment, although high heavy metal content in some places remain in soil and leaching of metals from landfills continues. How big leaches in the future will also depend on the climate. The climate changes predicted in the UN’s climate panel (IPCC), with milder winters, warmer summers and rainfalls would likely lead to increased leaching of metals into waterways.

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20 Lindeström (2003), pp. 43.
21 Lindeström (2003), pp. 60 and p. 84.
Mining Heritage 2: The systems of dams

An immediate threat to the world heritage and town of Falun is the old pond system. The construction began during the 1300s in order to establish operational water to the furnaces in the mine vicinity. From the 1500s new ditches and dams were constructed, to restrict the inflow of water to the mine and with help of water wheels extract the power to bellows, pumps and hoisting plants. During the mine’s heyday in the 1600s when mining went deeper down ingenious hauling plants and pumping systems were constructed. In 1650 there were three water wheels and two wheel gins. During Christopher Polhem’s time as technical manager at the mine from 1693 to 1716 the number of installations increased, many of which required a steady and reliable supply of water power. One of his more grandiose proposals was carried out long after he separated from his service, for ten years from the mid-1730s, when the Crown ditch (Krondiket) was built, a 2.5 km long and 5 m wide ditch. The material for the base of 25 m wide and 8 m high dam embankment, which protected and still protect, the mine and the buildings below, consisted of soil, twigs and rocks with a thin boarded partition dejected in parts of the middle. At the end of the dam wall were three sluices that let enough amount of water through to feed the mine’s wheel and gin houses.25

A similar dam system, but larger in area, was established from the 16th century north west of Sala Silver Mine, 100 km south east of Falun.26 This archaic water system has in recent times due to lack of maintenance periodically posed a serious threat to the nearby town Sala. Thanks to vigorous action efforts and modern technology, the threat has now been removed.27

Also other early-industrial installations - ironworks, sawmills, textile factories, machine shops and mills - collected the power to the machines through large and small water systems with dams, canals and outflow installations. Even today, these equipments require regular maintenance in order not to collapse. The water level in reservoirs and regulated lakes are also defined in old water judgments, which requires special knowledge to interpret. Around Österbybruk and Dannemora mines in Upland stretches today an im-

27 Andreas Karlsson, talk with the conference on dam security in Falun September 29th 2010.
pressive system of dams and canals originally built in the 1600s.\textsuperscript{28}

The ponds in Falun, which to some extent until the beginning of the 1990s provided the mine with power and controlled water influx, are old and demand regular monitoring and periodic maintenance. Climate change is likely to contribute to further destabilization of the old installations of various ages. It is up to the Foundation to monitor that the pond system is kept intact, ie. to guarantee the maintenance. This includes responsibility for the maintenance of the Crown ditch dam. Considering the dam systems’ size and complexity, it is a difficult task to monitor and take action at the right time, even more so when it is costly.

Reservoir size and role

The large reservoir above the mine and the town of Falun covers an area of 3.3 km\textsuperscript{2}. The precipitation area, ie. the area reservoirs are taking the rainwater from, was, according to a statement from 1924, far greater, 55 km\textsuperscript{2}.\textsuperscript{29} Dams and canals are extending about 20 km to the west of the mine. The number of dams is 13, which include eight dam-houses which, at the Korsgårdsdammen are still operated in accordance with well-tried methods. With the help of a sturdy old-fashioned technology the dam keeper manually regulates the water flow between Lake Stora Vällan and the Crown ditch. In addition to the 13 dams, the Crown ditch and Queen Margaret’s ditch, there are a number of small ditches and canals that should be monitored and cleaned.

The current dam system has principally an aesthetic function and a value as a recreational area for summer residents and others who live and exercise in the landscape above the mine. A small portion of the water that passed through the ponds is used by the municipal district heating plant and the Falun Red, a factory located in the mining area. Excess water flows via an spillway culvert in the Crown ditch weir and further on via underground culverts into the Faluån in the city center where it is passed out in lakes Tisken and Runn.

According to the framework agreement from December 1999 between the Foundation and Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags AB


\textsuperscript{29} “Description of the Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags Ltd, belonging to the Falun Copper work, needs for dams within the water system, which by Crown ditch diverted its water to Faluån.” Falun in July 1924. Records at the Foundation Stora Kopperberget.
chapter 7

world heritage and environmental sustainability

(Stora), an affiliated company of Stora Enso, this affiliated company has partial responsibility for the Crown ditch dam. The company Stora agrees to keep the Foundation “harmless if the Foundation through the final court ordered to pay damages to third parties due to a sudden and unexpected breakthrough in the dam embankment”. In addition, “the Foundation and Stora together, at least once a year, should carry out inspection of the dam. If Stora believes that action is needed to prevent damage the Foundation shall constitute 10% of the costs of the action, with a maximum of SEK 100 000 per calendar year.”30 Stora’s responsibilities require that the Foundation “perform normal ongoing supervision and customary minor maintenance”. Falun Red Ltd is responsible to keep the water level, by using pumps, at the level of 215 meters below the surface. Through increased rainfall and technical problems quite recently this level has become increasingly difficult to keep. Late autumn 2010 the water level was 190 meters which has worsened the ventilation and probably contributing to a newly discovered fungus infection in the visitors’ mine.31

The dam system is an important part of world heritage and something that the Foundation is required to keep intact. The water level has to be continuously regulated. Dams, dikes, canals, spillways, ditches and weirs must be managed properly to prevent water breakthroughs. The dam embankment at the Crown ditch is today a major problem and an important local controversy. The reason is that the dam dikes have long been used as a transport route for motor vehicles and the traffic has increased with new housing construction. The wall is definitely not built for tourist coaches and regular bus traffic. A breakthrough would be devastating, not only for the newly built private houses below the embankment, but also for the mine (which could be filled) and for parts of the town.

In the spring of 2010 the Foundation turned to the municipality of Falun and demanded that the road on the Crown embankment would be closed for motor traffic. Exactly where the water from the pond is headed down through the spillway the road has sat down and the sealing ring has been released to the tube.32 Since

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31 Dalarnas Tidningar (regional newspaper), December 7, 2010.
32 In the survey report that SwedPower presented in June 2005 after an inspection of the Crown ditch the conclusion is that the tube must be sealed within two years. In a even worse condition were the irrigation hoses through/over the
the Foundation owns the dam the municipality had to stop motor traffic. It led to protests from the residents above the Crown ditch, the people who daily use the dam embankment, either by bus or by car. The municipality which is responsible for the bus traffic also opposed the closure. However, the culture sector of the county administrative board has not comment on the question, despite its staff must ensure that the World Heritage site is kept intact. Various studies were used as a »weapon« in the infected debate in the local press during autumn 2010.

In 2006, a consultant accomplished an investigation of the state of the dam system. The conclusion was that to ensure safety 400 000 Euro had to be invested. The annual maintenance cost was estimated at 13 200 Euro. The Foundation has no such money and neither municipality nor state wants to inject funds. Ministers from the two Swedish governments visited in the first decade of the 21st century Falun and got the situation explained to them. The investments required are however not reached.

Representatives from the Foundation and the municipality of Falun have had meetings during the autumn 2010 and spring 2011 in order to find solutions to the infected and locked situation. A proposal is to dredge the narrow part of the canal above the mine and the culverts. The idea is also to lower the water level in the Crown ditch dam, down to 75-80 cm below the dam edge. However, this would likely affect the landscape negative and leads to a rapid overgrow with bushes. One question for the Foundation is what happens if parts of the dam embankment, which during centuries has been below the water surface, drained, preferably if the water in the dam system through increased precipitation at the same time rapidly rise? How will this affect the World Heritage; it there a risk that UNESCO would withdraw the prestigious nomination? Various solutions are discussed at the moment and it is possible that the road can be re-opened for light traffic. In the deal that has been discussed, the Foundation would pay 100 000 SEK and the municipality the rest. A decision will likely come in early autumn 2011.

pond. These required immediate action, which also took place. See Mats Lund, survey report 2005-06-01 on assignments of SwedPower. Records at the Foundation Stora Kopparberget, Falun.
Conclusions

Abandoned industrial buildings and industrial sites can be both a starting point for a local renewal on the historical basis and a particularly hazardous environment in unclear care conditions. Especially mines producing copper, zinc, led, silver and gold which contains a lot of sulphur contaminations leaves from a sustainability standpoint a difficult heritage. Who takes responsibility for this and how do we build up a knowledge base to manage the risks when the industrial enterprises have been abandoned or left the place?

In the case of Falun the big company Stora Enso left at the turn of the millennium the mining area where mineable minerals had been taken out of the famous mine during hundreds of years. The care was entrusted to a Foundation which was provided with a considerable capital invested in funds and shares. The Foundation took over the responsibility for the maintenance of the mine and dam system while the company retained the ownership of forest land. Thus, the company also retained the right to a future good return from the forest in the water system’s vast area. Stora Enso got, it would soon become apparent, rid of an extremely complicated cultural heritage which attracts far greater costs than the Foundation through revenues from capital investments, sales and entrance fees are able to mobilize.

Stora Enso has, through its subsidiary company Stora, a shared responsibility for the safety of the Crown ditch dam but is spared from the current responsibility. The company has so far been able to stay out of the difficult issue if the dam embankment shall be used for motor vehicles, but also the question how the whole dam system shall be maintained in a sustainable manner. Had the company also transferred the forest land in the water system’s area to the Foundation its economic conditions for a long term management would had been improved.

However, it is not only a question of money for maintenance and investment. As important are knowledge and solid experiences how old dikes, ditches, spillways, culverts, weirs and dam house are cared for and renewed. The experience also needs to be transferred to new generations. It is best done through personal communication in place, and not, as often happens, ends the day the caretaker/dam keeper leaves the service. A retrospective reconstruction of knowledge is usually a difficult task.
The risk of accidents involving damage to buildings, equipments and even the people are great in this type of industrial environment, that we know from later years of devastating dam breaks in Spain (Los Frailes) in 1998, Romania (Baiia Mar) 2000 and later in Hungary (Kolontár) autumn 2010.33 Sweden has had at least two major dam failures in the 2000s, partly in Aitik 2001 and partly in Blaikengruvan 2006, two mines located in northern Sweden. Furthermore, there have been spills from mining slag and sand depositories.34

Also important is to model the water flow for the “hundred-years flow” and to make dams and channels secured to extreme water conditions. This requires both SMHI’s expertise35 to know how to calculate the rainfall and water flow in different types of landscapes and also people with classical engineering knowledge.

In addition to knowledge how to model water flows and practical experience how to maintain dam systems, knowledge of road engineering is required. However, this kind of education has in recent decades been cut down at Swedish technical universities. Last but not least, industrial historical knowledge and basic knowledge in historical theory and method, that is where to find relevant documents in the archives and how to interpret and analyze data in the files. The industrial historical knowledge is necessary if we shall understand what impact different businesses may have sat in the buildings, land and water, and how plants are constructed. We historians need simultaneously to develop and deepen our knowledge in the field of environmental history in order to deliver sharper analysis and to be stronger in a discussion of risks and the need for action.

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33 Fokus October 15th 2010
34 Karltorp 2008.
35 SMHI, stands for Swedish Meteorological and Hydrological Institute
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TICCIH- national reports (The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage. The national reports are published in connection with the conferences, held each third year from 1973 up to 2009).
World Heritage in the Lofoten Islands and the Barents Sea

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Abstract
In the High North Region, The Barents Sea has both large undiscovered resources of gas and petroleum and sustainable populations of capelin, herring, and cod. The challenge lies then in implementing the convention of world heritage and nature conservation, at the same time managing sustainable exploitation of the natural resources in The Barents Sea. The Norwegian government has tried to solve national conflicts of interest by making a large scale ecosystem-based national management plan for The Barents Sea. The national goals are both sustainable use of petroleum, fishery resources and conservation of the maritime ecosystem. These goals are implemented through designation and planning of the Lofoten Islands and parts of The Barents Sea as world heritage sites. These designated key areas for conservation are the spawning grounds for cod and herring as well as sites for international tourism. The same key areas at sea are the most promising areas for the exploitation of petroleum on the Norwegian continental shelf. In this paper, I present an empirical case study of Norwegian national decision-making in ecosystem-based management of The Barents Sea and nomination of The Lofoten islands as a World Heritage site. I discuss the social effects of the new environmental policy and environmental institutions of problem-solving in Norway. The question is: does the government-based eco-system management planning system provide a suitable institutional framework for solving the conflicting interests of use or conservation of sea areas in the Norwegian context?
Introduction

Biodiversity conservation is on the international agenda in UN. In this paper I would like to present the Norwegian solution of democratic participation in biodiversity conservation of large sea areas in The Barents Sea. According to international UN agreements, the Norwegian state has implemented an eco-system based management plan for large sea areas. This is linked to the international convention of biodiversity conservation and the Malawi convention of eco-system management. These international guidelines are based on using management at the lowest democratic level, the conservation of a large eco-system and use of local knowledge and natural science knowledge in the governance of nature. At the UN the Norwegian state has also ratified the UNESCO convention of world heritage conservation of culture and nature. According to agreements in IUNC and UNESCO, national states have taken on the obligation of conserving 15% of the space of the country. By 2010 the Norwegian authorities had conserved 15% of the onshore landscape as natural reserves and 34 different national parks.

Norwegian society today depends on the export of oil and gas. About 25% of the GNP is based on offshore exploitation of petroleum resources on the continental shelf. The Norwegian state owns and governs the search for new petroleum on the continental shelf as far as 200 km. off the coastline. The sea areas in The North Sea, The Norwegian Sea and The Barents Sea and The Arctic Ocean, are seven times larger than the onshore areas in Norway. Only a small fraction of the sea areas has by national decision-making been conserved as national parks and marine natural protected areas. Sea areas are opened for international commercial fishery, shipping, and the international search for petroleum and production of petroleum.

According to international figures 25% of the world’s undiscovered petroleum resources are located in the Arctic. The Barents Sea is the most promising area for exploration in the international oil industry. The Russians have discovered the world’s largest gasfield Stockman offshore in the Russian sector of The Barents Sea. The Norwegians have discovered three petroleum fields with two fields already having started production of oil and gas (Snøhvit og Norne). Because of the global climate change and rising temperatures, the Arctic sea areas are now open access areas for petroleum research and production. The sea ice is receding and the climate is warming up in the Arctic. Growing international demands
for more oil and gas have put strong pressure on the Norwegian government to open new sea areas in the Arctic for petroleum exploration. The most promising areas are the coastal zones of Northern Norway and The Barents Sea. The “hot spots” for discovery of huge petroleum resources are the sea areas outside The Lofoten and Vesterålen Islands. However, these areas also have the most important functions in the structure of the eco-system of The Barents Sea because the most important species of fish, birds and whales use these sea areas as spawning grounds in the spring and summertime. According to natural science knowledge available at The Institute for Marine Research, these biological processes in the coastal zones have key functions in the structure of the eco-system in The Barents Sea (Havforskningsinstituttet 2010: 1a). The search for new oilfields at sea is potentially dangerous because large oil spills kill off small species, fish and birds. In the Arctic with low sea temperatures and ice conditions in the wintertime, large oil spills have a greater opportunity to damage large eco-systems for long periods. Experience from the disaster of Exxon Valdes in Alaska in 1989 (Fall, Miraglia, Simeone, Utermohle and Wolfe 2001, Ott 2005), today still has a strong impact on the Norwegian policy of regulating transport and production of petroleum in the coastal areas (Midtgård 2011, Andersen 2011). Today the eco-system in The Barents Sea holds the world’s largest populations of cod, herring and sea birds. Large scale commercial fisheries of pelagic species provide livelihoods for Norwegian, Russian, Icelandic and British fishermen and are the most important industry in rural communities in The North Atlantic region (Jentoft 1998, Holm 2001). Industrial fishery in the Arctic provides large export incomes and the basic conditions for human settlement. The new petroleum activity also provides opportunities as well as a great challenge towards other human activities such as fisheries, tourism, shipping and outdoor recreation (Kristoffersen 2011, Dale 2011). These human activities and settlements onshore depend totally on nature and the eco-system at sea.

I would like to present empirical material about democratic decision-making in Norwegian society regarding the use or conservation of large eco-systems at sea. The key areas at sea are here at stake for lots of different stakeholders, local communities and interest groups in Norwegian society. Because of international collaboration between the national states in the Arctic region, petroleum and fish are common resources divided between the national
states of Russia, Denmark, Iceland and The EU. The national states’ sovereignty over sea areas and the property rights over natural resources depend on international and bilateral recognition of borders between national states.

The Norwegian state policy of gaining legitimacy in the international community consists of using international agreements regarding managing sea areas, eco-system management and the world heritage on islands. The islands of Jan Mayen, Spitzbergen and Lofoten have by The Norwegian Ministry of The Environment nominated on UNESCO’s tentative list of world heritage places. In this article, I focus on the nomination process of Lofoten Islands as a world heritage site. This political process of decision-making has become created a national controversy regarding petroleum or world heritage within local communities, government and parliament (Kristoffersen 2011, Andersen 2011). The paper will attempt to analyze the democratic decision-making of using the key areas as a world heritage site and for large scale eco-system planning. The question then is as follows: does government based eco-system management planning provide the institutional framework for solving the conflicting interests between conservation and use of nature in Norwegian society?

**Perspectives on governing the environment**

Management of environment as large eco-systems is human governance of other human use of natural resources in the eco-systems (Davidson-Hunt and Berkes 2003:75). Eco-systems are governed by political- and administrative processes which govern the human use of nature. The challenge for natural environmental management is to integrate and coordinate international, national, regional and local interest groups in their use of nature (Ostrom 1998, Jentoft 1998, Carlsson 2008). Management of the environment is the political task of making decisions amongst conflicting human interests, creating a balance between different political goals, and finding solutions to social problems and conflicts of interests. In the Nordic countries the power of governing nature is centralized to national states, parliament, government and ministries at national level and then delegated to counties and municipalities at regional and local levels. The national tasks, and different areas of environmental policy, are national obligations because of international ratification of international agreements, such as The Rio

The perspectives on governing society are many, and one traditional perspective is hierarchical top-down government and use of the bureaucracy. The tools here are the central power of legislation, use of professional staff and local implementation of systems with formal organisations (Weber 1922, Carlsson 2008). The central authority assumes the responsibility for and takes the initiative for policy-making and legislation; public professional employees follow up by loyally implementing the decisions taken. This situation we define as political government, defined as national consent and loyal regional implementation (Jacobsen 1978:199). This is an ideal model of government and central power-wielding in a national state (Weber 1922, Carlsson 2008). In this ideal model central government and parliament enact the integration and coordination of different areas of policy-making relating to the whole field of environmental management; the central decisions of policy are automatically implemented by loyal professionals at regional level. The integration and coordination of policy, legislation and organisation all take place at national level.

Inside a national state this ideal model does not, however, suit the everyday work and implementation at regional and local levels. Many political science and sociological studies have in fact shown the opposite results; more concentration of power at national level does not give the right results in regional and local implementation of national plans (Olsen 1988:49). Lack of implementation of national policy is a common theme in social science studies of national state governing and management of human activities. The explanation hinges round the fact that not just public actors take part in policy-making and implementation. Private actors, businesses, and non-governmental organizations also take part: we have created a consultative state which delegates policy-making and implementing to organizations in the private sector, or does the public task in partnership with the private sectors and non-governmental organizations (Olsen 1988:49). The Norwegian tradition of government is based on decentralized authorities at regional and local levels, both with regard to policy-making and public management. This process implies a large number of local and regional actors taking part in the policy-making and the implementation of policy.
In the perspective of “bottom-up” government, the explanation of problems of implementation hinges round the fact that that conditions for the ideal government model do not at present exist in societies. The system of knowledge and analytical environmental problems in national policy-making differs greatly from the system used by professional staff at local level. At local level knowledge of the environmental problems is different. Different goals, problems and knowledge make it difficult to implement the national policy of environment at regional and local level.

Sociological and political science studies of the Norwegian state show the results of deregulation of central power in parliament and government (Grønlie 1999, Engelstad, Selle and Østerud 2003). This change from on ideal type of government towards another type is called the process of detraction (Jacobsen 1978:200). This process means that central government delegates authority and power to other levels of management and governing organisations. This internal process then generates more specialisation and fragmentation of public management (Christiansen and Lægreid 2007). We expect environmental policy to consist of a similar situation of processes of detraction.

Another perspective on these processes is the use of governance (Peters and Pierre 2004). Governance is equal partnership between public government and private interests in the common collaboration regarding policy-making and implementation (Peters and Pierre 2004:78, Edvardsen and Hovik 2006, Røiseland and Vabo 2008). In this perspective, and the model of “bottom-up”, common collaboration will provide better opportunities for implementing common environmental policy because of the common interest of public and private actors in the implementation of the policy. Mutual dependence and common interest are important terms for actors’ collaboration and joint work (Røiseland and Vabo 2008:97). The policy of conservation of the natural environment depends on mutual interests between private and public sectors in the collaboration towards implementing policy. Not only public government forms policy; other interest groups and private organisations also take part in policy-making. The ideal model of governance involves equal interests, power, knowledge and resources between the public and the private partners. In reality, societies consist of different patterns involving inequality of power, resources and knowledge between local communities, classes, genders and nations. Partnerships do not take into account the explicit
problems of differing meanings, interests and knowledge between partners, and, because of hidden conflicts of interest, the goals remain loose and vague. Governance is an ideal model based on mutual interest, collaboration and joint work in a united co-ordinated organization (Røiseland and Vabo 2008:92).

I want to investigate what sort of institutional model the Norwegian national state uses in the implementation of national nature- and environmental policy in The Barents Sea, and I want to use the models of government or governance, as tools in the analytical discussions. I want to investigate the capacity for making an integrated whole of environmental policy for the islands and the eco-system at sea. The investigation of solutions is based on the institutional organization of management with the patterns of government or governance. These perspectives are used to analyze the construction of government, responsibility and authority in the regional implementation of national environmental policy. The actors in public management hold different formal positions, and have different educational backgrounds and systems of knowledge. They take part in different interactions and institutional systems of consultation with the local stakeholders. The empirical narrative of systems of management, actors and interaction in policy-making and the implementation of national environmental policy will be presented as separate stories of political decision-making of world heritage and eco-system based management of The Barents Sea. The different narratives will be compared and analyzed in the last section.

World heritage in The Barents Sea

The UN convention of World Heritage was invented by representatives from the international organisations of ICOMOS and INUC. These two organisations work for conservation of culture and nature. Representatives from ICOMOS and INUC worked in the UN committee UNESCO which developed the international convention of world heritage in 1972. The national states, which have ratified the agreement, can propose and apply for sites as cultural, natural, or combined sites for world heritage. Today 194 nations have signed the agreement and over 940 places are accepted by UNESCO as world heritage places. The Norwegian state ratified the agreement in 1977 and has seven different sites as cultural or natural world heritage places. Most internationally known are the Norwegian fjords which became world natural he-
Heritage in 2005. The Norwegian government has proposed Lofoten Islands, Jan Mayen Island, Bjornoya Island and Spitsbergen Islands on UNESCO’s tentative list of new places in the future (Riksantikvaren 2008). Together with the Nordic countries the Norwegian Ministry of the Environment has made a joint Nordic plan for world heritage places in 1996 (Nord 1996:30/31). In the Nordic and UNESCO plan for world heritage, the Lofoten Islands and the sea area off the islands, was proposed tentatively in 1996 as a place for world heritage.

According to the guidelines of UNESCO the national state organizes the local and national decision-making of nomination, the detailed statement and the application. In the Norwegian case The Ministry of The Environment owns the task of applying for cultural and natural world heritage. The task is managing the process of decision-making at local municipality level and inside the different ministries and the Norwegian government. The result is a governmental decision to send an application to UNESCO. The application includes three sections: 1) The application for a site, 2) The management plan for the proposed site and 3) 100 pictures from the site. In 2003 The Ministry of The Environment started the formal decision process of nomination for The Lofoten Islands. The partners and stakeholders are the Norwegian government, 6 local municipalities with 24 000 people, The County Governor of Nordland, Nordland County and the Council of Lofoten region. In 2004 the Minister of The Environment, Knut Arild Hareide, travelled to The Lofoten Islands and officially declared the start of the formal process of local and national decision-making and the production of a application. According to UNESCO’s guidelines, an application for world heritage needs local participation, local consent and local management. Five of six municipalities agreed in 2004 to take part in the decision process and the making of the UNESCO application. The Ministry of The Environment implemented a local and national staff to manage the decision process of nomination and manufacturing knowledge and documentation. Between 2005 and 2009 the elected board of the nomination process, with representatives from the directorate for nature, six municipalities, The County Governor of Nordland, The Directorate of Fisheries, tourist organisations, public museums, the fishermens’ union, and the farmers’ union took part in the development of the application, the production of local knowledge, collecting natural scientific knowledge and the writing of a management plan. In
2006 the board of six municipalities supported the work of finishing the national application to UNESCO. The application of The Lofoten Islands as a world heritage site was designed to answer the questions and criteria set up by UNESCO. The nomination as a world heritage site included six municipalities with 24,000 people, 3,000 km² of land and islands and 7,000 km² of sea areas outside and in The Lofoten Islands. The criteria of nomination were chosen as follows: marine biodiversity of universal value, outstanding natural beauty of universal value, the landscape of the Lofoten Alpine Wall at sea, and the cultural tradition of 1,000 years of cod fishery. The Lofoten area is the first place in the world to be known for commercial fishery of pelagic cod and export of stockfish to Europe. The intention of the nomination of 7,000 km² sea area 34 kms off the coast of The Lofoten Islands, is the conservation and development of the traditional coastal fisheries. According to information from UNESCO, recognition of the world heritage site will give an increase in tourism of between 40% - 60%. In the Lofoten region today 1,200 people are employed to take care of 500,000 visiting international tourists. The potential world heritage site opens up an opportunity to develop employment for 500 new people in the management and service industry related to The Lofoten Islands being awarded the status of a world heritage site.

Within the board of nomination the representatives from the two larger Lofoten municipalities, asked for an explanation of world heritage related to the possibility of coastal petroleum activity. The Norwegian parliament had supported the Management plan for The Barents Sea in 2006, and the government had worked on collecting natural scientific knowledge of the geology, the biology, a maritime survey, climate change and the eco-system of The Barents Sea. The decision to plan all human activity was taken by the Norwegian government in the spring of 2011. The governmental decision of the revision of the “Holistic management plan for The Barents Sea” opened up a new opportunity for national decision-making regarding petroleum exploration in coastal areas. This new environmental policy provided the opportunity to open up new coastal areas for petroleum activities. The national decision-making process for Lofoten and the sea areas nominated as world heritage site are key national areas for petroleum production and large-scale industrial fisheries. The Ministry of the Environment manages these two different national processes of decision-making happening at the same time and in the same
place. Because of the Norwegian government’s unknown decision regarding these matters, the Lofoten council (a regional council consisting of members from Lofoten Island municipalities) made a decision in September 2009 to stop the national process of world heritage application. The UNESCO application had by this time been developed and completed in Norwegian language. The decision process lacked local municipality decisions of consent and national decisions of consent within the Norwegian Government. The local, regional and national processes were co-ordinated by the national Ministry of The Environment. The Lofoten council consists of six mayors from six municipalities in Lofoten. This regional institution is a partnership between The Lofoten Islands’ six municipalities. Because of this joint decision at regional level, the local processes aimed at reaching consent have not been accomplished in five of the six municipalities. The Lofoten Council applied to then Minister of The Environment Erik Solheim to stop the national process of developing an application in English. Because of the UNESCO guidelines demanding local participation and consent, the Norwegian Government has so far not managed to finish and promote the application of The Lofoten Islands as a world heritage site to UNESCO in Paris.

National government and holistic eco-system management of The Barents Sea

Due to the risk of large oil spills and total destruction of the eco-system in arctic sea areas, the Norwegian parliament made a decision in 1993 not to open the Lofoten and Vesterålen sea areas for offshore petroleum activities (White Paper nr. 26.1993/1994, Arbo Hersoug 2010). The decision was made by way of the national act of petroleum and applied natural and social research for national decision-making in government and parliament. The national state-owned oil company Statoil, strongly desired to use this coastal zone in the Lofoten region for petroleum activities. According to geological research the coastal sea areas outside The Lofoten Islands make up the most promising area for discovering large new oil fields. According to the Norwegian Ministry of Oil and Gas, the area holds petroleum and gas resources worth 600 billion Norwegian crowns (100 billion US dollars). According to representatives from Statoil, the new petroleum activities will generate income worth 1200 billion Norwegian crowns (200 billion US dollars) and create 2000 new oil work related places in the
local communities. The representatives of national and international oil companies visit the mayors and political representatives in the municipalities concerned and promote the interests of petroleum and gas exploration in the Lofoten region.

The international oil industry has launched a joint lobby campaign directed at Norwegian municipalities, the government and parliament in order to open up new areas for petroleum exploration in the Barents Sea and the sea outside the Lofoten Islands. In the face of this international challenge, the conservative government of Kjell Magne Bondevik in 2001 started the process of policy-making and developing a new management system related to human usage of sea areas and sea eco-systems. The Ministry of The Environment were given this task and developed the new system of “a holistic governmental plan for large sea areas”. The Ministry of The Environment invited the natural sciences environment and directorates responsible for managing natural resources onshore and offshore to take part in this development. In the process 150 natural researchers at 27 different research institutes and directorates used 500 million Norwegian crowns (100 million US dollars) in research studies and development of a natural science-based management system of sea areas and large scale eco-systems. The continental shelf and sea areas are divided into three different eco-systems and management regimes. The borders between the eco-systems are linked with natural science knowledge of natural biodiversity and marine life and eco-functions. Human communities onshore are not part of the eco-system, because the eco-system borders are defined as starting 10 kilometres off the coast. Coastal communities, municipalities and counties are not stakeholders and participants in this eco-system based management. The borders between the eco-systems in the Norwegian Sea and the Barents Sea are the Lofoten Islands. Because of the cod population’s key functions in the eco-system, the Lofoten Islands are part of the eco-system in the Barents Sea. The Norwegian government chose the Barents Sea as its first attempt to implement the new management regime of the ocean. This new policy was put to the Norwegian parliament in 2006 and accepted as a new policy regime offshore. The system is based on both human use of natural resources and conservation of all parts of the eco-system structure and functions (Knol 2010). The decision in parliament included planning and revision periods of 5 years. Only government and parliament are given the opportunity of making the decisions of governing all
human activities at sea. The management of decision-making is institutionalized at National Government level and they use manufactured natural scientific knowledge to govern politically all human usage of the ocean. During the planning period there have been two national elections to parliament and the government has changed from a conservative government to a coalition including the Labour Party, The Socialist Party and The Agrarian Party. This government has not started the processes of decision-making related to The Barents Sea. In both parliament elections in 2005 and 2009 the sea areas outside Lofoten Islands turned out to be major conflict issues in national politics. On the 15th of April 2010 the Norwegian government received the new natural scientific reports of the conditions of the eco-system in The Barents Sea (“Fisken og havet” (The Fish and The Sea), særnummer 1a-2010). 150 natural researchers delivered a joint consensus report to the Environment Minister Erik Solheim. The scientific results present a picture of a healthy eco-system with growing populations of herring and cod, low risk of oilspills and a growing biodiversity due to the warmer climate. The natural scientific results are the basic documentation and knowledge in the decision-making of governing all human activities in The Barents Sea. The Prime Minister, Jens Stoltenberg, and then Minister of The Environment, Erik Solheim, wanted all interest groups, parties and municipalities to provide local knowledge, advice and comments before the governmental decision in the spring of 2011. Several days after, on the 21st of April 2010, an accident happened in The Gulf of Mexico on a drilling rig searching for new oil fields in deep water. Deepwater Horizon exploded and produced the largest known offshore blow-out lasting 87 days and generating a major oil spill in The Gulf of Mexico. This accident had an enormous impact on the national decision whether or not to open new areas for petroleum activities in coastal areas in Norway.

In Norwegian society it is common knowledge that there is disagreement between the parties forming the majority coalition government. The Labour party wants to start an opening process directed at new petroleum activities in the coastal zone and the two other parties, the left-wing Socialist Party (SV) and The Agrarian Party (SP), do not want a new process enabling the opening of these sea areas for petroleum exploration. The left-wing Socialist Party follows the policy of conserving coastal areas in Lofoten as a protected natural reserve according to the Act of Natural Pro-
The minister of the Environment is a member of left-wing Socialist Party. His ministry has responsibility both for the application of Lofoten Islands as a world heritage site and for the Management plan for The Barents Sea, as government policy areas and as part of the central administration of the Norwegian State. The tug-of-war and battle between world heritage and petroleum took place inside and between the different parties in national government. The international accident in The Gulf of Mexico on Deepwater Horizon meant delayed decision-making within the government. Because of the making of new reports on Deepwater Horizon, the decision was delayed in the autumn of 2010. In March 2011 the Norwegian government announced its decision under its new revised management plan for The Barents Sea (White Paper, “Stats” nr. 10, 2010-2011). The content was a policy of closing the sea area off the coast of Lofoten for petroleum activities. Instead the government opened new coastal areas for petroleum activity in other places. The areas now opened are coastal areas south and north of Lofoten. These new concession blocks for petroleum activity are situated 35 kms off the coast of Norway. In the same public document the Norwegian government announced refusal to submit the UNESCO application because of the decision at regional level to stop the nomination process of Lofoten as a world heritage site. The political compromise arrived at within the government opens new areas for petroleum activity in The Barents Sea as compensation for the loss of the sea area off the coast of Lofoten.

The Barents Sea and the Norwegian environmental management sector

The narratives tell a story of two parallel national processes of decisions related to the governing of one sea area in The Barents Sea. Because of national economic interests regarding the income from the fisheries, the petroleum and gas industry and tourism, the decision-making turned into a political battle within the political parties in national government. The political polarization, the battle between world heritage and petroleum, has evolved into a symbolic battle of the human use of nature for the future. The Norwegian state economy is based on the export of fish, oil and gas. Use of natural resources at sea provides the basis for Norwegian national welfare and livelihood. These vital natural resources are shared with other national states and strongly depend on in-
International agreements and regulations. The Barents Sea is divided and managed in co-operation with the Russians. International collaboration and strong dependence on natural resources has, in Norwegian society, moved the power of management to national level. The board of management has turned out to become the Norwegian Government and Parliament. The decision-making is carried out within the government and is based on the use of purely natural science based research and knowledge. In the new eco-system management of sea areas, the Government has gained more political power in the governing of human usage. On the other hand municipalities, the fishermens’ union, the union of oil companies and the social sciences have lost their participation and power. The balance of power has moved from local and regional governance towards national government.

The other decision process, the application process to for Lofoten as a world heritage site paints a picture of detraction of power. Municipalities have gained power due to UNESCO guidelines. The national application requires local participation, consent, and management. The making of decisions involves three different levels of management and stakeholders. The production of the application and the management plan implied a strong partnership between local stakeholders, interest groups, social researcher, natural researchers and municipalities. On the other hand the application required consent within the Norwegian Government and the central state administration. The lack of trust between local and national stakeholders in politics and the national political polarization of the politics of nature prevented completion of the UNESCO application. The Norwegian government announced in its revised management plan for The Barents Sea, the political goal of 10% conservation of the ocean area located on the Norwegian shelf. However, it was impossible to make a decision to conserve the sea areas proposed as world heritage in The Lofoten Islands. The political compromise within the Norwegian Government ended up in no oil-exploration and no world heritage in Lofoten.

This national decision is a political solution lying between use and conservation. To understand this decision we need to understand the historical background for political institutions. The Norwegian natural and environmental system has since 1972 been a ministry organisation The Ministry of Environmental Protection (Miljøverndepartementet) and The Directorate for Natural Management (Direktoratet for naturforvaltning). The Norwegian
system uses a top-down public organization for institutional policymaking and implementation (Jansen 1989, Berntsen 1994). In this model it was intended to construct an integrated whole of the government sector of the various ministries for the use of natural resources involving the ministries of agriculture, fisheries, industry and petroleum. The national policy was based on a model of public government of natural environment, but due to national conflicts with other ministries, this actually turned out to be a small sector with poor professional natural scientific employees, low legal power and a low budget. The Norwegian government consists of different professional civil servants with educational backgrounds ranging from law to agronomy, forest management, the management of wilderness, landscape architects, social sciences and biology (Jansen 1989:229, Osland 1997). The Norwegian Ministry of The Environment has a multicultural professional staff and no one professional group dominates the system (Jansen 1989, Osland 1997, Jonsson 1999). The Norwegian Ministry of The Environment has had great conflicts of interest with other ministries at national level and conflicts of interest at regional level in counties and local municipalities during the period from 1980 to 2000 (Jansen 1989, Osland 1997:149, Sande 2010). The Norwegian state implemented regional management of the environment at state county level in 21 counties in 1984. Professional staff at regional state level has been built up in the same way as at national level – with multicultural professional education (Jansen 1989, 222, Bertsen 1994, Klausen og Rommetveit 1996).

The tasks of operational management of natural resources, conserving biodiversity and conserved landscapes are delegated to state county level (Fylkesmannen i Nordland, Miljøvernavdelingen). The state county level (Department of Environmental Protection) has 20 employees in two different sections of areal conservation and species conservation. The Department of Environmental Protection is small and lacks power, professional knowledge and budgetary power. The management tasks are onshore eco-systems and coastal zone within the ocean area. In 2010 the Ministry of Environment delegated the management of large conserved eco-systems and national parks onshore to 430 municipalities. Two of the municipalities in The Lofoten Islands, Røst and Vågan, received a letter of invitation from the Minister Erik Solheim to take over national management of protected nature reserves. This policy can be seen as the total opposite of the eco-system based management.
used for The Barents Sea. Sea areas are governed and managed by national institutions such as The Directorate for Petroleum (Oljedirektoratet) The Directorate for Fisheries and The Coast (Fiskeridirektoratet) and The Institute for Marine Research (Havforskningsinstituttet). The Norwegian onshore system today has three levels of management and government of nature: national, regional and municipal. At municipality level in all the 435 Norwegian municipalities the same heterogenic patterns of different professional groups exists. The largest group of employed heads of environmental protection is nature managers educated at the Norwegian University of Environmental and Bio-diversity. In five of six municipalities in the Lofoten region, the position of head of environmental protection has been removed and the tasks have been transmitted to the Section for Development of Business and Spatial Planning. At municipality level the heterogenic pattern of professions is repeated, closely resembling the pattern existing at national and regional state level. Because of the small scale of many of these municipalities, different staff with varying professional educational backgrounds, works in each municipality. In the six municipalities in the area studied, the professional group of agronomists and engineering dominates the management of nature and environment. Management capacity related to Norwegian onshore eco-systems (and national parks) is to be found at local level with political delegation of tasks, power and responsibility.

This system of heterogenic professions uses different networks and scientific models of management. The main model is developed at the former Norwegian University of Agriculture (The Norwegian University of Environment and Bio-engineering), and in this model, management is based on using and cultivating nature. Professional staff in the field of maritime management is usually educated in marine biology at the Universities of Bergen and Tromsø (Holm 2001, Andersen 2010). This model of management is based on natural selection, biodiversity and eco-systems (Aas and Skurdal 2000:77, Holm 2001, Knol 2010). The system of management in the Norwegian case has different patterns of professional groups. At local level managing the onshore system in municipalities, professional groups use a model of cultivation and strong local democratic participation of interest groups and stakeholders. The management of The Barents Sea consists of totally based governance and partnerships between national politics and natural sciences. This horizontal integrated expert system
consists of professional engineers and natural science researchers who work at different ministries, directorates, and national research institutes. The politics and power is concentrated in central state administration and national government.

The changing processes within the onshore eco-systems have been marked by de-centralization and delegation, as well as power shifts at local level moving toward models for cultivation of nature at municipality level. The opposite process of centralization and power shifts continues at national level moving towards a model of natural selection and bio-diversity conservation in the management of offshore eco-systems. Within the national central system of different ministries and professional groups, internal competition exists between these two different models for governing nature. At municipality level, political parties and professional people support the integrated model of cultivation and the use of nature, whereas at central government level in Oslo, national parties and professional staff support the model of conserving nature and holistic eco-system based management. The globalisation of natural policy-making and politics has changed the power of balance in favour of the international and national level (Often 1993:43, Carlsson 2008). These new networks of governance between natural science and national politics have rendered the local level more static. The national government uses international policy and institutions in the implementation of this policy at national level. The general picture of management systems in Norway is based on detraction and governance of onshore eco-systems at local and regional level, with its total opposite being offshore marine ocean management. The difference here is that Norwegian municipalities and local stakeholders do have legal power and do take part in the implementation of national policy, hereby implementing the national system at local level.

The Norwegian state delegated the task of management of the onshore environment, national parks and the large-scale eco-system to 430 municipalities. Every municipality employs one person as head of the environment connected to the mayor’s secretariat (Osland 1997, 157). This onshore eco-system based management has three levels of political and democratic decision-making. The national challenge consists of the vertical integration of three levels of management in 430 municipalities and 21 counties.

On the other hand, the offshore eco-system at sea is purely based on national political and natural scientific institutions (Jentoft
1998, Holm 2001, Knol 2011, Kristoffersen 2011). The new policy of eco-system based management offshore is the horizontal integration of different national directorates and maritime natural research institutes (Andersen 2011). Norwegian government gave The Ministry of The Environment the task of horizontally integrating the policy areas of petroleum, shipping, fishery and environmental conservation of the ocean. The operative governing board was centralized to Norwegian Government.

Temporary political conclusions
At the beginning of this study I asked the question: is government-based eco-system management planning the institutional framework for solving the conflicting interests of conservation or use in Norwegian society? In this article I have presented two cases of national decision-making related to conserving large-scale eco-systems in The Barents Sea and The Lofoten Islands. The issue concerned is to make political decisions within government regarding both the usage and the conservation of maritime biodiversity for the future. The national decision is based on national state implementation of different international agreements for conserving biodiversity at the UN. The two different processes of national implementation have produced national, regional, and local conflicts between petroleum stakeholders on the one side and stakeholders of world heritage on the other. In the politics of nature within government, it is impossible to obtain a decision to secure permanent natural conservation in the most important sea area for the fisheries and tourism in Norway. Due to environmental movements and politics, it is also impossible to obtain a decision for oil exploration and research in the sea areas outside The Lofoten Islands. The national experimentation of the eco-system based management has two different outcomes. The implementation of international agreements has in the case of large onshore eco-system based management been delegated to municipality level as a new system of local governance of national parks and large natural protected areas. On the other side offshore marine eco-system based management is centralized at the national state level (national government). Because national income generation affects the offshore petroleum and industrial fishery, sea management has turned out to become an exclusive partnership between national government and natural science institutions. This has made the local and regional level of democracy redundant thereby concen-
trating power in government and parliament. The strategy formed by the Ministry of The Environment, with the nomination of word heritage sites, has lost the battle against the stakeholders in oil industry. The politics of nature within government has only delayed the drilling operations in The Barents Sea and the sea outside The Lofoten Islands. On the other side, the possibilities for sending an application for The Lofoten Islands as a world heritage site still remains open for the parliamentary election in 2013. This is not the end of the story.

Litterature


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World Heritage and Tourism
The Double Bind of World Heritage Tourism

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Abstract
World heritage sites across the globe are adapting themselves to the homogenizing standards of tourism at the same time as trying to maintain, or even increase, their local particularity. While local and national tourism authorities and tour agencies package and sell so-called ‘authentic’ cultural landscapes or ‘traditional’ cultures, what counts as world heritage – be it material or intangible – and the way it is interpreted is increasingly defined and controlled supra-locally. This paper sketches the broad picture of world heritage tourism in the 21st century and illustrates the general trends with examples of on-going ethnographic research on world heritage sites.
1. Setting the scene

Despite major natural disasters and economic crises, tourism is on the rise across the globe, albeit unevenly (UNWTO, 2011). Given the pervasiveness and local particularity of what is commonly understood as ‘heritage’, it is not surprising that heritage tourism is among those niches growing most rapidly (Timothy & Boyd, 2006). Such special interest tourism is being developed, both as a primary objective and as a by-product of other leisure activities, by a wide variety of stakeholders on local-to-global levels. While people have journeyed to experience the material manifestations and living expressions that represent the stories and people of the past since ancient times, what is new is the ever-increasing speed, intensity and extent of travel and tourism (Salazar, 2010). Private and public sectors worldwide, whether or not in collaboration, are converting heritage resources into destinations and attractions, in a bid to obtain a piece of the lucrative global tourism pie. The money visitors spend on admission fees, souvenirs, transport, and food and accommodation contributes billions every year to the global economy and employs millions of people directly and indirectly (Timothy & Boyd, 2003).

Apart from economic incentives, heritage tourism serves important political purposes (Breglia, 2006). On the domestic level, heritage is commonly used to stimulate pride in the (imagined) national history or to highlight the virtues of particular ideologies (Salazar, 2011). In the supranational sphere, heritage sites are marketed and sold as iconic markers of a local area, country, region or even continent, and the journey abroad as an opportunity to learn about ‘Otherness’ – some go as far as promising a contribution to worldwide peace and understanding. At the same time, tourism is increasingly recognized and used as an agent of socio-cultural change. The mounting struggles over who controls heritage tourism reflect its growth and success (Porter & Salazar, 2005; Salazar & Porter, 2004). Heritage tourism in particular has been advocated as an attractive alternative to mass tourism, providing sustainable livelihoods to small local operators, protecting and sustaining cultural as well as natural resources, and educating tourists and locals alike (NWHO, 1999). Heritage management is now commonly seen as a strategic tool to maximize the use of heritage within the global tourism market (Nuryanti, 1997). This goes hand in hand with the overall trend to privatize goods and services, making heritage tourism more entrepreneurial and enter-
tainment-oriented, and leading to new types of conflict over ownership and appropriation (Salazar, 2012a).

Some argue that the globalization of heritage through tourism has led to a greater respect for (both material and living) culture and nature than previously existed. However, the transformation of natural environments and historical sites into attractions and cultural expressions into performances is seldom straightforward. Conservation and preservation along with developing and managing visitation are major issues facing the heritage tourism sector. The interface and relationship between heritage and global tourism is extremely complex. In a tourism setting, heritage can be (mis)used in a variety of ways for a variety of purposes by a variety of stakeholders. In this paper, I want to discuss some of the most pressing challenges that lie ahead in heritage tourism and stress the importance of interpretation for its sustainable development. The case study of central Java, Indonesia, illustrates the general trends and shows the urgent need for more dialogue and collaboration between the fields of heritage management and tourism.

2. Global standards versus local distinctiveness

Tourism development has been instrumental in globalizing heritage, its management, interpretation and appropriation (Labadi & Long, 2010). Heritage management is caught up in a complex web of global interconnections and dependencies between stakeholders at various levels. Engaging with global tourism inevitably necessitates a certain degree of worldwide integration and homogenization, which are given tangible form via the standardization of training, service and hospitality benchmarks. The challenge of standardization is extremely relevant in the context of heritage management. Heritage destinations worldwide may be adapting themselves to the homogenizing trends of global tourism, but, at the same time, they have to commoditize their local distinctiveness in order to compete with other destinations (cf. Chang, 1999). After all, it is the local particularity of heritage (sometimes branded as ‘national’) that tourists are most interested in witnessing and experiencing. ‘The more globalization, of which tourism is a main agent, homogenizes habits and landscapes around the world, the more whatever is available of the past to be preserved for future generations tends to be iconicized as a symbol for national identification and as a unique sight’ (Peleggi, 1996, p. 445).
Tourism marketers around the globe capitalize on the following assumption: If all places on earth and their inhabitants have a natural environment and culture, and if these two are necessarily unique to a specific place and people, then their transformation into heritage should produce an exclusive product reflecting and promoting a distinctive place or group identity. Heritage is thus used to endow peoples and places with what in marketing terms is called a product’s ‘unique selling point’. Ironically, pioneering projects of originality and uniqueness have been so successfully replicated to the point where they no longer express the sense of a locally distinctive identity that was the intention of their creators and proponents.

The global increase in tourism has exerted pressure on many heritage sites. The process of ‘tourismification’ of heritage confronts those stakeholders involved and communities affected with a whole set of complex issues, including authenticity, interpretation, heritage contestation, social exclusion, contested space, personal heritage, control and preservation (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002; Timothy & Prideaux, 2004). In this context, it is important to point out that there are significant economic, social, political, management, conservation and interpretation differences between developed and developing countries in terms of heritage tourism. Especially poor countries have a hard time achieving the international standards set by the tourism sector (Salazar, 2010). There are many issues in the less-developed world that create everyday obstacles to the sustainable development and management of heritage, including the role of local communities in decision making, sharing in the benefits of tourism development, empowerment and power, ownership of historic places and artefacts, lack of funding and skills and forced displacement to accommodate tourism growth (Hampton, 2005). The promise of sustainable heritage tourism becomes all the more difficult to realize if we take account of the fact that low-income nations receive only a fraction of global tourism revenue (United Nations World Tourism Organization, 2008).

2.1. World Heritage Tourism: Whose Heritage, Whose Tourism?

The expansive growth of tourism after World War II greatly helped to promote the cosmopolitan idea of a common heritage, to be valued, shared and enjoyed by the global ecumene. In fact, global tourism and world heritage recursively reinforce and enhance each
other in an ever-growing and influential lobby. UNESCO’s high profile campaigns to safeguard Abu Simbel in Egypt (1966), Borobudur in Indonesia (1973) and Angkor Wat in Cambodia (1993) are salient examples of this. These World Heritage Sites are considered to be the centrepiece of global heritage tourism (Shackley, 1998). The world heritage list is a rapidly growing catalogue of the cultural and natural heritage that, according to the 1972 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the World’s Cultural and Natural Heritage, is of ‘outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science’ (after having been nominated nationally and accredited internationally). The first twelve sites were inscribed in 1978. Thirty years later, the list includes 725 cultural, 183 natural, and 28 mixed sites in 153 countries (with European and Judaeo-Christian sites continuing to dominate). The original purpose of world heritage designation was to assist with management and preservation of the sites and to encourage the development of management plans.

The mere inscription on the list usually coincides with a boost in visitation rates (Pedersen, 2002). UNESCO’s recognition thus plays an instrumental role, not only in safeguarding heritage, but also in increasing international visitor numbers (and all the problems associated with this). Many world heritage sites have quickly become major attractions. With millions of tourists visiting the 936 sites each year, tourism has not only been economically rewarding, it has also become a major management concern. By definition no two sites are alike, but they all share common problems such as the need for a critical balance between visitation and conservation. Many sites lack trained personnel and policy makers sometimes lack the experience necessary to use tourism as a tool for sustainable development. In 1999, ICOMOS adopted its International Cultural Tourism Charter, a policy document detailing the importance of managing tourism at places of heritage significance. The overriding importance of tourism to world heritage, both as an opportunity and, if poorly managed, as a threat, was recognized by the World Heritage Committee when it authorized the World Heritage Centre, in 2001, to develop a Sustainable Tourism Programme. This has resulted, among others, in a practical manual on tourism management (Pedersen, 2002).

Since 2004, National Geographic’s Centre for Sustainable Destinations asks hundreds of experts to rate tourism destinations on several criteria. The idea behind this yearly exercise is to improve
stewardship and attract the most beneficial, least disruptive forms of tourism. In 2006, the panellists evaluated 94 world heritage destinations. Among the highest scoring cultural sites were the Alhambra (Spain), Vézelay (France), Guanajuato (Mexico), Córdoba (Spain), Bath (UK) and Évora (Portugal). At the bottom of the list were the Upper Middle Rain Valley (Germany), Kyoto (Japan), Assisi (Italy), Avignon (France), the Loire Valley (France) and the Banks of the Seine (France). This type of rankings, together with the biennial World Monuments Watch list of 100 most endangered cultural heritage sites and UNESCO’s own list of World Heritage in Danger provide opportunities to raise public awareness, foster local participation, advance innovation and collaboration, and demonstrate effective solutions.

Such actions are necessary because the tendency to adopt top-down heritage planning and management procedures has often resulted in the disenfranchisement of local people, giving greater prominence to expressions of national, ‘official’ culture and nationalism at the expense of local culture (Wall & Black, 2004). This kind of approach has tended to freeze sites and displace human activities, effectively excluding local people from their own heritage. With tourist awareness of the significance and location of heritage at an all-time high, no wonder governments strategically choose which monuments to nominate as symbols of (supra)national character and culture and which ones not. While in some instances packaging heritage to cater to a world market appears to be subservient to the nationalistic needs and criteria of the individual countries in which the sites are to be found (Boniface & Fowler, 1993), world heritage sites are, par excellence, global heritage products. Every international visitor contributes to the globalization of heritage by asserting the value of the site as universal and the right of general accessibility to it (Di Giovine, 2008). However, the very concept of universal heritage is increasingly contested. After all, it privileges an idea originating in the West and requires an attitude toward nature and culture that is also distinctly European in origin. Within the discourse of universal heritage, there is little room for specific cultural, political, or religious positions that diverge from Western, secularist viewpoints. The fact that the very concept of heritage is underpinned by the globalization of Western values has prompted challenges, resistance and misunderstandings (Porter & Salazar, 2005; Salazar & Porter, 2004).
Today, global heritage tourism largely continues to base policies around a Western-centric network of organizations and technologies. The intergovernmental agencies of UNESCO officially charged with the definition, recognition, designation, and protection of world heritage (especially the World Heritage Centre and its expert advisory groups such as IUCN and ICOMOS) are often blamed for this bias. While they certainly play a role, it is rather a hesitant and ambiguous one. After all, the sites designated on the world heritage list represent those national choices and priorities that have successfully been lobbied for, rather than any international standard (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000). In other words, organizations like UNESCO offer a forum for national representation rather than world governance. World heritage is ‘the sum of scrutinised national heritages, a situation which has the potential to create competition given that heritage becomes an expression of national self-esteem’ (Timothy & Boyd, 2003, p. 15). Ironically, UNESCO’s apolitical stance towards conservation feeds directly into the heritage-tourism-development nexus created by many governments. Indeed, we should not forget that many countries, especially poor ones, see tourism as a major tool to develop, and that development in the eyes of those in power often equals erasing local, traditional cultural practices.

Of course, world heritage is but one facet of the move towards globalization and while a shared heritage is desired by certain countries, it is not a universal presumption. Moreover, UNESCO’s idea of a list is not new. Various precursor listings have been compiled over the ages to catalogue the most spectacular natural and cultural heritage in the world. One of the first known inventories was the one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, based on guidebooks popular among Hellenic sightseers, including monuments located around the Mediterranean rim. The only wonder that stood the test of time is the Great Pyramid of Giza, which was inscribed as a world heritage site in 1979 and is one of Egypt’s major tourism attractions. This ancient list inspired the creation of many similar rankings ever since. Some years ago, the Swiss-based New7Wonders Foundation invited people around the globe to cast their votes on the Internet for the New 7 Wonders of the World. Over 100 million people worldwide participated and chose as winners: the Great Wall (China), Petra (Jordan), Chichén Itzá (Mexico), the Statue of Christ Redeemer (Brazil), the Colosseum (Italy), Machu Picchu (Peru) and the Taj Mahal (India). The results were
cleverly used by the winning countries to boost both national pride and international visitor numbers. For the same reasons, countries such as Canada, Poland, Portugal, Russia and Ukraine (who were not included in the final list) organized their own national Seven Wonders campaigns.

2.2 Interpreting Local Heritage for a Global Audience

Although seldom acknowledged, the globalization of heritage through tourism can seriously influence its interpretation, both for locals and tourists. We should not forget that heritage mainly has value because of the selective meaning that people ascribe to it, often through personal identification and attachment. The way people relate to a place is not so much caused by the specific site attributes but by personal motivations and perceptions (Poria, Butler, & Airey, 2003). Those who view a site as bound up with their own heritage are likely to behave significantly differently from others. A single heritage site can provoke varied degrees of understanding – be it on a local, national, regional or even global scale. In fact, there is no heritage without interpretation, and the attached subjective meaning is always (re)constructed and often contested, because ‘society filters heritage through a value system that undoubtedly changes over time and space, and across society’ (Timothy & Boyd, 2003, p. 2). ‘In today’s context of global tourism, ‘heritage’ and ‘tradition’ become all the more intensely rethought, re-articulated, and recreated and contested, both by insiders and outsider packagers, politicians, and visitors. Tourism does not simply impose disjunctures between the ‘authentic past’ and the ‘invented past’, but rather blurs these artificial lines, creating new politically charged arenas in which competing ideas about heritage, ritual, and tradition are symbolically enacted’ (Adams, 2003, p. 93). As a tourism construct, a wide variety of individuals and institutions attribute meaning and authenticity to heritage (Peleggi, 1996).

The interpretation of heritage is important to defining, evoking and enhancing its meaning (Uzzell, 1989). Making the different layers of multiple and shifting meanings and their dissonances accessible and understandable, for both local residents and tourists from varied backgrounds, requires carefully designed strategies of representation. Interpretative services are not a special favour to visitors; they are an essential part of the work of heritage management. ‘Successful interpretation is critical both for the effective management and conservation of heritage sites and for sustainable
tourism’ (Moscardo, 1996, p. 376). This is an extremely challenging task, because the desire to (re)present heritage for both domestic and international audiences often creates a tension around the selection of stories to be told and what is to be left untold (Salazar, 2010). Moreover, ‘although the global heritage dialogue tends to present the environment as an empty container, places of heritage often remain places where real people live and where real conflicts may arise’ (Al Sayyad, 2001, p. 22).

What does the globalization of heritage do to its interpretation? Alternative readings of heritage as imbued with local values and meanings risk being subsumed, and thus erased, by the universalist assertions of global heritage tourism. When the interpretation of heritage crosses boundaries and becomes entangled in the complex web of global tourism, it can have the effect of disembedding local (or nationally) produced senses of identity. Local tour guides, therefore, play an instrumental role in mediating the tension between ongoing processes of global standardization and local differentiation. Paradoxically, they often seem to rely on fashionable global tourism tales to interpret and sell their heritage as authentically ‘local’ (Salazar, 2007). This is partly because tourists appear to appreciate interpretations that combine narratives about the particularities of a destination with well-known tourism imaginaries that are circulating globally. In tourism to developing countries, for example, marketing has long capitalized on cultural economies of the exotic and the primitive, each of which are to be discovered in the pre-modern, traditional. However, this does not mean that local guides merely reproduce normative global templates. Guiding is always to some extent improvised, creative and spontaneous, in this way defying complete standardization. In the interaction with tourists, local guides become themselves creative producers of tourism rhetoric (Salazar, 2010).

Highly trained heritage guides not only benefit tourists but also the local community, by preparing and instructing visitors to be more sensitive and ethical, follow minimal impact or responsible behaviour and encourage respect and proper consideration for local traditions and customs. As of lately, also UNESCO has become aware of the importance of professional tour guiding and the organization has taken a proactive role in benchmarking heritage interpretation, especially in Asia. Increased tourism activities at heritage sites tend to overlook the importance of transmitting knowledge about and learning the significance as well as the cul-
tural value of such sites (Dioko & Unakul, 2005). The UNESCO Asia and Pacific region office in Bangkok, Thailand, was among the first to acknowledge this. In 2005, it proposed, together with the Asian Academy of Heritage Management network, a regional based programme for heritage tour guide training (UNESCO, 2005). The Macao Institute for Tourism Studies is the first institution to offer a Cultural Heritage Specialist Guide Training and Certification Programme for UNESCO World Heritage Sites. The programme aims to address several important challenges arising from the greater and more frequent interface between heritage and global tourism and how on-site tour guides specially trained in heritage guiding can play a central role in meeting these challenges. Noteworthy, this is an example of a ‘regional standards of excellence’ practice, rather than an attempt to create a global benchmark.

3. The case of Central Java, Indonesia

Java is the fifth largest and most populated island of the Indonesian archipelago. The central region of Java comprises of two provinces: Central Java and the much smaller Yogyakarta Special Province. The earliest signs of habitation in this fertile volcanic area are prehistoric. From the seventh century, the region was dominated by Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms, giving rise to the eighth century Buddhist shrine of Borobudur, the ninth century Hindu temple complex of Prambanan, and many other temples. Islam, coming mainly via India, gained ground in the inner areas of the island during the sixteenth century. The Dutch began to colonize the archipelago in the early seventeenth century. The British established a brief presence on Java under Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles (1811-16), but the Dutch retained control until Indonesia’s independence 130 years later. When the Dutch reoccupied Jakarta after the Japanese occupation of Java during World War II (1946-49), Yogyakarta functioned as the stronghold of the independence movement by becoming the provisional capital of the newly declared Republic of Indonesia. In return for this unfailing support, the first Indonesian central government passed a law in 1950 granting Yogyakarta the status of Special Province and making its Sultan Governor for life.

Organised tourism to the centre of Java first developed under Dutch colonial rule, mainly through the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer (Association of Tourist Traffic of the Dutch East Indies), which
opened an Official Tourist Bureau in Weltevreden (now Jakarta) in 1908. After independence, the new Indonesian government continued to promote international tourism, although President Sukarno’s political rhetoric was markedly anti-Western. Under Major General Suharto’s New Order government (1966-98), long-term planning and a relatively stable environment for business transformed the country’s tourism, and Yogyakarta became a major gateway to central and east Java, both for international and domestic visitors. By the mid 1990s, tourism had become Indonesia’s third most important source of foreign revenue and Yogyakarta the second most visited destination after Bali.

While central Java offers a whole range of touristic activities, the main product is cultural heritage. The three Indonesian cultural sites on UNESCO’s WHS List – the Prambanan Temple Compounds (1991), the Borobudur Temple Compounds (1991) and Sangiran Early Man Site (1996) – are all located in central Java. Four others – the Yogyakarta Palace Complex, the Ratu Boko Temple Complex, the Sukuh Hindu Temple and the Great Mosque of Demak – are since 1995 on UNESCO’s tentative list. The most common tour package includes visits to Borobudur, the Yogyakarta Palace and Prambanan. When time permits, tourists also have a chance to experience central Java’s rich intangible cultural heritage, including performing arts (traditional court dances, Ramayana Ballet, shadow puppet plays and gamelan orchestra performances), traditional craftsmanship (woodcarving, batik design, the silverware from Kotagede and the pottery from Kasongan) and the occasional ritual or festive events (such as the annual Sekaten and Labuhan festivals).

‘[T]he cultural heritage of the Yogyakarta area has shaped the international images of Indonesia, as government propaganda has used architectural structures like the temples and the sultan’s palace and expressions of art like the Ramayana dance to promote Indonesian tourism world-wide’ (Dahles, 2001, p. 20). This kind of image building particularly happened during the New Order era, when the central government (led by Javanese) strongly favoured central Java in their (re)invention of Indonesia, promoting it as the cultural heart of the nation. The current planning and development of heritage tourism in the area is in the hands of many authorities at various levels. Because policy makers at these different echelons have widely diverging interests, decisions taken at one level are often contested at another.
UNESCO has a long-standing history of involvement in central Java’s heritage. In 1972, it launched a 25 million USD safeguarding campaign to restore Borobudur, often listed as one of the seven forgotten wonders of the world. Concurrent with the elevation of Borobudur and Prambanan to world heritage sites in 1991, UNESCO collaborated with UNDP and the former Indonesian Directorate General of Tourism in the ambitious 1991-94 Cultural Tourism Development Central Java-Yogyakarta project (UNESCO, 1992). Since the May 2006 earthquake, UNESCO has been actively involved in the rehabilitation of the damaged Prambanan temple complex. Another influential global player in the area’s heritage management is the non-profit World Monuments Fund, which listed Kotagede Heritage District in Yogyakarta on its 2008 World Monuments Watch list of 100 most endangered sites. Kotagede, which suffered severe damage after the 2006 earthquake, is also the current focus of the local Jogja Heritage Society.

It is no coincidence that sites such as Sangiran (prehistoric), Prambanan (Hindu) and Borobudur (Buddhist) appear on UNESCO’s list of world heritage, whereas Sukuh temple or the Sultan’s palace are not (yet) included. After all, the central government in Jakarta proposes sites to UNESCO and it is in their strategic interest to nominate politically ‘safe’ monuments. Sukuh temple, for instance is a beautiful Hindu temple tucked away in the highlands of Central Java. It is unique, not only in overall design, but also in decoration: it is the only known erotic temple on Java. Around the temple, statues and reliefs of erected male members abound. Given the moral sensibilities of the majority Muslim population (and the increasing power of fundamentalists), Sukuh is not a site the Indonesian government would want to promote. The Sultan’s Palace, on the other hand, is Muslim (or, at least, partly) but a place where current politics are being played out instead of a ‘dead’ heritage site, such as the Ratu Boko Hindu-Buddhist complex. The internationally little known Mosque of Demak, the historical place from where Islam spread around Java, probably has more chance of being reclassified as world heritage than the Sultan’s Palace. Such politics of heritage serve as a reminder that, ultimately, a world heritage site is the product of agency on the national level. Besides, the Indonesian government has its own national list of cagar budaya (heritage conservation).

Central Java is not only passively undergoing outside influences in its heritage management, but also acting as a symbolic location...
where broader heritage tourism agendas are being set. As a fashionable venue for conventions, Yogyakarta has had its share of key conferences in this domain. In 1992, for instance, the International Conference on Cultural Tourism led to the Yogyakarta Declaration on National Cultures and Universal Tourism. This was followed up in 1995 by an Indonesian-Swiss Forum on Cultural and International Tourism and in 2006 by an UNWTO-sponsored International Conference on Cultural Tourism and Local Communities, leading to the Yogyakarta Declaration on Cultural Tourism, Local Communities and Poverty Alleviation. In 1994, the city hosted the APEC Tourism Working Group meeting and, in 2001, it welcomed the East Asia Inter-Regional Tourism Forum. In 2002, Yogyakarta housed the ASEAN Tourism Forum.

During the last decade, central Java’s tourism has suffered from a whole series of unfortunate events in Indonesia and the wider region (Salazar, 2010). However, 2006 dealt a fatal blow to the already ailing industry. Between May and July of that year, the area had to endure numerous natural disasters, including multiple eruptions of Mt. Merapi (one of the most active volcanoes in the world), a minor tsunami (reminding Indonesians of the tragic 2004 tsunami in Aceh) and a major earthquake of 5.9 on the scale of Richter, killing around 6,000 people and leaving an estimated 1.5 million Javanese homeless. Tourists massively cancelled their trips to Java, exposing the fragility of the local tourism sector but also bringing to light the resilience of its workers. Prambanan was among those sites hit by the quake, along with parts of the Sultan’s Palace. Borobudur did not suffer from the earthquake but had to be cleaned because the monument was covered under dark grey ashes from Mt. Merapi’s eruptions.

The disasters disclosed some of the local-to-global politics driving heritage tourism. It took almost a month before UNESCO sent international experts to measure the damage to Prambanan. During that time, the monument was closed to visitors. After the assessment, a newly built viewing platform (very similar to the ones erected after September 11, 2001 around Ground Zero in New York) allowed tourists to see the main temple complex from a safe distance, without being allowed to enter them. PT Taman Wisata, the state-owned enterprise managing the park, decided not to lower the entrance fees (10 USD for foreigners). Anticipating tourist complaints, many local tour operators decided to suspend trips to Prambanan. The few tourists who still came to visit did
not want the service of a local guide (approximately 5 USD extra) because they knew that they could not get near the main temples anyway. This left the local guides in a very precarious situation. Some of the security guards in charge of protecting the site offered foreign tourists to enter the damaged main complex anyway, in exchange for sizeable amounts of cash. The on-site guides knew about these practices but preferred to keep quiet.

The calamities became the feeding ground for new interpretative narratives and imaginaries (Salazar, 2012b). The adversity precipitated a spontaneous revitalization of old Javanese myths and mystical beliefs, including the legend of Loro Jonggrang. In the weeks following the earthquake, the Prambanan guides blamed UNESCO for keeping the main temples closed to the public (preventing them from earning their living). This translated in their narratives containing much fewer references to the organization or to the officially sanctioned interpretations of the site. Through initiatives such as the 2008 Prambanan Camp for World Heritage Volunteers, the negative perception of UNESCO in Prambanan was somewhat adjusted. This project, in collaboration with the Archaeology Department and Provincial Tourism Office of Central Java, enabled international volunteers to assist the experts with the restoration of the temple and to increase the heritage awareness of local youth. The example of Prambanan illustrates how, in times of change, the local meaning and function of heritage can change too. The growing supralocal interdependence of heritage tourism is irreversible but variously received (Salazar, 2010). The global recognition by UNESCO, for instance, is used strategically when guiding for foreign tourists, but local guides clearly sensed and criticized the organization’s ‘distance’ in the period after the earthquake —not recognizing that, often, national instances were to blame rather than international ones.

4. What’s next?

As this paper has illustrated, heritage tourism is a double-edged sword. One the one hand, it can be a positive force to retain cultural values and to help mitigate threats. On the other hand, global tourism can itself become a menace to the sustainable management of heritage. Therefore, a good understanding of the tourism sector, its markets and trends is instrumental to sustainable heritage management (cf. Pedersen, 2002). Those in charge of heritage sites clearly need to pay closer attention to reconciling the needs of
the various parties involved, each with their own interests. Instead of one universally accepted meaning, the significance of heritage – be it natural or cultural, tangible or intangible – is characterized by pluriversality. Viewing heritage and tourism as performative practices involving relational forms of power, agency and dialogue helps bridge the micro–macro divide. Heritage appropriation and interpretation, for instance, are always enmeshed in complex webs of meaning, variously cherished and expressed by shareholders at different levels. It is imperative to understand how to develop heritage sites sustainably while protecting and conserving them for the long-term. If not, irreparable and irreversible damage can be done. Although often heralded as a likely solution to conservation and community development challenges, local staff and communities in poor countries do not always have the resources, experience or training they need in order to use tourism as an effective instrument for achieving these goals. The tools to provide coherent and sustainable heritage management are yet to be fully developed or effectively applied.

To make local heritage workers more competitive in the current landscape of international labour circulation, standardization seems to be the way to go. Even if there remain great local variations in qualifications, there is a global tendency to standardize; reinforcing the idea that tourism is a global practice. I argue that thinking of globalization and local differentiation as being opposed to each other is not very helpful in understanding and explaining contemporary tourism. The constant (re)shaping of local heritage is in many respects part of and simultaneously occurring with the globalizing process itself. By studying the daily practices of local guides and the way they (re)present and actively (re)construct local culture for a diversified audience of global tourists, we can learn a lot about how processes of globalization and localization are intimately intertwined and how this glocalization is transforming culture– through tourism and other channels. Such studies bring to light that the processes of negotiation regarding the interpretation and (re)presentation of heritage is highly complex, multifaceted and flexible owing to the involvement of various parties with different interests in these interactions.

As global tourism continues to expand, heritage sites will be the source of historically unprecedented numbers of tourists. Most indicators suggest there will be a huge increase in tourism worldwide over the next ten years, virtually doubling the current numbers. It
is estimated that China alone will produce 100 million outbound tourists by 2025. Interestingly, a large amount of the increased travel for leisure will be intraregional (rather than global). At any rate, the predicted growth of intraregional tourism will seriously change the global tourism landscape. For heritage tourism, the challenges of global (and, ever more, regional) standardization and local differentiation will take on new dimensions. While the management of heritage is usually the responsibility of a particular community or custodian group, the protection, conservation, interpretation and (re)presentation of the cultural diversity of any particular place or people are important challenges for us all…

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Organising for Success,  
Exploring Factors that Facilitate 
Tourism Cooperation and Branding  

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Abstract  
Destination development and branding have been described as complex processes in command of no single actor. Consequently, success is dependent on how networks of actors those who substantiate destination promises communicated in marketing, are organised. Models for how to organise destination development and branding are well elaborated in the literature. However, there are few studies focusing on factors facilitating tourism cooperation and destination branding. This article explores resources and strategic actions needed in an early phase of a destination development process. Key actors enrolled in the process of developing tourism in the World Heritage Site Kvarken Archipelago were interviewed. Three aspects were listed as most critical in early destination development processes; resource development to fit tourism offerings, to motivate tourism entrepreneurs, and to manage coordination. The positive effects of tourism projects were also recognised.  

KEYWORDS: Destination development, tourism networks, cooperation facilitators, destination branding
1. Introduction

This article explores resources needed and strategic actions to be taken to facilitate destination development pertaining destination branding processes. The World Heritage Site Kvarken Archipelago is used as an illustration. The empirical findings presented are based on personal interviews with central tourism actors in the region of Ostrobothnia, Finland.

Destination development, marketing and branding has been analysed and discussed out of a large range of perspectives (Pike, 2009). Destination development has been analysed through the lens of intra-destination (collaboration between actors on a destination) (Balakrishnan, 2009), and inter-destination collaborations (Naipaul, Wang & Okumus, 2009). Destination marketing researchers have discussed bundling service offers, choice of marketing channels, and positioning (Hartl, 2004). A particular focus has been put on collaboration destination marketing approaches (Fyall & Garrod, 2004). The branding concept, developed within the discipline of marketing, has also been applied to the field of tourism (Kotler & Gertner, 2002), and the issue of co-creating destination brands has been addressed (Hakala & Lemmetyinen, 2011). Destination branding and destination development have been described as extremely challenging due to the characteristics of destinations (Wang, 2008). Björk and Virtanen (2005), who studied the importance of project leaders for destination development, describe destinations as multi-actor – multi-level phenomena. Destination; a tourism product, comprises of services available to tourists on a destination. It is documented that tourists need services of different type, such as, transportation, infrastructure, activities, events, restaurants, and accommodation (Mill, 1990; McIntosh, Goeldner & Ritchie, 1995).

Destination branding is about communicating a coherent brand profile, based on an agreed brand identity to earn a positive brand image (Björk, 2013). Destinations with a positive brand image are included in the evaluation set of the tourists when they make their final decisions (Woodside & Lysonski, 1989). This is a strong argument for destination marketing organisations (DMOs) to focus on branding issues. Branding as a process of intertwined activities revolves around customer segment monitoring, communication strategies, and brand identity development. Especially, destinations in an early development phase, find it most important to develop platforms for collaboration activities and decide on service offerings (Pike, 2005).
Tourism projects have become a permanent feature of destination development in Finland. Projects are initiated to increase the competitiveness of destinations by facilitating cooperation between actors, advance knowledge transfer, and improve marketing efficiency. Björk (2009) studied small tourist firms located in the region of Ostrobothnia, Finland, focusing on the level of cooperation. He concludes that the entrepreneurial spirit in tourism firms is strong, but networks, which would merge actors together, are almost non-existent.

It is argued that destination branding is dependent on an elaborated brand identity structure, including dimensions of cooperation, resource identification, and agreements on services to bundle into tourism offerings (Hankinson, 2007). Consequently, central research questions are; what strategic actions should be decided on to advance cooperation networks on a destination level, what resources identified in the World Heritage Site Kvarken Archipelago should be absorbed as Unique Selling Points (USPs) in tourism products, and how the tourism service development process should be arranged.

There are a limited number of academic studies focusing on cooperation facilitators, despite their relevance for destination development and branding. One exception is the study by Björk and Virtanen (2005). They focused on cooperation facilitators through the lens of project managers. This study, in response, focuses on key actors responsible for destination development and their perspective on cooperation facilitators. People representing destination marketing organisations (DMOs), tourism projects, and funding organisations in the region of Ostrobothnia and the World Heritage Site Kvarken Archipelago were approached. The research method used in this study is presented and discussed in section three. The theoretical framework presented in section two is based on tourism network and destination branding theories. The findings presented in section four are based on a content analysis of the semi-structured interviews. We conclude the empirical discussion elaborating on factors claimed to facilitate destination development and branding. Options for further studies are presented in the concluding section. The findings presented in this article are based on the perspective of one set of actors in a complex network of different types of actors. Especially, studies mapping the thoughts of regional tourist firms, large and small ones, are welcome in upcoming studies.
2. Theoretical background

Tourists determine vacation destinations based on their functional and symbolic attributes (Sirgy & Su, 2000). The consideration set of destinations is scaled down during the decision making process to become the evaluation set used in a final decision (Woodside & Lysonski, 1989). The importance of destination image as an evaluation dimension is well documented in destination branding literature (Tasci & Kozak, 2006). Destination image, is personal and mostly subjective, founded on one’s own experiences, word-of-mouth, and the brand profile communicated (Prebensen, 2007).

Destination brand communication, used to attract new and repeat visitors, must be founded on the available resources and existing tourism offerings. The level of expectation on a destination is defined in the brand image of the tourists to be compared with the experiences, i.e. brand identity, on a destination. Visitors will experience service satisfaction when experiences meet or exceed expectations (Grönroos, 1990). Customer satisfaction theory (Mohr, 1982; Tse & Wilton, 1988) applied to the field of tourism asserts that tourists will arrive at a destination with more or less elaborated expectations, which, during and after the journey, are comparable to the services consumed in interactive processes.

The tripartite structure of branding proclaimed by Björk (2013) highlights the importance of balancing three brand dimensions, brand identity, brand profile and brand image.

Figure 1. Brand structure, three dimensions

![Brand structure diagram](image)

Source: Björk (2013)

Destination brand identity, the tourism product offered to visitors has a large set of different services used on a destination (Trueman, Klemm & Giroud, 2004). A critical issue in an early destination branding stage is to create a viable structure for destination development, including platforms for meetings, discussions, interactions, and innovations among actors (Hjalager, Konu, Huijbens, Björk, Flagestad, Nordin & Tuohino, 2011).

Destination development and branding analysed through lens of networks constitutes people and structures, activities and resour-
ces (Håkansson & Snehota, 1995). Tourist firm and organisations have to be identified, inspired, and brought together. Björk and Virtanen (2005) identified ten co-operation facilitators based on a literature review (Table 1), a structure they tested on tourism project managers. Their findings declare how the content of the facilitators are context dependent, and can be discussed on both project and firm level.

**Table 1. Cooperation facilitators and destination development**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COOPERATION FACILITATOR</th>
<th>INTERPRETATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resources and interdependence</td>
<td>Tourism actors should recognize the structure of tourism, as a multi-actor – multi-level phenomenon, and accept the idea that they are a part of a system. Resources of different type have to be integrated and interdependence accepted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal Compatibility, commitment, and roles of actors</td>
<td>Tourism actors of different size, with diverging strategies and resources are to cooperate. It is most essential for long term commitment that they can agree on common development goals, decide on the roles to play (in the system), and the tourism services to be develop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real Benefits</td>
<td>Tourism networks should be based on a win-win logic and add real benefits to the actors involved.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication and personal chemistry</td>
<td>It is most important that tourism networks are based on an open policy structure, not exclusive, and encourage seamless communication. One should also notice the importance of personal chemistry for smooth running cooperation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisation, project management, and conflict resolution</td>
<td>Tourism systems composed of large sets of actors must be managed. Organisation, management and managers are important factors in network development, not at least in cases of conflicts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financing</td>
<td>In times of scare resources, financing becomes critical. A fair distribution of the scare resources is to be guaranteed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Björk & Virtanen (2005), (modified by the author)
Cooperation facilitators listed in Table 1, applied to the field of destination development can be used to highlight some of the most critical aspects to be managed in an early destination development phase. It seems to be of outmost importance for destination development and branding that;

Tourism actors recognise tourism as a multi-player – multi-level phenomenon, accept that they are a part of a system, and there is a joint agreement about how tourism service development processes are arranged.

Tourism actors identify other actors they can and want to link up with in terms of goal compatibility, and decide on the sources to offer into the service system.

Tourism actors are committed to development and are motivated by the strategic actions decided on.

Linked to the discussion of destination branding, cooperation facilitators are most vital for brand identity building and brand communication in terms of brand profile.

3. Study setting

The setting for this study is the region of Ostrobothnia, located on the West Coast of Finland, and the World Heritage Site Kvarken Archipelago, which attained World Heritage status in 2002. The characteristics of this area made it appropriate to study tourism cooperation facilitators and branding. There are high hopes the area can become a tourist destination. Tourism is in an early development phase, and there is an urgent need to develop a platform to build cooperation networks and branding (Björk, 2009).

Finland as a tourist destination analysed through tourism statistics (number of visitors and overnight stays) portray a country of four areas; high number of visitors are found in the south and northern part of Finland, medium intensity in the east, Lakeland Finland, and low on the West coast. The Northern part of Finland attracts visitors interested in down-hill skiing, the Santa Claus Village, and trekking. Helsinki is no exception, located in the south, is a hot spot for tourism. The eastern part of Finland benefits from the lake system, the sauna culture, and more advanced well-being tourism services (Björk, 2012). The West coast and the Finnish archipelago have its own beauty, but are weak on flagship attractions (Nilsson, 2007).

UNESCO World Heritage sites around the world, such as the Great Wall in China or Taj Mahal in India, have become major
tourist attractions. Therefore, tourism organisations and tourism firms in the region of Ostrobothnia on the West coast feel new optimism by the inclusion of Kvarken Archipelago in World Heritage sites. One can also notice that the Kvarken Archipelago is Finland’s first, and only, nature heritage site. The earth’s crust rapid up-lift, almost one meter every hundred years, is deemed globally unique.

The tourism business structure of the region is characterized by a number of small, family-owned, tourism firms, mixed by a few larger tourism companies, such as hotels and restaurants. The small tourism firms offer services, such as, Bed and Breakfast, guiding, recreation activities, and boat charter. They act very independently, and their network of cooperation is narrow, sporadic and most often based on informal agreements (Björk, 2009).

4. Research method
The informants selected for personal interviews in this study are all central actors in the regional destination development process. The first informant (informant 1) to be interviewed was manager of the regional DMO; a position he held for more than ten years. He does also have experiences from running his own tourism firm, and know the area and business structure very well. The second informant (2) has a long history of tourism project management. He has been involved in four tourism related projects in the past years. These projects have been considered by the city of Vaasa and nearby communities as major investments in regional tourism development. The third informant (3) is employed by the city of Vaasa as communication and tourism manager. She has also a long experience of being the director of Congress Vaasa, and knows the regional tourism development projects very well. The fourth informant (4) is a multi-tasking woman, running her own tourism development projects. She is also very much involved in tourism development in the World Heritage Site Kvarken Archipelago through the many organisations she is a member of. The fifth, and last, informant (5) interviewed was a representative for the government (Metsätallitus). The government is a central stakeholder in the Ostrobothnia archipelago as a landowner, and the authority responsible for the World Heritage Site Kvarken Archipelago.

All informants were first contacted by phone or e-mail to determine an interview date. The semi-structured interviews took about an hour each to complete and were performed in the premises of
Based on the aim of this article to explore resources and strategic action to be taken by those involved in destination development processes pertaining destination branding, three central discussion areas were presented to the informants. Questions related to resources needed to accelerate tourism development in the World Heritage Site Kvarken Archipelago were first addressed. Strategic actions to be taken linked to issues of cooperation were then discussed. A particular focus was put on identifying cooperation facilitators, and how to structure the development process. Finally, questions linked to tourism planning in the region were posed.

Information about the informants was collected at the beginning of the interviews to create a relaxed atmosphere as a quality criteria for qualitative studies (Eneroth, 1986). Therefore, probing of questions did also come most naturally. The interview transcripts and findings have also been analysed by a second researcher to check for inter-coder reliability (Kirk & Miller, 1986; Maxwell, 1996; Veal, 2011). The data was re-analysed in those few cases where there were discrepancies in interpretations. Furthermore, direct quotes from the interviews are copied into the text to bring the reader close to the data.

5. Findings and discussions
The findings presented in this section copy the structure of the interview guide. Resources and USPs to be used for developing tourism in the World Heritage Site Kvarken Archipelago are first discussed, then ideas on how to develop tourism networks and branding are elaborated, and finally collaboration facilitators and actions to be taken in early destination development phases are explored.

5.1. Resources to utilize in tourism destination development
Identified resources and USPs of importance for tourism development in the World Heritage Site Kvarken Archipelago are grouped into two inter-related categories. The informants discussed tourism development out of many different perspectives, entrepreneurial, managerial, and sustainability, just to mention a few. However, all discussed key resources in terms of actors and activities. The strategic question identified as crucial for sustainable development was
“who is doing what”. Nature and culture were identified as basic resources leveraged by the UNESCO World Heritage status. The informants recognized the value of these resources as fundamentals for regional tourism development, “the beauty and the uniqueness of our nature are our trumps” (informant 5). But, they also accepted the idea that these resources are of little value as such unless they are refined and fully integrated in the tourism offerings.

**Actors**

Research findings revealed the importance of identifying highly motivated entrepreneurs to drive the development. Nature and culture resources were identified as existing, but not considered sufficient to make the regional tourism system complete. The informants involved in tourism projects explain how “important it is to identify different types of actors, some have to take care of boat charter, meanwhile other is responsible for food. A mix of actors is important” (Informant 5). The same issue was discussed by the regional tourism manager (informant 1) who expressed the urgent need to increase the bed night capacity in the area “people need somewhere to sleep”.

Regional tourism systems are to be composed of actors representing different business areas such as, transportation, accommodation, restaurants, events, amusements, and guiding (Mill, 1990). It is very obvious that the existing tourism system to host visitors in the World Heritage Site Kvarken Archipelago is insufficient at the moment, but “it is improving all the time” the regional tourism manager claims. There are few new businesses in the region, but the existing ones are enlarging their services. What the informants claim as decisive for future success is updated and valid information about those tourism firms, which are active in the region, “it is most important that the local tourism firms know the other firms in the area” (informant 3), and “that one manage to administer all human capital that exist here” (informant 4).

**Activities**

All the informants agreed on how important it is that the actors communicate, and coordinate their activities. The process of developing tourism in the World Heritage Site Kvarken Archipelago should follow a bottom-up approach. Initiatives on business development must be a company issue. The manager of the regional tourism organisation explains “how important it is that those,
who run tourism firms take action”. The situation has improved, he says, “this year there were few tourist firms who already last autumn declared their intentions for the 2012 summer season. This is good because then it is easier to take action for this season and to plan different marketing campaigns”. Activities have to be measured on two levels, intra- and inter-firm. Intra-firm development is mostly about service updates. Large investments are not on the agenda of the entrepreneurs, because of the small size of the tourism firms and the low level of risk willingness when it comes to investments. Finance is a barrier for development, but there are according to informant 4 “possibilities to ask for different kind of seed-money”.

Inter-firm activities are linked to communication and personal chemistry (Björk & Virtanen, 2005). The informants assumed there is a good business climate with the entrepreneurs. However, communication between the actors could be improved. Tourism projects were explained as good tools for identifying and linking different actors together. One can say that “projects have had a function of a hub in a web of activities” (informant 3).

5.2. Tourism networks and branding

Branding as a process can become successful only if there is an active local tourism network. Branding, the process of brand building, “has to be supported by all actors” (informant 5). To establish a brand “takes a long time, but we are not in a hurry” says the manager of the regional tourism organisation, who also claims that the brand image of the region has improved. There is nowadays a more coherent brand communication and better cooperation between the entrepreneurs. Still, there is a lot to do in terms of branding the World Heritage Site Kvarken Archipelago. Especially, in this early development phase, there is an urgent need to identify brand identity dimensions as a fundament for future branding activities, such as service packaging and brand communication (Aaker, 1986). Informant 3 suggests that it could be wise to focus on small niche segments in this initial phase, such as bird-watchers, anglers, and geologists.

The region of Ostrobothnia has a long tradition of tourism projects. Networks have been established through projects, and external resources have tapped into the region. These, externally funded, projects have had a time span of one to three years, a relatively short period when it comes to managing the whole service
development process. Even though the region has hosted several tourism projects their succession has not been guaranteed. The reason is that the funding organisations do not invest in projects with the same objectives twice. New purposes, studies, and development areas have to be created. This is not an optimal system for business sectors characterized by slow, long-term development driven by small entrepreneurs, such as the tourism industry.

5.3. Collaboration facilitators and actions to be taken

Collaboration between different types of actors has, to some extent, proved to be difficult in the area of World Heritage Site Kvarken Archipelago. Three dimensions are highlighted in this paper. First, one has to recognize the tourism business culture of the region. The entrepreneurs are, as Björk (2009) already noticed in his study, very independent. They “cannot be forced into cooperation, but have to spot the benefits themselves” (informant 1), and decide on collaboration activities. Tourism firms are, according to the informants, open minded and want to be involved in co-operations on condition there is something to get, real benefits (Björk & Virtanen, 2005). There seems to be an urgent need to further inform the tourist firms about the logic of tourism and the necessity to cooperate, and undertake joint marketing activities. Informant 3 is a bit frustrated about the low level of cooperation among the tourist firms although “we have, in projects, created good platforms for communication, but still, when a project comes to an end, all the good communication seems to disappear”.

Nature preservation has, in a classic manner, been positioned as an opposite to tourism development. The second dimension to highlight is the one between tourist firms and the state enterprise Metsähallitus, the organisation which has the responsibility of hosting the Kvarken Archipelago in line with UNESCO’s criteria. First, one has to notice that Metsähallitus has an interest in making the area available to all types of visitors. They build information stands, trails and picnic areas, and invest in marketing campaigns. These are activities the tourism industry definitely benefits from. However, Metsähallitus is very restrictive when it comes to accepting new tourism ventures in the area, and the number of visitors is closely monitored. There is according to the informants only one way ahead, an open dialogue. One can also notice that the organisations which manage (and also takes responsibility for)
the Kvarken World Heritage Site. Archipelago is much better organised and the regional tourism industry.

A third dimension, not discussed in depth in this article, is the contradiction between the land owners and Metsähallitus. This discussion has revolved around what the land owners can and cannot do on their own land. There is also another dimension linked to the issue of contradictions. In line with the theory of Doxey (1975) tourism development may cause conflicts between the local society and the tourists and tourism industry, a phenomenon which informant 1, 2 and 5 have seen some tendencies.

There are entrepreneurs, who have a passion for their work and business. There must be policies and practices in support of these real enthusiasts. There is an obvious danger that the “crazy ideas of the entrepreneurs” are not accepted by local policy makers, and the good entrepreneurial spirit is demolished says the regional tourism manager. What are needed are an open dialogue, long-term planning, and a positive attitude between all actors. Activities to be taken in support of an open dialogue are to recognize the importance of tourism projects, and to push the idea of tourism branding. Furthermore, tourism development is a complex process. It will take time before the World Heritage Site Kvarken Archipelago will become a tourist destination. The current lack of a tourism plan for the area must be taken care of. Metsähallitus has produced the “Nature tourism plan” using their vision, goals and perspectives (Meriruoho, 2011). The tourism sector should mobilise their resources to have a voice in this matter.

6. Conclusions

The aim of this article was to explore resources needed and strategic actions to be taken to facilitate destination development pertaining destination branding processes of the World Heritage Site Kvarken Archipelago. This study adopts the idea of developing a platform for cooperation in an early development phase of a destination to facilitate collaborative approaches. Specifically, the focus has been directed at identifying resources, actors in networks, branding criteria, cooperation facilitators, and central actions to be taken in the next step in the development process.

The study collected empirical data through semi-structured interviews of five informants. All defined as key actors in the regional tourism development processes. They have long experience of tourism development, and have been very much involvement
in co-operation and branding activities of the region during the last years. The informants listed three types of resources; nature, culture and the image of a World Heritage Site. However, these resources are not tourism resources unless they are integrated in tourism offerings. The tourist firms, or more precisely, the drive of the entrepreneurs, were also recognised as most important for tourism development, as well as, a good coordination (Figure 2).

*Figure 2. Factors that facilitate tourism cooperation and branding*

Coordination

Nature               Entrepreneur

Tourism development in the World Heritage Site *Kvarken* Archipelago must be based on nature resources, and nature and culture based activities, driven by entrepreneurs, and coordinated by a third party. Forming networks and cooperation was deemed problematic. However, there were also potentials identified in the current situation on condition planned activities will be put in work. Much of the discussions with the informants encircled the importance of taking the first step, to get the process rolling. Branding, as a platform for resource integration, was suggested. Discussing brand elements and brand profile might be the activities needed to advance tourism development processes in the area.
References


Knowledge and Recruitment in Destination Development: Starting Points of a Study

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Abstract
During the last two decades, tourism has been both introduced and established as a tool on the agenda for regional development in the Botnia-Atlantica region. Strategies and projects aiming at creating sustainable touristic destinations have been discussed in all three countries, with different implementations. At the same time, the nature and scope of tourism is ever expanding leading to a change in needs of knowledge in many vital aspects of destination development. The study presented here is the first step in a research activity focusing on the relation between knowledge and destination development.
1. Research Context
The Botnia-Atlantica Institute is a transnational research institute within the LUBAT project, embracing Ostrobothnia in Finland, Västerbotten (West Bothnia) in Sweden and Nordland in Norway. It is financed by the regions and the EU Botnia-Atlantica Interreg program together with the University of Nordland, University of Vaasa, Umeå University and Åbo Akademi.

During the period 2011-13, developing destinations is set as one of four research activities under the overarching concepts of regional development and transnational learning. The main objective of the research is to identify factors explaining success as well as hindrance in developing tourism on a local level.

2. Points of Departure
Focus will be set on management of destination organizations created through cooperation between private and public actors (Private Public Partnership, PPP) within the geographically designated area. Such Destination Management Organizations (DMO:s) can be seen as an illustration of the changes in governance that have a direct impact on selection of strategies as well as on the outcome through the legal framework and casting of actors involved in tourism. Therefore, network and organizational theories presented in prior research will be one point of departure (e.g. Elbe, 2002; Grängsjö, 2006; Hoppe, 2009; Scott et al, 2008).

Insight in hierarchical theories and intra-organizational communication may be stated as crucial not only when evaluating but also in operationalizing destination development. Combined with the technological development such as web-based information, booking platforms and social media this calls for new requirements concerning knowledge on the managerial level. The study aims at charting what skills are asked for when recruiting destination managers by looking at how different aspects of knowledge are perceived, prioritized and neglected.

Measurement and valuation of knowledge is a vast field and this study will work with theoretical cornerstones to create a valid context. Most dominant will be the division of skills that can be communicated and knowledge referred to as tacit (e.g. Dahlbom, 1986; Gustavsson, 2002). In order to find explanations to the current state of affairs questions regarding the participants’ background, gender and social abilities need to be asked based on works such as Bourdieu, 1998 and de los Reyes & Molinari, 2005.
3. Outlines of the Study

In this stage of the planning phase of the study, it is formed by qualitative material collected through semi-structured interviews. The structure of the interviews will include both broad themes and more specific questions, researching what skills are demanded, prioritized respectively not considered as needed in advance and include aspects of self-image and expectations. The selection of cases is regulated by the geographical area designated by the Botnia-Atlantica Institute and include DMO:s and related organizational structures, preferably based on PPP.

4. Anticipated Results

This is a presentation of the basic starting points of research which will be in progress 2011-2013. When performed, it will generate material to be used in the further work with analyzing destination development in the Botnia Atlantica region.

References

The Falun Copper Mine World Heritage: Historical Aspects
The Copper Mining Town of Falun
as a Challenge for the Church 1687–1713:
A Key to a New Mentality?

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Abstract
In this article changes in the organization of mine production in the Swedish town of Falun around the year 1700 are related to alterations of official Christian belief. As social relations connected to the mining industry became more abstract, it is interesting to notice that a more individualistic form of Christianity was introduced. The local vicar Olof Ekman (1639 – 1713) was a main figure in this development. As the social relations got more abstract – a more intense and personal form of religion was needed. Probably this can be seen as a way to counteract development and to uphold local communities.
1. Introduction

This text will present the main outlines of a project dealing with the earliest forms of pietism in Sweden. The project was financed by The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation. Pietism can very simply be seen as the introduction of a new form of individualism within the Lutheran church. This modern individualism was introduced in the Calvinist churches as Puritanism, in Catholicism as Jansenism, and in Judaism under the name of Chassidism. Falun was one of the first places in Lutheran Sweden where pietism got a hold.

2. The collapse of the mine in 1687 – a starting point for a new mentality?

During the 17th century the copper mine of Falun was very important for the finances of the Swedish state. For a period in that century Falun provided a great part of the world’s total production of copper. The Swedish authorities often visited the area to supervise all production.

However, at midsummer in the year of 1687 all hell broke loose in the Mine. The result you still can see today. I speak here about the so called “Great Pit” (Stora Stöten) – a big hole in the ground that is very wide, about 100 meters deep and still vividly affects the perception of the mining area in Falun. The Great Pit was a result of mining being all too exhaustive, too intense, and at the same time lacked central planning. The mountain had come to resemble a Swiss cheese. The big collapse was an inevitable effect of this.

At the same time it was for the believer apparent that God had shown mercy. Not one single worker got hurt, as all people were at home on a Sunday.

Some years later – in the autumn of 1693 – the mine collapsed once again. This time the collapse was not as devastating as the earlier one, but it was big enough to terrify the mine master (bergmästaren) Harald Lybecker (1649 – 1714). Most important though: the miracle had happened again. Not one single worker was killed or hurt. As the collapse of the mine occurred late on a Saturday evening the workers were all at home. In the eyes of the believer the merciful hand of God was visible again.

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This caused the pious Harald Lybecker to ask for a prayer particularly composed for the so-called Great Copper Mountain (Stora Kopparberget). With the support of King Charles XI (1655 – 1697) and the mighty Swedish Board of Mines (Bergskollegium) a prayer was written by the bishop of Västerås. The aim was to improve the spiritual life of the workers, as a way to give thanks to a merciful God. The miners had from now on to walk more consciously in the protecting presence of the Lord as they worked in the mine.

It is very interesting to note that the mining prayer was re-written before it was put in use as a local prayer. It was changed by the vicar Olof Ekman (1639 – 1713). In the local version of the prayer the miners themselves were more poignantly encouraged to trust the protection of God.

The reason for the subtle difference between the local version of the prayer and the one the bishop had written was that the vicar and the bishop belonged to two different schools of theological thought. The bishop Carl Carlsson of Västerås (1642 – 1707) was a typical representative of the old official and established school of Lutheran orthodoxy. To simplify very much it is possible to say that he mainly defended a program that was focused upon keeping the Lutheran dogma pure from heretical influences.

Olof Ekman on the other hand represented something new. He was among the very first people to introduce the thoughts of pietism to Sweden. The pietistic movement wanted more to stimulate a higher degree of pious behavior in the population, rather than to check its orthodoxy in faith. This is why Ekman changed the words in Carlsson’s prayer. Ekman also complained that the texts from the bible that Carlsson had suggested for preaching about the Mine were worthless for the situation in Falun. According to Ekman they did not affect the general will for better behavior.

Ekman had been recruited to Falun in 1688 - one year after the big collapse of the copper mine. The two congregations of the town wanted him as their vicar as he was well known for a book he had published with the support of Queen Ulrika Eleonora (1656 –1693). His book had been published in 1680, and had the peculiar title A Promise from a Misery at Sea (Sjönödslöfte). The book was influenced by the very first pietistic program called Pia Desideria that had been published by the German pioneer of pietism: Phillip Jacob Spener (1635–1705). Ekman’s book was like a Swedish counterpart to Spener’s well-known manuscript. Ekman
had survived a shipwreck in the year of 1679, as he was on his way home to Sweden after his duties as a superintendent of the Swedish Army in the Swedish region of Livonia in the Baltic. This explains the title of his book. Ekman stayed in Falun until his death in 1713.

3. Introducing pietism in Falun

In Livonia Ekman probably had met the great general-superintendent of the Lutheran Church of the region: Johann Fischer (1636 – 1705). He was a friend of Spener and was at the time very successful in establishing a system of basic schooling for the broad population in Livonia. Fischer had strong support from the Swedish King Charles XI, and his project was very unique at the time. In no other place in Europe was a state supporting mass education on this scale. This attempt to establish schools in every parish has been linked by the historian Alexander Loit to the abolition of serfdom in Livonia that the Swedish state decided on in the year 1680. The peasants then became “liberated” from their noble lords, and needed internalized values in order to cope with their new situation. A system of basic schooling could make the new society work.

It is very interesting that these “peasant schools” in Livonia used a new type of catechism that was edited by Johann Fischer, also in the year of 1680. This catechism was not like the common Lutheran orthodox catechisms – as they mainly focused upon delivering an account of the pure Lutheran dogma. Fischer’s Catechism rather tried to affect its readers to become more devout and pious Christians.

Ekman’s book *A Promise from a Misery at Sea* promoted a mass schooling of the Swedish population in order to raise the level of pious behavior. He has been considered the very first Swede to argue for mass schooling in this sense. As he started working for the education of the local population in Falun around the year of 1690, he used his own text about the basic essentials of Christian belief. Ekman was heavily influenced by the catechism edited by Johann Fischer. Ekman was also inspired by a similar catechism written by Spener. The congregations of Falun were the first in Sweden to experience education based upon the more individualistic Spenerian theology.

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2 Loit 2000
4. Why pietism in the mining town of Falun?

Why was pietism introduced so early in this mining area? I have already focused upon the obvious. The collapse of the mine led the local elite to work for an increase in local piety. But let us take one step further.

One of the reasons behind the collapse of the mine in the year 1687 was a lack of central planning. The so-called master miners (bergsmän) owned the mine. They were organized as a corporate body and owned different parts of the mountain. They were not so centrally organized and sought copper in different places. As a result of the collapse of the mine the organization of production started to change character. The need for centralized organization was apparent. A process started that made the mine master (bergmästaren) a managing director of the copper mine like a more modern company. In this process the master miners also started to become shareholders of a more modern kind, not needing to visit the mine personally. One of the early well-known examples of the effects of this centralization was that the mine master Harald Lybecker could invite the famous technological genius Christopher Polhem (1661–1751) to introduce centralized mechanical constructions for more efficient use of the mine. In this process the miners also started to resemble modern wage laborers. The transformation caused them not to feel very well taken care of by the different master miners, as was shown in a strike that took place in Falun in May 1696.

The changes can be summarized as a process that made social relations more abstract. The era when a miner was part of a master miner’s household was now something gone in the distant past.

My hypothesis is that the new pietism can be seen as a way to cope with this. The Lutheran orthodoxy mainly relied upon older collectivistic structures. This collectivism often meant that social discipline was upheld by the threat of social shame. The new pietism was more individualistic. The Christian individuals should experience the Holy Spirit in their hearts, which would change their characters. They ought to be new creatures. In situations when the external order was breaking down, pietism was an attempt to create order within the minds of the individuals. These new humans should be governed by guilt, not by shame.

More than 100 years ago Max Weber wrote his famous The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. There he put forward the thesis that Calvinist ethics and ideas influenced the de-
velopment of capitalism. What can be seen in this example of Ekman is a counterpart to this development in a Swedish area that was affected by capitalism and its more impersonal forms of social relations very early. The difference is that the local striving for a more emphasized form of individualism was formulated within the theological framework of a Lutheran Church.

In secularized versions the early form of individualism that was introduced in the proto-industrial town of Falun was later destined to become more widely accepted in a new industrialized Sweden.

References
Fortune Telling, Gambling and Decision-Making at Stora Kopparberget in the Early 17th Century

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Abstract
In the early 17th century, when the city of Falun was among the largest cities in Sweden due to its important copper mine, Gisle Jacobson, a local mining clerk, became the author of a small book which was published in Stockholm in 1613, entitled Ett litet Tidh-fördriff/ Der medh man kan fördröye Tidhen (A small pastime, wherewith one can delay time). A small pastime is a moral-didactic oracle book intended to be used while playing dice, and is based on the so-called “dobbel”, a game of dice the miners in Falun used to play on New Year’s Day to settle the mining order and to share the ore among them. Reports suggest that this ritual was conducted annually at the Copper mine ever since the Middle Ages. Besides moral advice and various rules for how the miners should conduct their lives, Gisle Jacobson’s book also includes a short section where the senior miners’ special way of playing the game of “dobbel” is described. In my paper I will describe the miners’ way of using and playing the game of “dobble”, its function in relation to Gisle Jacobson’s book and give an insight into how this game was used to make important decision concerning the inner organization of the mine.
1. Introduction

Working as a miner has always been and still is a dangerous and risky profession. The life of the miners during the 17th century was perceived as being frequently exposed to the unpredictability of this dangerous work where mine accidents were a constant threat. During the Middle Ages and the early modern period, the miners’ accidents and misfortune as well as success and wealth were expressions of divine judgment and people often turned their faith into religious or magical strategies in their effort to protect their lives. In this context an interesting question is how the miners were thinking when it came to decision-making in connection with this dangerous work. When it comes to medieval mentality we may think that decision-making was more about rituals and superstition than rational choices, especially in situations which we today would consider as risky. It is obvious that the people at Stora Kopparberg during the medieval and early modern time put their trust in different kinds of games. There was particularly one game, called the “dobblet” which is unique in relation to the mine as a place of work. This game, played with the use of three dice, had a major role for centuries in both the internal organization of the mine and the taxation of the mine’s yield. With the help of this game the miners at Stora Kopparberg decided the order in which the different working cooperatives should access and work in the mine. With the help of this procedure they would let faith decide and thereby give God the chance to intervene in the decision-making and thus ensuring a good outcome. This fact throws an interesting light on their way to justify the sequence of events, that is, when certain events are justified as causal or transcendental. Questions of interpretation or justification arise, when the result of a decision is considered either as a coincidence, a miracle or as the intervention of God.

How the miners interpreted and related to the omnipotence of chance in the form of a throw of dice can be studied further in an oracle book, specifically written for miners in the beginning of the 17th century. This book based its conception upon the “dobblet” and the discrepancy between the observation of contingency and the expected providence in each lot which is based on the throw of dice can be examined. In this article I will present the book itself, the genre it belongs to and its connection to the miner’s dice game called the “dobblet”. After this I will illustrate how this game was played and explain its role in the organization of the work at the
mine during the Middle Ages and the early modern period. Finally I will briefly describe the attitude to games of chance and fortune during that time and briefly mention the similarities between this fortune-telling book and a medieval game by the name of *Ludus regularis seu clericalis*, a dice game developed by a pious monk in the 10th century which has strong similarities with the miner’s oracle game.

2. Gisle Jacobson’s fortune telling book for miners

Gisle Jacobson was a mining clerk, employed at the Falun copper mine in the early 17th century. Several contemporary sources provide us with some information about the author and tell us that he was working as a clerk in Stockholm before coming to Falun (De Brun, 1924, pp. 822-823. Ingelsson, 1716, p. 16). It was during his time in Falun that he became the author of a small book which was published in Stockholm in 1613, entitled *A small pastime, wherewith one can delay time and get rid of evil thoughts, which can easily come when one has nothing to do and to be used when time allows*. *A small pastime* is a moral-didactic book intended to be used while playing dice, and is based on the so-called “dobbler”, a dice game that the miners used to play once a year around New Year’s Day to settle the mining order and to share the ore among them (Boethius, 1965, p. 116. Forsslund, 1936, p. 48. Lindroth, 1955, p. 32 and p. 95. Söderberg, 1932, p. 142). The book provides moral advice and various rules for how the miners should conduct their lives, and ends with a short section describing the senior miners’ special way of playing the game of dobbler, in addition to a pious admonition to the junior miner-hands.

Unlike most publications of this period, which were usually written for the wealthy and noble layers of society (Hansson, 1997, p. 427), *A small pastime* is something rare as a book written for the common people combining both moralization and entertainment, in this case intended for the miners, perhaps even the junior miner-hands, which the last part of the book, the pious admonition to the junior miner-hands, indicates. The text is not a translation nor a compilation of any other contemporary writings in the same genre, thus providing us with unique information into the mindsets of the working class people of Falun, in particular the miners’ both rational and apparently highly emotional way of thinking (Ridder, 2012).
It is postulated in the beginning of the text that a number of miners will pass the time with a game of dice. After the traditional title, a short education and then introduction for the reader follows. After a heading with the image of three dice, showing the combination 1 1 1, the text proceeds with a rimed stanza of six verses: “Ah, you throw very high eyes. I don’t think your throw is good enough. Therefore throw the dice in a better way, to succeed better. In this case luck cannot happen to you, even if you think so” (Jacobson, 1613, fo. Aivr). The text continues with the combinations 1 1 2, 1 1 3 and so on, and each combination is combined with stanzas of diverging lengths, as for example the combination 1 1 3: “For if many proud foreheads bleed, my words shall for certain be found true”, and the longest, for the combination 4 3 2 contains 18 verses, including a rather long moralizing comment on greed: “To live a long life is the greedy man’s pain, for he cares not for what to dare. Yes, his soul and his life are not as dear to him as the property of his neighbour, for what that is worth, and so forth” (Jacobson, 1613, fo. Aivv and fo. Biijr).

In the part concerning the education of the reader, the context for the use of the text is clarified. One or more miners shall pass the time, and to “drive away bad thoughts, that can come easy when there is nothing to do” they should fetch this little book and use it, together with three dice, in order to wish for something “that can bring the best of honour” (Jacobson, 1613, fo. Aiir). Then the wishes shall be tested through the throwing of the dice and through the moral-didactic stanza linked to each of the possible combinations of eyes. To play this oracle game you have to use three dice, each with six sides, numbered from one to six. Accordingly, the text is an instruction for a kind of prophecy game, and it can be categorized as a medieval book of lots (Boehm, 1932/33. Stöllinger-Löser, 2004). This genre belongs to “mantic” literature and became very popular during the late medieval period. The starting-point is thought to be old oracle customs, connected to love and marriage. By way of the applications as described in these texts, preferably carried out during Christmas or New Year, each man could find answers concerning the future, without being an expert at soothsaying. Research about the history of games in France has shown that the last days of December and the first of January had traditionally been the main season for games of dice. Mehl outlines a connection between old folk customs like the pagan ritual of saturnalia or other customs in connection with
the turn of the year and an increased interest in fortune telling (Mehl 1990, p. 230). Thus, *A Small Pastime* can be said to be a kind of easygoing, entertaining oracle book with obvious moral ambitions.

There are not that many art-historical and literary studies of books of lots and in those that exist, efforts are made to categorize them by delimiting different formal and motivic features from each other (Sotzmann, 1850. Bolte, 1925). For my study it is important to note that *A small pastime* was not considered as having any serious intentions. Serious oracle books were prohibited by the church and were regarded as both magical and superstitious (Harmening, 1979, pp. 179-204). On the other hand *A small pastime* is not just playful and satirical either. It seems like Gisle Jacobson wanted to reach out to the miners by entertaining them with moralizing wisdom combined with practical advice in the form of an entertaining game. (Ridder 2012) To which extent the miners took this advice seriously is at this point unknown, presumably this was left to the gambling miner to decide for himself.

3. Decision-making, gambling and the organizational structure of the mine

Through *Biographia Cuprimontana* we know that Gisle Jacobson himself owned a half fourth share in the mine. Consequently, to have luck on their side at the New Year’s drawing of lots was crucial for the successful mining of the individual shareholder, and considering that Gisle was a miner himself, he was aware of this when he wrote *A Small Pastime*. Ever since the 14th century the work of the miners at the copper mine of Falun was characterized by the so-called “omgången”, meaning the exact order in which the work was done in the mining areas. You had to stick to a predetermined mining order, where pair-leaders cooperated with shareowners. The organizational structure of the mine was highly developed, where independent miners owned shares in the organization, proportional to their possession of a shift in a smelt-house. To handle the copper ore, furnaces were erected along the watercourses in Falun which were driven by bellows, constrained by water power. For one furnace two bellows were required, which is why they were called a “pair”. The system of share-owning was related to the ownership of a part of the pair, commonly divided into “fourth parts” and from the latter part of the 16th century and onwards, the ownership was split in even smaller parts, defi-
ned as “half fourths”, and “fourth fourths” and so on. “Pair” was also the name for the different mining cooperatives which alternated in different work shifts. (Boethius, 1965. Forsslund, 1936 Söderberg, 1932) The outcome of the game of “dobblet” decided in which order the various pairs should get the opportunity of using the mine, and there are reports suggesting that these customs were in use at the mine ever since the Middle Ages. The most detailed description of this custom was made by Olof Olofsson Nauclér in his academic treatise Description of the mine at Stora Kopparberget (Beskrivning över Stora Kopparbergs Gruva) from 1702. To illustrate how the “dobblet”- game was played, I quote a translation of this source:

This (the “dobblet”) usually takes place in the mining cottage at a meeting of the Kopparberg’s group at the end of the year, and is held after public notification. This gathering is called “dobblet”. When the mining court has taken its place at the table in the miners’ presence, the notary recites from the pair numbers book every pair according to last year’s order, for example the first pair in the first shift. Thereafter appears the “rot”-master or another member of the pair and throws three dice, then the number, which he had thrown, is written down. (...) After the final act the pairs are reordered according to the numbers they received at the lottery, and the pair who chance has given the highest number, gets the first (mining-) room assigned to them. Anyone who throws a 3 or 4 gets the last room assigned to them.

The organization of the work in the mine, the »omgången«, determined the succession in which the miners got the right to use the mine. The highest score at the “dobblet” gave the team access to the first mining room, and then the second highest score admitted the team to the second room and so on, while the team with the lowest roll was assigned to the last room. The fact that this practice had been carried out at Stora Kopparberg since medieval times is documented in King Magnus Eriksson’s Mining Statute of 1360. In this statute the king defined the organization of the work as follows, ”each one of you thereafter work and mine his share in due order. Nor shall anyone dare to pass over or neglect any part of these working places, but shall work the mountain uniformly, in the afore-mentioned manner and order, whether it be good or bad” (Wessén, 1947, p. 44). The phrase »in due order« is a translation of the Latin »ordine sicut cadit« which clearly illustrates the connection with the roll of the dice. If you roll with three six-sided dice, numbered from one to six, one can at most get the number 18 and at lowest the number three. In the case where some teams throw equal numbers, they had to roll the dice several times. For
example, if three teams rolled the number 12, their result was noted down between 11 and 13 and after that they had to roll the dice once again to determine the order between them (Nauclér, 1702/1941, p. 41).

To comprehend the function of the dice game in connection with the organization of the work during the Middle Ages, one has to consider the working conditions at that time. When you read the Swedish kings’ mining statutes (Wessén, 1947) you realize that from early on the work was organized as a cooperative. By comparison we can turn to the German mine Rammelsberg in the Harz Mountains near Goslar, a mine that the Swedish kings in the early modern period used as a reference for their own mining organization and to acquire technical ideas and a work force. Unlike Stora Kopparberg the ore deposit in Rammelsberg was located within a mountain, which meant that you could build shafts both from the top and from the side of the mountain. The situation at the Falun copper mine was much more complex, as the ore deposit was completely underground and required more complicated shafts and pump constructions than Rammelsberg. The complex work in the mine required teamwork, which early on led to the development of a mining association that proved to be a well-functioning coalition.

The fact that this game was developed at Stora Kopparberg is not only linked to the special working conditions there, but also to the mine’s specific conditions of ownership. Above all there was the king’s so-called regal right, the right of the crown to unexploited natural resources, associated with administrative power and fiscal claims. Beside this, there was no miner who owned a mine or a part of it. Instead every miner had, due to his ownership of a share in a smelt-house, the right to utilize the mine. The question of who belonged to which mining team was determined by the different smelt-houses and their needs for ore (Boëthius, 1965, pp 116-119). Thus a miner at Stora Kopparberg was not a person who owned a mine or a share of a mine, but who owned a share of a smelt-house and thereby also a miner’s estate. The miners were also called »master-men« and were the region’s upper class. According to King Magnus Eriksson’s charter of 1347, they were permitted to carry »swords, shields, iron helms and iron gauntlets«. The peasantry were fined three marks in case they wore »dagger, bow, club, spear, sword, or broad-axe«, they were »at most« allowed to wear a food knife. The master-men did not participate
directly in the mining at the mountain but hired a workforce, such as mine cutters (Wessén, 1947, p. 32).

The medieval way of extracting the copper ore was carried out with the procedure of heating the rock with the help of fire, called the fire-setting. A fire was lit in the mine and when it burned out and the rock was cooled down, it became fragile and easier to process. Usually the fire was lit after the first mining shift in the afternoon, and when it had finished burning the next morning, the first team began their work in the second room, the second team in the third room and so on. Since they could not know in advance in which room they would find the valuable ore, each team got access to every mining room in turn, regardless of whether the room was profitable or not.

In the Middle Ages, it was not uncommon that disputes were settled with the help of dice. Walter Tauber describes in his book *The dice game in the Middle Ages and the early modern period (Das Würfelspiel im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit)* that decision-making was made by chance, facilitated by dice. “The dice game was to be found in many areas of life and even played an important role in the commercial and legal life“, he writes and illustrates how legal disagreements and even disputes about ownership of land were settled with the help of dice (Tauber, 1987, p. 19). As an example, Tauber describes how merchants in Cologne used the dice to distribute the wine deliveries, which came encumbered by boat on the river Rhine from Alsace. The retailers were divided into teams of four and took turns to throw the dice. The team that got the highest score secured the rights for the first buy. This procedure is remarkably similar to the miners’ dice game at Stora Kopparberg. If you compare the “dobblet”-procedure with Tauber’s example from the wine merchants in Cologne, you are struck by the remarkable fact that the advantage of throwing a high number at the “dobblet” and thereby gaining access to the first mining room was levelled by the principle of frequent rotation. Access to the room was actually not crucial for the success of a mining team. The key factor for profit was more luck and craftsmanship. When a mining team found the valuable ore, they needed as many talented mine cutters in their team as possible, also given the fact that a mining room accommodated a maximum of eight workers at the same time (Nauclér, 1702/1941, p. 53). In my opinion the important point here is that by letting the roll of the dice decide the mining order, the miners would, according to the medie-
val mind-set, give God the chance to interfere in the game and let him predetermine the mining order, potential success or tragedy. Since chance did not exist in medieval times only providentia dei, the success of a team would always be described as God’s will.

4. The king’s interest in the miners’ game

A further look at the medieval mining documents that mention this game shows that the “dobblet” was more than a medieval curiosity for decision-making. The miners also annually determined a register of the different mining teams, which could increase or decrease, depending on how profitable the mine was at that time. At the beginning of the 16th century, when production had intensified and was profitable, a bailiff report illustrates that the king wanted to expand the number of pairs in the register, which, according to this document, also was regulated in connection with the annual “dobblet” (Söderberg, 1932, p. 188). After the usual dicing to determine the mining order, the miners included four new pairs by dicing them into the register. When the mine was most profitable, the number of teams, however, exceeded 18, which is the highest score to get when you throw three dice with six sides. Nauclér, for example, describes in his thesis that the number of teams at the turn of the 17th century was 25. If the mine was in good condition and the profits were high, several miners competed to get hold of a mining share. But more often the mine was not so profitable because of different kind of mine disasters, like mine collapses. In these cases the teams had to deal with waste rock or water filling the mine, which made the work dangerous and unprofitable. Under these circumstances the Crown had to use both persuasion and threats to fill the pair-register.

The pair-register that was determined by the annual “dobblet” was also the basis for the king’s financial claims. Special regulations applied to this mining district, located north of Lake Mälaren, called Bergslagen, or “mountain’s laws” and which, besides the famous copper mine at Falun, also included the silver mine in Sala and various iron mines. This region’s particular legislation benefitted the area’s mining capacity and led to a unique political status and autonomy for the region, which is illustrated by Sweden’s oldest preserved mining charters demonstrating the era’s advantages concerning taxes, business and legislation (Wessén, 1947). The king claimed his right to income from the kingdom’s natural resources and a “tithe” from the iron produced was sent from
the iron mines to the Crown. Even at Stora Kopparberg a “tithe” of the copper ore was paid as well as a special payment from the refined copper called “avrad”, some kind of lease. It was this lease that was linked to the pair-register that was established by the New Year’s “dobblet” (Boëthius, 1965: 181-183).

The medieval mining documents concerning the “dobblet” also illustrate that the game in fact was the issue for strong conflicts of interest. It was crucial for the power-play between miners and numerous groups of miners. (Söderberg, 1932: 189) We know that even the composition of the mining teams was sometimes decided by throwing the dice at New Year. The purpose was to avoid the risk that some teams got too strong and became a power factor of their own. This is why mining teams were sometimes split and reorganized with the help of chance. Some authors from the early modern period also describe that the miners used the throwing of gloves to distribute the ore among them. (Söderberg, 1932: 185-186) This again reminds us of the merchants of Cologne, who used the dice to distribute the wine deliveries. After the mining shift the pair’s ore was brought together and divided into equitable bunches. Then the ore was divided between the members of the team, proportional to their mining shares, by lot, or more specifically, by throwing each member’s glove on one of these bunches. An interesting fact is that the medieval mining records show a large difference in the production volume between the members of a team, although this procedure actually ensured a level of fairness between them. This indicates that some cheating probably occurred, and that this was most likely in connection with the “dobblet.”

Since the pair-register was the basis for the miners’ lease to the Crown, cheating at the annual “dobblet”, would affect the Crown’s profit. Not surprisingly, you can find documents that show the king’s or the regent’s interest in this game and its usage. As an example I want to refer to a letter from Arvid Siggesson, a priest from the town Mora in the county of Dalarna, which is a part of Bergslagen. Arvid Siggesson was a strong supporter of the Sture-family, an influential family whose members had served as regents during the Kalmar Union. This letter was written December 16, 1504 to the regent Svante (Sture) Nilsson, a few weeks before the annual “dobblet” was to take place. At this historic moment we find ourselves in the middle of a war between Sweden and Denmark, where the peasants of Dalarna played a crucial role. The people of East Dalarna, where the town of Mora was the cen-
tre, were numerous and easy to mobilize, which is why they were regarded as a power factor. From Svante (Sture) Nilsson’s time as regent, three letters are preserved as well as the above mentioned bailiff report that demonstrate the significance of the game of “dobblet” and how the regent was interfering in the mining’s inner organization. In the letter from December 16, 1504, Arvid Siggesson informed the regent of fraud at the annual “dobblet”. The problem he addressed was that even if the teams had received the same scores at the “dobblet” and thus received the same mining shares and amount of lease, a few of them were very rich and the majority very poor. This letter illustrates that there had been a leading number of four or six miners, who due to their power and wealth were able to go against the rights of other poorer miners in connection with the annual “dobblet” (Gamla papper, 1932, pp. 11-12).

The same situation occurred again in the 1570s, when the production of copper ore after a long period of difficulties was increasing again. The rich miners wanted to limit the number of teams in order to reserve the profits of the increased production without sharing the profit with the poorer miners. To increase the pair numbers would allow more miners’ teams to be diced into the register. A higher number of pairs would also increase the Crown’s income. This is why King Charles IX, who by the way was very interested and engaged in the development of the Falun copper mine, turned against the wealthy miners and increased the number of pairs at Stora Kopparberg at that time (Boëthius, 1965, pp. 181-182).

5. Gisle Jacobson’s *A small pastime and the Ludus regularis seu clericalis*

It was also King Charles IX who actively worked for the reorganization and technical renewal of the mine during the early 17th century, investments which in return helped finance Sweden’s era of great power. To improve the organisation of the mine, new offices were set up, among others the office of the mining clerk. One of the first clerks who ever held that position was Gisle Jacobson, the author of the above-mentioned oracle book for miners, *A small pastime*, a medieval book of lots, where the lot was drawn in the same way as the miners’ used to play the annual “dobblet”.

The moral claims of *A small pastime* can in some ways be said to contrast with the dubious reputation of the game of dice in
older times (Tauber, 1987). During the Middle Ages and the early modern period this game had an reputation of being a game invented by the devil, who was called the father of the dice (Mehl, 1990, p. 314) and had a reputation for using it to play for souls (Herold, 1987, p. 1015). Tauber quotes a medieval German gnomic poet Reinmar of Zweter (1200–1260) who claimed that the devil, by inventing the numbers one to six on the die, wanted to ridicule God, heaven and earth, the holy trinity, the four gospels, the five senses and the six-week fast (Tauber, 1987, p. 56). But actually, there was a clear moral difference between games of luck (ludus fortunae) and games of strategy, with the latter not as much to be condemned as the former (Schädler, 2009, p. 203). But the game of dice was undoubtedly lowest in status, even socially. When the game of cards (ludus chartarum) gained ground in Europe during the 16th century, it too was counted among the socially and morally reputable games, no doubt because of the decisive role of chance. Highest in rank were clear-cut strategy games like chess (ludus scaccorum), while games characterized by both chance and strategy, for example some kinds of backgammon which included the throwing of dice, was situated in a social and moral limbo. Nevertheless dice games were connected to sinful behaviour such as blasphemy and violence: “According to religious commentators the gambler was a model version of an immoral man, prone to blasphemy, idolatry and superstition” (Walker, 1999, p. 42). This idea was illustrated during the late medieval period in paintings depicting the Passion of Christ, where the Roman soldiers play for Christ’s clothes and behave sinfully and aggressively (Mann, 1994). This situation from Matthew 27: 35 and in more detail from John 19: 23–24, describes how the soldiers, who nailed Jesus to the cross, used a game of dice to decide who would get Jesus’ clothes.

Obviously, games that made demands on human intelligence contrasted with games that rested on chance, an attitude that spread into the 17th century by way of the humanist movement. This, in turn, depends on the problems in the medieval period with the connection between fortuna and providentia, that is between ordinary arbitrariness or contingency and divine providence (Haug, 1995. Fichte, 1996). As formulated by Walter Haug, fortuna “should not have been in existence during the Middle Ages. It had no role for itself in a world where not even a sparrow falls from heaven without the will of God” (Haug, 1995, p. 1). The
problem was solved by putting *fortuna* entirely in the service of *providentia*, and the functioning of this relation is of course especially obvious in connection with aleatorial games (Haug, 1995, p. 7). As to the relation between the absolute haphazardness of the game and the principal demand for truth regarding the world in connection to the omnipotence of God, every single event, even the seemingly aleatorial throw of dice, was interpreted as a will of God. Thus, bad luck in connection with the playing of games could be interpreted as a sign of vanitas, and the player, by losing, should be made aware of the vanity of life and the importance of a pious existence.

However, gambling was officially prohibited and from the fourth Lateran Council in 1215, a general ban was validated on all kinds of games. Clerics were not allowed to play any games of chance or to be present when such games were played, not even if these served the purpose of relaxation. Throwing dice or drawing lots were regarded as challenging God’s authority because the gambler by tempting his faith shows that he would rather follow devilish temptation by trusting in fate, than believing in God’s plan. The ban on gambling, especially gambling with dice, was repeated throughout the Middle Ages and early modern period (Müller, 2001, p. 61). To circumvent the inevitable moral problems connected with playing dice, a bishop from northern France named Wibold of Cambrai (around AD 970) justified this by inventing a special kind of dice game for monks with edificatory purposes (PL 134, pp. 1007—1016). The game, which was called *Ludus regularis seu clericalis* has astonishingly strong similarities to the game Gisle outlines in *A small pastime*. Wibold’s game is played by using three dice, each with six sides, numbered from one to six. A particular virtue is linked with each potential throw: for example, 1 1 1 with charity, 1 1 2 with faith, 1 1 3 with hope and so on. The purpose was that the monks could roll the dice, and yet remain devout. This implicates basically the same approach used in *A Small Pastime*. In Wibold’s *Ludus regularis seu clericalis* each throw was combined with a special virtue. The monks took turns in throwing the dices and the throw that showed the number of a virtue obtained it if the virtue was not already drawn. When all the virtues were distributed the monk who had the highest number of virtues was the winner of the game.

The system of combing different throws with a specific virtue is not possible in *A Small Pastime* in the same way. This is why I cannot discern a direct connection between the content of Wi-
bold’s pious dice game and Gisle’s oracle game for the miners. The resemblance concerning the conception of these two games is quite obvious, at the same time as it is impossible to say if Gisle knew of Wibold’s game. In a publication from Arno Borst, *The Battle of the Numbers, (Das mittelalterliche Zahlenkampfspiel)*, about the Rithmomacy, an interesting conclusion is that Wibold’s game was still known at the beginning of the 18th century (Borst, 1986 and 1996). But on the other hand there is a remarkable aspect of Wibold’s game which is not included in the concept of *A Small Pastime*: In Wibold’s game the value of the virtue is related to the difficulty of the throw. The more unlikely it is to get a particular throw, for example three similar numbers, the more important the virtue is. You will not be able to find this kind of subtly influencing which even involves speculations about calculating probabilities in *A Small Pastime*. This emphasizes the fact that Gisle’s oracle game is, contrary to the intellectual game of the scholarly monks, a game intended for ordinary people working at the copper mine.

Nevertheless the *inventio* of the book is the game of “dobbler” at the beginning of the New Year, where the mining order and the sharing of ore were decided. The starting-point for the text is the idea that a miner, who wants to know if a certain wish will be fulfilled, will fetch some dice, together with a book of lots, such as this one. The wish will be pronounced, the dice will be thrown, and the answer will be sought-up in the stanza for the combination in question. But neither Gisle nor we can know what kind of wish is at stake. For the oracle of dice to be able to answer the various wishes of the miners, the sayings and advice given must have a very general and universal character. Bearing in mind the relation of the text to its function in reality, we understand that really important problems could be at stake, and that the miners really needed luck to get the answer they wanted.
References


The Mine Spirit in the Copper Mine of Falun: Expressions of a Social Counter Strategy?

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Abstract
In this article, legends about the mine spirit are discussed from social and historical perspectives. In earlier research, the legends have been interpreted as expressing systems, notions or world views, which the mine workers reacted to in a more or less passive way. In line with theories of religion presented by William Paden I will discuss the legends from a reverse perspective, i.e. to see the mine workers as active rather than reactive in the reproduction of the legends. Based on a few examples of legends tied to the copper mine of Falun, Sweden, I will argue for the hypothesis that the mine workers could use the mine spirit symbol as a way of communicating with mine executives. The mine workers were subordinated to punitive laws and disciplinary punishments, and had few possibilities to affect their working conditions. By referring to the mine spirit symbol, they could call attention to dangers or other problems in the mine without disobeying or breaking laws. A local context relevant for this interpretation is the great reform of the copper mine of Falun performed by the mine master Swab during the beginning of the 18th century. This reform led to a distancing between mine workers and their executives and may have caused the mine workers to develop new strategies of negotiation.

1 This article can be seen as a frame to a larger forthcoming project. Every part of the article is in need of developments and elaboration.
1. Introduction

This article will focus on some folklore legends about the mine spirit related to the copper mine of Falun in Sweden. There are plenty of Swedish folk memories about mine workers meeting the mine spirit, mostly in the shape of an elegantly dressed lady. The legends about the mine spirit contain a number of different expressions and themes. According to the legends, the mine spirit was the ruler of the mine. She watched over the mining practices and could punish mine workers who didn’t do their job correctly. She checked that the mine workers didn’t break taboos in the mine, like killing animals or whistling. She could also test the morals of the workers and punish them severely if they failed her tests. On the other hand, she also protected the mine workers from dangers such as falling rocks or collapses. The mine spirit could also guide people to ore deposits. A certain cluster of legends within the broader mine spirit tradition, foremost tied to the Falun mine, is the so-called lion’s share legends (brorslottssägnerna). In these legends the mine spirit refers to a richer “lion’s share” somewhere else. Therefore, the mine spirit could, in a complex way, be seen as a benefiter, a protector and at the same time a danger for the mine workers. Although the main themes in the legends have been mentioned here, it’s important to state that there exists a great variation in the legends as regards the relation between the mine spirit and the mine workers. In this article I will argue in favor of a hypothesis concerning a certain theme in the legends, namely when the mine spirit shows up in relation to collapses or other disturbances in the mine. I will discuss this theme based on a few examples from the copper mine of Falun.

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2 The phrase mine spirit is used to resemble the Swedish phenomena commonly termed gruvrå, bergrå or gruvfrun. However, there exists a great variation of names including plenty of local variants. (Cf e.g. Forslund 1924, pp. 3-4 & Tillhagen 1981, p. 121). A more correct English translation of gruvrå would be ruler of the mine, but I use the term mine spirit to make the study more compatible with other similar research.

3 For comprehensive overviews about the content of the mine spirit legends, see foremost Forslund 1924 & Tillhagen 1961.
2. Positioning and theoretical outline

Earlier research on the mine spirit legends in Sweden is dominated by the publications of the ethnologist Carl-Herman Tillhagen. He presents several interpretations and explanations concerning the different expressions of the mine spirit legends. In this article I will not discuss Tillhagen’s or other researcher’s interpretations in detail. Instead I will try to problematize the assumptions which these interpretations are based on. Tillhagen sees the mine spirit legends as superstitions that can be explained through the mine workers’ lack of education. He also suggests that the taboos together with other features in the legends could be seen as a “primitive security system”. By avoiding breaking taboos and by “listening” to the mine spirit the workers could be safe in the mine. Another researcher who has written about the mine spirit legends is Karl-Erik Forslund. He emphasizes the legends as sources with a great cultural historical value, expressing the beliefs, notions, conceptions and emotional worlds of the forefathers. Also Mats Åmark has discussed the mine spirit legends in connection to Christian activities occurring in and around the mine. He sees the mine spirit legends and other similar ones as “powers” being a living reality for the mine workers in older times. As protection against these powers, the mine workers could pray or sing psalms.

These interpretations include, more or less emphasized, an assumption that the legends could be seen as a “reality”, a “worldview”, “notions” or a “system” which the mine workers had to, in some way, react to. The problem with these perspectives is that they make the mine workers “passive” in relation to the legends, legends that they have in fact produced. Instead, inspired by William Paden’s theories of religion, I will see them as expressing a certain type of activity. Paden states that religious activities can be defined as “world-making”. In this world-making process symbols are produced and reproduced, and it is these symbols that build up different religious worlds. These symbols are connected with emotions and ideas that of course can vary according to time,

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4 The most important publications are Tillhagen 1961 & 1981. Cf. also Tillhagen 1965 & 1976. The mine spirit legends in Sweden have also been thoroughly discussed in Forslund 1924 and to some extent in Åmark 1951.


7 Forslund 1924, p. 37.

8 Åmark 1951, pp. 129 & 138.
space and down to each and every individual.\textsuperscript{9} When in the following text I refer to “the mine spirit symbol”, I do that in line with Paden’s ideas about world-making. While Paden primarily seems to be interested in “religious worlds” as such, I am more interested in the contexts where religious symbols are produced. In this case I’m influenced by Kim Knott’s theories about religion and locality. According to her it’s necessary to consider the local context in order to fully understand religious expressions. Through that she wants to problematize generalizing models of religion.\textsuperscript{10} The mine area in Falun can be seen as a locality where very specific conditions prevailed, and in order to understand the world-making occurring there, it’s necessary to understand these conditions, both from a social and a historical perspective.

3. Sources and problems
The sources relevant for research on the mine spirit are mainly folk memories. The majority of these memories were collected during the end of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century.\textsuperscript{11} However there are also some notes in older literature and reports indicating that the mine spirit symbol was produced, appearing from the 17th century onwards.\textsuperscript{12} In this study I will concentrate on one report from the middle of the 18th century and two later memorates\textsuperscript{13} collected by John E Wilhelmsson.\textsuperscript{14} Since memorates claim to be self- or second-hand experiences, they are usually considered to have a higher source value than other folk memory categories.\textsuperscript{15} Despite that, there are of course plenty of critical problems related to the use of memorates as sources. It’s impossible to estimate whether the described events actually occurred as they

\textsuperscript{11} A majority of the folk memories are available in the archives of the Nordic museum and The Institute of Language and Folklore. These institutions have also been active in the collection of folk memories, e.g. by sending out question lists to former mine workers, cf. Gruvminnen 1960.
\textsuperscript{12} For a review of occurrences of the mine spirit in older literature, see Tillhagen (1965, pp. 140-143).
\textsuperscript{13} The category memorate (Swe memorat), introduced by the Swedish folklorist Carl Wilhelm von Sydow aims to describe self experienced memories, but can also include second-hand experiences. For a critical discussion about the concept, see Dégh & Vázsonyi 1974.
\textsuperscript{14} The report is set out in Forslund (1936) and I will use his publication in this article. The memorates are published in Wilhelmsson 1976.
\textsuperscript{15} See e.g. Almqvist 1984, pp. 5 &176.
are presented in the memorates, or if the events have occurred at all. It’s also very difficult to discern the memorates’ dependence on general ideas or genres. On the other hand, the memorates discussed here are very detailed. They give information on names and titles of the people involved and precise information regarding the course of events. It’s also important to state that I’m not interested in whether the mine workers actually “saw” or believed in the mine spirit. What I’m interested in is if they communicated about the mine spirit, i.e. produced the mine spirit symbol according to Paden’s theory, and in which contexts this production occurred. On these issues, I would say, the memorates could give strong indications, either directly or indirectly.

4. The mine spirit of the copper mine of Falun: three examples

The oldest reference to the mine spirit in Falun mine goes back to 1755. At a dinner with the mayor of Falun in January 1755, the assessor, Samuel Troili, told the guests that some mine workers in the Western district (Västerorten) had met the mine spirit in the form of a ghost. The ghost made noises that sounded like crying and sighing, reminding them of a mine worker trapped in the mine, causing the mine workers to become terrified. They interpreted this as either a warning of a forthcoming accident or as a sign of better luck with ore-finding. Furthermore, a mine worker had told the mine executive (stigare) Jöran Sohlberg that he had heard someone moan pitifully but also low like an ox. Close by, he had also heard noises that reminded him of a crying infant. The Geschworner Lars Schultze thought this was a clever invention by the mine workers and thought that they had made this up to get a certain shaft closed due to strong heat and the risk of collapse. However the mining executive saw the appearance of the mine spirit as a good sign and decided to continue to exploit the shaft.\(^{16}\)

Later memorates indicate that the mining executives took the worries of the mine workers more seriously. In a memorate collected by John E Wilhelmsson\(^{17}\) concerning the great mine collapse in 1876, we are told that the mine workers in a certain shaft were worried. The mountain creaked and snapped and the torches went out due to air-streams from the mine passages. The mine execu-

\(^{16}\) These events was written down by the geschworner Lars Schultze. My presentation is based on Forslund 1936, p. 92. Cf also Tillhagen 1965, p. 142 f.

\(^{17}\) This is a long memorate, here shortened and summarized.
tive saw discipline disappear and got more and more frustrated. One day later a mine worker came running out from a small mine room. He was very frightened and said that a big troll had been chasing him. The worker, with others following him, quickly went up from the mine.

After that two more similar occurrences took place. After that, the mine executive then decided to go down and check out the shaft himself. Together with a mine worker he went down to the shaft. Halfway down a strong draught made their lamp die out. In the disappearing light they saw a lady dressed in white very close to them. “Did you see her?” shouted the mine worker. “Be quite and light the lamp” said the mine executive. When the light came back, the mine spirit was gone. However they continued their investigation and the mine executive saw that a collapse was not far away. He got the 35 workers out of the mine and soon after that the shaft collapsed.18

These two memorates illustrate the production of the mine spirit symbol in relation to a fear of mine collapses. They are also two different examples of how the mine executives reacted to the reports from the mine workers. In the first example the report was dismissed as an invention, but later on the appearance of the mine spirit made the mine executive decide to keep exploit the shaft.19 In the second case the mine executive actually checked out the shaft, and by doing that saved 35 people. It is worth noting that both the mine executives took the reports seriously, but in different ways.

The third example has a different character. In the mine there was a working room called the chapel because of the existence of a natural formed rectangular altar by one of the walls. That altar was beautiful and the plain surface showed yellow, green and red colors. One day the mine executive decided to fire the altar away for a new passage. When the workers prepared the fire, the mine spirit appeared in the shape of a beautiful woman dressed in expensive clothes. She commanded the men to stop their work, which they did immediately. The workers went to the mine executive and said that they didn’t want to continue with the fire and asked him to be replaced. The mine executive replaced the men but

18 Told by Verner Hedman, Gustaf Boström & Gustaf Utterström. Wilhelmsson 1976, pp. 8-10.
19 Tillhagen sees this circumstance, that even the mine executive made allowance for the mine spirit in this decision, as a sign of that a belief in the mine spirits connection to ore was strong. Tillhagen 1965, p. 143.
send six other workers down to the shaft. When they lit the fire the mine spirit appeared again and told the frightened mine workers that “now you have lit a fire that will burn for a long time”. The sulphur in the mountain took fire and burned for two years.\textsuperscript{20}

In this case the mine workers produce the mine spirit symbol when the mine executive wanted to destroy a beautiful rock formation. What is interesting is that the mine workers, by referring to the symbol, actually are replaced, although the situation in itself was not dangerous. In this case the mine workers probably wanted to protect an artifact that meant something for them, and this example shows the complexity of the legends.

5. Contexts relevant for understanding the mine spirit in the Falun mine

My hypothesis is that referring to the mine spirit symbol could be seen as a means of communication between mine workers and mine executives. For the mine workers, referring to the mine spirit symbol could have functioned as a strategy to affect their working conditions.

Historically, mine workers have been forced to work in the mine and obey their superiors through laws, regulations and disciplinary punishments. In his comprehensive work, \textit{Gruvornas folk}, Bertil Boëthius shows how laws, regulations and punishments, from the Middle Ages to the 18th century, have been used both to secure the labor supply and to tie the workers to the mine. During the Middle Ages, the asylum right given to mine workers was stated in the medieval royal charters. In the case of the copper mine of Falun, such a charter was issued in 1347. The Asylum right gave criminals the possibility to avoid punishment while working in the mine. At the same time these people were bound to the mines in an effective way.\textsuperscript{21} Forced labor and the laws against vagrancy might have been even more important. This law, which has appeared in different forms until the 21st century, functioned effectively to ensure the labor supply in the mines.\textsuperscript{22} A factor that also historically contributed to securing the labor supply has been exemptions from military service. This must have been very effective from the master miner’s perspective, since the threat of being called in to

\textsuperscript{20} Told by Gustav Boström (b. 1866). Wilhelmsson 1976, p. 15.
\textsuperscript{21} Boëthius 1951, pp. 58 f.
\textsuperscript{22} Boëthius 1951, pp. 58 f, 144 ff & 264.
the army must have prevented the workers from leaving the mine. At the same time, this threat made it easier for the master miner to keep wages down. Another effective way of keeping the workers in the mine would have been indebtedness. According to the law, the indebted worker could not leave his employment. A liberal system of credit in combination with payments in kind made indebtedness frequent among the workers. In addition to these factors, it is also necessary to mention the punishments given to mine workers who misbehaved within the mine. Although these punishments got milder from the Middle Age and on, they still prevailed into the 19th century. The hardest and most brutal punishments were directed against theft or risking the mine through negligent behavior. Disobeying or showing disrespectful behavior towards a mine executive could also lead to severe and brutal punishments. However, negligence of work, like not showing up, showing up late or leaving work when not finished, were also sanctioned with, for example, severe penalties or jail. Boëthius shows in a convincing way that the mine workers from the Middle Ages into the 18th century were more or less totally in the power of their executives. This must be considered an important context for analyzing the production of the mine spirit symbol. All together, these laws, regulations, sanctions and so on gave the mine workers very limited possibilities to affect their working conditions.

By referring to the mine spirit symbol, the mine workers might have been able to make their point without disobeying or being disrespectful. The above-mentioned examples indicate that the mine executives might have looked more kindly on the delinquencies of mine workers referring to the mine spirit, for example running out from a shaft. By referring to the mine spirit, they referred to a symbol that the mine executives could not ignore. That symbol was also important to them in many different ways. As said before, the mine spirit symbol could have disciplinarian functions for the mine workers, so even the most superstitious-free mine executive must have seen the advantage of keeping the symbol alive.

An interesting historical context related to the copper mine of Falun is the reform carried out by the mine master (bergmästare) Swab, during the years 1715 and 1716. The reform, however, was

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23 Boëthius 1951, pp. 157-159.
not completely implemented until the middle of the 18th century. According to Sten Lindroth, this reform meant the end of an individualized organization of the mine. Due to the reform, the mine was organized in a more collective way, like a more modern company. Before the reform, the mine workers were employed by a part-owner in the mine, a so-called master miner (Bergsman). Together they formed a tight group working in allocated rooms for the benefit of the master miner. More or less tied to these groups were also so-called guardians (väktare) whose function was to control several aspects of the work. These guardians worked close to the mine workers and sometimes misused their position for their own benefit. In some cases they obtained a lot of power and became a problem to the mine master. The guardians were abolished in 1754 and replaced by so-called stigare, or mine executives. They were fewer and had large areas of control. No doubt, the mine workers were to a great extent dependent on their relation to the master miners and the guardians. After the reform the mine workers became employees of the company. The mine workers were no longer tied to the part-owners in the same way. Instead of following the master miner from one shaft to another, the mine workers, to a higher degree than earlier, got tied to a certain shaft. Instead of being tied to a master miner, the mine worker got tied to a shaft.26

It is interesting to notice that the earliest reference to the mine spirit occurring in Falun is dated to 1755, i.e. not long after the Swab reform had finally been implemented. The fact that mine workers became tied to certain shafts could have actualized occurrences like the descriptions in the above mentioned memorates. Before, the mine workers, in general, worked closely together with master miners who had the same knowledge of the conditions of a shaft as did the mine workers. Since the executives also shared the risks with the mine workers, the need for referring to the mine spirit symbol might have been limited. The reform lead to more distance between the mine workers and their closest executives. The mine workers were, more or less, left alone in their shafts. In this case it is reasonable to believe that the mine workers had greater knowledge of the shafts than their executives. In addition to that, the executives did not, as before, share the risks with the mine workers. This might have led to a need for the mine workers

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26 This process is described in detail by Lindroth 1955, pp. 358-376.
to change their strategies for negotiating with the mine executives. In these negotiations, references to the mine spirit symbol might have been of importance, especially in case of dangers or other disturbances in the mine.

6. Conclusion
To sum up, I think it is reasonable to believe that the mine spirit symbol in some cases could function as a means of communication between mine workers and mine executives. Because of the mine workers’ limited possibilities to affect their working conditions, the mine spirit symbol could help mine workers in negotiations with their executives, for example in the case of danger. This is of course a hypothesis that has to be tested more thoroughly than has been the case here. However, it should be enough to question the earlier way of seeing the mine spirit legends as abstract systems or notions. By seeing the mine workers as active rather than passive in relation to the mine spirit legends, and by taking the local historical context into consideration, I believe it is possible to use this fascinating material to say something about the people that actually worked in the mine.

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The Music Salon in Falun During the 19th Century

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Abstract
The aim of the project is to examine the music salon in Falun as a part of the mining community and in the historical context of European salon culture. A specific goal is to develop a deeper understanding about the salon when it comes to education and pedagogic ideas. Of a certain interest is Johan Henrik Munktell’s (1804-1861) education travelling (bildningsresor). Inspired by Mendelssohn’s music salon in Berlin and the early salons in Uppsala he created his own salon in Grycksbo. A letter collection from J.H. Munktell to his father J.J. Munktell in 1828-30 can be considered a unique historical material, which places the salon in Falun in a continental context of culture, education and industrial pretensions. The results have potential to extend the knowledge of Nordic salon culture and how it has influenced general pedagogy and music education.
1. Introduction

The Munktell salon is part of a historically interesting environment. During Sweden’s time as a superpower, Falun was ranked as the country’s second city and contributed to the development of the Swedish constitution (Hildebrand, 1946 del I, pp. 99-125). What is relevant for the study is that the Great Copper Mountain is a paradigm of Swedish industrial history whose mentality can be seen as having an effect on the direction of pedagogy in Sweden (Ödman, 1995 del I, pp. 271-280). The pedagogical debate during the first decades of the 19th century has great consequences for education reformation in Sweden and places the Falun salon in an interesting position regarding changes in pedagogy at that time (Lindroth, 1976, p. 142-143). Conversations at Grycksbo were lead by the foremost pedagogical reformers of the time in the school and education worlds, which can be related to the greater influence of mercantile nobility on society, but most likely also to the historical significance the copper mine in Falun had on Sweden’s development (Liljas, 2013; Lindroth, 1976, pp. 146-148; Ödman 1995 del II, p. 485). Works patron Johan Henrik Munktell (1804-1861) also demonstrates a connection with a unique music-historical heritage that was established during his educational trips to the continent during the 1820s.

In the following study I want to draw attention to the pedagogical role of the salon. The study was carried out with a focus on the pedagogical and educational heritage on the Munktell salon, and entails a link to the World Heritage site of the Falun copper mine and the Great Copper Mountain regarding its significance in changes in pedagogy and the modern nation state that broke through during that time period.

The salons as spatial phenomenon is based on Jurgen Habermas’ culture-theoretical observations where the terms private and public take on a special significance (Habermas, 1984, pp. 49-61). Habermas’ spatial attribute shine a light on the inter-disciplinary position of the salons, but also on the canonization. The salons have earlier been investigated from the perspective of different spatial dimensions which in short have focused on the room as a centre of taste and opinion-formation, architectural inner and outer space, mental and social room, as well as the aesthetic room centered around the salon’s classical genres (Scott Sørensen, 1998, pp. 10-11). But can the salon also be seen as a room for learning? Can you talk about the pedagogy of a salon? And can the
salon be seen as a possible starting-point to investigate pedagogy during earlier historical points in time? These are questions I am asking under the framework of this project. With the »pedagogical room« as a starting-point, a new perspective will thereby be created different from earlier research.

The project consists of three sub-projects where the first deals with Johan Henrik Munktell’s educational trips during the early 19th century. The project’s second part investigates how the Grycksbo salon was formed, and how the connections between Scandinavia and continental Europe were formed. The project’s third part focuses primarily on the salon’s pedagogical functions and the education Munktell’s daughters Emma and Helena got at the salon.

A common theme of the three sub-projects is the pedagogical side of the salon. The project is based on German education theory with its relevance for the romantic, neo-humanist education ideal (Brylla, 2008; Kant, 1803; Schleiermacher, 1799). The Swedish education tradition from the beginning of the 19th century is discussed in relation to German education heritage (Burman & Sundgren, 2010, pp.13-17; Lindroth, 1976, pp. 148, 184). A central term is immanent pedagogy, i.e. the individual’s inherent possibility for self-realization in a given social context (Ödman, 1995 del I, p. 466). Inspired by the idea of immanent pedagogy, I test the learning taking place in the salon. This concept can be linked to education discourse and the narrative memory of Berlin’s Jewish salons (Wilhelmy, 1989). The method is based on Paul Ricoeur’s hermeneutics and builds on the idea that the narratives are qualified on different levels of interpretation that together can be seen as newly describing or redescribing the historical material (Liljas, 2007; Ricoeur, 1984).

2. Earlier research

Petra Wilhelmy’s work from 1989 – „Der Berliner Salon im 19. Jahrhundert (1780–1914)“ – is one of the most important in this field of international research. Wilhelmy builds, with great importance for the following research, a historically and scenically theoretical fundament concerning the manner of saloons. Beside the French saloons during the 17th century, the Jewish saloons of Berlin are considered as have been a highlight in the manner of saloons during the 19th century (cf. Klitgaard Povlsen, 1998, pp. 28-31). The saloons of Berlin were a mix of the aristocratically ones and the significantly more modest tea saloons of the bourgeoisie.
The early saloons of Berlin were characterized by Jewish women of well-educated families from the upper class, who developed the manner of saloons into becoming an art in itself. In their saloons, classes and gender were mixed in a way which otherwise wouldn’t have been possible. The way of discussing which occurred was the one of an emancipating character and took its point of departure in literature, art and music (Holmqvist, 1998b, pp. 253-255, cf. Wilhelmy, 1989, pp. 38-41, 49-50, 114-120).

According to Anne Scott Sørensen, the environments of the saloons have been described but also paled through recoiling perspectives which haven’t benefited their historical significance. Sørensen’s aim in –”Nordisk salonkultur: Et studie i nordiske skonåndner og salonmiljöer 1780–1850” – is to gather the northern saloons into a context of musical and literal saloon, as well as to construe a theoretical study of the concept of saloon. Thereby Scott Sørensen and her ten companying authors create an important base for the type of research in saloons which constitutes by the saloons of Falun, and also creates more favourable conditions for these to be placed in a historical and theoretical context and to be related to the manner of saloons in a Scandinavian and European perspective.

Not unexpectedly, there is an imbalance between countryside and town. The middle class salons were established in an urban, pre-industrial environment and bear the demands from pre-industrial towns for publicity and education. As a source about the un-researched provincial salons, Munktell’s travel letters can be seen as making an important contribution to Scandinavian salon culture during the 19th century. Klitgaard Povlsen maintains; ”Brevene er den bedste kilde til salonerne” (Klitgaard Povlsen, 1998, p. 32). (”The letters are the best source of information about the saloons”)

3. Letters and depiction

Through Johan Henrik Munktell’s letter home to his parents, a living picture is created of German cultural life in the early 19th century. Above all, the salon is depicted as an important part of what we understand today as public musical life. Munktell’s depictions of the salons’ environment and interior give a new perspective where the proportions of music and discourse are what form the grounds of Europe’s new musical life (cf. Öhrström, 1998, p. 65).
The main purpose of Johan Henrik Munktell’s education trips was to study new methods in paper production which automatically place salon life into a bigger perspective of the history of ideas. Munktell not only describes the continental culture and salon environments, but describes industrial, above all in Germany but also in other countries like Italy, Switzerland and France at the beginning of the 19th century.

His daily itinerary includes different study visits where he very often was met with scepticism from factory workers who did not want to mess with their methods. The repeating question; ”Bist du fabrikant?” lead to him disguising his mission more and more. As a sign of the competition that was building up on the continent, Munktell describes in a letter how an upset paper factory worker reacted when he ”tricked some information out of him regarding chlorine bleaching. Shortly thereafter [...] he became suspicious and I almost thought he would come at me”. The incident meant that Johan Henrik Munktell would “do a Walraff” to a great extent to get information. In a letter from Berlin on 26th September he writes; ”Maybe the road of women would be the safest way into manufacturing”.

Johan Henrik Munktell is also often visible in public culture and music life. The 1820s reflect a time of expansion in Berlin’s salon culture and Johan Henrik Munktell’s resume opened the door to important social events where he excelled as a musician (Boëthius, 1942, p. 292; Wilhelmy, 1989, pp. 151-242). His social success is based on aristocratic career choices with personal contacts which was also used by miners and mining nobility. Johan Henrik Munktell’s visit to the Mendelssohn salon is of particular interest. The Mendelssohns belonged to the Jewish elite of Berlin who had great influence over salon culture. Mendelssohn’s was a meeting point for Berlin society and was one of Europe’s most important salons (Wilhelmy, 1989, pp. 146-150; Öhrström, 1998, p. 65).

4. Ars apodemica – the art of travelling

The letter collection by Munktell could be placed in the genre of travel diaries and travel letters common for the epoch (Sjöblad, 2010, p. 187). I establish that the letters have the characteristic form of documentation as can be compared with literary travel diaries known from the time. The most famous one, from a Swedish point of view, are the travel diaries of the scientist Carl von Linné (1707-1778). His special travel in the province in 1734 gives
us a great of knowledge about this area (Casson & Jacobsson, 2007, p. 24).

Like Linné, Munktell makes daily notes with great precision. He visits a lots of German paper factories. While reflecting on the Industrial progress he observes, the letters talk a lot about Falun and the industrial conditions of the province in the beginning of the 19th century. The letters of Munktell’s express in a genuine and refreshing way the expectations of the new century.

According to Hodacs & Karlsson, travel writing is an early form of historical writing that mirrors attitudes at the time in a positive way. The most common method of comparing new places and phenomena to one’s native district is a method where the otherwise uninhibited subjectivity is turned to the advantage of the historian (Hodacs & Karlsson, 2000, p. 9). Besides, travel literature can be seen as an important contribution to the pedagogical debate where the genre is a part of the general method of child-rearing that developed out of the personal instructions parents wanted to give their children before trips (Winberg, 2000, p. 112).

Educational travel was inherited from aristocracy and was a way of qualifying yourself before up-coming jobs. The aim was to study modern languages and build up a network for your up-coming mission for society. The pattern of making educational trips was taken over during the age of the middle class and was seen as a good way of completing your education. This was also the intention of Johan Henrik Munktell’s education journey. Before you went off, it was usual to read other people’s travel writings. Ars apodemica – the art of travelling – was a way of travelling that would guarantee that the trip would be of use (Hodacs & Karlsson, 2000, p. 11).

During a stay in Berlin, a network was created that today in seen as one of the most important for Western music history. Munktell also took the opportunity to invest in what would be useful for him musically and educationally, and reveals in letters to his father; “I have made two investments here in Berlin, one is: all of Mozart’s operas in transcription, an expensive work, but of great value and interest for the future”. Johan Henrik Munktell’s enthusiasm can be explained by the fact that before the middle of the 19th century people almost only ever played from hand-written notes (Ling, 2009, p. 16). In the letter he also tries to convince his father to order a Viennese grand piano for their home in Grycksbo. “They
have a beautiful touch and a ringing sound. Crusell¹ has recently got one of them, and it is the best I have played”.

A phenomenon that increases our understanding of the young Munktell’s intellectual capacity and thirst for knowledge is the interest he shows in literary salons. Among others he was recommended to Amalia von Helvig’s salon in Berlin. She was educated by Goethe and Schiller and was a great female author. She was also a model to the most famous *salonnière* in Sweden at the time, Malla Silfverstolpe in Uppsala (Holmqvist, 1998a, pp. 210-212). Munktell prefers the salons that use satire for textual criticism. He does not like to miss the “Classical German Tragedies” that are only performed in Germany and which “should preferably be heard in their original language”, which can likely be connected to the influence of the German romantic school in Uppsala (Knös, 1881, p. 3; Mansén, 1998, pp. 377, 380).²

5. The Uppsala salons

The Berlin salons which developed in the late 18th century are a base for middle class salon culture, important for the Scandinavian variant. They are of great importance for how salon culture spread to Scandinavia. The history of the salons related to a great extent to the connection between national and continental perspectives. Scandinavian salons that blossomed from the end of the 18th century and during the first half of the 19th were inspired by French and German culture. An example of this is the early Uppsala salons (Scott Sørensen, 1998, p. 9).

The Uppsala salons were at their height during the time Johan Henrik Munktell studied in Uppsala. Thekla Knös fixes this period to 1816-30 and most of the greatest names in Uppsala society are in the guest book at Grycksbo manor (Grycksbo’s guest book 1802, Knös, 1881, p. 2). Johan Henrik Munktell was part of the Geijer - Atterbom - Knös circle during his student years when he was in the company of, among others, the composer Adolf Fredrik Lindblad (1801-1878). In a letter from Uppsala in 1826 he tells his father; “For a week I have not been home for a single evening since

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¹ Bernhard Crusell (1775-1838). A clarinet virtuous and music composer.
² “The love that prevailed at that time for the German romantic school in literature had a great influence over Uppsala and that relationship made many impressions. […], music and reading poetry grew based on what you collected from one person or another in the circle, and they finally started, after the German fashion, so-called “reading evenings”, where once a week we met to read a newly published work of poetry or prose” (Knös 1881, p. 3).
there are always music performances which I have contributed to as both Singer and Violin and Grand Piano Player” (Letter 1939, p. 175).

Adolf Fredrik Lindblad’s view of advanced music education may have influenced the pedagogy that created the music room at Grycksbo. Lindblad criticized the teaching at the Music Academy based on his desire for “a music college above and not under the country’s general level of music education” (Morales & Norlind, 1921). The environment for music education he and other leading cultural personalities created at Grycksbo manor can therefore have great significance for understanding and evaluating the music environment where Helena Munktell was taught. Helena Munktell (1852-1919) became one of Sweden’s first female composers. She was inducted into the Société nationale de musique in Paris in 1891 (Lindén, 1968, p. 9; Öhrström, 1999, pp. 322-323).

Erik Gustaf Geijer’s (1783-1847) importance is of interest when it comes to Johan Henrik Munktell’s successful contacts in Berlin and the literary salons that influenced the educational level at Grycksbo. Geijer was a spokesman for the Romantic education ideal in Uppsala and was the most important person at the university (Lindroth, 1976, p. 183). Literary expression would become significant for the Munktells alongside musical expression. One of those who indirectly became significant to Swedish literature was Valborg Olander (1861-1943), granddaughter of Johan Henrik and his wife Augusta Munktell. Due to Olander’s literary skill, long-term cooperation began with the writer Selma Lagerlöf (1858-1940). This inheritance came in the long run from salon culture and the classical ideals of education that were offered at Grycksbo manor. Many of the Nobel Prize-winning author’s best-known stories also developed during her stays in Grycksbo (Edström, 2002, pp. 216-217, 364; Olander, 1920, pp. 29, 39).

6. Pedagogy of the salon
The first salons in Berlin were created by educated Jewish women with the ability to put educated conversation in focus. Some of these hostesses were Rahel Levin von Ense, later married to Varnhagen (1771-1833), and Henriette Hertz (1764-1847). In their salons came thinkers like the brothers Alexander and Wilhelm von Humboldt and Friedrich Schleiermacher. Here are also the roots of the pedagogy that can be traced to the salon and that become
the norm for the Scandinavian salons. The concept of education that formed the culture of Berlin University (1810) was not the only part of our image of the ideal salon. Out of the pedagogical philosophy of the Berlin salon developed hermeneutics as a modern method of interpretation (Holmqvist, 1998b, p. 256-258; Wilhelmy, 1989, pp. 83-95, 133-139).

Most interesting for this study are the aesthetic and didactic perspectives connected to these elder salons. By high cultivated salonnières the discourse of philosophy, literature, art, and politics was central. A young visitor could be treated by an older mentor in order to develop autonomy in thinking. This pedagogical conversation was built on the pre-romantic neo-humanistic literature of Sturm und Drang and the moral philosophy dedicated by Philosopher Immanuel Kant. This pedagogical conversation, inspired by the Socratic Method, lightened the diversity between the analytical and the continental school of philosophy and summery the romantic ideal of education and individuality. The key-word is self-understanding (Wilhelmy, 1989, pp. 83-95).

The idea of the pedagogy of the saloon objects an all too single-minded Enlightenment thinking which, in accordance with the diplomat Carl Gustav von Brinkman, ”leads to the hearts common flu” (Holmqvist, 1998b, p. 253). The state of being, at the same time, sharp and high-spirited was shaped by an ideal where the ideas of the Enlightenment and the Romantic Movement run side by side. The integration of these two systems of thinking has its roots among great German poets and philosophers whose literary ideology shapes didactics which were practised in the early saloons of Berlin (ibid).

Based on the early Jewish Salon didactics, Schleiermacher constructed a hermeneutic perspective of the salon by comparing the members with the hermeneutical circle. The motivation was to create a theory of “Die Geschellschaft als kunst” (Schleiermacher, 1799). In the literary salons of Berlin, Johan Henrik Munktell came in contact with high-brow literature. He also was deeply impressed by Friedrich Schleiermacher and his speeches, and he writes home to his parents;” I wish you could hear this man; his lectures are probably the best one I ever heard” (Berlin d. 16 december 1829).
6. Salon conditions

The salon as a cultural phenomenon grows out of the tension between the aristocracy and middle class. In *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (1962) Habermas characterises the salon as semi-public. According to Habermas, the salon defines itself as an expression of a middle class construction at the crossroads between the private and intimate, and the public. The historical line is drawn to French salons, English coffeehouses and German enlightenment societies during the 18th century. Salon culture has been seen to reflect the idea of modernity in its importance for the development of middle class society (Habermas, 1962).

Different from the aristocratic salons, the middle class salon included people from different social levels. The salon is a room which unites the public and the private sphere and Habermas places the salon at the intersection point of private life, working life and public debate (Habermas, 1984, pp. 49-51). These conditions, which occur to a great degree, are found in the Munktell salon.

Beside science and technique the salon of Munktell became a central place for conversation and dialogue about organizing education and culture music-life. In the guest list great musicians, famous actors and politician appears along with aristocrats, the society of Uppsala University and scientists. The person gallery illuminates the mixture of competence that is significant for the elder salons. Hence, the salon in Grycksbo constitutes an important source to restore the original intensions for salon activity (Liljas, 2010: 2013).

8. The salon at Grycksbo

Inspired by the Berlin salons and the early salons in Uppsala, Johan Henrik Munktell created a salon with great importance for industrial and cultural development in Sweden. A preliminary study which was started in 2009 suggests that the patron Johan Henrik Munktell tried to drive industrialization forwards at the same time as the cultural transformation process together with the mining nobility. An example of cultural ventures linked to Grycksbo is the Falun Music Society of 1843 (Liljas, 2010, pp. 13-16). According to Öhrström (Öhrström, 2007, p. 37) it was usual that salons were rebuilt into music societies. This rebuilding can also be partly said to have happened to the Munktell salon. The music salon in Grycksbo is linked to the public concert scene that was built up in Falun during the 19th century (Moberg, 1942; Arn-
berg, 1947: 2008). The Grycksbo salon can after that be said to have gained international attention through his daughters Emma Munktell (1851-1913) and Helena Munktell (1852-1919) who achieved professional status in the art and music worlds, respectively. The aesthetic upbringing of the Munktell sisters points back to the education the salon promoted. They used different forms of artistic expression in parallel and also cooperated in their respective art traditions (Liljas, 2010, p. 17).

The salon as narrative

From the impression that Johan Henrik Munktell’s educational travel makes in the cultural context, there is a pattern that should be interpreted. Here there are his own travel letters but also the historical memory that lives through physical and spatial practices. The theoretical ground is based in the fact that historical memory is reproduced through stories and forms a theoretical understanding of the collective memory of 19th century salon culture (Ricoeur 1984: 2005). In the domain of this memory, the sisters not only shared the sound memory of their father’s piano playing, but also the narrative memory of Berlin’s musical salons.

Johan Henrik Munktell not only visited the famous Sunday salons of Mendelssohn’s at Leipziger Strasse in Berlin. Together with Swedish composer Franz Berwald (1796-1868) he was invited into the family solidarity and allowed to celebrate Christmas and other family festivals along with them. His description of the Christmas celebrations is a document that increases our understanding of the prosperity of Grycksbo factories during the early 19th century. In the letters he compares the rooms, the food, the decorations, and the Christmas presents with the Christmas tradition at Grycksbo. He also compares his pianoforte playing with Felix Mendelssohn (1809-1847). His reflections about the discrepancy are of certain interest. While admiring Felix Mendelssohn’s unique art of interpretation, Johan Henrik Munktell describes himself as a well-educated amateur with extensive capacity to evaluate music. Johan Henrik Munktell later became a member of the Music Academy in Sweden (Cassel d. 10 Januarii 1830, Letter collection, Royal Liberary; Svenskt biografiskt handlexikon, 1906, pp. 153-154).

In the letters he also expresses his dream; to be a “Musicus by profession”. Definitely, the eclectic salon at Grycksbo helps him to realize this dream. In the salon he combines his business enterprise with chamber music of highest class. His hostship reminds

The salon and industrialization
The Munktells belonged to the circle of officials who took an ever stronger grip on society during the 19th century. It also became the university’s task to educate this middle class elite. The idea was that an academically schooled middle class would take over important functions in society from a theoretical perspective (Lindroth, 1976, p. 143). During his travels he gained an impression of modern business practice and the liberal. Munktell also contributed to infrastructure through, among other things, his interest in railways and banking and healthcare (Svenskt Biografiskt lexikon nr 126 1989, p. 21).

Back home Johan Henrik Munktell installed the first paper machine in Grycksbo. The same year (1836) he married the daughter of the Gesworner of Falu copper mine, Augusta Christina Munktell (1818-1889). Together they had nine children. One of his guests was Lars Johan Hierta (1801-1872) a humanist and society reformer and the founder of a newspaper in 1830 that still remains in Sweden, called Aftonbladet. The newspaper, which was closed down many times because of its radical content, was supplied with paper from the paper mill of Munktell’s. Important people for the mining county and also relatives of Munktell’s were Johan Gottlieb Gahn (1745-1818) and Henrik Gahn (1747-1816), brothers and members of a family of prestigious scientists. The most important person at Grycksbo was unhesitatingly, Jöns Jakob Berzelius (1779-1848), a prosperous chemist with great importance for the technical development of the paper process production. He contributed to the successful export of the paper factory but for the chemical process of the copper mine as well (Boëthius, 1942, pp. 238-241, 260-262).

The pedagogical discourse
The salon has an interesting historical background. At Grycksbo there collected members of the ”genius committee” among others who had the task of reforming secondary grammar school in Sweden. Participants included, among others, Erik Gustav Geijer, Esaias Tegnér, Johan Olof Wallin, Jöns Jakob Berzelius, August von
Hartmansdorff and some of the best qualified reform pedagogues of the time, Gustaf Abraham Silverstolpe, Carl August Agardh and Johan Peter Lefrén (Grycksbo’s guest book, 1802; Lindroth, 1976, p. 146-150; Ödman 1995 del II, p. 485). The growth of the new school politics entailed a paradigm shift for Swedish schools and tells us at the same time that discourse in Grycksbo was characterized by representatives of a more progressive pedagogy and modern schooling in Sweden (Burman & Sundgren, 2010, pp. 53-54). Gustaf Abraham Silfverstolpe did not limit himself to school questions alone, but was also deeply engaged in the debate surrounding music pedagogy. Together with his brother, Fredrik Samuel, he seemed to raise interest for German tonality in Sweden (Kjellberg & Ling, 1991, pp. 128-130).

Johan Henrik Munktell was schooled in the German subdued, restrained music and his travel companion, Franz Berwald, who was composing his own opera, asks him for advice before he adds something to the partiture. They meet in the afternoon and see how far he has come so that they can then “go out into society” together or alone. In a concerned tone he reflects on German music aesthetics. Munktell thinks that opera has become somewhat popular and that the cultural heritage has been besmirched (Berlin d. 3 November 1829, Letter collection, Royal Library).

**Female education in the salon**

Inspired by Berlin’s Biedermeier the salon of Munktells was restored into an informal school for the youngest daughters, Emma and Helena Munktell. The professional musicians and artists staying for weeks at the Grycksbo residence, and were considered as teachers of the girls in different aesthetic subjects. One of the teachers recruited for the girls was Prof. Lars Gabriel Branting (1799-1881), father of one of Sweden most important politicians, Hjalmar Branting (1860-1925) (Olander, 1920, pp. 21, 25). These home studies alternated with private music institutes in Stockholm where their mother, Augusta Munktell, had a winter salon of great importance (Öhrström, 1999, p. 322).

The Munktell girls were schooled early into the artistic circle of the salon. This schooling can be compared with the neo-humanist ideal of education that sees education as an active process where talent is to be cultivated. According to the education tradition,

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3 The opera Franz Berwald was composing was *Der Verräter*. 
this is a difficult process that at the same time has the character of a game (Kant, 1803:2003, pp. 273-279; Nordin, 1995, p. 406). There is also an emancipatory character to the salon’s immanent pedagogy. By focusing on their careers, Emma and Helena Munktell broke with the conventions and ideals of the time. They broke at the same time with the canon and the gender codes that historically shaped salon music (Axelsson, 2007; Öhrström, 1987, pp. 19, 88, 187-190). The salon as an educational environment therefore has a double-edged effect. At the same time as the salon space’s closer effects shut them out of public spaces, they are the ones that make them grow into independent artists (Klitgaard Povlsen, 1998, p. 18).

9. Reflections

The immanent pedagogy of the salon

Regarding the significance of the Munktell salon in Grycksbo and is geographical location, Hildebrand’s depiction of the business culture at the Great Copper Mountain can be used to explain it. Instead of describing the early history of the Copper Mountain, Hildebrand has concentrated on business development. The relevance is linked to the fact that before the breakthrough of industrialization, the company in the classical iron and forestry industries was incomparably bigger. Hildebrand describes a paradigm in Swedish industrial history where Falun and the Great Copper Mountain play a decisive role and where Bergslaget as a representative of Swedish industry in the 19th century reflects a break between the old and new worlds (Hildebrand, 1977, pp. 7-14). This synthesis coincides with Per-Johan Ödman’s analysis of pedagogy at the same time.

“It is a strange society that met us in this area, where people want both the old and the modern. They think in old patterns although they at the same time proclaim new ones” (Ödman, 1995 del II, p. 413). To describe the term immanent pedagogy Ödman makes use of characters and moods in Bellman’s poetry.4 What Ödman aims for is a mentality that comes out in Bellman’s characters and heralds the paradigm shift that the start of the 19th century entailed (cf. Eriksson & Frängsmyr, 1992, pp. 134-137). Immanent pedagogy nurtures self-control and advocates the pos-

4 Carl Michael Bellman (1740-1795). A poet and royal musician.
possibilities individuals have in relation to the collective thinking of earlier ages. “What distinguishes this pedagogy is that it finds itself in a contradiction of forward- and backward-looking expressions of will” (Ödman, 1995 del II, p. 413).

In the pedagogy at Grycksbo there are traces of the old ideals but also of the newly developing tendencies. As representatives of the mercantile nobility of the age and its more and more dominant position, they have an interest in pedagogical issues – a mixed ideology of progressive ideas and a classical ideal of education (cf. Englund, 2002, pp. 50, 243; Eriksson & Frängsmyr, 1992, p. 145; Lidman, 2010, p. 383-384).

In Hildebrand’s depiction of mining culture and part ownership as a representation of the mine’s forms of ownership and organization, he creates at the same time an understanding of the pedagogy that is the basis of middle class entrepreneurship that is distinctive of the age. It is a pedagogy with great significance for the development of industry in Grycksbo and for the salon that was formed at the manor.

The heritage of Immanuel Kant

Through the pedagogical demands of the elder salon, we understand more easily how the Munktell salon can be seen as a room where teaching takes place. Emma and Helena Munktell’s artistic joint productions can be seen as a consequence of the salon’s pedagogy. It is a pedagogy that implements both intellectual freedom as well as critical and creative thinking. In the spirit of Kant, cooperation reflects a process with its roots in the elder salon which means that from the ideas stage they can imagine “the possible”. The exchange represents learning which develops through being tested in the meeting with the other and which touches on the hermeneutic demands of the elder salon.

During their upbringing, the Munktell sisters seem to have a creative and almost playful relationship with art and music. This suggests freedom but at the same time a pedagogical view that is linked to Kant’s theory of art as play. It is of note that almost the same choreographical metaphors that Ödman uses in his analysis of pedagogy are used to describe Immanuel Kant’s philosophy; “The falseness and ambiguity in Kant’s philosophy have close connections with this distinctive scheme of movements, this choreography where every step is both a retreat and a step forward” (Nordin, 1995, p. 403). The education ideals that are founded on
classical languages and aesthetic subjects are formed in the philosophical border between enlightenment and romanticism, but at the same time are based on the natural sciences. Together with emancipation, it is a pedagogical, humanistic ideal that values a conscious growing of aesthetics and that sums up the meaning of Berlin’s Biedermeier culture. At its own point in time, it is meant to create a more open cultural climate, something that paradoxically starts in the salon and whose mechanisms are summarized in Ödman’s clarifying use of the term.

The internal education journey of the salon

The salon’s pedagogy can be compared with an inner educational journey where the road to new insights and knowledge go via “the other” (cf. Gustavsson, 1999, pp. 80, 262f). The other is a hermeneutic transcription of the unknown or new, and is relevant, for Schleiermacher, for both individual members and the whole group in the salon. Inspiration was found from the Jewish Berlin salons where Johan Gottfried Herder’s ideas of organic education were practiced (Brylla, 2000, p. 98). In the Jewish salons where Rahel Levin founded a school, self-understanding was central. An important criterion was to direct your senses towards literature, art and music which in the pre-romantic philosophical landscape were treated as a neutral territory free of the determining discourse of working life and the limited sphere of the private life (Klitgaard Povlsen, 1998, p. 31). The goal was to be freed from authority and to learn to trust one’s self. In Kantian terms this lays the grounds for the view of art’s importance for human emancipating development where the music salon has a special place.

According to Ricoeur (1984), self-understanding is a demanding task that takes place in relation to the surrounding world through which we interpret and understand ourselves. Our understanding increases through the varied meetings with the known and unknown. Educational travel includes both testing yourself, analysis and self-education which encompasses both Ricoeur’s philosophy and Ödman’s conceptualization of the immanent pedagogy of the time. Self-understanding is also an on-going theme in the salon’s mix of perceptive enlightenment and romantic aesthetics as the theoretical basis and practical application.
10. Conclusion

Salon culture in Falun during the 19th century is a part of the world heritage of the Great Copper Mountain and the Falun mine that have not received attention. Through the project, the picture is broadened of miners and the cultural way of life at the Great Copper Mountain during the 19th century. The study contributes to the scientific elucidation of the Falun salon as a cultural centre and which exposes the pedagogical heritage which in the Falun region was nourished economically and in the long run culturally through mining.

Through the Falun salons, Scandinavian salon research can be broadened. In connection with the internationally known history of the Falun mine, we find information about the salon that was not known in earlier research. Through the project we describe the conditions that contribute to changes in the landscape of education history. Research shows that the elder salons rest on pedagogical grounds that have great significance for Western education and the Western school system. The results shine light at the same time on the significance of hermeneutics as a modern scientific method of interpretation. The music salon can also be seen because of its private organized structure as a possible starting-point for investigating music pedagogy during earlier historical points of time. The displacement of music as a subject not only reflects the hegemony of Western music as an art form but also as a school.

Salon culture is artistic by nature and reflects a paradigm in a culture of learning at the border between private education and institutionalization. At the border between private and public, German education thinkers are emphasized who have great influence over modern schooling in Sweden. Through recognizing the salon as a place of education, we have the possibility to study pedagogical systems and their journeys from informal and semi-formal perspectives. Furthermore Johan Henrik Munktell reflects the core of the middle class cultural project during the 19th century and the view of life as a career. The construction of the Munktell salon therefore defines the aesthetics and morals of the elder salon as well as the romantic education ideal to “make life into a work of art”.
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