

World Heritage

papers

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## Linking Universal and Local Values: Managing a Sustainable Future for World Heritage

A Conference organized by the Netherlands National Commission for UNESCO,  
in Collaboration with the Netherlands Ministry of Education, Culture and Science

22-24 May 2003

## L'union des valeurs universelles et locales : La gestion d'un avenir durable pour le patrimoine mondial

Une conférence organisée par la Commission nationale des Pays-Bas pour l'UNESCO,  
en collaboration avec le Ministère néerlandais de l'Éducation, de la Culture et des Sciences

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**Editors** *Eléonore de Merode, Riëks Smeets and Carol Westrik*

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## Preface • Préface

*Among the challenges facing UNESCO and the international community is to make the national authorities, the private sector, and civil society as a whole recognize that World Heritage conservation is not only an instrument for peace and reconciliation, for enhancing cultural and biological diversity, but also a factor of regional sustainable development. New approaches to integrated management of World Heritage have proved successful and promoted economic growth and benefits to local communities.*

*We need to help support the capacity of countries in crisis to protect their heritage, respond to emergency situations and maintain our day-to-day efforts for heritage conservation all around the world. Neither the States Parties to the Convention nor UNESCO and its World Heritage Centre can do this alone. New partnerships will be essential.*

*The Netherlands have been an efficient partner through their dedication to the Global Strategy and in supporting projects in developing countries to enhance heritage conservation. They have contributed substantially to the implementation of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention and the proceedings of the Amsterdam conference will further promote worldwide heritage protection in a sustainable development framework*

**Francesco Bandarin**  
*Director*  
*UNESCO World Heritage Centre*




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
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
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
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
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
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
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# Introduction

*The Netherlands National Commission for UNESCO, in collaboration with the Netherlands Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, organized a conference for invited participants, entitled Linking Universal and Local Values: Managing a Sustainable Future for World Heritage (Amsterdam, the Netherlands, 22–24 May 2003).<sup>1</sup> The aim of the conference was to reflect on the involvement of local communities in all aspects of the management of World Heritage properties, and to identify opportunities for their sustainable economic and social development, predominantly at the grass-roots level. Lines of action for encouraging a pro-active approach towards community participation were discussed.*

*Inscription of a property on the World Heritage List is not just a recognition of its 'outstanding universal value' but, above all, acknowledgement of a commitment by the State Party to protect the heritage. For effective integration of heritage within regional development planning, it is crucial that all stakeholders recognize the link between universal and local values. Indeed, the outstanding universal value which justifies the inscription of a property on the World Heritage List does not necessarily coincide with the values attached by local groups that traditionally inhabit or use a site and its surroundings. In this light, for an optimal application of the World Heritage Convention and sustainable economic and social development of the local communities, it appears imperative that their values and practices – together with traditional management systems – are fully understood, respected, encouraged and accommodated in management and development strategies.*

*This publication contains the position papers that were written to facilitate the debate during the conference, as well as a synthesis report of the conference and the conclusions and recommendations agreed upon by the participants. A geographical order has been used rather than a thematic one to allow the reader to examine the case studies by region. However, the papers in the first section are concerned with background and thematic studies. The objective is to present a wide diversity of ideas, means and methods of ensuring economic and social benefits to local communities from the management of their heritage. It is strongly desired that a broad audience draw inspiration, encouragement and guidance from this compendium of knowledge and information for the sustainable management of cultural and natural heritage.*

## **Main Theme – Involving Local Communities in Managing a Sustainable Future for World Heritage**

In 1972 the General Conference of UNESCO adopted the Convention concerning the Protection of the

World Cultural and Natural Heritage, usually referred to as the *World Heritage Convention*. The fact that this Convention deals with both cultural and natural resources makes it a unique and powerful tool for the protection of heritage.

1. The conference was attended by representatives from Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Canada, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Egypt, France, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Honduras, India, Iran, Kenya, Lebanon, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Mali, Mexico, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Poland, Portugal, Peru, Suriname, Uganda, the United Kingdom, the United Republic of Tanzania, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Zambia, Zimbabwe, the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, ICCROM, ICOMOS and IUCN. The Netherlands National Commission for UNESCO wishes to thank Fernando Brugman, Mechtild Rösslér, Sarah Titcher and Elizabeth Wangari (UNESCO World Heritage

Centre), Brigitte Mayerhofer (German World Heritage Foundation) and Bénédicte Selfslagh (Rapporteur of the World Heritage Committee in 2002-2003) for their constant support, precious advice and assistance with the drafting throughout the conference. The conference was organised by Paul van den Brand, Kees Epskamp (†), Yvonne Hendrikman, Eléonore de Merode, Famke Schaap, Rieks Smeets, Carol Westrik en Vincent Wintermans. From December 2002 until April 2003 Rieks Smeets, at the time still Secretary-General of the Netherlands National UNESCO Commission, was the main organiser; from April 2003 Eléonore de Merode and Carol Westrik took over that responsibility.

The Convention states that 'each State Party to the Convention shall endeavour ... to adopt a general policy which aims to give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community and to integrate the protection of that heritage into comprehensive planning programmes' (Article 5).

More recently, the Budapest Declaration, adopted by the World Heritage Committee at its 26th session in 2002, accentuated this pivotal article by stating that the Committee will 'seek to ensure an appropriate and equitable balance between conservation, sustainability and development, so that World Heritage properties can be protected through appropriate activities contributing to the social and economic development and the quality of life of ... communities' and will seek to ensure the active involvement of ... local communities at all levels in the identification, protection and management of ... World Heritage properties'.

This course of reasoning is being progressively diffused. Indeed, the participants at the World Summit on Sustainable Development held in Johannesburg (South Africa) in August/September 2002 emphasized the management of heritage as being an important tool for the promotion of sustainable development and poverty alleviation. One emerging notion was the insistence on the necessity for culture to impose itself as the fourth pillar of sustainable development, alongside the economy, the environment and social preoccupations.

### **Cross-Cutting Theme – Linking Universal and Local Values**

Throughout the world, local communities possess long histories of interaction with their cultural and natural environments. Associated with these people is a cumulative body of knowledge, skills, practices and representations. These sophisticated sets of understandings, interpretations and meanings constitute a cultural complex that encompasses language, naming and classification systems, resource use practices, ritual and spirituality.

This way of thinking was formally recognized at the Earth Summit (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1992). Indeed, the Convention on Biological Diversity states that each

State Party will 'subject to its national legislation, respect, preserve and maintain knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous local communities embodying traditional lifestyles relevant for the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity and promote their wider application with the approval and involvement of the holders of such knowledge, innovations and practices and encourage the equitable sharing of the benefits arising from the utilization of such knowledge, innovations and practices' (Article 8).

In the light of the emerging tendency to celebrate and preserve the cultural diversity of humanity, UNESCO and other related organizations are increasingly examining the possibilities for identification and the safeguarding of traditional knowledge, local values and intangible heritage.

In 1992, for the first time in the history of the *World Heritage Convention*, traditional management mechanisms and systems of customary land tenure were recognized as viable for the conservation of World Heritage properties, when the cultural landscape categories were deemed suitable for inclusion on the World Heritage List. The *Operational Guidelines* were modified to reflect this. The notion was taken one step further when, in 1998, the *Operational Guidelines* were changed accordingly to allow a traditionally managed natural site, East Rennell (Solomon Islands), to be inscribed on the World Heritage List.

Furthermore, the *Nara Document on Authenticity* (1994) acknowledges that 'judgements about values attributed to cultural heritage, as well as the credibility of related information sources, may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture. [The] respect due to all cultures requires that heritage properties must be considered and judged primarily within the cultural contexts to which they belong'.

With the advent of the *Global Strategy for a balanced and representative World Heritage List*, adopted by the World Heritage Committee in 1994, the need to correct the severe imbalance with regard to certain categories of heritage and regions being over-represented was recognized (European heritage as opposed to that of other regions; historic towns and religious buildings; Christianity in relation to other religions and beliefs; elitist architecture in relation to vernacular architec-

ture). This strategy aims to work towards the notion of a broader concept of World Heritage with wider criteria and the formulation of thematic studies for a representative World Heritage List.

With the *World Heritage Global Strategy Natural and Cultural Heritage Expert Meeting: Linking Nature and Culture* (Amsterdam, the Netherlands, 1998), further emphasis was placed on the intrinsic relationship between culture and nature, people and place and cultural diversity. The discussions resulted in the merging of cultural and natural criteria for nomination of properties to the World Heritage List, the recognition of associative value on its own for inscription of a property on the List, and the establishing of conditions of integrity for all properties proposed to the List. The policy outcomes of this meeting have recently been entrenched within the revised *Operational Guidelines* adopted by the World Heritage Committee at its 27th session in 2003.

Since then many regional and thematic meetings relating to intangible heritage values, such as the Expert Meeting on Cultural Landscapes in Africa (Kenya, 1999), the meeting on Authenticity and Integrity in an African Context (Zimbabwe, 2000) and the Expert Meeting on Sacred Mountains of Asia (Japan, 2001) have been held with the aim of achieving a balanced and representative List.

Point 14 of the Action Plan of the *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (2001), which was adopted by UNESCO's 31st General Conference, encourages co-operation between Member States for 'respecting and protecting traditional knowledge, in particular that of indigenous peoples; recognizing the contribution of traditional knowledge, particularly with regard to environmental protection and the management of natural resources, and fostering synergies between modern science and local knowledge'. Understanding, respecting and accepting the local values of heritage implies understanding, respect and acceptance of a diversity of identities. In this light heritage plays a fundamental role in defining the identity of people as well as groups, creating social cohesion, which in turn favours economic growth and the promotion and respect of cultural diversity.

The outcome of the World Summit further reflected this development, in so far as local and indigenous knowledge were also identified as a prime resource for empowering communities to combat marginalization and poverty.

**International Conference 'Linking Universal and Local Values: Managing a Sustainable Future for World Heritage', Amsterdam, the Netherlands, 22–24 May 2003**

Amidst these effervescent developments, the Netherlands National Commission for UNESCO organized an international specialist conference at the Hotel Arena in Amsterdam. The main purpose was to discuss means of giving effect to Article 5 of the Convention in the most holistic way and of defining concrete ways by which this can be achieved. The means of raising public awareness on the significance of universal and local values were also discussed. For this conference several position papers on significant trends and case studies were prepared by specialists and used as reference documents to define key issues and to initiate debate.

The presentations and debates based on these position papers were experience-driven. In this context, special emphasis was placed on the integration of traditional knowledge and local values in management plans. Issues for consideration included phenomena such as globalization and modernization. A wide range of case studies were considered so that a comprehensive sample of local management challenges were represented. Site managers were well represented among the participants, as they constitute the indispensable link between the local communities/ authorities and the national/international authorities.

The keynote contributions of the opening session established the frame of reference and the general aspects, with special emphasis on the *World Heritage Convention*. Sharon Sullivan, in her contribution *Local Involvement and Traditional Practices in the World Heritage System*, underscored the significance of local involvement and the beneficial use of traditional practices in sustainable conservation and management of World Heritage. The West's classic view of what

constitutes cultural heritage – principally monuments and pristine nature – poses a difficulty in accommodating local values and alternative management systems in the practice of heritage conservation. However, the concept of World Heritage is sufficiently powerful and flexible to embrace these essential aspects. Eric Edroma discussed and analysed the functions of World Heritage properties and the various types of management systems in *Linking Universal and Local Values for the Sustainable Management of World Heritage Sites*. He stressed the necessity for a combination of management approaches to achieve the twin goals of conservation and development.

The theme selected for session one was the common responsibility of the local communities and the national authorities, focusing on the creation of a unified approach towards World Heritage preservation and the strengthening of ties between local communities/authorities and national/international authorities. Christina Cameron provided an overview of Parks Canada's efforts to involve Aboriginal people in the management of protected heritage areas throughout Canada in *Involving Aboriginal People in Site Management*. She noted that the concept of the Aboriginal cultural landscape, which expresses the unity of the Aboriginal people with the natural and spiritual environment, has been particularly helpful in identifying new proposals and directly involving Aboriginal people in the commemoration of their history. This was followed by an examination of the role of *Community-Based Legal Systems in the Management of World Heritage Sites* by Albert Mumma. The recognition of the necessity to manage and protect sites in a holistic manner raises the prospect for a re-examination of the relationship between community-based and state-based legal norms and the introduction of a more harmonious relationship between the two. He stressed the need for an internal regeneration of communities as integral entities in a fundamental step towards the protection of heritage sites, and consequently the reinterpretation of their values. Philippe Delanghe presented *World Heritage: A Process of Understanding and Choices*. He explained that the authorities often find it difficult to comprehend the concept of World Heritage and the implications of World Heritage listing, and used case studies in Indonesia to demonstrate challenges stemming from the decentralization policy launched in

1998. He also presented a twofold practical response of the UNESCO Office in Jakarta to the limited knowledge of communities and authorities in relation to World Heritage. Unfortunately we are not in the position to publish this paper. Tumu te Heuheu outlined the *Role of the Maori in New Zealand's World Heritage Management*. He demonstrated that the Maori are directly involved in the management of Tongariro National Park through a process of regular consultation with the State Party and the state agency, by which Maori representatives are appointed to each of the Department of Conservation's national and local overseeing bodies.

In the second session the central topic was the analysis of the socio-economic function of World Heritage sites for local communities and the exchange of information and innovative methods of involving the local inhabitants in the management of their heritage. Cor Dijkgraaf presented *How World Heritage Sites Disappear: Four Cases, Four Threats*. He used case studies in Ghana, Sri Lanka and Yemen to demonstrate that more often than not conservation of heritage is not a priority of the local inhabitants if no economic benefits are forthcoming. Moreover, where applicable, former colonial powers have a responsibility to contribute to the safeguarding of heritage in their former colonies. Lassana Cissé presented *Community Participation in the Management of the Cliff of Bandiagara: Ecotourism in Dogon Country*. He demonstrated how the Cultural Mission of Bandiagara in cooperation with the German Development Service (DED) has implemented a project for the rehabilitation of the architecture and the local dye industry of the cultural landscape of the Cliff of Bandiagara in Mali by involving the local people, while simultaneously providing economic support for numerous people. María Isabel Hernández Llosas presented *Pintoscajoc: A Case Study in Quebrada de Humahuaca* where a project initiated by the Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET), in collaboration with local communities, aims to reconstruct visibility of the erased past. The reconstruction process is based on a dialogue between local communities and scientists, and is ensured by the establishment of an Interpretation Centre managed by the local communities. The next paper, *Natural Heritage in Suriname and its Benefits for Local Communities*, by Bryan Drakenstein, illustrated how the indigenous communities benefit from the

Central Suriname Nature Reserve (CSNR) in the fields of employment opportunities and enhanced transport systems. It also demonstrated how the CSNR benefits from the community in terms of labour and management of natural resources, as well as in knowledge of the area and its biodiversity. María Mercedes Podestá and María Onetto presented the *Role of Local Communities in the Management of World Heritage in Argentina: The Case of Cueva de las Manos*. They analysed a rock-art conservation project, initiated by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología y Pensamiento Latinoamericano (INAPL) which aims for the empowerment of the local communities, so that they understand and advocate the long-term conservation of the site, play a leading role in its conservation and management and derive financial benefits from conservation through ecotourism. Justin Hando presented *Community Conservation Services: Experiences from Serengeti National Park, United Republic of Tanzania*. He affirmed that poverty is the greatest enemy of conservation, as it forces people to engage in negative uses of their environmental resources. In this context, the CCS Programme aims to improve basic services to the community (health, education, livestock extension, market for farm products, clean water, transport and donations as seed money).

The third session concentrated on the integration of local values in management plans, with attention to identification, evaluation and conservation of associated values – as embodied in traditions and beliefs – and intangible aspects of cultural and natural heritage. Mechtild Rössler contributed *Managing World Heritage Cultural Landscapes and Sacred Sites*. She introduced the concept of the 'cultural landscape', which embraces a diversity of manifestations of the interaction between humanity and the natural environment, as defined in the *Operational Guidelines*. Furthermore, the concept of cultural landscape recognizes the specific spiritual relation to nature through criteria (vi) in an 'associative cultural landscape'. She described some of the new challenges to the management of cultural landscapes. Martine Tahoux-Touao analysed the *Contribution of Sacred Sites to the Conservation and Sustainable Management of Biodiversity and Social and Cultural Values*, in Côte d'Ivoire. She emphasized the importance of sacred forests for the endurance of social and cultural values and demonstrated the effectiveness of traditional

management mechanisms, principally due to limited access conditions based on inviolable principles, taboos and totems. She affirmed that poverty eradication and the valorization of local values are essential prerequisites in strategies for the rehabilitation of sacred forests. Juan Mayr presented *Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, Colombia: Indigenous Territories in a Complex Scenario*. This case study provided an experience of participatory planning involving a wide range of actors working towards peace in the construction of a comprehensive Sustainable Development Plan. The imperative necessity to recognize indigenous peoples as essential players in the conservation of biodiversity is affirmed. Mayr concluded by suggesting a new approach to sustainable management of resources – the recognition of an ethic as an inspiring source. Josie Weninger provided an *Operational View of Managing World Heritage Sites in Canada*. She noted that involving Aborigines in the management process constitutes a vehicle for national park expansion. She stated that community participation includes building traditional knowledge into the decision-making process, making inventories prior to establishment and talking to people to find out which areas should be covered by a management plan. Bulu Imam contributed *Case Study for the Protection of Living Heritage in India: The North Karanpura Valley*, but was unfortunately unable to attend the conference. This paper focused on the threat posed by coal-mining projects and the construction of a huge dam to the sacred grove, burial grounds, dancing grounds and rock-art sites in the area, as well as to the vernacular arts and cultural manifestations of the local communities.

In session four, the central theme was the acknowledgement of traditional management systems for the sustainable preservation of World Heritage and biodiversity. Other issues examined were the identification and evaluation of the challenges to traditional management systems, the assessment of the impact of new technologies on the cultural and natural environment and traditional management systems, as well as on the notions of authenticity and integrity. Faisal Abulzedin contributed *Traditional Systems of Land-Use in the Middle East*, in which he demonstrated the efficiency of the hima system – a community-managed natural resource conservation system with cultural roots that predate Christianity and Islam, as well as the adequacy of mountain terraces and their potential for

socio-economic development. Mamadi Dembele provided an overview of The Hogon Yesterday and Today: *The Peregrinations of the Traditional Chiefdom in the Land of the Dogons in Mali*. He noted the importance of this social institution as a mechanism for the prevention of community conflicts, and presented some solutions for its regeneration within the context of the decentralization of the administrative authorities and the subsequent reactivation of the local authorities. Webber Ndoro presented *Traditional and Customary Heritage Systems: Nostalgia or Reality? The Implications of Managing Heritage Sites in Africa*. In a series of examples from the United Republic of Tanzania, Uganda and Zimbabwe, he illustrated that traditional management systems and local values are one and the same thing, in so far as the values are profoundly entrenched in the systems. He suggested an innovative approach to analysis and planning of management systems for living traditional sites, by which the existing management structure of a property should be understood and should serve as a guideline for the development of an improved management system.

The fifth session analysed the major issue of capacity-building, one of the four strategic objectives affirmed by the World Heritage Committee at its 25th session in Helsinki (2001). The discussions focused specifically on the empowerment of members of the local community for the management of their World Heritage property. Awareness-raising was recognized as the basis for effective and sustainable capacity-building. Dawson Munjeri presented *Anchoring African Cultural and Natural Heritage: The Significance of Community Awareness in the Context of Capacity-Building*. Examples from Nigeria, South Africa, Uganda and Zimbabwe demonstrate that the prerequisite of sustainable management of World Heritage is the recognition and appreciation by site authorities of the values attached by the local communities to a property. He advocated that awareness of values entails understanding and accepting the norms of society. Capacity-building should thus reinforce these three pillars (values, norms and society), as well as introducing empowerment mechanisms. Tim Curtis contributed *Vanuatu Cultural Centre's Fieldworker Network: Capacity-Building from Inside Out*, whereby members of the local community are trained annually in anthropological, archaeological and linguistic research

techniques. The workers collect information about their local culture and record it using various media. The network provides an innovative model that could be applied in other countries, particularly in the Pacific Region and Africa. Caroline Smook presented *The Stelling of Amsterdam: Built to Protect People, Sustained to Connect People*. She described the efforts made by the Province of North Holland, together with various partners, to revitalize this World Heritage site for the benefit of the local communities through education, adaptive re-use and restoration of the monuments.

In the sixth session means of supporting World Heritage and the local communities through international co-operation and specific types of partnerships, such as twinning of sites and linking sites to research institutions, were examined. Beatrice Kaldun presented *Partnerships for Empowered Participation: Mainstreaming a Community-Based Paradigm for World Heritage Management*. This paper examined UNESCO's ten-year programme in Asia to catalyse a paradigm shift in the fundamental way the region's cultural resources are managed, away from elite central planning towards community responsibility for stewardship over the region's cultural and natural resource base. Alfredo Arellano-Guillermo provided an overview of *Site Management and Partnerships in the Sian Ka'an Biosphere Reserve Experience* in Mexico. He analysed the multiplicity of partnerships between the governmental agency in charge of Sian Ka'an's management with other governmental agencies, NGOs, research institutions, local community organizations and international co-operation agreements. Ricardo Agurcia Fasquelle contributed *Archaeology and Community Development at the World Heritage site of Copán, Honduras*. He demonstrated how scientific research and tourism development, sponsored primarily by the Government of Honduras, has led to the unparalleled social and economic advancement at the ancient Maya site of Copán in Western Honduras. Anna Sidorenko, finally, presented *The Pilot Project for 'Safeguarding and Development of the World Heritage Towns in Mauritania': An Example of Tripartite Co-operation between UNESCO, the Government of Mauritania and the World Bank*. The objective of the pilot project is to design and implement a strategy aiming to slow down the exodus

of the local populations and, as a consequence, the abandonment of the historic centres of Ouadane, Chinguetti, Tichitt and Oualata.

The presentations were followed by discussions. During the last morning of the conference the insights gained and the consensus reached during the various debates over the course of the conference culminated in the adoption of a set of conclusions and recommendations. These conclusions and recommendations, which have already been disseminated to the World Heritage community at the World Heritage Committee meeting in June/July 2003 and distributed to all Permanent Delegations to UNESCO, Advisory Bodies and relevant international organizations during the 32nd General Conference, are presented in this publication.

We would like to thank the Netherlands Ministry of Education, Culture and Science for its generous support and each and every one of the participants at the Amsterdam Conference for their contributions and enthusiasm, for they were the main actors.

#### **Organizing Committee**

*Eléonore de Merode  
Rieks Smeets  
Carol Westrik*



# Introduction

*En collaboration avec le ministère néerlandais de l'enseignement, de la culture et des sciences, la Commission nationale néerlandaise pour l'UNESCO a organisé une conférence sur invitation, intitulée Liens entre valeurs universelles et valeurs locales : gérer un avenir viable pour le patrimoine mondial (Amsterdam, Pays-Bas, 22-24 mai 2003)<sup>1</sup>. Le but de la conférence était de se pencher sur la participation des communautés locales à toutes les facettes de la gestion des biens du patrimoine mondial et de trouver des possibilités de développement économique et social durable, surtout au niveau des populations. Les participants ont centré leurs réflexions sur des lignes d'action encourageant une approche en amont de la participation des communautés.*

*L'inscription d'un bien sur la liste du patrimoine mondial ne constitue pas simplement une reconnaissance de sa « valeur universelle exceptionnelle », mais aussi et surtout un engagement par les Etats parties à protéger le patrimoine. Pour une intégration efficace du patrimoine dans la planification du développement régional, il est de première importance que toutes les parties prenantes reconnaissent le lien entre les valeurs universelles et les valeurs locales. En effet, la « valeur universelle exceptionnelle » qui justifie l'inscription d'un bien sur la liste du patrimoine mondial ne correspond pas forcément aux valeurs auxquelles sont attachés les peuples autochtones qui vivent dans ce site ou ses environs ou qui les utilisent traditionnellement. À cet égard, pour une application optimale de la Convention du patrimoine mondial et un développement économique et social durable des populations locales, il est impératif de parfaitement comprendre, respecter et encourager leurs valeurs et leurs pratiques, ainsi que les mécanismes de gestion traditionnels, et de les intégrer dans les stratégies de gestion et de développement.*

*La publication contient les rapports de position qui ont été rédigés pour faciliter les débats au cours de la conférence, ainsi que le rapport de synthèse de la conférence et les conclusions et recommandations qui ont été formulées par les participants. Dans cette publication, nous avons opté pour un ordre géographique plutôt que thématique, afin de permettre au lecteur d'examiner les études de cas par région. Cependant, nous avons placé d'abord les documents qui traitent des études générales et thématiques. Nous cherchons à exposer une multitude d'idées, de moyens et de méthodes garantissant aux populations locales l'avantage économique et social de la gestion de leur patrimoine. Nous souhaitons vivement qu'un large public retire de ce recueil de connaissances et d'informations une motivation, des encouragements et des éléments d'orientation pour la gestion durable de leur patrimoine culturel et naturel.*

1. La conférence a rassemblé des représentants des pays suivants : Afrique du Sud, Allemagne, Argentine, Australie, Belgique, Bolivie, Burkina Faso, Canada, Colombie, Côte d'Ivoire, Égypte, France, Géorgie, Ghana, Honduras, Inde, Iran, Kenya, Liban, ex-République yougoslave de Macédoine, Mali, Mexique, Nicaragua, Nouvelle-Zélande, Ouganda, Pays-Bas, Pérou, Pologne, Portugal, Royaume-Uni, République unie de Tanzanie, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Vietnam, Zambie, Zimbabwe, ainsi que du Centre du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO, de l'ICCROM, de l'Icomos et de l'UICN. La Commission nationale néerlandaise pour l'UNESCO souhaite remercier Fernando Brugman, Mechtild Rössler, Sarah Titchen et Elizabeth Wangari (du Centre du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO, Brigitte Mayerhofer (de la

Fondation allemande du patrimoine mondial) et Bénédicte Selfslagh (rapporteur du Comité du patrimoine mondial 2002-2003) pour leur soutien constant, leurs précieux conseils et leur assistance pour les travaux de rédaction tout au long de la conférence.

La conférence était organisée par Paul van den Brand, Kees Epskamp (†), Yvonne Hendrikman, Eléonore de Merode, Famke Schaap, Riëks Smeets, Carol Westrik et Vincent Wintermans. De décembre 2002 à avril 2003, Riëks Smeets, qui à l'époque était encore secrétaire général de la Commission nationale néerlandaise pour l'UNESCO, a été le principal acteur de l'organisation ; Eléonore de Merode et Carol Westrik ont repris cette fonction en avril 2003.

### **Thème principal. La participation des communautés locales à la gestion d'un avenir viable pour le patrimoine mondial**

En 1972, la conférence générale de l'UNESCO a adopté la Convention concernant la protection du patrimoine mondial, culturel et naturel, appelée généralement la *Convention du patrimoine mondial*. Le fait que cette convention porte à la fois sur les ressources culturelles et naturelles en fait un outil unique et puissant pour la protection du patrimoine.

La convention dispose que « les États parties à la présente convention s'efforceront [...] d'adopter une politique générale visant à assigner une fonction au patrimoine culturel et naturel dans la vie collective, et à intégrer la protection de ce patrimoine dans les programmes de planification générale » (article 5).

Plus récemment, la déclaration de Budapest, adoptée en 2002 par le Comité du patrimoine mondial lors de sa 26<sup>e</sup> session, a mis l'accent sur cet article essentiel en disposant que le Comité veillera « à maintenir un juste équilibre entre la conservation, la durabilité et le développement, de façon à protéger les biens du patrimoine mondial grâce à des activités adaptées contribuant au développement social et économique et à la qualité de vie [des] communautés ; [...] [et] à assurer, à tous les niveaux, la participation active [des] communautés locales [...] à l'identification, la protection et la gestion des biens du patrimoine mondial. »

Ce raisonnement se répand progressivement. En effet, les participants au Sommet mondial sur le développement durable, qui s'est tenu à Johannesburg (Afrique du Sud) en août et septembre 2002, ont présenté la gestion du patrimoine comme un outil important pour défendre la cause du développement durable et de la réduction de la pauvreté. Une nouvelle idée est apparue : insister sur la nécessité pour la culture de s'imposer en tant que quatrième pilier du développement durable, parallèlement à l'économie, à l'environnement et aux préoccupations sociales.

### **Thème transversal. Les liens entre valeurs universelles et valeurs locales**

On trouve dans le monde entier des populations locales qui possèdent un long passé d'interaction entre leur environnement culturel et leur environnement naturel. Ces peuples ont accumulé un corpus de connaissances, de savoir-faire, de pratiques et de représentations. Ces ensembles sophistiqués de conceptions, d'interprétations et de significations constituent un complexe culturel qui englobe le langage, les procédés de dénomination et de classification, les pratiques d'utilisation des ressources, les rites et la spiritualité.

Cette manière de penser a été officiellement reconnue lors du Sommet de la terre (Rio de Janeiro, Brésil, 1992). En effet, la Convention sur la diversité biologique dispose que chaque Partie contractante « sous réserve des dispositions de sa législation nationale, respecte, préserve et maintient les connaissances, innovations et pratiques des communautés autochtones et locales qui incarnent des modes de vie traditionnels présentant un intérêt pour la conservation et l'utilisation durable de la diversité biologique et en favorise l'application sur une plus grande échelle, avec l'accord et la participation des dépositaires de ces connaissances, innovations et pratiques et encourage le partage équitable des avantages découlant de l'utilisation de ces connaissances, innovations et pratiques ».

À la lumière de la nouvelle tendance consistant à célébrer et à préserver la diversité culturelle de l'humanité, l'UNESCO et d'autres organisations apparentées examinent de plus en plus les possibilités de recensement et de sauvegarde des connaissances traditionnelles, des valeurs locales et du patrimoine immatériel.

En 1992, pour la première fois dans l'histoire de la *Convention du patrimoine mondial*, les mécanismes traditionnels de gestion et les régimes fonciers coutumiers ont été reconnus viables pour la conservation des biens du patrimoine mondial, lorsque les catégories de paysages culturels ont été jugées appropriées pour figurer sur la liste du patrimoine mondial. Une modification des *Orientations* a reflété ce changement. L'idée a été portée un pas plus loin en 1998, lorsque les *Orientations* ont été adaptées de manière à permettre

l'inscription sur la liste du patrimoine mondial d'un site naturel géré traditionnellement, East Rennell (Îles Solomon).

En outre, le *Document de Nara sur l'authenticité* (1994) reconnaît que « tant les jugements sur les valeurs reconnues au patrimoine que sur les facteurs de crédibilité des sources d'information peuvent différer de culture à culture, et même au sein d'une même culture. [...] Le respect dû à ces cultures exige que chaque œuvre soit considérée et jugée par rapport aux critères qui caractérisent le contexte culturel auquel elle appartient. »

En adoptant la *Stratégie globale pour une liste du patrimoine mondial crédible*, équilibrée et représentative, en 1994, le Comité du patrimoine mondial reconnaît le besoin de corriger les disparités persistantes provoquées par la surreprésentation de certaines catégories du patrimoine et de certaines régions (le patrimoine européen face à celui d'autres régions ; les villes historiques et les bâtiments religieux ; le christianisme par rapport à d'autres religions et d'autres croyances ; l'architecture élitiste face à l'architecture vernaculaire). Cette stratégie cherche à étendre la notion de patrimoine mondial, à en élargir les critères et à favoriser des études thématiques améliorant la représentativité de la liste du patrimoine mondial.

La *réunion d'experts sur la stratégie globale pour les biens naturels et culturels du patrimoine mondial : liens entre culture et nature*, tenue à Amsterdam, Pays-Bas, en 1998, a mis encore davantage en évidence la relation entre culture et nature, population et lieu, et la diversité culturelle. Les débats ont abouti à la fusion de critères culturels et naturels appliqués pour la nomination de biens en vue de figurer sur la liste du patrimoine mondial, à la reconnaissance de la valeur associée propre d'un bien inscrit sur la liste, et à l'établissement de conditions d'intégrité que les biens proposés pour la liste doivent respecter. Les résultats de cette réunion ont été récemment consolidés dans la version révisée des *Orientations*, adoptée en 2003 par le Comité du patrimoine mondial lors de sa 27<sup>e</sup> session.

Depuis lors, de nombreuses rencontres régionales et thématiques portant sur les valeurs du patrimoine immatériel, telles la réunion d'experts sur les paysages culturels en Afrique (Kenya, 1999), la réunion sur

« L'authenticité et l'intégrité dans un contexte africain » (Zimbabwe, 2000) et la réunion thématique d'experts sur les montagnes sacrées dans la région Asie-Pacifique (Japon, 2001), se sont proposés d'établir une liste équilibrée et représentative.

Le point 14 du plan d'action de la *Déclaration universelle sur la diversité culturelle* (2001), adoptée lors de la 31<sup>e</sup> Conférence générale de l'UNESCO, encourage la coopération entre les États membres pour « respecter et protéger les savoirs traditionnels, notamment ceux des peuples autochtones ; reconnaître l'apport des connaissances traditionnelles en matière de protection de l'environnement et de gestion des ressources naturelles et favoriser des synergies entre la science moderne et les savoirs locaux ». La compréhension, le respect l'acceptation des valeurs locales du patrimoine impliquent la compréhension, le respect et l'acceptation de la diversité identitaire. Vu sous cet angle, le patrimoine est déterminant pour la définition de l'identité des peuples ainsi que des groupes, créant une cohésion sociale qui, à son tour, favorise la croissance économique et la mise en valeur et le respect de la diversité culturelle.

Les conclusions du Sommet mondial ont reflété cette évolution, dans ce sens qu'elles reconnaissent également les savoirs locaux et indigènes comme des ressources de premier ordre qui permettent aux populations de combattre la marginalisation et la pauvreté.

### **La conférence internationale intitulée *Liens entre valeurs universelles et valeurs locales : gérer un avenir viable pour le patrimoine mondial*, tenue à Amsterdam du 22 au 24 mai 2003**

Au milieu de ces évolutions effervescentes, la Commission nationale néerlandaise pour l'UNESCO a organisé une conférence regroupant des spécialistes du monde entier à l'hôtel Arena, à Amsterdam. L'objectif principal était de débattre des moyens de donner effet à l'article 5 de la convention de la façon la plus holistique possible, et de définir les modalités concrètes pour y parvenir. Les débats ont également porté sur la manière de sensibiliser le public à l'importance des valeurs universelles et locales. Les participants avaient préparé des rapports de position portant

sur des tendances et des études de cas importants, qui ont servi de documents de référence pour définir les questions essentielles et entamer le débat.

Les présentations et les débats reposant sur ces rapports de position étaient axés sur l'expérience, l'accent étant mis sur l'intégration du savoir traditionnel et des valeurs locales dans les plans de gestion. Parmi les points étudiés, citons par exemple la mondialisation et la modernisation. Les participants se sont penchés sur une vaste gamme d'études de cas représentant un échantillon global des difficultés de la gestion locale. Les gestionnaires de site étaient représentés à juste titre à la conférence car ils constituent le lien indispensable entre les populations et les autorités locales, d'une part, et les autorités nationales et internationales, d'autre part.

Les principaux discours de la séance d'ouverture ont fixé le cadre de référence et les aspects généraux, en particulier la *Convention du patrimoine mondial*. Dans sa contribution intitulée *Participation locale et pratiques traditionnelles dans le système du patrimoine mondial*, Sharon Sullivan a souligné l'importance de la participation locale et de l'utilisation bénéfique des pratiques traditionnelles dans la conservation et la gestion durables du patrimoine mondial. La conception occidentale classique de ce qui constitue le patrimoine mondial (principalement des monuments et la nature dans son état originel) est source de difficultés pour l'intégration des valeurs locales et de systèmes novateurs de gestion dans la pratique de la conservation du patrimoine. Cependant, la notion de patrimoine mondial est suffisamment puissante et flexible pour englober ces aspects essentiels. Eric Edroma a présenté et analysé les fonctions des biens du patrimoine mondial et les divers types de gestion sous le titre *Liens entre valeurs universelles et valeurs locales pour la gestion durable des sites du patrimoine mondial*. Il a souligné la nécessité de combiner diverses approches de gestion pour réaliser le double objectif de la conservation et du développement.

Le thème retenu pour la première séance était la responsabilité commune des communautés locales et des autorités nationales, et a mis en exergue l'élaboration d'une approche unifiée de la préservation du patrimoine mondial et le renforcement des liens entre populations et autorités locales, d'une part, et autori-

tés nationales et internationales, d'autre part. Christina Cameron a présenté un exposé général, intitulé *Associer les populations indigènes à la gestion des sites*, sur les efforts déployés par Parcs Canada pour faire participer les populations autochtones à la gestion de zones de patrimoine protégées au Canada. Elle a fait observer que la notion de paysage culturel autochtone, qui exprime l'union du peuple autochtone avec l'environnement naturel et spirituel, a été particulièrement utile pour recenser de nouvelles propositions de sites et associer directement les Autochtones à la commémoration de leur histoire. L'intervenant suivant, Albert Mumma s'est penché sur le rôle des *Systèmes juridiques locaux dans la gestion des sites du patrimoine mondial*. Quand on reconnaît la nécessité de gérer et de protéger les sites dans une approche holistique, on fait apparaître des perspectives de réexamen des rapports entre les normes légales locales et celles de l'État, et d'harmonie plus grande entre les deux. M. Mumma a souligné la nécessité de revitaliser les communautés au plan interne en tant qu'entités intégrales, ce qui constituerait une étape fondamentale pour la protection des sites du patrimoine, et, par conséquent, de réinterpréter leurs valeurs. Philippe Delanghe a présenté *Le patrimoine mondial : un processus de compréhension et de choix*. Il est souvent difficile pour les autorités, a-t-il expliqué, de saisir la notion de patrimoine mondial et les incidences de l'inscription sur la liste du patrimoine mondial ; se référant à des études de cas effectuées en Indonésie, il a exposé les difficultés découlant de la politique de décentralisation lancée en 1998. Il a également présenté la réaction pratique, en deux volets, du bureau de l'UNESCO à Djakarta face aux connaissances limitées des communautés et des autorités en matière de patrimoine mondial. Nous ne sommes malheureusement pas en mesure de publier cet article. Tumu te Heuheu a abordé *Le rôle des Maoris dans la gestion du patrimoine mondial de Nouvelle-Zélande*. Les Maoris participent directement à la gestion du parc national de Tongariro grâce à un processus de consultation régulière avec l'État partie et l'agence étatique. Ce processus prévoit la nomination de représentants maoris dans chacun des organes de surveillance, à l'échelon national et local, du ministère de la conservation de la nature.

Au cours de la deuxième séance, le débat a porté sur l'analyse de la fonction socio-économique des sites du patrimoine mondial pour les communautés locales et

de l'échange d'informations, en particulier sur des méthodes novatrices permettant de faire participer la population locale à la gestion de son patrimoine. Dans sa contribution intitulée *Comment les sites du patrimoine mondial disparaissent : quatre cas, quatre menaces*, Cor Dijkgraaf s'est référé à des études de cas réalisées au Ghana, au Sri Lanka et au Yémen pour démontrer que, en règle générale, la sauvegarde du patrimoine ne constitue pas une priorité pour la population locale si elle n'en retire pas de profits économiques. Par ailleurs, les anciennes puissances coloniales, le cas échéant, ont une responsabilité en matière de sauvegarde du patrimoine dans leurs anciennes colonies. Lassana Cissé a présenté *La participation communautaire à la gestion des falaises de Bandiagara : écotourisme en pays dogon*. Il a expliqué comment la mission culturelle de Bandiagara, en coopération avec l'agence allemande pour le développement (DED), a mis en œuvre un projet de réhabilitation de l'architecture et de l'industrie locale de la teinture du paysage culturel des falaises de Bandiagara, au Mali, avec la participation de la population locale, tout en apportant un soutien économique à de nombreuses personnes. María Isabel Hernández Llosas a parlé de *Pintoscaoyoc : étude de cas dans la vallée Quebrada de Humahuaca*, où un projet lancé par le Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (Conicet), en collaboration avec les communautés locales, vise à rendre un passé effacé à nouveau visible. Le processus de reconstruction du passé repose sur un dialogue entre les populations locales et les scientifiques et est assuré par la création d'un Centre d'interprétation géré par les populations locales. La contribution suivante, *Le patrimoine naturel au Suriname et ses avantages pour les populations locales*, présentée par Bryan Drakenstein, a montré comment les communautés indigènes tirent profit de la Réserve naturelle du Suriname central (CSNR) en termes d'emplois et d'amélioration des transports. L'intervenante a également expliqué comment le CSNR tire profit de la population locale en termes de main-d'œuvre et de gestion des ressources naturelles, ainsi qu'en ce qui concerne la connaissance de la zone et de sa biodiversité. Dans son intervention intitulée *Le rôle des communautés locales dans la gestion du patrimoine mondial en Argentine : le cas de Cuevas de las Manos*, María Mercedes Podestá a analysé un projet de conservation d'art rupestre lancé par l'Instituto de Antropología y Pensamiento Latinoamericano (INALP).

Ce projet vise à encourager l'autonomisation des communautés locales, afin qu'elles comprennent et défendent la conservation du site sur le long terme, qu'elles assument un rôle primordial dans sa conservation et sa gestion et qu'elles en retirent des avantages financiers grâce à l'écotourisme. Justin Hando a présenté une communication sur le thème suivant : *Les services de conservation pour les communautés : les enseignements du parc national de Serengeti en Tanzanie*. Selon lui, la pauvreté est le pire ennemi de la conservation car elle oblige les populations à utiliser les ressources de leur environnement de manière dommageable. Dans ce contexte, le programme du CCS vise à améliorer les services de base offerts aux populations (santé, éducation, accroissement du cheptel, marché de produits agricoles, eau potable, transports et aides financières pour acheter des semences).

La troisième séance a traité de l'intégration des valeurs locales dans les plans de gestion. Les participants ont porté leur attention en particulier sur l'identification, l'évaluation et la conservation des valeurs associées, incorporées dans les traditions et les croyances, et sur les aspects immatériels du patrimoine culturel et naturel. Mechtild Rössler a exposé *La gestion des paysages culturels du patrimoine mondial et des sites sacrés*. Elle a présenté la notion de « paysage naturel » qui recouvre de multiples manifestations de l'interaction entre l'être humain et son environnement naturel, tel que le définissent les *Orientations*. L'intervenante a fait remarquer que, avec le critère (vi), la notion de paysage naturel reconnaît la relation spirituelle spécifique avec la nature dans un paysage culturel associé. Elle a décrit certaines des nouvelles difficultés qui gênent la gestion des paysages culturels. Martine Tahoux-Touao a analysé les *Contributions des sites sacrés à la conservation et à la gestion durable de la biodiversité et des valeurs sociales et culturelles* en Côte d'Ivoire. Elle a mis en évidence l'importance des forêts sacrées pour la pérennité des valeurs sociales et culturelles et souligné l'efficacité des mécanismes traditionnels de gestion, grâce principalement à un accès limité en vertu de principes inviolables, de tabous et de totems. Elle a affirmé que l'éradication de la pauvreté et la valorisation des valeurs locales sont des préalables essentiels aux stratégies de réhabilitation des forêts sacrées. Juan Mayr a présenté une étude de cas intitulée *La Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta (Colombie) : des territoires indigènes dans un scénario complexe*. Cette expé-

rience de planification participative associe de nombreux acteurs à l'élaboration d'un plan global de développement durable, qui œuvrent ainsi pour la paix. L'intervenant a affirmé la nécessité absolue de reconnaître dans les populations indigènes des acteurs de premier plan de la conservation de la biodiversité. En conclusion, Mayr a proposé une nouvelle approche pour soutenir la gestion des ressources, à savoir la reconnaissance d'une réserve philosophique. Josie Weninger a donné un *Point de vue opérationnel sur la gestion des sites du patrimoine mondial au Canada*. La participation des Aborigènes au processus de gestion constitue un instrument d'expansion des parcs nationaux. La participation des communautés, a-t-elle affirmé, exige que l'on intègre les connaissances traditionnelles dans le processus décisionnel, que l'on dresse des inventaires avant de prendre des décisions et que l'on consulte les populations pour déterminer les zones qui devront être couvertes par un plan de gestion. Bulu Imam a préparé une intervention intitulée *Une étude de cas pour la protection du patrimoine vivant : le nord de la vallée du Karampura en Inde*, mais il n'a malheureusement pas pu participer à la conférence. Sa contribution était axée sur la menace que les projets d'extraction de charbon et la construction d'un énorme barrage représentent pour le bois sacré, les lieux de sépulture, les lieux de danse et les sites d'art rupestre de la zone, ainsi que pour les arts vernaculaires et les manifestations culturelles des populations locales.

La quatrième séance était centrée sur la reconnaissance des systèmes de gestion traditionnels pour la préservation durable du patrimoine mondial et de la biodiversité. Les débats ont également porté sur l'identification et l'évaluation des difficultés entravant les systèmes de gestion traditionnels, sur l'appréciation de l'influence des nouvelles technologies sur l'environnement culturel et naturel et les systèmes de gestion traditionnels, ainsi que sur les notions d'authenticité et d'intégrité. Dans son intervention intitulée *Systèmes traditionnels de l'utilisation des terres au Moyen-Orient*, Faizal Abu-Izzedin a montré l'efficacité du hima, un mode de conservation des ressources naturelles géré par la communauté, dont les racines culturelles remontent à une époque antérieure au christianisme et à l'islam, et il a expliqué la pertinence des versants en terrasses qui offrent un potentiel de développement socioéconomique. Mamadi Dembele a

donné une présentation sur *Le Hogon : les pérégrinations de la chefferie traditionnelle en pays dogon, au Mali*. Il a souligné l'importance de cette institution sociale en tant que mécanisme de prévention des conflits communautaires, et a proposé quelques solutions pour la revitaliser dans le contexte de la décentralisation des autorités administratives et d'une nouvelle impulsion donnée aux autorités locales. Webber Ndoro s'est exprimé sur *Les modes de gestion traditionnels et coutumiers du patrimoine. Nostalgie ou réalité ? Les incidences sur la gestion des sites du patrimoine en Afrique*. À l'aide de divers exemples empruntés à la Tanzanie, à l'Ouganda et au Zimbabwe, il a expliqué que les modes traditionnels de gestion et les valeurs locales étaient une seule et même chose, dans la mesure où les valeurs sont profondément enracinées dans les modes de gestion. Il a proposé une approche novatrice pour analyser et planifier les modes de gestion des sites traditionnels vivants : comprendre la structure actuelle de la gestion d'un bien qui servira de ligne directrice pour le développement d'un mode de gestion amélioré.

Au cours de la cinquième séance, les participants ont analysé une question d'importance majeure : le renforcement des capacités, un des quatre objectifs stratégiques définis par le Comité du patrimoine mondial lors de sa 25<sup>e</sup> session, tenue à Helsinki (Finlande) en 2001. Les débats ont principalement porté sur l'autonomisation des membres de la communauté locale pour la gestion des biens inscrits sur la liste du patrimoine mondial. D'un avis général, le renforcement des capacités passe par une sensibilisation de la population. Dawson Munjeri a présenté une intervention intitulée *L'ancrage du patrimoine culturel et naturel africain : l'importance de la prise de conscience collective*. Empruntant des exemples au Nigeria, à l'Afrique du Sud, à l'Ouganda et au Zimbabwe, il a montré que la reconnaissance et l'appréciation, par les autorités du site, des valeurs attachées par les communautés locales à un bien constituent un préalable à la gestion durable du patrimoine mondial. Il a insisté sur le fait que la prise de conscience des valeurs englobe la compréhension et l'acceptation des normes de la société. Le renforcement des capacités devrait donc consolider ces trois piliers (valeurs, normes et société) et introduire des mécanismes d'autonomisation. Tim Curtis a présenté *Le réseau d'agents locaux du Centre culturel du Vanuatu : une initiative locale réussie*. Les agents

locaux suivent chaque année une formation aux techniques de la recherche anthropologique, archéologique et linguistique. Ils collectent des informations relatives à leur culture locale et les enregistrent sur divers moyens. Le réseau donne un modèle innovant qui pourrait s'appliquer dans d'autres pays, en particulier dans la région Pacifique et en Afrique. Dans sa communication intitulée *La ligne de défense d'Amsterdam : construite pour protéger les gens*, maintenue pour unir les gens, Caroline Smook a décrit les efforts déployés par la province de Hollande septentrionale, en collaboration avec divers partenaires, pour redonner vie à ce site du patrimoine mondial au profit de la population locale, grâce à des actions éducatives, à une réutilisation adaptative et à la restauration des monuments.

Au cours de la sixième séance, les participants ont centré leurs réflexions sur la manière de soutenir le patrimoine mondial et les populations locales à l'aide de la coopération internationale et de partenariats de types particuliers, par exemple le jumelage de sites et l'établissement de liens entre des sites et des organismes de recherche. La présentation de Beatrice Kaldun avait trait aux *Partenariats pour une participation fondée sur l'autonomisation : intégrer un modèle local dans la gestion du patrimoine mondial*. L'intervenante a examiné le programme décennal mené par l'UNESCO en Asie pour catalyser un changement de modèle dans la gestion même des ressources culturelles de la région, passant d'une élaboration centrale par une élite à la responsabilisation de la population pour la conduite de la base de ressources culturelles et naturelles de la région. Alfredo Arellano-Guillermo a tracé les grandes lignes de l'*Expérience de la réserve de la biosphère de Sian Ka'an*, située au Mexique. Il a examiné les multiples partenariats établis entre l'agence gouvernementale chargée de la gestion de Sian Ka'an et d'autres agences gouvernementales, des ONG, des organismes de recherche, des organisations locales et des mécanismes de coopération internationale. Ricardo Agurcia a présenté une contribution intitulée *Archéologie et développement local à Copan*, site du patrimoine mondial. Il a expliqué comment le développement de la recherche scientifique et du tourisme, financé principalement par le gouvernement hondurien, a entraîné un progrès social et économique inégalé dans l'ancien site maya de Copan qui se trouve dans l'ouest du Honduras. Pour finir, Anna Sidorenko a

examiné un *Projet pilote pour « la sauvegarde et le développement des villes du patrimoine mondial en Mauritanie » : exemple de coopération tripartite entre l'UNESCO, le gouvernement de Mauritanie et la Banque mondiale*. L'objectif du projet pilote est de concevoir et de mettre en œuvre une stratégie visant à freiner l'exode des populations locales et, par conséquent, l'abandon des centres historiques d'Ouadane, de Chinguetti, de Tichitt et d'Oualata.

Les interventions étaient suivies de débats. Pendant la dernière matinée de la conférence, les connaissances acquises et les consensus atteints au cours des divers débats de la conférence ont permis d'adopter des conclusions et des recommandations. Le document rédigé a été diffusé auprès de la communauté du patrimoine mondial en juin-juillet 2003, lors de la réunion du Comité du patrimoine mondial, et distribué à toutes les délégations permanentes auprès de l'UNESCO, aux organes consultatifs et aux organisations internationales concernées, au cours de la 32<sup>e</sup> Conférence générale. Il est présenté dans la présente publication.

Nous tenons à remercier le ministère néerlandais de l'éducation, de la culture et des sciences pour son soutien généreux, ainsi que tous les participants à la conférence d'Amsterdam pour leurs interventions et leur enthousiasme, car c'était eux les acteurs de la conférence.

### **Le comité organisateur**

*Eléonore de Merode  
Rieks Smeets  
Carol Westrik*

# Welcome Addresses Discours D'ouverture

by the President of the  
Netherlands National Commission for UNESCO,  
Dr B.E. van Vucht Tijssen

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

*Present among us today are a large number of experts in heritage conservation representing a wide diversity of regions, cultures and environments, as well as experts from UNESCO, the World Heritage Centre and the Advisory Bodies. Our common goal is to enhance the sustainable management of World Heritage. It is a pleasure and an honour for me, on behalf of the Netherlands National Commission for UNESCO, to welcome you all to Amsterdam in order to contribute to this purpose.*

*Before I entrust the floor to the capable hands of our moderator, I would like to draw your attention to our immediate setting – Hotel Arena. Although not a contender for the World Heritage List, Hotel Arena epitomizes the past heritage of the Netherlands.*

*Indeed, since its construction in 1890 as a Roman Catholic orphanage – the Saint Elizabeth asylum – it has known a rich history and has fulfilled a multiplicity of roles within the local community. It maintained its function as an orphanage until the 1950s when it was abandoned by the religious order. Through neglect, it subsequently fell into an advanced state of disrepair. However, the municipality of Amsterdam found a solution, which simultaneously answered the great demand for low-budget accommodation. In 1982, the complex was launched as a sleep-in, but also served a secondary purpose as a music-hall. In 1998, after large-scale reconstructions, the Arena opened its doors as a hotel, restaurant, café and conference venue.*

*In this manner, the historical edifice has acquired a function in today's society. It provides economic and social benefits for local groups. However, it also captures the essence of the living site and dynamic metropolis that is Amsterdam today. Undeniably, the complex is evocative of the wider cultural context to which it belongs.*


*The Netherlands has a deep-rooted history of adapting its historic monuments to the requirements of the modern world, and to the evolving values of the people. On Friday afternoon you will visit the Fortress Nigtevecht and the Island of Pampus, two components of the Defence Line of Amsterdam – a World Heritage site. As you will see, these monuments fulfil an altogether different mission, yet have likewise adjusted to the constantly changing demands of modern society as it evolves into the third millennium. Bearing this in mind, I leave you to reflect on two points: On one hand, the notion of authenticity: how are the values attributed to this heritage interpreted and perceived?; on the other hand, the notion of integrity: are the cultural, religious and customary systems that underlie these monuments transmitted in an apt manner?*

*On this note, I would like to introduce and extend a warm welcome to the moderator for the conference, Dr Rick van der Ploeg. Dr van der Ploeg is former State Secretary for Culture and Media, and is currently Professor of Economics at the European University in Florence.*

*I wish you all a successful meeting and a pleasant stay in Amsterdam. Thank you.*



*Welcome Address  
by the Chair of the Conference,  
Dr Rick van der Ploeg*



*In its 1987 report Our Common Future, the World Commission on Environment and Development defined sustainable development as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'. Although the **principle** of sustainability has been widely acclaimed ever since, there is still a lot of debate about the way to turn sustainability into a set of policies, programmes or projects. As David Gow of the World Resources Institute put it: 'Sustainability is like happiness – everyone believes in it and everyone has a different definition.'*

*This conference aims at contributing to the debate on sustainability by focusing on sustainable World Heritage management. The challenge will be to see what lessons can be learned from general discussions on sustainability and in what way these can contribute to developing policies and practices for the sustainable management and preservation of World Heritage.*

*When all is said and done, conservation is about people. It is about the balance that must be struck between humans and nature and between generations. Developing sustainable policies is to persuade individuals to act in the common interest. Within the framework of World Heritage such sustainable policies imply that it is imperative that traditional values and practices of local communities are respected, encouraged and accommodated. Traditional local communities can and should contribute to sustainable management of World Heritage sites.*

*The World Heritage committee has clearly endorsed this view in the Budapest Declaration that was adopted to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the World Heritage Convention. In the declaration the committee commits itself to seeking to ensure:*

*an appropriate and equitable balance between conservation, sustainability and development so that World Heritage properties can be protected through appropriate activities contributing to the social and economic development and the quality of life of our communities and ... to ensure the active involvement of our local communities at all levels in the identification, protection and management of our World Heritage properties.*

*Some months later the Padua workshop on site management – one of the workshops that took place in the framework of the 30th anniversary of the World Heritage Convention – was also very explicit on this issue. The conclusions and recommendations of the Padua workshop state that 'in planning and managing heritage sites and areas it is important to give due consideration and respect to beliefs, practices, traditions and needs of owners and local communities, including those of indigenous cultures'.*

*That this sounds less problematic than it is in practice will no doubt become obvious from the experiences of site managers present at this conference. Where a local community values a site for its own local reasons it is put on the World Heritage List for its outstanding universal value. These might collide and thus a sustainable policy for site management can only be achieved if all conflicting interests – be they of an ecological, economic, social, political or humanistic nature – are reconciled. If this conference can help to further explore the ways of managing this process of reconciliation, it will have a major impact on the sustainable future of World Heritage.*

*In its 1987 report the World Commission on Environment and Development sums up the requirements of a strategy for sustainable development. They still seem useful references in the context of developing sustainable management policies and practices for World Heritage today. The Commission states that sustainability aims at promoting harmony among human beings and between humanity and nature, the pursuit of which requires:*

- a political system that secures effective citizen participation in decision-making;*
- an economic system that is able to generate surpluses and technical knowledge;*
- a social system that provides for solutions for the tensions arising from disharmonious development;*
- a production system that respects the obligation to preserve the ecological base for development;*
- a technological system that can search continuously for new solutions;*
- an international system that fosters sustainable patterns of trade and finance; and*
- an administrative system that is flexible and has the capacity for self-correction.*

*Although not all these requirements are equally important for our discussions in the coming days, they can at least be seen as relevant elements of the national and international developments in the field of sustainable preservation of World Heritage.*

*In concluding I would like to extend the sincere gratitude of the Netherlands Government to all who have agreed to participate in this meeting. The bureau of the Netherlands National Commission for UNESCO deserves special mention in this respect. It has succeeded within a strict time frame in organizing this conference that gathers experts from all over the world. A conference that marks another step in the fruitful co-operation between the World Heritage Centre and the Netherlands towards achieving the 4 Cs, the four objectives that need specific attention by all States Parties and all actors in the World Heritage field:*

- the strengthening of the credibility of the World Heritage List;*
- the effective conservation of World Heritage properties;*
- the promotion of capacity-building;*
- the increase of public awareness through communication.*

*World Heritage is of concern to all humanity. It is in that light that I would like to refer to the words, not of a learned scientist or heritage expert but of the great Nigerian writer Wole Soyinka. In 'More than Preservation', his keynote address at the Venice Conference, he stated the following:*

*... closely bound with material concern with the preservation and enhancement of the palpable manifestation of human intelligence and creativity are also implicated the pursuit of the goal of peaceful cohabitation among communities, races and cultures ... and principles such as respect and understanding of others.*

*I wish this conference wisdom and success in pursuing this goal.*

*Welcome Address  
by Mechtild Rössler and  
Sarah Titchen on behalf of UNESCO*



*It is a privilege for us to take part in this International Meeting on 'Managing a Sustainable Future for World Heritage' and to enhance the global implementation of the World Heritage Convention. We wish to transmit the most cordial greetings on behalf of the Director-General of UNESCO, Mr Koïchiro Matsuura and Mr Francesco Bandarin, Director of the World Heritage Centre.*

*This meeting is one in a series of meetings in all regions of the world, on both cultural and natural heritage, to co-ordinate efforts to make the World Heritage List more representative. We are very pleased that this meeting is taking place in the Netherlands where in 1998 we organized the international expert workshop which led to the publication of Linking Nature and Culture.*

*Our host, the Netherlands, adhered to the World Heritage Convention on 26 August 1992 on the eve of its 20th anniversary. It has seven unique sites inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List and recognized by the international community. The Netherlands also plays an extraordinary role in supporting the Convention with considerable staff assistance to its Secretariat and with a co-operation agreement which provides substantive resources of half a million dollars per year to implement the Global Strategy for a balanced and representative World Heritage List in other parts of the world, supports educational and international assistance projects as well as periodic reporting on the implementation of the Convention and state of conservation of World Heritage properties.*

*We would like to sincerely thank you for this substantive sponsorship, as this is true international co-operation in the spirit of the Convention.*

*This meeting, as was the case at the meeting in 1998, fosters linkages between the natural and cultural sides of the World Heritage Convention. In 1998 the meeting proposed merged cultural and natural criteria for World Heritage, examined the use of the concept of integrity for cultural as well as natural properties, and tried to tackle the definition of the concept of 'outstanding universal value'. It is now with some satisfaction that we can report that the World Heritage Committee will merge the criteria, continue to ensure that properties with associative value can be recognized through World Heritage inscription and establish conditions of integrity for all properties, cultural and natural, being proposed to the World Heritage List. These policy outcomes will all be embedded within the new Operational Guidelines to be adopted by the Committee in just a few weeks time.*

*The 1998 meeting also went beyond conceptual and policy considerations. There were some terrific case studies from all regions demonstrating the fundamental role of local people in our international World Heritage scheme. In the next few days we look forward to listening to more examples from around the world where people are striving for sustainable futures for World Heritage. We shall no doubt hear of a number of extraordinary examples where the passion and work of local communities working in partnership with the international community have seen progress in the identification, assessment and presentation of some of the world's outstanding places. After thirty years we should however not just look at the successes but also some of the continuing challenges and also the failures. We consider it very*

*timely to focus at this meeting on new ways of strengthening our international system while ensuring that our collective work is grounded in a reality of local community consultation, understanding, support and meaningful involvement. It is only with these ingredients that we shall see continuing care and pride for outstanding places around the world.*

*In conclusion, we have quite a challenging meeting in front of us, in terms of strengthening international collaboration among the partners in the World Heritage system, the site managers, national authorities, the Advisory Bodies and the Secretariat of this Convention.*

*We would like to express our sincere thanks once again to the Government of the Netherlands and the National Commission for UNESCO for their warm welcome and to all the speakers and participants for having come a long way to ensure that sites of outstanding universal value are protected for the future in a partnership between States Parties and their local communities and the international community.*

*Welcome Address  
by Hanneke Heukers, Director of Legal Affairs,  
on behalf of the Minister of Agriculture,  
Nature Management and Fisheries*

*Ladies and gentlemen,*

*I am very pleased to be able to speak to you here today on behalf of the Minister of Agriculture, Nature Management and Fisheries. Minister Veerman sincerely regrets that he himself is unable to attend this important UNESCO conference on the management of World Heritage sites.*

*Today marks not only the start of this conference but is also World Biodiversity Day. On this day we try to reinforce the message that biodiversity is part of our global heritage, of great importance to humanity as a whole, and worthy of our best possible care.*

*Given that the Netherlands is currently chairing the Convention on Biological Diversity, I am particularly glad to present this message to you here today. Multilateral agreements such as the Convention on Biological Diversity and the World Heritage Convention form the basis for the joint international action that is necessary to preserve our common global heritage.*

*In the next few minutes, I would like to discuss the many similarities that exist between the ways in which we need to look after both our cultural and our natural heritage. This naturally leads to the call for integration of cultural and natural considerations in the management of World Heritage sites.*

*I will also emphasize the important role that local people can play in the management of such sites. This is particularly true in a densely populated country like ours, with a strong tradition of open debate and public participation.*

*I would like to start by going back to the charter on World Heritage sites. As you all know, these sites are of outstanding cultural or natural importance. However, from the beginning, the emphasis has always been placed on important historic monuments. The Netherlands, for example, has listed its network of windmills at the Beemster, the Rietveld Schröderhuis in Utrecht and the historic Inner City of Willemstad in the Netherlands Antilles.*

*By concentrating on historic sites we tend to forget that the status of World Heritage site can also be granted on the basis of outstanding physical, biological and geological features. Or because habitats of threatened plant or animal species warrant conservation. In recent years, many sites have been listed purely because of their ecological or natural qualities. This is a positive development that needs further reinforcement. We must however take care that 'World Heritage site' does not become a term for 'national park' and exclude local people from using local resources in the name of conservation.*

*We have recently seen a growing awareness that living landscapes which include both cultural and elements are worth preserving. We are beginning to appreciate the need to care for landscapes to maintain their beauty, their biodiversity and their history.*

*This is not an entirely surprising development because there is an important similarity between cultural and natural heritage. This has to do with the fragility of both our cultural and our natural heritage: once it is gone, it is gone forever. There is no turning back. When cultural monuments such as the giant Buddha sculptures at Bamiyan in Afghanistan are lost, they are lost forever. Similarly, once a species becomes extinct we will never be able to retrieve it.*

*A second important realization is that much of our natural heritage is shaped by the actions of mankind, by cultural processes. In the same way, cultural expression is often inspired by nature. The Netherlands landscape, for example, is a joint product of nature and mankind. It is a historic record of everything our forefathers did. Many parts of that landscape continue to fill us with pride. The paintings of the Dutch masters reflect that pride in the way the painters tried to capture our landscapes, waters and the special light that makes them so typical.*

*At the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature Management and Fisheries the task we have to face is an almost impossible one. Even in this small country with many people and intense economic activity, we still wish to maintain our biodiversity and our landscape. Not only for historic and emotional reasons, but also because they are of economic and recreational importance.*

*We cannot do this alone, but find that we continuously need the active involvement of a range of stakeholders. Wanting to conserve landscapes without talking to farmers simply does not make sense. The Ministry is developing a subsidy scheme to assist farmers to operate in such a way that they not only produce the food we need, but also function as stewards of our landscape and biodiversity.*

*In developing these strategies the Government of the Netherlands has to make difficult choices. In many places we need to allow for changes in the landscape for purely economic reasons. In others we may impose rules and regulations which make farming more difficult and which thus threaten the economic viability of the sector. In these cases we need to provide subsidies in order to maintain the type of farming that is best suited to that particular area.*

*In more extreme cases, we may need to move towards a model where the emphasis is not on producing crops, but where we pay farmers to look after landscapes, nature and biodiversity. We call this 'green services' and see it as a new means of maintaining our natural heritage.*

*Whatever strategy we follow we need to secure the co-operation of local stakeholders. That is why I am very happy with the theme of this conference. Working together with local people in the management of World Heritage sites is an essential component for any strategy aiming at the long-term conservation of culture and nature.*

*I wish you an interesting and productive conference.*



Background and  
Thematic Studies  
Historique et  
études thématique

1



# How World Heritage Sites Disappear: Four Cases, Four Threats

Cor Dijkgraaf

## 1. Introduction

Many buildings and towns already feature on the World Heritage List, and their number is steadily growing. Most of these sites are in the developed world, but increasingly they are located in other parts of the globe. Although UNESCO and some international experts, such as the members of ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites), recognize the importance of this cultural heritage, local communities and authorities often do not. Local inhabitants do not perceive the conservation and renovation of these heritage sites as a priority and it is only natural that the daily struggle for survival should be their prime focus. Indeed, in a consultation meeting in Elmina, one of the 150 participants actually said: 'It is interesting that you have started renovating the castles, but what is in it for me?' This conflict of interest is a significant threat to World Heritage, particularly in developing areas. Methods of conservation, maintenance and management of sites in developing areas of the world also differ greatly from those employed in the developed world. Sufficient funds are rarely available, and technical and management expertise is often lacking.

Heritage sites in the developing world are often examples of Shared Built Heritage or Mutual Heritage, monuments that have been built under the colonial system by both European and local architects and craftsmen. They frequently show the influence of local architectural styles and may be adapted to handle local weather conditions. As most of this heritage presents a lively picture of the past, it is most definitely worth saving. It is important to recognize that the renovation and maintenance of Shared Built Heritage also has to be a shared responsibility.

In this paper the problems pertaining to the conservation of heritage are illustrated by four different cases:

- Two cases in declining towns: Elmina in Ghana and Zabid in Yemen.
- Two cases in dynamic towns: Sana'a in Yemen and Galle in Sri Lanka.

## 2. World Heritage at Risk in Declining Towns

### 2.1 Case 1: Elmina

#### 2.1.1 Historical developments

The castles of Elmina were included on the World Heritage List in 1979.<sup>2</sup> St George's Castle was built by the Portuguese in 1482 (Fig. 1). In 1637, the Dutch conquered Elmina and used it as their headquarters for the next 235 years. In 1872, they sold this castle and many others along the coast of Ghana to the British.



St George's Castle, Elmina, Ghana

© Cor Dijkgraaf

The Europeans have left their mark on Elmina. For several centuries, European traders and African servants and soldiers lived and worked together there. Originally the European interest was in gold and ivory, however in the seventeenth century Elmina became an important distribution point for the slave trade. As the castle was the Dutch headquarters, trade through the other fortresses and castles was co-ordinated from this point.

It was also from here that the Ghanaians left as soldiers to join the colonial army in the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia). Those who returned settled on a hill in Elmina that still bears the name Java Hill; they brought batik techniques back to Ghana with them. During the nineteenth century, an Asante king was held prisoner at Elmina during the first stage of his exile from Ghana.

Fort Coenraadsburg, also in Elmina, was constructed by the Dutch on a site where the Portuguese had built a church during the fifteenth century, parts of which are visible in the fortress. The chief Eguafu was baptized in this church in 1482.

Elmina, with its rich and tragic history, is a heritage site of particular historical importance not only for the Ghanaians, but also for the British, Portuguese and Dutch.

2. Forts and Castles, Volta, Greater Accra, Central and Western Regions World Heritage site.

### 2.1.2 The current situation

The town of Elmina, with its population of 70,000, is in a state of rapid decline. The harbour is silted up and polluted, and the beaches are filthy. Tourism is limited to visits to the castle and some selected beach resorts. The unemployment rate, especially among the younger generation, is soaring. Many old merchant houses are in a poor state and some of them have collapsed. The sewerage system, the drainage and roads are also in a bad condition.

St George's Castle and Fort Coenraadsburg are visited by some 100,000 people every year. From the outside they appear to be in a reasonable state of repair, yet some parts are in a dangerous condition and will collapse if action is not taken soon. In the 1960s, steel joists were used to replace the wooden beams supporting the terraces around the sides of the great courtyard of St George's Castle. These steel beams have corroded and some of the terraces are at risk of imminent collapse. Serious cracks in the walls and roof have developed and they are no longer watertight. The terraces and walls of the castle are not structurally sound and they form a threat to visitors. In particular, the concrete entrance bridge to the castle over the inner moat, the only entrance for visitors, is on the verge of collapse. This bridge was rebuilt in the nineteenth century, and the iron reinforcement has started to corrode and concrete rot has set in. Large chunks of concrete have fallen off and wooden beams have had to be employed as a temporary solution.

Fort Coenraadsburg was partly renovated in 1995 with funds from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the US Agency for International Development (USAID). The fort had been used as a low-budget hotel, but is now unoccupied. Although renovation on the fort started in 1996, this work has never been completed. The electrical work and floors still need to be finished. The access road is also in bad shape. The greatest danger, however, is the serious erosion of the hill. If this process continues, the fort will collapse.

### 2.1.3 The issue of maintenance and management

The maintenance and management of the castle and fort is the responsibility of the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board, but it does not have sufficient funds for the necessary work. The preservation and management of the town, including other monuments and infrastructure, falls to the newly established Urban Council of the Komenda, Edina, Eguafu, Abrem (KEEA) District Assembly. Neither the district nor the urban council have sufficient resources to renovate and maintain the monuments. The small entry fee paid by visitors, mostly from abroad, goes directly to the Ministry of Finance.

The present state of St George's Castle is a result of serious mistakes that were made in the 1960s, such as using iron beams to replace wooden ones that had been there for hundreds of years. In two city consultations, held in 2000 and 2001 with the 150 inhabitants of Elmina (including traditional leaders and representatives from local govern-

ment, NGOs, the private sector, fishermen's associations and education), it became very clear that the preservation of the monuments is not a priority for the local population.

### 2.1.4 Conclusion

1. The unique castles of Elmina deserve their place on the World Heritage List.
2. Ghana should not be the only country responsible for the maintenance and management of these sites. A World Heritage site like Elmina cannot survive without assistance from other stakeholders.
3. Ghana does not have the financial means to renovate and maintain the site.
4. The priorities identified during public consultation were:
  - (a) drainage and waste management;
  - (b) tourism and economic development;
  - (c) fishing and improvement of the harbour;
  - (d) education;
  - (e) health.

## 2.2 Case 2: Zabid

### 2.2.1 The current situation

The Historic Town of Zabid is one of three cities in Yemen that are on the World Heritage List (Fig. 2). The Old City of Sana'a, thanks to a huge campaign organized by UNESCO in the 1980s, is in a reasonable state. The Old Walled City of Shibam, with its unique mud skyscrapers, appears to be in a good state of repair, but is threatened by flooding. Zabid has been on the List of World Heritage in Danger since 2000. My recent visit to the town left me shocked at the serious decline in the site since my previous visit ten years ago.



Zabid, Yemen

Zabid is the oldest centre of Islamic learning and a centre of economic activities. It has one of the world's oldest mosques, an old fortress and unique whitewashed brick architecture. My lecture does not describe the beauty of the city as it was; the images are of a dead city where old monuments have been replaced by ugly concrete and red-brick constructions. The schools and many of the shops are closed, the market has very little trade, and wealthy people and scholars have left the town. Economically speaking, the town is dead.

### 2.2.2 The issue of maintenance and management

The General Organisation for the Preservation of the Historic Cities of Yemen (GOPHCY) is responsible for the maintenance of the many monuments in Yemen, but they have hardly any budget. Yemen has just embarked upon a process of decentralization, and local authorities have neither the financial resources nor the capacity to manage heritage.

### 2.2.3 Conclusion

1. The city of Zabid, with its important place in the history of Islam and its unique architecture, deserves its place on the World Heritage List.
2. Yemen should not be the only country responsible for the maintenance and management of Zabid. A World Heritage site like Zabid cannot survive without assistance from other stakeholders.
3. Yemen does not have the financial means to renovate and maintain the site.
4. The local inhabitants are not interested in the maintenance of this heritage site. Public consultation identified their priorities as:
  - (a) economic development;
  - (b) pavement, drainage and waste management;
  - (c) education
  - (d) health.

## 3. World Heritage at Risk in Dynamic Towns

### 3.1 Case 3: Sana'a

#### 3.1.1 Historic developments

Sana'a is a very ancient city with unique architecture (Figs. 3 and 4). Until 1972, when the civil war came to an end, the Old City was still surrounded by its walls and had not changed for hundreds of years. It had a population of about 70,000.



Sana'a, Yemen



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The first reports about the conservation of the Old City appeared in 1979 and an Italian consultant comprehensively documented the buildings in 1983.

The situation in the Old City of Sana'a in 1985 showed that it was in danger:

- Many inhabitants had left the Old City; the population had fallen from 60,000 in 1975 to 35,000 in 1985.

- Many shops had closed down or moved to the new part of the city.
- The streets were unpaved, muddy and dusty.
- Buildings were neglected and had started to collapse.
- Walls and gates had been removed.
- Gardens had been neglected.
- There was no investment in the Old City.

#### 3.1.2 Government intervention

The Yemeni Government, supported by UNESCO and other international organizations, recognized the importance of this urban cultural heritage for the social and economic development of the country. The following actions were initiated:

- The Technical Office for the Preservation of Old Sana'a was established in 1984. This was later renamed the Executive Office for the Preservation of Old Sana'a.
- The Board of Trustees was established as a body for the co-ordination and application of national policy for the preservation of the Old City of Sana'a.
- An international campaign was launched.
- Sana'a was included on the World Heritage List.
- The first projects were started in the Old City in 1987.

Thanks to these measures, the international campaign and the work of GOPHCY, the strategy designed to revitalize the Old City has succeeded to a great extent. A large number of physical improvements have been carried out:

- paving of the streets;
- renovation and new functions of the caravanserais;
- renovation of walls and watergates;
- pavement of the *wadi*;
- protection and renovation of the gardens;
- the renovation of Bait al Mutahar as a handicraft centre;
- schools and hospital.

As a result of the improvements introduced by the government:

- people returned to live in the Old City and the population increased to 50,000;
- there has been a great deal of private investment in the Old City, particularly in the last three years;
- the number of shops has increased;
- houses have been renovated;
- new houses have been constructed;
- the number of tourists has increased.

#### 3.1.3 Negative developments, 1985–2000

However, not all the developments have been positive. A large amount of uncontrolled development financed by the private sector has taken place. Shopping malls have replaced houses and small shops, and high-rise hotels and apartment blocks have changed the skyline. Open spaces and gardens are at risk as a result of increasing land prices.

Such developments are to be expected and the situation is not confined to Yemen, but has affected inner-city areas all over the world. The government and GOPHCY appear to have lost control and the private sector has taken over. Application of current government policy is proving ineffective.

### 3.1.4 Conclusion

1. The city of Sana'a, with its important history dating from the time of the Queen of Sheba and its unique architecture, deserves its place on the World Heritage List.
2. Yemen has not been saddled with the sole responsibility for the maintenance and management of heritage sites. The Yemeni Government and UNESCO initiated a large-scale campaign to which many countries contributed, including the Netherlands. A World Heritage site such as Sana'a cannot survive without assistance from other stakeholders.
3. Yemen does not have the financial means to renovate and preserve the site.
4. The private sector and the general public are still not interested in heritage. They want to make business and destroy their economic assets.
5. The priority identified during public consultation was economic development.

### 3.2 Case 4: Galle in Sri Lanka

#### 3.2.1 Historical developments

Galle is a historic town designed and built in the seventeenth century by the Dutch East India Company. It is still surrounded by its city walls, as it was in the seventeenth century, and until recently there had been little change to the town. The Sri Lankan Government takes the protection of heritage and its economic value very seriously, and active heritage societies support this work.

#### 3.2.2 Recent developments and threats

Sri Lanka is an attractive destination for tourists from different parts of the world. The peace settlement between the government and the Tamil Tigers has stimulated an increase in tourism.

Since November 2002, foreigners have been permitted to purchase property in Sri Lanka. There has been a run on properties along the coast and in Galle. Inhabitants of Galle can sell their houses for a price they never dreamed of, but the houses are very cheap for the British and German property agents. As a corollary, houses are being renovated and enlarged with limited respect for their historic value. The original inhabitants are moving out of their houses and away from the old town and their properties are becoming the second homes of wealthy Europeans. This will, of course, significantly alter the character of the town.

#### 3.2.3 Conclusion

1. The Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications, with its important history dating back to the seventeenth century, is a unique example of Shared Built Heritage and deserves its place on the World Heritage List.
2. Sri Lanka should not be the only country responsible for the maintenance and management of Galle. A World Heritage site such as Galle cannot survive without assistance from other stakeholders.

3. Sri Lanka does not have the financial means to renovate and maintain the site.
4. International property agents are seriously threatening the heritage in Galle and buying out the original population.

### 4. What should be done to safeguard World Heritage in the Developing World

1. If heritage sites such as Elmina are placed on the World Heritage List, UNESCO should at the same time provide an action plan to assist the local authorities. If UNESCO does not have the necessary funds, it should approach other organizations for contributions. (The Elmina Cultural Heritage and Management Programme, a co-operation between the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies, Ghana Monuments and Museum Board and the District of KEEA, is concerned with the preparation of the strategic plan for Elmina).
2. The action plan should be designed in co-operation with the local private sector, the local community and local authorities. It should be recognized that these three partners have different priorities.
3. An approach needs to be developed which allows the monuments and sites to become an integrated part of modern society.

The ICOMOS Scientific Committee for Shared Built Heritage, which I chair, will organize its annual meeting as a round-table forum each year in a different town with Shared Built Heritage. It will start this year in October in Elmina and continue next year in Galle and Matara in Sri Lanka. This will place the wealth of expertise among the members of this scientific committee at the disposal of local experts and authorities.

# Linking Universal and Local Values for the Sustainable Management of World Heritage Sites

*Eric L. Edroma*

## 1. Cultural Sites

The current (July 2003) 582 cultural World Heritage properties worldwide include monuments, groups of buildings, man-made sites, and cultural landscapes of outstanding universal value. In Africa, they include royal palaces, castles, forts, traditional buildings and archaeological sites, most of which do not occupy a large surface area that the local communities would require for a wide range of livelihood needs.

The important intangible values associated with World Heritage sites are strong elements of history, tradition, spiritual inspiration and politics. The authenticity of their design and craftsmanship, the symbol for their history and culture, and the rituals that are associated with them make these cultural World Heritage properties significant tourist attractions. Their spatial organization is unique in portraying architectural and archaeological features that provide a powerful experience for visitors. Consequently, the tangible values are just as high and comparable to those of the natural World Heritage properties.

The local values of the cultural sites are usually no less apparent than the universal values, and this parity allows for the sustainable management of the sites with minimal difficulties. The local values are not so much founded in the tangible socio-economic gains, but are considered more in relation to the intangible benefits. The indigenous local communities feel a great affinity to the cultural properties because of their historical, traditional, customary, spiritual and political values which are very dear to their hearts and intrinsically linked to their culture. Furthermore, the sites are often strongly symbolic of unity, strength and identity. Apart from these universal values, cultural heritage sites are more likely to enjoy sustainable management for all stakeholders than are natural heritage sites. Increasing public awareness of their potential for community-based cultural tourism, and involving the local communities in the protection and management of cultural objects, would further boost the universal values at the grass-roots level, in turn leading to improved sustainable management of the cultural sites.

## 2. Natural Sites

### 2.1 Values

The 149 natural and 23 mixed properties of outstanding universal value are expected to serve conservation and development roles, particularly where these benefit universal, local or national communities. They can provide numerous benefits and opportunities ranging from the

local to the global level, such as financial capital, labour, capabilities, natural and cultural assets and other activities that are required for generating livelihoods. The following four environmental services or functions provided by natural heritage properties have been identified:

1. The life support function for the livelihoods and the welfare of the population living within or adjacent to the Protected Areas as well as for the global biosphere. Bryon and Arnold (1999) stressed the importance of tropical forests for community household subsistence and income. They provide rural people with food, fuel, medicines, construction materials, soil nutrient recycling and protection, fodder, mulch and income generation. The biological, scientific, educational and employment values are therefore immense.
2. A sink to absorb the waste products of economic and social activity, for example, the absorption of carbon dioxide, which leads to reduction of the greenhouse effect.
3. A source base supplying raw materials and energy for both production and consumption. The biodiversity and genetic store are globally important as inputs for pharmaceuticals, medical and agricultural purposes. As biodiversity loss is caused by habitat loss, habitat fragmentation and the over-exploitation of species (Terborg and van Schaik, 1997), the cornerstone of any conservation strategy for minimizing further loss of tropical biodiversity must be the full and effective protection of the Protected Areas.
4. Centres of exceptional endowment of charismatic species which may be rare, endemic, unique or large and high densities of wildlife (Adams and Hulme, 1998), spectacular scenery, and provision of an amenity service which is a non-productive and transforming process, foreign currency earner through tourism, and through their aesthetic, spiritual and existence value. Competing claims on these scarce and often fragile Protected Areas are made by governments and environmentalists for the strict preservation of the natural resources and non-consumer activities such as tourism on the one hand, and the harvesting of natural resources by the local peasant farmers on the other hand. While wholly valid and justifiable, these claims appear contradictory. The local communities around the Protected Areas are growing and the people are often disadvantaged. Because of the lack of job opportunities they are underemployed and poor. This intensifies the pressures to the point where the integrity and future survival of the World Heritage ecosystems are threatened. The question of how to manage the heritage sites effectively and sustainably is therefore an issue of concern for their continued long-term survival.

How can these divergent universal (genetic/biodiversity and soil protection, stability of climate, hydrology and ozone layer, education and research, tourism and recreation, cultural and heritage protection, etc.) and local (harvesting of resources, hunting, grazing, collection of medicinal plants, water, craft industries, cultural and spiritual uses, employment, food, etc.) claims and values be reconciled? How can a compromise be reached and by what process? Given the different and diverse social actors among the local communities around all Protected Areas, what components of the resources can be sustained and for whom? In other words how can the management of Protected Areas contribute to the livelihood and therefore achieve the sustainable development of the rural/local community, while at the same time meeting its primary mandate of conservation? What is the correlation between the management of Protected Areas and the involvement of the local community (the resource users) and other organizations? Community conservation has been adopted for over a decade now. What are the processes by which community conservation has been established and the outcome? What is the potential impact of community conservation on the social and economic development of the different groups of stakeholders or on heritage preservation?

If World Heritage natural sites have to survive they should primarily be managed to fulfill a conservation role and to contribute to the socio-economic development of the areas inhabited by the local communities within a 2–3 km radius. The state agency responsible for their management should play a central role to control issues of conflict and power among the local people, and to spearhead creation of incentives, job opportunities and small-scale industries aimed at solving the structural problems of poverty, inequitable land distribution, resource allocation, corruption, economic injustice and market failures within a defined range, as pointed out by Brandon (1998).

## **2.2 Types of Protected Area management for achieving sustainable management of World Heritage properties**

### **2.2.1 Fortress conservation**

Historically, conservation strategies set Protected Areas aside for nature, excluding people as residents and preventing consumer use of the resources and minimizing other forms of human impact (Adams and Hulme, 1998). This caused considerable frustration, suspicion, resentment and conflict between the local communities and the Protected Area management authorities. This approach cannot by itself achieve sustainable Protected Area management.

### **2.2.2 Community conservation**

To counteract the fortress conservation, community conservation (CC) has been adopted to include the local residents in the management and conservation of the natural resources by which they reside and the benefits thus

obtained. Community conservation is a democratic process which requires basic common law and order (Bergin, 2000). It is important, therefore, that all the stakeholders are involved at all stages of the process, in order to create a sense of ownership and responsibility. Community conservation initiatives can be successful because the resultant Protected Area (PA) boundary and other decisions are respected by all the stakeholders. This involves the local society and the markets in addition to the state. The community conservation approach is anthropocentric and utilitarian by empowering autonomous local communities to manage the heritage properties responsibly for both local and global benefit. In between the fortress conservation (FC) and the community-based conservation (CBC) described by Roe (1991) is collaborative management (CM), whereby agreements are created between the local communities and the conservation authority for negotiated access to natural resources of the PA (Barrow and Murphree, 2000). Strengthening any of these three forms (FC, CBC and CM) of management can effectively link the universal and local values. The people in and around the PA or others with property rights within the PA can be allowed to participate in the management of the PA resources. The CC strategy allows conservation objectives to be linked to local development needs (Adams and Hulme, 1998). Collaborative management sensitizes the communities to the PA objectives and emphasizes the need to share both in the benefits and responsibilities of resource management. The integrity of the PA is enhanced through educating and benefiting the local communities and enhancing the role of World Heritage sites in local development plans (Barrow and Murphree, 2000).

As the centralized control of heritage PAs by fortress conservation has been ineffective, community conservation through collaborative management offers a positive alternative. With an increasing lack of resources for management, rising populations around PAs, mounting international pressure for structural adjustment and democratization, and rapid evolution of the PA concept to allow for a wider definition of acceptable utilization, Hoefsloot (1997) argues for adoption of collaborative management through local communities as a promising option for sustainable heritage management.

Lack of institutional links between the communities and the PAs has been weak, characterized by poor communication and information flows, PA-community conflicts, marginalization of effective community participation in the PA management, community deprivation of benefits, resource degradation and general resentment of PAs by the people.

The modern concept of PA management should therefore involve local communities, but through an institutionalized management link with elected members and financial backing from government. In Uganda, this link is called Community Protected Areas Institution (CPI) and has a clear mandate and mechanism for operation (UWA, 2000). Its objectives are to:

1. Facilitate a two-way communication and information flow between the PA managers on one hand and the local government and the communities around the PAs;
2. Provide a channel to voice concerns and perceptions of the local communities in the PA management, and for the PA managers to seek active involvement of communities in the PA management;
3. Act as a forum for mobilizing local communities to participate in various PA and community conservation issues;
4. Facilitate a dialogue and conflict resolution for issues such as problems and benefit sharing.

The roles of the CPI in all the PAs including the World Heritage sites could include:

1. Identification of stakeholders who comprise the community and mobilizing them to achieve active participation in management of the heritage PA;
2. Representation of the local community and its interests in regard to PA issues and to act as the official mouthpiece of the communities;
3. Provision of a venue for PA management to represent their interests in a co-ordinated way to local communities living adjacent to the PA and to seek their active participation in PA management;
4. Facilitation of two-way communication between local communities, PA management and local governments;
5. Representation of individuals, community groups and local governments in day-to-day interactions with PA management, with special emphasis on conflict avoidance and resolution;
6. Supporting and playing an advisory role to local communities in the negotiation for benefit sharing and resource utilization;
7. Mobilization and management of financial resources for the operation of the community institution and its involvement in conservation activities;
8. Screening community proposals and selecting projects on behalf of the communities for funding under the state agency's Revenue Sharing Programme, for example;
9. Playing an active role in monitoring, reviewing and ensuring that revenue-sharing projects are implemented according to the agreed terms;
10. Dealing with community PA problems which are PA-specific, such as resolving inter-parish, subcounty or district conflicts, such as vermin control;
11. Support government programmes related to the environment and the sustainable use of natural resources;
12. Non-interference with the political organs in the country. The community PA institution should not attempt to represent political interests as this is a role of local councils.

### **2.2.3 Conservation by commercialization**

The third strategy for PA management is conservation by commercialization (Evans, 1993; Swanson, 1992). In this strategy the heritage PA is expected to generate income, which is distributed to the local communities to empower them to initiate their own economic activities for generat-

ing sufficient income, rather than harvesting the resources of the PA for sale. Management would use market forces to provide incentives for conservation to protect the heritage properties. Investment in diverse resources and small-scale, site-specific commercial activities based on the heritage resources would be developed for the local communities. From these, they could optimize all tangible and intangible benefits rather than allowing the communities to rely directly on the PA resources. By appropriately attending to the needs of the local communities and promoting adequate investment for them in diverse resources, the management agency would build sufficient incentives among the adjacent population for sustainable conservation. As biodiversity is an asset (Swanson, 1992), investing in wildlife-related activities of the heritage properties would encourage the local communities to strictly protect the endangered species. This, it was thought, would provide a significant step towards the long-term sustainability of PA management and utilization. Although the strategy of conservation by commercialization sounds attractive, it is impractical because most PAs in Africa are scarcely able to generate sufficient revenue to provide for the large, but predominantly poor, local populations.

### **2.2.4 Integrated conservation development projects**

The global objective of heritage PA conservation can be achieved by promoting socio-economic development that can provide the local people with alternative income sources which do not threaten to deplete the plant and animal species within the PA (Brandon and Wells, 1992). To achieve these goals the management authority should initiate integrated conservation and development projects which could include;

1. Zoning a PA for strict protection, tourism, controlled human use, etc. is common in modern conservation. Such areas can be designated as multiple-use zones within the PA boundary, with access controls at the periphery and access to specified PA resources being granted to local community members for low-level exploitation of the natural resources to provide them with economic benefits. The area should exclude fragile or vulnerable habitats or other important conservation areas. Whether an area has such a status should be determined after a survey of the available resources in relation to the needs of the people. The zone must contain the resources that the local communities need which are accessible, in high demand, quantifiable, capable of being sustainably used, unavailable outside the PA, irreplaceable and, as yet, ungrowable. A multiple-use plan for resource identification, access, extraction and monitoring should be drawn up by the PA management authority in co-operation with the local community. Access to and utilization of the resources must be managed with the participation of the local community. The multiple-use programme should meet the needs of the communities in order to minimize the undermining of conservation efforts and to ensure compliance with the law. This would reduce

the economic burden placed by conservation on people with few alternative means of livelihood other than exploiting the flora and fauna available in the PA.

2. A wildlife extension area is a zone outside a PA that influences or impacts on conservation efforts. The area would not be under the jurisdiction of the PA authority, but the authority can carry out extension programmes to ensure its sustainability in supporting the needs of the communities bordering the heritage site. Under the extension programme, the PA authority would liaise with the appropriate local institutions and community structures to:

(a) assess sources of basic social and economic community needs of food, security, supply of water, health and education services, domestic energy, capacity to sustainably manage the land and other natural resources, opportunities for economic activities, pasture for livestock, etc.;

(b) assist the local communities to sustainably utilize the natural resources available locally outside the PA;

(c) supplement activities of low environmental impact;

(d) identify resources outside the heritage sites that the local communities desperately need.

A successful extension programme supports local development activities that meet the social and economic needs of the people, enlists community support and participation in heritage management, develops and supports the capacity of the community structures to sustainably utilize the natural resources in the area, and saves the PA from pressures from the communities.

3. Compensation should be made to the local communities when wildlife from the protected heritage sites drink water and feed on their rangelands or when they experience restricted access to the PA resources. Compensation for crop raids and other forms of wildlife damage or destruction are rare. Prompt compensation would stand out as a welcome option for resolving conflicts with the aggrieved local communities. Sharing of revenue collected as entrance fees from tourists should be implemented.
4. Livestock herders from the local communities facing scarcity of land due to gazettement of heritage properties can be aided through a technique called 'zero grazing' where nutritious grass planted in contours to conserve soil is harvested and fed to the enclosed cattle. With this approach the demand for land from the heritage properties would be minimized and eliminated.
5. Socio-economic development in the rural areas surrounding the heritage sites should aim at capacity-building, increasing productivity and improved household food security, storage and pest management, developing improved agro-forestry, expansion of tree plantations, and the adoption of sustainable harvesting of natural resources through appropriate technologies and skills aimed at reducing poverty among the rural population. With the involvement and strengthening of the private sector as the engine of sustainable growth, and the provision of better education, training, technology transfer and capacity-building of the resources, poor people and the development of

infrastructure and community-based tourism in the region would be given a boost and the commitment of the state towards heritage conservation and development and the level of socio-economic development in the rural populations surrounding the heritage sites would rise, and the local and universal values of the heritage sites would converge, ultimately leading to total success in the sustainable management of the heritage properties.

6. Community development activities centred on the heritage resources should be initiated. Africans are proud of their culture and cannot divorce themselves from it. To be without culture is like a tree without roots. Culture, wildlife and nature are inseparable because culture is based on wildlife. All traditional cultures discourage the destruction of nature because it is God's creation, irrespective of whether the animals that live there are harmful or not, regardless of whether they are small or big, wild or domesticated. The ethos of mankind conserving and protecting nature is strongly entrenched in African religions. Protection of nature is important because nature is seen as a manifestation of God the creator. As traditional societies are deeply religious, they would not set out to destroy their God's creation. There is a distinct need to include indigenous technical knowledge and traditional mechanisms in the integrated conservation approaches aimed at restoring the integrity of natural ecosystems and the authenticity of cultural properties. Revival of the once strong link between the African culture and its dependence on nature (Edroma, 2000) would strengthen the cultural-natural bond and pave the way to achieving sustainable management of both the cultural and natural World Heritage properties.

### 2.2.5 New fortress conservation

A return to and modification of fortress conservation for managing PAs has been argued by van Schaik and Kramer (1997). This approach is based on four principles requiring a thorough site-by-site analysis of each PA to provide solutions tailored to site-specific needs. The principles state that:

1. A PA will always be in need of active defence no matter how great its benefits are to the local communities or to society at large. The management authorities should therefore work in co-operation with the communities adjacent to the PA in combining community conservation with law enforcement as complementary tools for achieving conservation and development goals.
2. People who benefit from the heritage services for free should be prepared to pay to support PAs.
3. Effective solutions require the involvement of all stakeholders, including representatives of both the local and international community. The government management agency, local communities, landowners, the private sector and both national and international organizations must all participate in the conservation and management of the heritage sites (UWA, 1999).



4. While delegation of heritage management to local communities through collaborative management is to be encouraged, it is always the role of the national government as representative of the nation or of the international community to ensure its management.

#### **2.2.6 Decentralization of natural resource management**

Most of the heritage properties are managed centrally with minimum participation from the communities that live close by. Decentralized natural and cultural resource management has offered a more effective management option (Winter, 1998) than the centralized system of management. For decentralized resource management to be successful, the resources must be valued in order to attract investment in managing them more closely. The local people and the management authority must have the capacity to manage the resources in the face of external actors and outside users.

Once the management of the property has been decentralized;

- A maximum number of users will be determined to actively participate in the decision-making process for drafting research programmes, management plans, regulations, use rights, etc. Effectively, a high degree of resource user participation in natural resource management will be achieved.
- The resource users come to know the local rules, how they are made and how financial resources are managed. This will usher in a high degree of transparency in management.
- The resource management authority can monitor compliance, identify rule breakers and assess the evolution of their natural resources. Adequate monitoring will be achieved.
- The resource use can be taxed to fund the costs of management and to ensure financial autonomy.
- Disputes can be managed within the system in a timely and acceptable manner, e.g. through transparent and legitimate conflict resolution mechanisms.
- The resource managers can pursue sustainable policies or practices and maintain adequate records to keep track of the knowledge and skills available locally.
- Management functions can be ascribed or allocated to appropriate levels for implementation to ensure the overall success of operation.

Through the programmes of community conservation, the communities can be provided with what Scoones (1998) called capabilities and natural, financial, human, social and physical capital assets required for investment in activities aimed at generating and achieving sound and sustainable living. These components or capital assets of the livelihood function should be capable of absorbing and recovering from stresses and shocks, and remain level or grow without undermining the heritage resource base. Careful development, analysis and application of the cross-sector livelihood framework should provide a useful tool for sustainable management and use of the resources of the PAs.

#### **2.2.7 Expected achievements**

Through these six types of natural heritage management mechanisms, the biological diversity as defined by Kramer et al. (1997) in all the World Heritage properties would be guarded against human over-exploitation, extinction and conversion into non-renewable natural resources, thereby linking the local and universal values of the heritage facilities.

One of the prime objectives of the *World Heritage Convention* is to protect the heritage resources, where appropriate through responsible development (Chambers, 1997), for the benefit of present and future generations (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). The capabilities of the communities must therefore be enhanced to achieve secure livelihood equitably and sustainably. The livelihoods of the communities must be maintained or enhanced (Barrow and Murphree, 2000). The CAMPFIRE (Communal Areas Management Programme For Indigenous Resources) in Zimbabwe has adopted community-based conservation to benefit from the consumptive wildlife utilization of safari hunting and non-consumptive ecotourism (Bond, 2000; Hulme and Murphree, 2000) by providing sustainable management of wildlife resources.

The communities in all their forms (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999) and any other stakeholders (Hulme and Murphree, 2000), once encouraged and empowered to effectively participate in the decision-making process can start to positively influence and share control over the sustainable development initiatives, management decisions and resource use (World Bank, 1995) regardless of any political tensions (White, 1996) and conflicts (Hoben et al., 1998).

### **3. Conclusions**

What is the way forward for linking universal and local values of cultural, natural and mixed WH sites for guaranteeing their sustainable management? The management of heritage sites should focus on the conservation role, as well as on achieving sustainable development for the rural communities that attach local values to them. A combination of management approaches is required to achieve the joint goals of conservation and development. The first approach is:

1. Increased level of awareness of management programmes and increased communication, dialogue and sensitization are needed between the PA authority and the local communities in order to build relationships, partnerships, confidence and trust. Both sides must be satisfied. The purpose, functions, benefits and costs of the heritage sites should be articulated and effectively communicated to the local communities. Conservation education and sensitization should be a constant long-term programme to bridge the gap between universal and local values. Such a programme should make the local and universal values complementary. This will encourage the communities to respect the heritage site

boundaries and the universal values, as well as ensuring compliance with the laws governing heritage management. The conservation and law enforcement efforts should be made an integral part of the heritage management process.

2. Law enforcement along traditional lines within clearly demarcated boundaries of the heritage sites should be maintained alongside community conservation participation and other functions, such as conservation education and sensitization.
3. Community conservation should be emphasized to all stakeholders involved at all stages of community conservation initiatives, while policing of the heritage site boundary continues. Once partnerships are well established between the management authority and the local communities through a collaborative management arrangement, the communities can become fully involved in the law enforcement effort and in claiming ownership of the resource for the benefit of all.

The communities do not usually have the authority, capacity or legitimacy to manage World Heritage properties and other PAs on their own, but they can be incorporated into a management approach with the government agency to collaboratively manage the shared resource. As heritage sites have different environments, different social and political settings, histories, different groups of resource users, and they contain different resources, different management strategies should therefore be adopted. Whatever the strategy adopted for community conservation to play a significant role, it must have the following characteristics:

- Conservation education and sensitization for the local people and all stakeholders to ensure they know the goals, purposes, rules, costs and benefits of heritage management;
- Distribution of incentives among the entire range of stakeholders who benefit from the heritage management;
- Relationship-building through a continuous process of dialogue to create trust between and among the various groups of stakeholders;
- Participation by all stakeholders, including empowerment of the communities to take responsibility and acquire a sense of ownership, and incentives to encourage investment of people's time and resources;
- A flexible and adaptable process in the face of the prevailing dynamic relationships between the heritage sites and people. The benefits and costs of living with wildlife, the culture and land-use patterns, and peoples' expectations, are always changing. Community conservation must therefore constantly adapt to take account of these expectations;
- Monitoring activities to provide the baseline data required to assess and evaluate the state of conservation of heritage properties and the socio-economic development of the surrounding area.

World Heritage sites are of global importance and their management should therefore continue to be supported

by the international community as well as by the States Parties to the *World Heritage Convention*.

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# Community-Based Legal Systems and the Management of World Heritage Sites

*Albert Mumma*

## 1. Introduction

**This paper examines the role of community-based legal systems in the management of World Heritage sites. It defines community-based legal systems as those which derive their legitimacy from local communities. It contrasts such systems with state-based legal systems, which derive their legitimacy from the nation-state. It takes the position that community-based legal systems tend on the whole to be enforced through tradition, culture and – at times – religious belief systems. Consequently, communities are integral to the existence and functioning of community-based legal systems.**

## 2. Community-Based Legal Systems in the Modern Era

Around the world there has been a decline in community-based legal systems. The decline is so great that in many countries their very survival is in question. This has come about because of the hegemony of state-based legal systems and of global economic, social and cultural changes.

Traditionally, the relationship between the two systems has been antagonistic. This is because the two in essence compete for legitimacy and influence. In Africa, given the colonial experience, state-based legal systems have predominated and have succeeded in marginalizing the community-based legal systems completely.

The hegemony of state-based legal systems is manifested in a number of ways: historic rights derived from community-based legal systems have been revoked, nationalized and, at best, reduced to permit-based rights; community historical uses have been criminalized; community rights have been opened up to exploitation and use by persons who are typically considered outsiders by the community; community-based traditional leaders and authority systems have been invalidated and replaced by state-appointed leaders; and community enforcement systems have been invalidated and derided. The effect has been to alienate local communities from their heritage.

The hegemony of state-based legal systems has either undermined community-based legal systems to extinction or it has reduced them to a peripheral management system, often ineffective and secondary in status.

Community-based legal systems have also declined as a consequence of changes in the wider economic, social and

cultural circumstances under which they operate. Typically, resource use has become commercial in orientation, and the pressures of commercialization, backed by state sanction, have proved more than the community-based legal systems can sustain, because they were developed during a time of limited demand for resources. These changes have combined with other factors to undermine the authority of traditional systems. These factors include a decline in internal social and cultural cohesion in communities as a result of the introduction of Western-style formal education, a decline in the dependence of the young on the local economy and local natural resources, and changing religious and cultural beliefs and practices. With the decline in social cohesion, community-based enforcement systems have unravelled.

The inability of community-based legal systems to adjust to these changes has further undermined their effectiveness and relegated them to secondary status in the eyes even of community members.

## 3. The Management of World Heritage Sites and the Regeneration of Communities

Despite the decline in community-based legal systems, it is now widely recognized that state-based legal systems, on their own, are incapable of ensuring the holistic and sustainable management of local immovable heritage, which includes sites on the World Heritage List. A key reason for this is that limitations on the use of resources hamper the functioning of the highly resource-dependent systems which generally accompany state-based legal systems. This is particularly so in poor countries, in Africa for example. Western countries have a longer history of reliance on state-based legal systems, and these systems have been internalized. This is not the case in Africa, where state-based legal systems usually depend for their enforcement almost exclusively on state organs.

Because state-based enforcement has proven unreliable, attention has turned to integrating communities into management systems and structures that make use of community-based legal systems. This improves the effectiveness with which heritage sites are managed.

The reinstatement of community-based legal systems, which also involves the regeneration of communities, requires a number of measures.

First, the legitimacy of community-based legal systems must be reinstated. This requires a reorientation in the

relationship between the state and local communities. Fundamentally, it involves reinstating historic ownership and/or historic rights for using resources, particularly land. In South Africa a land-restitution programme is under way that is returning land to its original historic owners. Restitution of historic rights restores the confidence of communities, enabling them to take charge of managing local resources.

The second measure arises from the first. With the restitution of historic rights, in many situations it will be necessary to reinstate community leaders and traditional structures that define authority. This involves a fundamental shift in power relations between the central state and local communities. In many countries, the state has attempted to devolve power to local levels. This has seldom meant handing over power to local communities, however. Instead, power has gone to lower-level state-appointed or state-approved officials that are part of a local authority or local government. Community leaders and traditional political structures have continued to be marginalized. Therefore, although decentralization will occur, it is unlikely to result in a resource management system that is fully based in the community as the state-appointed local authorities will not have the same power of enforcement that truly community-based leaders and political structures would have. But these must first be revived. This has happened in Uganda, where the former kings were reinstated. As a result, the Kasubi Tombs, which are the traditional tombs of the Baganda kings, have now been included on the World Heritage List.

Third, community-based leadership and authority systems must be adapted if they are to continue to be accepted and found relevant by the younger generations. Traditional systems of leadership and authority have often been undemocratic (excluding marginalized groups within the community); they have often allocated local resources inequitably (to those close to power); and they have tended to be backward-looking (looking to the past for legitimacy and for justification of their demands, rather than finding relevance under today's circumstances). These features undermine the continued relevance of traditional management systems. To be able to function effectively in today's world, community-based legal systems must change. They must incorporate principles of democracy and accountability in the ways that leaders are selected and make decisions; they must ensure equity in resource distribution; and the reasons for doing things must more often be knowledge-based (adopting science and technology).

Fourth, the adoption of a forward-looking approach to resource management requires a conscious effort to integrate a conservation ethic into the community's point of view. In the past, it has too often been taken for granted that this ethic would automatically be embedded in a community management system.

#### 4. Concluding Remarks

State-based laws for the management of immovable heritage need to reorient the relationship between state-based and community-based legal systems. The two systems must be brought into a relationship of complementarity and symbiosis rather than antagonism and competition. In effect, legal pluralism must be formally adopted as the way forward.

In many countries, changing the relationship between the two legal systems will require amending or rewriting laws. But while many countries are in fact changing their laws at the present time, very few of them have changed their basic philosophy and policies with respect to the role of community-based systems in the management of heritage. Often the legal reform is designed simply to improve the effectiveness of the state-based system itself. Countries should in fact clarify their policy position with regard to community-based systems before they begin the work of implementing legal reforms in their state-based systems.

The legal reform proposed here needs to go beyond merely amending heritage legislation. In order to render community-based management systems effective, it will almost always be necessary to reform a number of other laws, particularly those relating to land ownership and use, to local systems and structures of government, to forestry and wildlife, to planning and environmental management, to agriculture and the use of farmland, and – in many countries – even to the languages that are used. Community-based heritage management must be seen as holistic and integrated in nature.

# Managing World Heritage Cultural Landscapes and Sacred Sites

Mechtild Rössler

## 1. Introduction

The Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (*World Heritage Convention*), adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO in 1972, established a unique international instrument that recognizes and protects both cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value. *The World Heritage Convention's* definition of heritage also provided an innovative opportunity for the conservation of sites with both tangible and intangible heritage and for cultural landscapes as 'combined works of nature and man'.

The Convention not only embodies tangible and intangible values for both natural and cultural heritage, it also acknowledges in its implementation the recognition of traditional management systems, customary law and long-established customary techniques to protect cultural and natural heritage. World Heritage sites contribute considerably to sustainable local and regional development through these protection systems and through economic and other benefits based on the international recognition of World Heritage.

With 176 States Parties to the convention and 730 World Heritage sites in a total of 125 countries, the Convention has become a key legal instrument in heritage conservation and plays an important role in promoting the recognition and management of heritage in many regions of the world. Its implementation has had a considerable effect on many other programmes and projects beyond World Heritage sites.

## 2. Including Cultural Landscapes on the World Heritage List: broadening the Concept of World Heritage

In 1992 the *World Heritage Convention* became the first international legal instrument to recognize and protect cultural landscapes. This decision was based on over fifteen years of intensive debate in the World Heritage Committee on how to protect sites where interactions between people and the natural environment are the key focus. The Committee adopted three categories of cultural landscapes as qualifying for listing:

1. clearly defined landscapes designed and created intentionally by humans (Fig. 5);
2. organically evolved landscapes, which can be either relict landscapes or continuing landscapes (Fig. 6);
3. associative cultural landscapes (Fig. 7).



5 The artificial landscape of Lednice-Valtice (Czech Republic), changed by people over the years into a park and garden landscape, which has enhanced its natural values. The site is not only a World Heritage Cultural Landscape, but is also internationally recognized by the Ramsar Convention for its value as a wetland site.



6 The cultural landscape of Mont Perdu on the borders of France and Spain, where the political boundary does not exist for the local people. They carry out their system of transhumance according to environmental conditions, not political ones.



7 The cultural landscape of Uluru-Kata Tjuta (Australia), which is a sacred site for the Aborigines. Following the nomination of the site as a cultural landscape, its management plan was adapted and a cultural resources centre was established.

Cultural landscapes are included on the World Heritage List on the basis of the cultural heritage criteria, but in a number of cases they are also recognized for natural values, which means they are 'mixed cultural and natural heritage properties'.

The impact of these new criteria on the application of the *World Heritage Convention* has been considerable:

- The category of associative cultural landscape has been crucial in the recognition of *intangible values* and for the heritage of *indigenous people*: 'The inclusion of such landscapes on the World Heritage List is justifiable by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent' (*Operational Guidelines*, para. 39(iii)) (Fig. 8). The importance of *protecting biological diversity* by maintaining cultural diversity within cultural landscapes has been recognized (Fig. 9).
- The inclusion of sites as cultural landscapes on the World Heritage List has had a significant effect on the *interpretation, presentation, and management* of the properties (Fig. 10).

Many cultural landscapes have been nominated and included on the World Heritage List since the 1992 land-

mark decision. They include associative cultural landscapes, individual sites, routes and other linear landscapes, which may be physical objects or mental images embedded in a people's spirituality, cultural tradition and practice. The attributes of associative cultural landscapes include many non-material forms, such as oral traditions and rituals, dances, music, and other visual and acoustic arts (Fig. 11).



**Tongariro National Park (New Zealand), the first associative cultural landscape on the World Heritage List.**



**Stonehenge (United Kingdom): this relict cultural landscape is managed by the National Trust because of its natural value and in order to enhance the biodiversity in the area.**



**Sukur Cultural Landscape in Nigeria, the first cultural landscape from sub-Saharan Africa included on the World Heritage List, is attracting visitors who are keen to see a managed site protected by customary law.**



**The rice terraces of the Philippine Cordillera, a cultural landscape which integrates tangible and intangible elements, including the rituals and traditions of the Ifugao people, which are intrinsically linked to the rice cultivation.**

### 3. Linking Culture and Nature Interactions: Sacred Sites and Intangible Values

A number of natural World Heritage sites have associative values, although they are not officially recognized. Many such sites are in mountain areas. Since the beginning of human history, mountains and their peaks have been seen as places of mystery and spiritual fulfilment by people in many cultures. They may be considered sacred, as a seat of the gods, as is the case with Mount Kilimanjaro (United Republic of Tanzania). Relics of sacrificial rituals can be found on top of some of the highest mountains, as in the Peruvian Andes, where the 'Inca Ice Maiden', now preserved in a refrigerated unit at the University of Arequipa,

was found. Mountains serve as inspiring places of pilgrimage for religions and cultures all over the world. Some mountain World Heritage sites are pilgrimage destinations and play an important role for associative values and traditional beliefs that still endure today, for example Mount Athos and Meteora (Greece) or Mount Taishan (China).

The intertwining of the natural environment and the cultural values of these sites have led to their inclusion on the World Heritage List as 'mixed properties'. The basis for their protection is often formed by traditional respect for these places, and by existing access restrictions to these sacred sites.

### 4. Managing Tangible and Intangible Values of World Heritage Sites: Local Communities

With the introduction of the cultural landscapes categories in 1992, far-reaching changes were also made to the management and legal provisions of para. 24(b) of the *Operational Guidelines*. It became possible to nominate a site if it has:

... adequate legal and/or contractual and/or *traditional protection* and management mechanisms to ensure the conservation of the nominated cultural properties or cultural landscapes. The existence of protective legislation at the national, provincial or municipal level and/or a *well-established contractual or traditional protection* as well as of adequate management and/or planning control mechanisms is therefore essential and, as is clearly indicated in the following paragraph, must be stated clearly on the nomination form. Assurances of the effective implementation of these laws and/or *contractual and/or traditional protection* as well as of these management mechanisms are also expected' (*Operational Guidelines*, para. 24(b)).

For the first time in the history of the Convention, traditional management mechanisms and customary law were considered acceptable forms of protection for a cultural site. It was only in 1998 that the *Operational Guidelines* were finally changed, allowing a traditionally managed natural site, East Rennell (Solomon Islands), to be included on the World Heritage List.

The management of cultural and natural World Heritage can set standards for the conservation of the environment as a whole, by establishing models for what is required elsewhere. It can help to reinforce the position of heritage conservation at national and local levels. The conservation of World Heritage cultural landscapes and sacred sites can also demonstrate the principles of sustainable land-use and of the maintenance of local diversity, which should spread through the management of the surrounding environment as a whole. The World Parks Congress (Durban, 2003) will explore such close links between the *World Heritage Convention*, other international agreements (including those recognizing indigenous rights) and

national legal instruments, as well as physical links between different categories of Protected Areas through its stream 'Linkages in the landscape and seascape'.

## 5. Conclusions: World Heritage - a Dynamic Concept

A look at the past thirty years of the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention* makes it clear that the interpretation of 'heritage' has become broader. In the field of cultural heritage, an anthropological interpretation has led from the protection of monumental heritage to recognition of the living heritage of indigenous people, the spiritual wealth of humanity, and its complex relationships with the natural environment. The inclusion of cultural landscapes, and in particular those associated with natural elements rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent, has changed the perception, interpretation and implementation of the *World Heritage Convention*. The maintenance of outstanding natural environments also sustains living cultures, traditions and beliefs. These decisions have provided new opportunities for the recognition of sacred sites and other properties with unique, intangible value. The recent meeting on Cultural Landscapes – Challenges for Conservation (Ferrara, November 2002) confirmed this approach.

The meeting revealed not only that the cultural landscape approach has brought nature and culture, the two different sides of the Convention, closer together, but also that it has made World Heritage more relevant to society's needs. It has demonstrated models of sustainability, identity of people and, at the same time, it has provided stewardship. It also illustrates a new approach for the transmission of cultural diversity, traditional knowledge and resources to future generations.

Even for natural heritage, the recognition of the involvement of indigenous people in site management has benefited from the changing concept of cultural heritage, but many of these sites are still not listed on the basis of the important interaction between the people and the environment that contributed to their protection. Management plans now include the protection of living cultural traditions and heritage, and cultural-resource assessments are being carried out at many natural World Heritage sites.

This evolution in the interpretation of the *World Heritage Convention* represents only the beginning of a recognition of the complexity of the interaction between tangible and intangible values in relation to heritage sites, and in particular to sites of outstanding universal value. There will be many challenges in the identification, recognition, and protection of the intrinsic links between the cultural and natural heritage, between tangible and intangible values, between people and their environment. An inclusive approach is crucial for the designation and management of sites of outstanding universal value, for the benefit of

the people living in and around these sites, the conservation community, and humanity as a whole.

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### Links between the Cultural Heritage Criteria and the Cultural Landscape Categories

Cultural criteria	Cultural landscapes categories (extract from para. 39 of <i>Operational Guidelines</i> )
(i) represent a masterpiece of human creative genius; or	(i) The most easily identifiable is the clearly defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man. This embraces garden and parkland landscapes constructed for aesthetic reasons which are often (but not always) associated with religious or other monumental buildings and ensembles.
<p>(ii) exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design; or</p> <p>(iii) bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared; or</p> <p>(iv) be an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history; or</p> <p>(v) be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement or land-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change; or</p>	<p>The second category is the organically evolved landscape. This results from an initial social, economic, administrative, and/or religious imperative and has developed its present form by association with and in response to its natural environment. Such landscapes reflect that process of evolution in their form and component features. They fall into two subcategories:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• a relict (or fossil) landscape is one in which an evolutionary process came to an end at some time in the past, either abruptly or over a period. Its significant distinguishing features are, however, still visible in material form.</li> <li>• a continuing landscape is one which retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress. At the same time it exhibits significant material evidence of its evolution over time.</li> </ul>
(vi) be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances and in conjunction with other criteria cultural or natural).	The final category is the associative cultural landscape. The inclusion of such landscapes on the World Heritage List is justifiable by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent.

# Local Involvement and Traditional Practices in the World Heritage System

Sharon Sullivan

Willandra Lakes Region in western New South Wales was listed as World Heritage in 1981, as a series of Pleistocene fossil lakes containing very important evidence of Pleistocene occupation by *Homo sapiens*, including examples of some of the earliest *Homo sapiens* burials in the world at 38,000 years BP. They also have significant associated information about the Pleistocene environment revealed by scientific research. The area is also scenically spectacular and environmentally sensitive. The management proposals to conserve the archaeological remains and the environmental landscape seemed effective and were approved by the World Heritage Committee with no problems. The state and local governments were supportive of the listing, undertook to create a National Park to protect the area, and welcomed the additional tourism and development which they saw coming to a depressed rural area (Fox, 1997).

However the next fifteen years of management of the area was characterized by a growing crescendo of discontent and distress from the local community, including farming families who grazed sheep in the area and Aboriginal groups with ancestral affiliations. Neither of these groups had been properly briefed on the significance of the area, and its management for World Heritage values had severe consequences for them. The graziers found that their farming practice was severely restricted, and were able to demonstrate that their land had fallen in value because of these restrictions. They also resented the fact that their history was ignored in the World Heritage citation and the subsequent creation and interpretation of the National Park. The Aboriginal community was incensed that their ancestors were being treated as scientific specimens, with skeletal material being excavated and removed, and that their ownership claims to ancestral land had been overridden by the concept of universal value. These issues reached major political crisis point and threatened the World Heritage values of the area before any action was undertaken to resolve them.

Community participation and the beneficial use of traditional practices in the management of World Heritage is essential for the conservation and sustainable use of World Heritage areas. However there are significant issues and problems in ensuring this.

We all know of similar examples of the failure of the World Heritage system to involve local people and to

honour and support their connections with place. This has caused some to argue that World Heritage listing is inimical to local custodianship, and certainly, one consequence of this has been to endanger the World Heritage place itself. This is not necessarily the case, as many of the examples of this conference will show, but I would like to look at some of the underlying causes of this situation which are to some extent inherent in the origins and history of the World Heritage system, and to suggest a way forward.

## 1. The Western Heritage Concept

Underlying the concept of World Heritage is a set of basic assumptions which we need to examine if we are to take the step of effectively and fully giving (or returning) ownership of World Heritage to the local community and to Traditional Owners.

The way we practise heritage conservation in the West comes out of what I would call the Western Dreaming. By this I mean the cultural assumptions that we take as given – our own unconscious vision of our society and ourselves which profoundly influence heritage practice. In turn the concept of World Heritage is a product of the West's heritage management values and systems and a part of the concept of Western civilization which we tend to take for granted.

The World Heritage system arose in the centres of Western civilization, and evolved with the evolution of the global community. As Sarah Titchen has traced so clearly in her examination of the development of the concept of 'universal value', the World Heritage system reflects these origins, and so far has spread out only gingerly and partially to encompass the heritage concepts, values and places of other societies (Titchen, 1995).

The modern Western world in which our heritage practice evolved is a very materialistic society. In our heritage conservation work, this is shown by our interest in the outward, physical manifestations of success, of historic events, of status, of artistic achievement and of ingenuity. A lot of our heritage work springs from a genuine fear we feel for the loss of the material world, as though by losing the monuments of the past we lose its most important attribute. The classic expression of these values is seen in the Venice Charter (Sullivan, 2003). Our increasing emphasis on the inherent value of the 'unspoiled' natural world also arises from this fear of loss (see, for example, the Australian Natural Heritage Charter, 2002).

The early lists of World Heritage places show us these origins – the most monumental or information-rich historic sites, the purest and most pristine natural areas and the most familiar in terms of classic values were chosen and there was little debate about the nature and degree of these values in those early days because they seemed so obvious.

This emphasis on monumentality or grandeur or craftsmanship has often led us to neglect the places of the spirit, and the low-key and subtle signs of our past, which can be of great emotional value to ordinary people. Our emphasis on ‘untouched nature’ has sometimes led us to minimize the evidence of human intervention, and to ignore the traditional custodians for whom there is often no separation between the physical and the cultural world.

The great Khmer city of Angkor in Cambodia has breathtaking artistic, design and planning values – it is justly described in World Heritage terms as *a unique artistic realization, a chef d’oeuvre of the human mind*. For 200 years the whole focus of management has been on the restoration and physical conservation of these spectacular monuments, and their outstanding values were certainly the reason for World Heritage listing. But the ongoing traditional and religious connections between the local population and the remains of Khmer civilization do not form part of the reasons for World Heritage listing. These connections have been all but ignored, and have in fact been replaced in the popular imagination with a picture of mysterious jungle-covered ruins of unknown origin. Locals have been excluded from management decisions, have laboured under the direction of foreign ‘experts’ and their long-standing rights to farm and utilize the area are increasingly restricted in the interests of the conservation of these World Heritage values.

More recently, a strong interest in the conservation of the natural environment has also had a tendency to further restrict traditional practices and land-use, and massive international tourism, eagerly sought by the national government, has disrupted many traditional and natural systems and created significant environmental and social problems (Sullivan, in prep.).

The Western ideals of perfectibility and progress also affect our practice. They engender continuous change and a certain element of restlessness and dissatisfaction in our society. We are living in a time of accelerating change and in the last 200 years have probably experienced the fastest and most brutal break with the past in our history. This in turn tends to mean that there is an unprecedented amount of discontinuity in every society – and hence the rapidly receding and endangered past, which it is our job as heritage practitioners to assess, to understand, and to carry forward into the future.

I have had the honour of working in the spectacular Buddhist cave temples at Mogao in western China. Modern practice here is in stark contrast to that of the

traditional custodians who built, rebuilt, painted, repainted, extended, repaired and re-made the cave temples continually and often quite radically for more than a millennium. Their curation was fluid, seamless and continuous. They did not need to invent a Burra Charter to guide them in their work. We do not critique the thirteenth-century monks who replaced eleventh-century work. We know that the long continuity of the tradition and the many changes which grew organically out of it are the reasons why the place is so important. The job of the Chinese heritage managers as modern curators of the site is very different because a significant break in the continuity of the tradition which generated the site means that they dare only, in the words of the Burra Charter, to ‘do as much as necessary but as little as possible’ to conserve the site as it now is. Very properly this makes their modern curation methods restricted, self-conscious and of necessity artificial – in fact following a Western model in their striving for high standards, and their rigour in methodology.

There is no other path which the responsible modern heritage managers can take. Ironically however it is this discontinuity in our modern world which makes the discipline of heritage conservation such a difficult and crucial one. It also makes it much more conscious and artificial than ever before. Because of the lack of continuity, and in keeping with the place of the scientific method in Western society, we have gradually had to impose the idea of rigour of conservation methodology and of significance of thresholds for listing – that is for deeming something worthy of a certain status. We separate natural heritage from cultural heritage when it is clear that most of the world is a cultural landscape, that our perceptions of it are inescapably cultural and that every site is an inextricable mixture of natural and cultural values. We employ experts to carefully measure and sift criteria. Our methodology forces us to be hierarchical. We split heritage into that which gets on the List – the minority – and that which is deemed not worthy of World Heritage status – the majority (Sullivan, in press). This is not the way local communities or Traditional Owners view the world, and they often find it very difficult to come to terms with a management system which stops at a buffer zone, or a level of significance and which imposes what seems to be esoteric and rigid conservation practice.

The methodology we use can inadvertently mummify or destroy aspects of value by disregarding the less tangible and subtler elements of continuity which many of them have. The concrete quantifiable values are easier to measure and manage but living natural and cultural sites are organic in the way they change and adapt and our practice sometimes does not suit the conservation of these values. The values which a community places on its environment are of this organic type rather than being rigorously classified and measured, and are often an unconscious part of that society’s values until they are challenged.

Peter Read has written about these issues eloquently and movingly in *Returning to Nothing* (1996). He gives us a telling example of ordinary people with an inarticulate but strong love of place, faced by a proposed highway, which will disrupt their lives. He points out that in this instance, the local community, in attempting to save their place, had to find characteristics of it which were recognized as having 'heritage value' and to have these elements assessed, analysed and certified by experts as having a certain degree of significance. The local community does not need this assessment to validate their sense of place but modern heritage conservation practice demands it. There is really no other acceptable way for them to express their inherent love for the ordinary landscape in which their lives are led (Sullivan, in press).

So the modern concept of World Heritage listing and management is perforce artificial and its origins are structured, bureaucratic and rigorous rather than organic. This artificiality is often inimical to the involvement of locals and to the use of traditional methodologies in site conservation and management.

## 2. Global Versus Local

World Heritage is a global concept and process imposed, as I have said above, through fear of the effects of global development on the variety and richness of the World Heritage. It is imposed from above – a submission by a national party to an international committee with the aim of achieving recognition of a value of universal significance. This process can often be intimidating, mysterious, and highly technical to local people and Traditional Owners. This creates a high potential for resentment, misunderstanding and hostility, which often characterize relationships between the 'edges' and the 'centre' of empire, society or the world community.

The problem is exacerbated because in terms of the Convention local communities have no direct link with the World Heritage Committee. They are at a third remove from the centre of World Heritage decision-making – and we must face the fact that there are often no adequate systems to allow for community involvement or participation in social or cultural issues generally at a national, state provincial or regional level, and in fact that traditional systems and societies are often under severe threat from the pressures of globalization and development. So to rely on national or local government systems to encourage local involvement and the fostering of traditional practices is often unrealistic and counter-productive.

World Heritage listing and protection issues can become a political football, and cause bitter provincial or local resentment. In some instances, notably in my own country, the national government, supported by the conservation movement, has used World Heritage listing as the only power available to thwart local land-use proposals which were seen as threatening significant conservation

values. In the case of the Tasmanian Wilderness, listing was proposed to prevent the building of a major dam by the State Government of Tasmania and in the case of the Wet Tropics of Queensland the listing proposal was to prevent rainforest logging and other development. In the process of bringing forward both proposed listings to the World Heritage Committee, the Australian Government faced vigorous and internationally publicized opposition from both state and local governments. This does not mean that it should not have persevered. But in both cases the listing left a bitter and cynical local legacy which it has taken a long time to overcome – the opposite of a desirable climate for local involvement in the appreciation and care of World Heritage.

## 3. The Expert and the Local

Natural and cultural heritage professionals represent a wide spectrum of disciplines and are an increasingly academically qualified, well-trained and highly skilled group of people. The discipline of heritage studies is growing along with the group of professionals, and is becoming increasingly sophisticated, self-reflective and complex. Now we have whole university departments devoted to heritage theory.

This growing professionalism is very desirable. However I think it has a few unintended consequences. One of them is that there is a rapidly increasing heritage studies jargon and much of it is coming to share the esotericism of old disciplines such as medicine or law, or of new ones such as cultural studies.

This is not an attack on the necessity to apply intellectual rigour to our discipline and sometimes to use complex language or to use language in new ways to express new or difficult concepts. We all do this and it can be immensely helpful and enlightening. Only thus can we realize the contested nature of much of our history and heritage and hence be aware of the complexity of the term 'community heritage'.

However a problem with the language of our discipline as it is now developing is that, apart from being increasingly inaccessible to most people, it tends to represent them as passive recipients of heritage practice and as people to be manipulated or educated to appreciate and conserve heritage rather than being seen as its prime creators and owners. There is of course a great deal of discussion these days about the community and the public but rather more about them than with them. Indigenous people have long complained of being studied, objectified, stereotyped and ignored but this is a complaint which the community more generally could sometimes make against our present heritage practice.

I also think that some of this language and some critical work within the discipline is intended as much to impress our peers as to explain ourselves (indeed I sometimes think

that explaining themselves is the last thing on some authors' minds). The intense pressure of academia and the often critical gaze of our peers can have the effect that we as practitioners see this group as our ultimate judges who make pronouncements about our work based on the current modish trends of the discipline. This can lead to a sort of eliteness in our heritage practice which tends to exclude the opinions and wishes of most members of the society with whose heritage we are dealing.

All these trends in our practice have the ability to take us further away from the vision of heritage which is held by the community and which is based on an emotional response to place and history. This also tends to disenfranchise the community who see us as experts who hold knowledge and power to which they do not have access. This can mean that the community loses ownership and responsibility for its own heritage or comes to resent the 'experts' whom they see as intervening in their day-to-day life and hence eventually to resent the heritage itself (Sullivan, in prep.).

Now all these characteristics of Western practice – our heritage conservation project – are part of my culture; they are as inevitable and as necessary to me as water to fish and they have contributed to very important achievements in the history of Western heritage conservation. But I think it is useful to be 'conscious fish' in our cultural medium, and to pause and consider the nature of the elements of our practice of which we are unconscious. I think we can say that one by-product of these characteristics – the rigour, the striving for perfection, the materiality, and the polarity is that, in our heritage practice, we tend to see heritage places one-dimensionally, to put them in boxes; to split them up; and to dissect them.

#### 4. Universal Versus Local Values

Until recently World Heritage listing had little to do with the local community, or with traditional and living culture. The aim was to preserve something for the world community, initially certainly the elite world community, and in preserving something for 'mankind' we often have the effect of actually removing its control from its particular owners or its particular traditionally associated community. Often the ways in which community values the place are different from the reason it is listed, and sometimes in conflict with it.

Perhaps all the tensions and problems associated with attempting the involvement of local communities in World Heritage management are best illustrated in the handling of the concept of heritage values in the *Operational Guidelines* for World Heritage listing and management. As I have said, the guidelines allow for concepts of living sites and traditional management practices, but they still make it very clear that the emphasis is on establishing the criteria for **universal value** and on managing for the conservation of these values. This runs contrary to best practice

in heritage management, which insists that all the cultural values of a place – not just its primary values – should be acknowledged and catered for and that the management planning should include the conservation of all these values.

If we return for a moment to the case of Angkor we can see two things – the listing criteria as we would expect focus exclusively on World Heritage values – its citation on the World Heritage List (1992) is as follows:

- i) Angkor represents a unique artistic realization, a *chef d'œuvre* of the human mind
- ii) It has exerted a strong influence on the development of architecture, monumental arts, and the organization of space during a given period in a specific cultural region;
- iii) It gives unique testimony on a past civilization
- iv) It offers a remarkable example of a type of construction or architectural group illustrating an important historical period (UNESCO, p. xvii).

The citation and, until recently, the management documents ignored the other social and contemporary values which the place undoubtedly has. These values may not be universal values in terms of the *World Heritage Convention* but they are of great importance to the local community. In fact, the reference in the citation to a 'past' civilization denies the manifest continuity and traditional links with the local people which they highly value.

An outstanding example of the same tendency in Australia is the original listing on the World Heritage List of Uluru Kata-Tjuṯa National Park. The area contains spectacularly beautiful rock monoliths, one of them known to Europeans as Ayers Rock, an icon to most Settler Australians. The area of the Park had just been handed back to the traditional Aboriginal owners and was (and is) managed jointly by the Traditional Owners of the Anangu people and the Australian National Park Service. All agreed to its inclusion on the World Heritage List, as the Traditional Owners and the Park Service both considered it to be of World Heritage value. When the area was listed, it was listed for its natural and cultural values, but the values described were tangible and specific. However the most important value of the area to the Anangu is that it is a literally living cultural landscape shaped by ancestral beings who still animate it. This to the Traditional Owners is much more significant and all-embracing than the evidence of rare fauna and flora, the undisturbed landscape, the geological formations, and the rock art. The ancient and sacred relationship of the people to that particular place continues to live because the Anangu continue to care for it and for the spiritual beings who animate it. This is what makes it of World Heritage value to them. They are not surprised that it would be of World Heritage value, and consider such a listing to be only what is due to such a special place, but its value for them is of a quite different quality to its value for the experts, and it would have those qualities even if it were a rather more ordinary landscape without its extraordinary aesthetic qualities and a suite of

rare natural phenomena. Also of course the concept of separating natural and cultural criteria has no meaning at all for the Anangu – and it is pleasing to see the World Heritage Committee now coming to their point of view. It took another ten years before these less tangible but essential values were recognized by the Committee. A completely new nomination was made to the Committee and now Uluru Kata-Tjuta is listed as one of the first two associative cultural landscapes on the World Heritage List. The idea of an associative cultural landscape appears, in hindsight, obvious and central to the significance of the area, but it was at first a step too far for the natural and cultural heritage assessors and the World Heritage Committee (Sullivan, in prep.).

Here is a description of the indigenous view of the cultural and natural landscape – what the indigenous people, with more poetics than the World Heritage Committee, do not call an associative cultural landscape, but rather more simply ‘country’:

Country is a place that gives and receives life. ... People talk about country in the same way that they would talk about a person: they speak to country, sing to country, visit country, worry about country, feel sorry for country, and long for country. People say that country knows, hears, smells, takes notice, takes care, is sorry or happy. Country is not a generalized or undifferentiated type of place, such as one might indicate with terms like ‘spending a day in the country’ or ‘going up country’. Rather country is a living entity with a yesterday, today and tomorrow, with a consciousness and a will towards life. ... Country is multi-dimensional – it consists of people, animals, plants, Dreamings; underground, earth, soils, minerals and waters, surface water and air. ... The creative beings traverse the whole area – land, sea, beach, reef, sea grass bed, sky and freshwater sources. The law of the land is also the law of the sea, and sea, like land is country that is known, named, sung, danced, painted, loved, harvested and cared for ... Because of this richness, country is home and peace; nourishment for body, mind and spirit; hearts ease ... (Bird Rose, 1996, pp. 7–8).

But in fact it is not just a traditional, indigenous community that holds these values. For good reason we often privilege the role of indigenous people or communities which have a clear traditional link with the universal value in World Heritage management. However in the case of any local community it is the living link between the community and its heritage that animates the heritage and is the ultimate basis for all the more formal values, which we as professionals give it. But this animation and this love is often subtle and difficult to categorize, or unrecognized by outsiders, and sometimes does not reside in the formal values of our heritage system. We have to give up some of our notions of ownership, intellectual rigour and expertise to access this heritage ‘country’ (Sullivan, in prep.).

Now this can be very difficult and complex. Sometimes there may be a potential conflict between the universal

values which the *World Heritage Convention* seeks to protect, and other locally important cultural values. For example, in the Great Barrier Reef World Heritage site traditional people assert the right to hunt a gravely endangered species – the dugong. It is an important traditional food for them and it is not their hunting practice which has caused its near extinction. At Lake Mungo National Park, indigenous people want important, fragile and scientifically very significant early human remains left in the eroding dunes. In the Tasmanian Wilderness World Heritage site, settler descendants who used the area for 200 years for hunting, riding and recreation want to continue their traditional practices.

There is no easy solution to these issues, but my point is that the beginning of solving them is acknowledging all the heritage values and then working towards a resolution rather than attempting to assert the primacy of World Heritage values by ignoring or denying other valid elements of cultural significance.

## 5. World Heritage and Community Development

Of course the situation may be more complex than this. Local communities may be in desperate need of the basic requirements for a secure and minimally comfortable life. In these circumstances, understanding and embracing World Heritage values and aspirations is not necessarily a priority for them unless we can establish a real congruence between our aspirations for World Heritage conservation and the needs of the community. World Heritage experts and bureaucrats, interested above all in the primacy of universal values, can miss this point more often than you might imagine.

Members of a World Heritage delegation who visited the Kakadu National Park on a mission to assess whether it was endangered by uranium mining found in their report that the one small modern settlement in an area the size of Belgium, which provided health, modern housing, education and transport facilities for the indigenous owners of the Park, as well as tourism revenue and mining royalties, was undesirable and a threat to the area’s World Heritage values because it was seen as a blot on the pristine landscape and also as inimical to the traditional lifestyle of the owners. This was not a view which assisted the local credibility of a report which also made some important points.

Even when the World Heritage expert groups and the Committee are anxious to ensure local equity, an issue which has arisen time and again in the history of World Heritage listing and management is that of local land ownership and or/access and economic benefit. We all know of many examples of local people without secure tenure being driven from their homes or having their land-use restricted in the interests of the conservation of World Heritage values. This has rarely been a direct result of World Heritage Committee policy, and is often more to do

with the national need to develop tourism, or the rising value of land and commercial opportunity brought about by World Heritage listing. The result, however, is to alienate and disempower local people and often consequently to threaten World Heritage values. So often the issue is one of the necessity for local empowerment, before the effective conservation of local values, the active involvement of local people, and the implementation of traditional management practices can begin.

Now this is dangerous territory for the World Heritage Committee, composed as it is of independent nation-states which strongly assert their national sovereignty and the right to manage issues such as land ownership and use. The recent failure of the World Heritage Committee to approve the setting up of an international indigenous peoples' group as part of the World Heritage advisory system indicates that, for some countries, local empowerment, and especially giving local minorities an international voice, can be considered dangerous and destabilizing.

## 6. Solutions

I do not mean to sound unduly pessimistic. In fact the World Heritage idea has proved to be a more powerful and adaptive concept than its creators probably envisaged – like the spreading ripples in a pool, the unsophisticated, naively unselfconscious original 'Western' idea has gradually widened and deepened, affected by the range of societies and ideals which it has reached, so that the paradigm of World Heritage now includes cultural landscapes, living sites, intangible values, and associative cultural values. All these developing concepts move us closer to the idea of effective community involvement and the use of traditional management practice. There are many good examples of how a World Heritage declaration enhanced community participation in heritage conservation. I am sure we will hear many such stories and learn of many effective methods and ideas to enhance these efforts in the course of the conference.

There are a few steps which would assist this process. First, it is essential that actions undertaken on behalf of the World Heritage Committee and in the name of the Convention should meet the requirements of other Conventions, such as the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UNESCO Convention on Indigenous and Tribal People (1989).

Second, it is essential that issues relating to community participation and indigenous practices be considered and dealt with from the beginning of the World Heritage listing process. The Committee and the Advisory Bodies have found that the time of investigation of World Heritage values and the bringing forward of proposals for listing is the time when they can bring the most influence to bear on the future management of the proposed World Heritage place, and this has already been used to good effect to

ensure proper planning provision for the protection of universal values. It is at this time that an explicit process for the involvement of stakeholders and the identification of all heritage values should be put in place. All stakeholders should be identified as part of this process, issues of land ownership and use should be discussed and, most importantly, all the cultural and natural values of the area to be listed should be a mandatory part of the listing submission. The management plan or guidelines which accompany the submission should deal explicitly and in detail with local stakeholder issues, and demonstrate:

- that all stakeholders have been consulted;
- that there is provision to conserve all the values identified and to identify potential conflict and difficulties in this area;
- that the management planning actively addresses the economic and social issues of local communities and traditional custodians. This should include present local populations regardless of whether they can be shown to have traditional associations with the place.

In achieving these outcomes we need to exercise the same rigour and the same standards that are increasingly being used for the assessment of universal values. This will mean inclusion of specific explicit policy and provisions for appropriate standards in the World Heritage *Operational Guidelines* and the development of training and exemplary material to assist in this endeavour.

It also will probably mean the development of special expertise in local involvement and community empowerment among the Committee's expert Advisory Bodies. It may require the introduction of a new advisory group to provide this expertise.

At a deeper level, part of our role as experts and bureaucrats in different elements of the conservation of World Heritage values is to give up some of our certainties and the power which our central position and our expertise gives us. For many this is a threatening process, and implies the loss of central control over the protection of World Heritage values. But in the long run it is the local community which has the future of World Heritage values in its hands, and which needs to have effective control to protect it.

At the Willandra Lakes World Heritage site, the scientists, bureaucrats and politicians effectively did this. After fifteen years of wrangling and trying to ignore the local stakeholders, they allowed themselves to start again. Graziers, Aboriginals, scientists and bureaucrats gathered on site for ten days to write a co-operative management plan for the area. They began with a clean slate. Issues of significance were worked through again from scratch. The universal values were reconfirmed – and strengthened by everyone's agreement – and other local historic, natural and Aboriginal values were agreed and listed. The major issues of concern to stakeholders were then put on the table during an often fiery but finally reconciling process.

The management plan emerged from a consideration of all the values and issues, and the tracking of a path to be overseen by a steering committee consisting of all stakeholders. The aim of the plan was to conserve all the values and to satisfy the agreed needs of the stakeholders. A number of important results included the reconciliation of Aboriginal people and archaeologists, compensation for graziers, and the reinterpretation of the area in such a way as to express everyone's values.

In this process, and because of the willingness of all parties to eventually work together, everyone gave up some long-held grudges and everyone gained recognition and power. Most importantly, the stakeholders were welded together into a cohesive group who actively assisted in the plan of management and who formed a strong lobby group to defend all the values to which they were now committed.

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# 2

## Regional and Case Studies Études de cas et régionales

## Africa Afrique

# La participation communautaire à la gestion du site de la falaise de Bandiagara : « Ecotourisme en pays Dogon »

Lassana Cissé

### 1. Introduction

**Vieille terre d'histoire et de culture, le Mali (ex-Soudan français) est situé au cœur de l'Afrique de l'Ouest. Vaste territoire continental (1 240 000 km<sup>2</sup>) dont les deux tiers sont pratiquement occupés par le désert du Sahara, ce pays est en zone sahélo-saharienne où les conditions climatiques sont extrêmement précaires.**

**Considéré à juste titre comme un carrefour de civilisations, le Mali vit naître les grands empires médiévaux du Soudan occidental, des royaumes bambaras de Ségou et du Kaarta, des Etats théocratiques peul et toucouleur.**

**Sur le plan culturel et ethnique, le Mali est un point de contact entre peuples de race blanche et peuples de race noire. Il se présente comme une juxtaposition d'ethnies qui sont autant de groupes anthropologiques et culturels se distinguant par la langue et des traits de civilisation, quelquefois par une certaine spécialisation dans un secteur de production.**

### 2. Présentation du milieu Dogon et du site classé de la falaise de Bandiagara

La région occupée par les Dogons, appelée plateau Dogon ou falaise de Bandiagara, ou encore pays Dogon, est située au centre-est de la République du Mali. Elle occupe une zone tampon à la frontière sud-est, entre le Mali et le Burkina Faso. Elle est rattachée à la région de Mopti, 5<sup>e</sup> région administrative du pays, dont elle occupe toute la moitié est, avec des gros centres semi-urbains tels Bandiagara, Bankass, Koro et Douentza.

Peuplé essentiellement de Dogons dont le nombre est estimé à plus de 250 000 (recensement de 1987), le pays Dogon est l'une des zones les plus anciennement peuplées d'Afrique de l'Ouest ; ses populations ont été les témoins des différents troubles qui ont marqué la région.

La population vit essentiellement d'agriculture de subsistance (mil, sorgho, fonio, riz) ; elle pratique également les cultures maraîchères grâce à des petits barrages sur le plateau et dans les falaises. Ces cultures occupent une grande part de l'économie domestique.

### 2.1 Cadre Géographique

Le pays Dogon est une région très accidentée, en raison notamment de la présence de massifs montagneux, prolongement des monts Mandingues entrecoupés de vallées profondes, parcourues par une multitude de torrents. Il s'agit en fait d'une région très pittoresque, grâce à la combinaison de différents types de paysages. Situés à la limite méridionale de la zone sahélienne, le pays Dogon reçoit dans l'année entre 500 et 700 mm d'eau de pluie, entre les mois de juillet, août et septembre.

Quant à la végétation, elle montre une tendance soudanienne ; de même que le climat, elle est légèrement différente sur le plateau, sur la falaise et en plaine.

#### *Le plateau*

C'est un bloc massif constitué de grès ferrugineux, d'une altitude moyenne de 400 mètres. La partie orientale est assez élevée, avec près de 600 mètres d'altitude, alors que la partie occidentale est marquée par une inclinaison en pente douce. Le plateau se caractérise par son aspect dénudé, marqué par une extrême pauvreté de la flore et de la faune – d'où des conditions de vie très austères pour les êtres humains. Avec plus de 12 000 habitants, la ville de Bandiagara constitue de nos jours l'agglomération la plus grande du plateau.

#### *La falaise*

Surplombant la plaine, elle présente un tracé rectiligne. L'ensemble s'étend sur 200 kilomètres de long et 40 kilomètres de large. La partie septentrionale est marquée par des pentes plus abruptes ; le point culminant, à 791 mètres, se trouve dans la localité de Bamba. Traditionnellement la falaise, avec ses éboulis, est la région la plus peuplée, comprenant une multitude de villages perchés. Cependant, depuis la sécheresse des années soixante-dix, les populations ont tendance à descendre dans la plaine voisine et vers le sud du pays, où le problème de la terre se pose avec moins d'acuité.

#### *La plaine*

Appelée *Séno* en peul (ce qui signifie « terrain sableux »), la plaine est une importante dépression et une vaste région qui comporte, surtout dans sa partie orientale, plusieurs mares. Elle est constituée de deux unités distinctes, le *Séno* correspondant à une immense étendue de sable qui jouxte la falaise dans sa partie sud, et le *Gondo*, qui correspond à une immense plaine argilo-sableuse, dans la partie est.

## Africa Afrique

**2.2 Histoire du peuplement**

La région du plateau Dogon est une des anciennes zones de peuplement de l'Afrique de l'Ouest. Cette zone a également connu, au cours des siècles, divers mouvements de populations, parmi lesquels on peut citer les Pretellems, les Tellems, les Dogons et les Peuls.

*Les Prétellems*

On dispose de très peu d'informations sur ce peuple, considéré jusqu'à ce jour comme le premier occupant de la région des falaises de Sangha. Selon les résultats des travaux de recherches archéologiques menées en 1970 par une équipe néerlandaise, ce peuple a vécu entre les 3<sup>e</sup> et 2<sup>e</sup> siècles BP. Les fouilles pratiquées sur le rebord de la falaise de Bandiagara, à la hauteur de Sangha, par l'université d'Utrecht (Pays-Bas) ont permis de mettre en évidence plusieurs périodes d'occupation distinctes (Bedaux et Lange, 1983 ; Bedaux, 1991 ; Bedaux et Raimbault, 1993). La phase la plus ancienne est baptisée «*Toloy*» du nom du canyon où furent découverts pour la première fois les vestiges de cette culture.

*Les Tellems*

Il s'agit d'un peuple mythique, aux origines très obscures. D'après la tradition orale, les Dogons les auraient trouvés dans les falaises, dans des habitations de terre adossées aux parois rocheuses. On ne sait que très peu de choses de la nature de leurs premiers contacts avec les Dogons. Il est cependant établi que c'est suite à l'arrivée des Dogons vers le 14<sup>e</sup> siècle, que les Tellems auraient abandonné leurs sites pour migrer en direction du sud-est de la région du Yatenga (actuel Burkina Faso). La présence de la culture tellem est attestée sur le rebord de la falaise Dogon entre le 11<sup>e</sup> et le 14<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère (Bedaux, 1983 : 16–17). L'origine de ces Tellems est actuellement inconnue.

*Les Dogons*

Les Dogons ont succédé aux Tellems dans la région qu'ils occupent actuellement.

Il est admis de façon générale que certaines populations Dogons sont arrivées dans la région à la suite d'une longue migration du Mandé (région située à l'ouest de Bamako, à cheval sur la Guinée et le Mali) entre le 14<sup>e</sup> et le 15<sup>e</sup> siècle. Toutefois d'autres populations seraient arrivées au 12<sup>e</sup> siècle, bien avant cette période. Une chose est sûre, les Dogons ont hérité d'une culture matérielle riche, laissée notamment par les Tellems.

**2.3 Le site de la falaise de Bandiagara, inscrit sur la liste du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO**

Le site inscrit sur la liste du patrimoine mondial recouvre une superficie de 400 000 hectares, incluant le village de Songo (site extra-muros) et son environnement immédiat, en raison du caractère exceptionnel de ses monuments, dont le plus célèbre est l'Auvent des masques, ensemble rupestre mondialement connu. Ce site classé, compris entre 14°00 et 14°45 latitude nord et 3°00 et 3°50 longitude ouest, est apparemment représentatif de la culture

Dogon. Il contient 289 villages répartis entre les trois régions naturelles du pays Dogon. La population rurale vivant dans cette zone classée est essentiellement Dogon ; elle a été évaluée, selon le recensement de 1986, à 130 500 habitants.

Le « *sanctuaire culturel et naturel de la falaise de Bandiagara* » a été inscrit sur la liste du patrimoine mondial, en décembre 1989, au double titre du critère (v) relatif à l'inscription des biens culturels et du critère (iii) relatif à l'inscription des biens naturels. Plus des deux tiers du périmètre classé sont occupés par le plateau de Bandiagara et les falaises dont la longueur, orientée sud-ouest – nord-est, est de 100 kilomètres environ. Le périmètre classé renferme de très belles architectures vernaculaires (habitations, greniers, autels, *toguna*) et continue d'être l'âme de la culture traditionnelle Dogon, malgré la tendance à l'islamisation ou à l'évangélisation de certaines localités.

**3. La mission culturelle de Bandiagara et la gestion du site du patrimoine mondial**

La Convention de 1972 de l'UNESCO concernant la protection du patrimoine mondial culturel et naturel a été ratifiée le 5 avril 1977 par le Mali. Conformément à la mise en œuvre de sa politique culturelle et dans l'esprit d'appliquer cette convention, le gouvernement malien a créé des structures déconcentrées de gestion de sites inscrits sur la liste du patrimoine mondial : villes historiques de Tombouctou et Djenné et la falaise de Bandiagara.

Les Missions culturelles de Bandiagara, Djenné et Tombouctou ont été créées par décret 93–203 P-RM du 11 juin 1993. L'objectif essentiel assigné aux Missions culturelles est « *d'assister le Ministre chargé de la Culture dans sa tâche de protection et de mise en valeur des sites nationaux de Bandiagara, Djenné et Tombouctou, inscrits sur la Liste du Patrimoine Mondial de l'UNESCO* ».

La Mission culturelle de Bandiagara est opérationnelle sur le site classé depuis janvier 1994, date à laquelle elle mena ses premières missions d'information et de sensibilisation auprès des communautés de site.

Les activités de la Mission culturelle sont de trois ordres essentiels :

- l'information, la sensibilisation et la promotion en ce qui concerne le site,
- la conservation des biens culturels et leur mise en valeur,
- le programme de recherche et de formation dans les domaines du patrimoine et du tourisme.

À partir de 1995, la Mission culturelle de Bandiagara a entrepris un programme d'inventaire des biens culturels sur le site classé et sa zone tampon, financé par le Centre du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO. Cet inventaire a permis d'identifier certains problèmes auxquels sont confrontées les communautés locales dans la conservation du patrimoine culturel.

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Nous avons également retenu au cours de ce travail d'inventaire que les populations, dans certaines localités, sont sérieusement préoccupées par la protection et la conservation d'objets culturels et d'autres biens mobiliers. Cependant l'inventaire et la documentation de ces biens s'avèrent compliqués, voire impossibles à cause de leur fonction rituelle et de leur sacralité.

Le travail d'inventaire et de documentation que nous avons démarré en 1995 avec l'UNESCO, s'est poursuivi les deux années suivantes (1996–1997) avec l'université allemande de Konstanz qui a mis l'accent sur la documentation de l'architecture traditionnelle Dogon. Un des résultats importants de cette exposition est la publication d'un livre en français (Lauber, 1998).

À la fin de ces travaux d'inventaire et de documentation, nous avons approché la coopération allemande au Mali pour une éventuelle collaboration dans la mise en œuvre d'un projet d'appui au développement local, culturel et touristique. Dans sa phase opérationnelle, ce projet sera dénommé « Ecotourisme en pays Dogon ».

### 3.1 La participation communautaire à la gestion du site dans le cadre du projet « Ecotourisme en pays Dogon »

Après cinq années de travail d'échange et de dialogue avec les populations du site nous avons conclu qu'il était souhaitable d'élaborer un programme consistant. Celui-ci doit tenir compte de divers soucis et préoccupations des communautés, ainsi que des données actuelles des problèmes qui touchent le pays Dogon. Parmi ceux-ci il faut citer les conséquences de la détérioration climatique qui a des répercussions sur la vie socio-économique, l'impact négatif du développement anarchique du tourisme, le pillage du patrimoine mobilier (pièces archéologiques tel- lems et objets d'art Dogons de valeur unique et excep- tionnelle), le désenclavement de certaines zones par l'amélioration des pistes, etc. Face à ce constat considéré comme une menace contre la préservation de l'identité culturelle Dogon, il est important et urgent d'entreprendre des mesures de protection tant sur le plan juridico-poli- tique que physique.

Il nous a donc paru nécessaire, à la faveur de la nouvelle politique de décentralisation, de promouvoir une stratégie de conservation et de développement touristique local qui puisse profiter directement aux communautés locales.

En somme, la protection et la valorisation de la culture Dogon doivent nécessairement prendre en charge les problèmes de développement ; un développement qui devra aboutir à l'amélioration des conditions de vie matérielles des populations et à une organisation plus saine du tourisme.

Ainsi est né en 1999, le projet « Ecotourisme en pays Dogon », fruit d'une coopération étroite entre la Mission culturelle de Bandiagara et le Service allemand de déve- loppement (DED).

Dans ses principes philosophiques de base, le projet privi- lège la démarche participative et l'approche « genre ». L'objectif général vise à améliorer les conditions de vie des communautés locales du site, dépositaires d'une civilisa- tion jusqu'ici unique et universelle.

Les objectifs spécifiques sont les suivants :

- renforcer l'autopromotion des populations rurales pour mieux les impliquer dans l'exploitation des ressources culturelles et touristiques,
- protéger le patrimoine culturel et naturel du site classé sous toutes ses formes,
- minimiser l'impact négatif du tourisme sur le site et son environnement,
- décongestionner le tourisme culturel en orientant les touristes vers d'autres zones à potentiel culturel et natu- rel pour décharger les villages trop fréquentés.

### 3.2 Les activités initiées par le projet « Ecotourisme en pays Dogon »

Le projet « Ecotourisme en pays Dogon » est engagé dans les domaines d'action suivants :

- la sensibilisation et l'information du public pour préserver les biens culturels et développer la conscience environnementale,
- le développement communautaire par l'organisation locale d'un tourisme adapté et durable, respectueux des valeurs et des identités culturelles des populations,
- la restauration de monuments et sites anciens,
- la construction ou la réhabilitation d'infrastructures culturelles et touristiques telles que campements com- munitaires et musées villageois,
- l'appui à l'art et l'artisanat et la valorisation des savoirs et des savoir-faire traditionnels,
- la préservation de l'environnement des sites : assainisse- ment des localités, aménagement de sites nature, etc.

#### 3.2.1 Construction d'un musée communautaire dans le village de Nombori

L'idée de créer un musée villageois émane d'une volonté communautaire (Fig. 12). C'est au cours de nos nom- breuses missions de sensibilisation et d'information dans cette localité que les populations, confrontées au pro- blème de vols fréquents d'objets de culte et autres biens profanes, ont suggéré l'idée de la construction d'une « maison traditionnelle d'objets ».



Séance de réunion du comité de gestion du musée de Nombori

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Nombori est un des rares villages des falaises où les traditions sociales et religieuses ancestrales sont encore vivaces. Il est situé sur les éboulis des falaises à quelque 30 kilomètres au sud-est de la ville de Bandiagara. C'est également une des quinze localités concernées par le programme d'inventaire que nous avons réalisé entre 1995 et 1997.

En 1999, quand le projet « Ecotourisme » a démarré, la réalisation du musée de Nombori a été retenue comme une des quatre premières activités. Cela s'explique par l'engagement initial de la population et sa volonté à participer à la réalisation de l'infrastructure. Les travaux de construction ont démarré en juillet 2000, grâce à un financement de CARE Deutschland. La participation communautaire a été très importante, parce que la population, en plus de la main-d'œuvre locale, a fourni l'essentiel des matériaux locaux de construction : pierres cassées et taillées, sable, eau.

Le musée communautaire a été inauguré le 19 décembre 2002 par le ministre de la culture, en présence de deux autres ministres (celui chargé du tourisme et celui chargé de la jeunesse) et de responsables nationaux et locaux. Une collection de deux cent vingt (220) objets d'art a été constituée. Ces objets proviennent du village et ont été donnés par la population. Cent quarante-deux (142) objets sont actuellement exposés dans la salle. D'une superficie de 400 m<sup>2</sup> environ, le musée est entièrement construit en pierres taillées et jouxte la falaise sur laquelle le site du village est perché. L'organisation du bâtiment laisse entrevoir deux espaces unis mais distincts : l'espace muséal qui comprend une grande salle d'exposition et deux autres pièces, et l'espace multifonctionnel réservé à la cantine, aux rencontres de formation et d'animation pour les activités de développement communautaire du village. Un *toguna* (hangar), des toilettes et une cuisine constituent les annexes à l'infrastructure.

Cette configuration de l'espace du musée communautaire de Nombori relève de deux soucis majeurs :

- Créer les conditions optimales de conservation d'objets culturels du village, menacés de vol et assurer les fonctions classiques de musée : éducation et plaisir (la localité fait partie d'un circuit touristique pédestre très fréquenté) ;
- Contribuer de façon synergique à l'augmentation des revenus des communautés locales, à l'aide du tourisme.

Du 19 décembre 2002 au 20 mars 2003 (période de haute saison touristique), trois cents visiteurs (payants) sont allés voir l'exposition au musée. Bien que faible, ce chiffre est relativement important si l'on sait que le fonctionnement est encore balbutiant : il n'y a pas encore d'heures d'ouverture fixes, l'infrastructure reste souvent fermée en l'absence des visiteurs. Cette situation est due au manque d'organisation au niveau villageois. Il faut aussi signaler que les taxes d'entrée dans le musée ont généré la somme de XOF 146 665 (francs CFA)<sup>3</sup> (la Mission culturelle a unilatéralement fixé la taxe de visite à 500 F par personne après l'inauguration en décembre). Actuellement nous

échangeons avec la population sur les statuts du musée et son fonctionnement, en essayant de définir d'autres activités de développement communautaire susceptibles d'y être menées.

### 3.2.2 L'appui aux femmes teinturières d'Enndé et de Dourou

Dans le domaine de la valorisation des savoirs et des savoir-faire locaux, la Mission culturelle Bandiagara a jugé utile d'appuyer les femmes teinturières. Ces femmes confectionnent et vendent des pagnes teints à l'indigo non seulement dans les marchés hebdomadaires locaux mais également pendant la saison touristique (Figs. 13 et 14). Le groupement de femmes (au nombre de douze) qui pratique cet artisanat traditionnel est issu d'une caste endogamique, les « Jan », catégorie sociale appartenant à la société Dogon qui est très stratifiée. Les techniques d'élaboration se transmettent de mère en fille. L'intérêt de ce projet est de pouvoir appuyer économiquement l'activité artisanale de ces femmes tout en ayant le souci de préservation et de valorisation des savoirs et des techniques ancestraux liés à ce métier.



Pagne indigo de Enndé



Femme teinturière réalisant des motifs décoratifs sur un pagne non encore teint à l'ingo

© Photos d'archives Mission Culturelle de Bandiagara

Le projet a appuyé ces 12 teinturières en octroyant au groupement un prêt de XOF 300 000 (francs CFA). Ce prêt, remboursable et assorti d'un taux d'intérêt de 5 %, a servi à l'achat de matières premières (tissus et fils en cotonnade). Par ailleurs le groupement a bénéficié d'une subvention de XOF 200 000 (francs CFA) qui a servi à acheter du petit matériel (en particulier gants de protection et récipients pour eau) et de l'indigo.

### 3.2.3 L'assainissement de certains sites touristiques villageois

Un programme expérimental d'assainissement d'un an (2002) a concerné cinq sites villageois (Songho, Banani, Enndé, Téli, Kani Kombolé). Il a été financé par le Fonds pour l'environnement mondial du PNUD (PPS/FEM) et comprenait deux volets essentiels : l'assainissement proprement dit et la transformation des déchets solides

3. EUR 1 = XOF 655,957 (francs de la Communauté financière africaine).

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(plastiques et organiques). Son objectif principal est de renforcer la conscience environnementale sur le site classé.

### 3.2.4 L'organisation de festivals des masques en saison touristiques dans deux communes rurales du cercle de Bandiagara

En 2000, nous avons proposé à différents villages d'organiser des festivals de masques, afin que la richesse de leurs danses, vouées à l'abandon voire déjà oubliées dans certains lieux, soit transmise aux générations futures. Plusieurs villages ont alors entrepris la préparation de ces festivals qui se sont d'abord déroulés à Pélou puis à Bégématou (sur le plateau de Bandiagara). L'événement provoqua un afflux de visiteurs. Mais le nombre le plus surprenant, dont les premiers étonnés furent les organisateurs, n'était pas celui des touristes mais celui des Dogons eux-mêmes, venus des villages avoisinants et parfois même lointains pour assister au festival. En partie générés pour développer le tourisme local, les festivals de masques ont ainsi été investis de façon étonnante par le public local.

### 3.2.5 La restauration de l'architecture de l'ancien site de Téli

Téli est une localité située dans les falaises, à 25 kilomètres environ au sud de Bandiagara. Comme beaucoup d'autres villages dans cette région, il était un site défensif haut perché pour se prémunir contre des attaques guerrières de certaines époques. Il y a un peu plus de 30 ans, les habitants ont abandonné ce site magnifique pour s'installer juste au bas de la falaise. Malgré cet abandon, les populations ont conservé presque intacte l'architecture ancienne du site, car ils utilisent encore des greniers pour y stocker les récoltes. La présence de lieux de culte est une autre raison qui rattache les habitants de Téli à leur vieux site, même si le village se dit « islamisé ».

À la suite d'une demande formulée par les responsables villageois, le projet a apporté un appui, grâce à un concours financier de l'ambassade de la République fédérale d'Allemagne. Il faut préciser que les travaux sont entièrement exécutés par les populations par le système traditionnel communautaire d'entretien des gin'na (maisons de lignage).

### 3.2.6 La construction d'un campement communautaire à Amani

Il s'agit d'une infrastructure villageoise d'accueil à partir de laquelle les communautés vont s'organiser pour développer localement le tourisme. Ce campement, dont les travaux de construction sont quasiment achevés, va certainement contribuer à augmenter les revenus des populations à l'aide des taxes touristiques, de l'art, de l'artisanat et du petit commerce des productions vivrières locales (légumes, volaille, etc.).

Toujours à Amani, nous avons réalisé une ceinture verte tout autour de la mare aux caïmans sacrés, menacée d'ensablement. Un programme plus vaste d'aménagement est envisagé à moyen terme. Bien d'autres activités ont été initiées par le projet. Certaines sont achevées et d'autres sont

en cours d'exécution ; nous pouvons citer notamment la réhabilitation du campement communautaire de Kani Kombolé, dont les travaux sont finis, et du musée d'art et d'artisanat d'Enndé, dont les travaux sont en cours.

Actuellement nous menons des missions de prospection dans la région nord du plateau de Bandiagara qui regorge de sites importants. L'objectif est de pouvoir dresser un inventaire des ressources et d'orienter les touristes dans cette région très visitée. Ce qui permettra de décongestionner certains sites trop fréquentés, tel Sangha.

La Mission culturelle Bandiagara soutient d'autres activités culturelles liées au patrimoine immatériel. C'est le cas de la fête du « Bulo » (fête rituelle annuelle des semailles) organisée à Aru, au cours de laquelle le Temple du Hogon fait l'objet de travaux d'entretien (Fig. 15). Un étude d'évaluation du patrimoine naturel du site, financée par le Centre du patrimoine mondial, est en cours. Cette étude est exécutée par l'Association française des volontaires du progrès (AFVP) pour le compte de la Mission culturelle de Bandiagara.



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Travaux d'entretien du Temple du Hogon de Aru au cours de la cérémonie rituelle du Bulo de mai 2002

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## 4. Conclusions

La gestion du site culturel et naturel de la falaise de Bandiagara, telle qu'enclenchée par la Mission culturelle, s'inscrit dans une perspective dynamique de participation locale. Tous les projets mis en œuvre ou en gestation sont initiés ou proposés par les communautés locales ou avec leur aval.

Il est important de souligner que cette courte expérience de gestion du site nous a prouvé que la conservation durable d'un patrimoine aussi riche et varié exige la participation des communautés locales. Cette participation doit s'exprimer non seulement sur le plan de la gestion des ressources culturelles et naturelles, mais aussi et surtout sur le plan économique. Pour cela, il faut mettre en exergue la rentabilité gestionnaire en s'appuyant, par exemple, sur le développement local du tourisme.

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Les communautés gardiennes de site, pour être mieux responsabilisées, doivent percevoir l'intérêt de la sauvegarde sur un site où la pauvreté a atteint des dimensions importantes à cause du manque de pluies. De plus en plus, les déficits alimentaires, conjoncturels au départ, sont en train de devenir des déficits structurels endémiques.

La conservation est, avant tout, une question de comportement ; pour cette raison il nous paraît plus que nécessaire d'associer étroitement les communautés locales à la gestion des ressources culturelles et naturelles du site. Cette nécessité doit surtout s'exercer dans le secteur du développement touristique en pleine expansion sur un des sites de l'Afrique de l'Ouest qui attirent le plus de public.

La gestion participative du site du pays Dogon doit, à notre avis, passer d'une logique à dominante culturelle à une logique à dominante économique. Cela doit se passer dans une démarche itérative endogène afin d'éviter les agressions envers les identités culturelles dont le patrimoine est à la fois le support et l'expression.

**Références**

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# Le Hogon d'hier à aujourd'hui : les pérégrinations de la chefferie traditionnelle dans le pays des Dogons au Mali

Mamadi Dembele

### 1. Introduction

Le pays Dogon, situé au centre-est du Mali, s'illustre par la richesse et la variété de son patrimoine culturel et naturel. Cette région abrite un potentiel touristique très important ; elle recèle des sites de valeur exceptionnelle qui ont motivé, en 1989, le classement du sanctuaire culturel et naturel de la falaise de Bandiagara sur la liste du patrimoine mondial (Wieczorek, 1991).

Le patrimoine culturel Dogon est essentiellement constitué de biens tangibles (édifices architecturaux, mobiliers, environnement naturel) (Figs. 16 et 17) et surtout de biens immatériels (rituels, cosmogonie, mode de vie, folklore, etc.) (Figs. 18, 19 et 20). Il est important de noter l'imbrication de ces différentes composantes du patrimoine Dogon, c'est-à-dire qu'aucun élément pris individuellement n'a de valeur intrinsèque, mais plutôt un ensemble de composantes matérielles et immatérielles.

La présente communication sera consacrée au Hogon, roi-prêtre remplissant « les plus hautes fonctions sacerdotales et judiciaires. L'étendue exacte de ses pouvoirs ne comporte pas de limites bien nettes. Toutes les affaires du pays sont réglées par l'assemblée des vieillards, véritable conseil des anciens que rassemble et préside le Hogon » (Paulme, 1940). Naturellement, nous accorderons une attention au peuple Dogon et à son environnement, de même

qu'aux mutations socio-économiques liées au « Hogon », chefferie traditionnelle au cœur du Mali profond.

### 2. Aperçu sur les Dogons

#### 2.1 Le cadre, les hommes et les activités

L'espace occupé par les Dogons se trouve dans une région de montagne à cheval grosso modo entre le delta intérieur du Niger et la frontière avec le Burkina Faso. Située au cœur du Sahel, la région, qui couvre près de 4 000 km<sup>2</sup>, est constituée de trois domaines géographiques bien distincts, à savoir le plateau, la falaise et la plaine. Sa population, estimée à 250 000 âmes dans les années 60, a plus que doublé aujourd'hui (Dembele, 1996).

#### Le plateau

Appelé localement « Toro », le plateau est constitué de séries de tables de grès ferrugineux, légèrement inclinées vers l'ouest. Les altitudes moyennes gravitent autour de 500 mètres. Cette région est très peu habitée par l'homme ; la vie y est rude, la pluviométrie très faible, la végétation presque inexistante. L'agriculture, activité essentielle des Dogons, est très difficile. Elle est surtout pratiquée le long de la rivière la plus importante, le Yamé, et ses diverticules, grâce à des petits barrages qui favorisent une culture de contre saison (oignon, tabac, piment). Ici, le peuplement est très faible ; les plus grands centres sont Bandiagara et Pelou.

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La maison du Hogon de Harou

© M. Dembele

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La fête des masques en pays Dogon (village de Nombori)

© M. Dembele



Le Hogon de Sangha, assis sur l'estrade devant sa maison dans le quartier d'Ogol-Da

© M. Renandeu and N. Wanono, 1996

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La fête des masques en pays Dogon (village de Pelou)

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La canne du Hogon

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*La falaise*

Appelée « Koko », elle domine la grande plaine du Séno-Gondo, et présente un tracé rectiligne dont le rebord atteint 700 mètres d'altitude. Ici, la vie est moins austère que sur le plateau ; la végétation est relativement plus dense et les températures moins rudes. La pluviométrie est identique à celle du plateau ; cependant la falaise est plus humide ; elle profite de la masse d'eau qui s'écoule du plateau, dans sa descente vers la plaine. Les sols sont plus riches, du fait de l'accumulation de débris végétaux et de limons entre les éboulis de pierres. En conséquence la production agricole est importante. Les établissements humains sont plus nombreux : Sanga, Nombori, Ireli, etc.

*La plaine*

Les Dogons l'appellent « Seno » ou « Manu ». Elle s'étend en contrebas de la falaise. Cette immense bande de terre est parsemée de dunes de sable pouvant atteindre 20 voire 30 mètres de hauteur. Les deux grandes plaines de Séno et de Gondo se caractérisent par la fertilité de leurs sols, qui reçoivent en dernier ressort les eaux du plateau et de la falaise, de même que d'importants dépôts limoneux. La végétation est beaucoup plus dense et les productions agricoles beaucoup plus importantes. Cette région était le domaine traditionnel des Peuls et des Mossis. L'occupation Dogon est plus récente. Cependant le peuplement est plus dense. On y enregistre de gros bourgs : Koro, Bankass, Diankabou.

**2.2 Historique du peuplement**

Selon des traditions orales encore vivaces, les Dogons se disent originaires du Mandé. Ils ont migré par vagues successives entre les XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles avec leurs fétiches et leurs cultes, à la suite de l'islamisation massive que l'empire mandingue a connue après le fastidieux pèlerinage du Mansa Kankou-Moussa à La Mecque. Arrivés dans cette région qui porte leur nom, ils se sont d'abord regroupés à Kani, à l'extrémité sud-ouest de la falaise, avant de se disperser sur le plateau, dans la falaise et dans la plaine.

Au cours de leur implantation, précisément dans la falaise, les Dogons disent eux mêmes avoir trouvé sur place d'autres groupes humains qu'ils désignent par le terme de « Tellems », ce qui signifie en Dogon « ceux que nous avons trouvés sur place ». Les Tellems avaient leurs habitats aménagés dans les creux de la falaise. Il est actuellement établi grâce aux recherches archéologiques que les Tellems avaient développé dès le XI<sup>e</sup> siècle diverses techniques architecturales et de production qui nécessitaient une maîtrise de la métallurgie, de la poterie, du tissage, etc. Les témoins de ce riche patrimoine se trouvent sur des sites abandonnés, car, d'après les Dogons, les Tellems se seraient repliés dans les régions montagneuses voisines, situées en territoire burkinabé, abandonnant sur place des biens culturels d'une variété exceptionnelle exposés au pillage et au trafic (Bedaux, 1972).

**2.3 Patrimoine architectural**

L'originalité même de la culture Dogon repose sur son architecture principalement de pierre, représentée sur le plateau, mais surtout dans les falaises par de véritables ouvrages perchés. L'habitat est constitué de constructions vernaculaires marquées par les empreintes de plusieurs siècles d'existence et par des mutations à la fois historiques et mythiques.

Cette architecture est particulièrement liée à l'environnement naturel. La pierre constitue le principal matériau de construction sur le plateau et dans les falaises. Dans la plaine, en revanche, l'argile et le banco ont remplacé la pierre (Wolfgang, 1998). L'architecture Dogon est composée d'un certain nombre d'édifices familiaux ou communautaires, à savoir :

- *L'Ogo-Gi'ne*, ou maison du Hogon, le chef suprême, autrement dit le roi de la communauté Dogon ;
- La *Gin'na* : maison mère, habitée par le patriarche. C'est la maison, spéciale de par sa nature même, où réside le chef de la famille élargie. Cette maison abrite le patrimoine à la fois matériel et immatériel de la grande famille (reliques, fétiches protecteurs, mobiliers) ;
- La *Togu'na* : le hangar, lieu de causerie, de réunion des hommes sur tout problème touchant la communauté. C'est l'équivalent de l'arbre à palabres, bien connu dans les communautés africaines ;
- Les *Gè (Go)* ou greniers : ils servent principalement au stockage des récoltes, mais dans certains cas des chambres à coucher et surtout d'abri pour la conservation du patrimoine mobilier ;
- La *Yapuno Gi'né* : la case des femmes ayant leurs règles. Cette case abrite toutes les femmes de la communauté pendant la menstruation ;
- Les *Binu Qinu Gi'ne* : les maisons sanctuaires ; elles abritent les objets et lieux de culte traditionnel de la communauté.

Il est important de noter que ces différents édifices, communautaires ou privés, sont liés par des relations fonctionnelles ; ils sont animés par des prêtres, sous la protection de génies.

Il convient de constater que cette architecture à la fois originale et séculaire se trouve actuellement dans un état fort avancé de délabrement dont les causes sont multiples ; parmi celles-ci, on peut citer les conséquences des grandes sécheresses des années 70 qui ont entraîné des exodes massifs de populations. Cette période a enregistré la fixation de plusieurs populations dans la plaine, au détriment du plateau et des falaises, entraînant de surcroît l'abandon sur place des édifices et des biens.

Il convient de noter également l'influence néfaste des religions révélées (christianisme, islam) qui incitaient les populations à abandonner les pratiques ancestrales. À ces différentes causes on peut ajouter d'autres mutations

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d'ordre socio-culturel, telles la scolarisation et, depuis quelques années seulement, la politique de décentralisation.

### 3. Le « Hogona »

#### 3.1 Evolution du « Hogona » dans la société Dogon

La chefferie traditionnelle, autrement dit la petite royauté que nous avons désignée par le terme de « Hogon », comparable au *Mansaya* en pays mandingue, a également évolué depuis la mise en place à Arou du premier Hogon. De nos jours, il existe en pays Dogon, deux types de Hogons : le Hogon élu, appartenant à l'un des clans de la branche d'Arou, et le Hogon « le plus vieux » faisant office de chef de village, dont le clan n'a pas de relation directe avec le clan d'Arou.

##### *Le Hogon d'Arou, le premier Hogon en pays Dogon*

L'histoire du Hogon est inséparable de l'histoire des Arous, une branche importante des Dogons qui, au cours du déplacement du Mandé et surtout suite à la dispersion de Kani, auraient longé la falaise et se seraient fixées d'abord à Dalé, près de l'actuel Koundou. Là, les Arous auraient occupé un vaste abri sous roche, aménagé auparavant par des Tellems, qui furent chassés des lieux. Ils occupèrent longtemps cette vaste caverne qui abritait aussi bien les demeures individuelles que des sanctuaires et des habitations (Diéterlen, 1982).

Selon la tradition, c'est un membre du lignage du troisième fils, du nom de Tanu Yenguéné, réputé grand féticheur, qui fut à une date difficile à préciser le premier Hogon d'Arou. Progressivement, des habitations s'édifièrent non loin de la demeure du dignitaire, autour des sanctuaires des prêtres totémiques qui l'assistaient. Ce village prit le nom d'Arou. Devenus trop nombreux, les Arous quittèrent progressivement la caverne pour fonder diverses agglomérations dans la plaine et sur le plateau. Un gardien restera seul sur place pour veiller sur les sanctuaires. Progressivement, des prêtres assistant le Hogon d'Arou seront désignés : Ogo Sélé pour Arou, Oyambé pour les Onos, Yebene pour les Dyons de Sanga.

Les Hogons d'Arou doivent être choisis à tour de rôle dans les villages ou quartiers des descendants de ceux qui étaient présents lors de l'intronisation du premier dignitaire sur les lieux. Il s'agit des localités suivantes : Yogo-Dogoro, Yogo-Pilou, Tyogou, Koundou, Dyamini, Solou, Madougou, Bono, Pegue, Tiréli, Kamba, Bandiagara.

Les enquêtes menées par l'intéressé (communication personnelle) n'ont pas permis de préciser la durée de chaque règne. Aussi une question demeure ; la liste est-elle exhaustive ?

1. *Ogo-Sandirou fut le premier Hogon*
2. *Ogo-Atouminguéré ou Atanou Yegyéné le frère de Sandirou*
3. *Ogo-Poupoudiou*

4. *Ogo-Lagara*
5. *Ogo-Amaga*
6. *Ogo-Nagalou*
7. *Ogo-Damin*
8. *Ogo-Nimou*
9. *Ogo-Dogom*
10. *Ogo-Tiré*
11. *Ogo-Parou*
12. *Ogo-Séré*
13. *Ogo-Koungo*
14. *Ogo-Doumo*
15. *Ogo-Dariè*
16. *Ogo-Mondiè*
17. *Ogo-Pinelou*
18. *Ogo-Nidiou*
19. *Ogo-Kougno*
20. *Ogo-Tangaran*
21. *Ogo-Amananou*
22. *Ogo-Yéligara*
23. *Ogo-Doumontoumno*
24. *Ogo-Soloum*
25. *Ogo-Dalou, l'actuel.*

En effet après la célébration des funérailles du Hogon défunt, c'est-à-dire les cérémonies du « dama », son successeur doit être désigné dans le village dont c'est le tour. Il doit être le fils d'un membre du clan et d'une femme appartenant à un autre clan ; cette règle relève d'un souci d'équilibre car, si les deux ascendants venaient d'Arou, il serait trop puissant, donc susceptible de rompre l'équilibre entre les différents groupes.

Ainsi le choix est opéré de la façon suivante : les prêtres totémiques et les chefs de lignage se réunissent dans l'abri réservé aux hommes à Arou. Un devin, descendant du premier prêtre du premier clan, responsable de l'autel mythique Binou Sérou, pratique la divination pour le bien de la communauté. Après avoir sacrifié une volaille sur l'autel transporté sur place, le devin, par ses pratiques magiques, élimine un à un les quartiers du village ; puis dans celui qui est retenu, il procède de même pour éliminer les hommes un à un jusqu'à ce qu'intervienne la désignation du futur prêtre. En paiement de son travail, le devin reçoit l'animal sacrifié et du mil ; des calebassées de « Konjo », la bière de mil traditionnelle sont consommées sur place pour boucler la séance.

Il est intéressant de retenir que le postulant n'est jamais prévenu. Cependant les chefs de lignage et les prêtres d'Arou sont informés de la réunion pour choisir la date de l'intronisation. Cette date est déterminée suite à des observations astronomiques. En général elle se tient au moment de la nouvelle lune pendant la période des récoltes.

Au jour indiqué, tous les délégués des familles relevant d'Arou sont convoqués autour de jarres de bière de mil préparée à cet effet. L'homme élu se trouve toujours parmi les présents. Une fois élu, l'intéressé est saisi, dévêtu du pagne blanc constitué de quatre bandes de coton qu'il doit

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porter pour la première partie des rites d'intronisation ; il ne pourra plus retourner dans son village d'origine, du moins dans l'immédiat. À l'occasion des cérémonies d'intronisation une partie de sa famille (sa femme, son fils aîné) peut le rejoindre ; elle est installée en général dans la maison secondaire du Hogon et non dans la maison principale.

### 3.2 Le Hogon le plus âgé

Il est plus ou moins admis que le Hogon d'Arou avait autorité sur l'ensemble du pays Dogon. Toutefois, sans qu'il me soit possible dans l'état actuel des recherches de préciser la période, on a assisté, à la mise en place du Hogon le plus âgé, un peu à l'image des chefs de village ou de tribu.

La physionomie générale se présente de la façon suivante. Dans les villages ayant des attaches avec Arou, il y a un ou deux Hogons. Dans certains cas il n'y en a même pas. Cela veut dire que le village en question reconnaît l'autorité du seul Hogon d'Arou. C'est le cas du village de Pélou sur le plateau. Certains villages liés à Arou ont aussi un Hogon élu, plus ou moins apparenté à une branche d'Arou. C'est notamment le cas du Hogon élu de Nombori, dont le premier Hogon, Ogosandiri serait même un fils du premier Hogon d'Arou. Ces mêmes villages ont également un Hogon plus âgé. Ce dernier représente en général la communauté non apparentée à Arou. Le cas typique est encore Nombori où ce « Hogona » est détenu par la famille du chef de village.

Bien que nous ne disposions pas de statistiques précises, près de 75 % des villages Dogons ont actuellement ce type si l'on peut dire évolué de Hogon. Cependant précisons tout de suite qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un Hogon « moderne ». Il répond également à des critères bien précis, dont la première est d'être le plus âgé d'une des familles fondatrices du village concerné. Aussi, le droit d'aînesse, quoique prédominant, n'est pas le seul critère ; il en existe bien d'autres : être d'une grande intégrité morale, être membre du conseil des anciens, être locataire d'une *Gin'na*, c'est-à-dire gardien des biens matériels et immatériels d'une « famille élargie » faisant partie des familles fondatrices du village, etc.

De plus en plus souvent, le Hogon, chef de village, ne réside pas dans une *Ogo-Gi'né*, sa maison propre située à l'écart du village. Mais des cas existent, par exemple à Nombori : le locataire de l'*Ogo-Gi'né Guju*, c'est-à-dire la maison du Ywe Ogo ou Hogon des esprits, n'était autre que le chef du village dans les années 90. Cependant les maisons sont régulièrement entretenues et abritent les patrimoines familiaux. Le Hogon, chef de village, peut s'y retirer occasionnellement, car il est le gardien de cette maison et de ses biens.

Le Hogon occupe en général sa maison, qui se trouve au cœur du village. Il s'agit d'une maison ordinaire, différente de la *Gin'na* par exemple. Il y vit avec sa famille, y reçoit les hôtes ; toutefois, les réunions se tiennent toujours sous un *Togu'na*, sous son autorité.

Il dispose aussi de parcelles de champs entretenus par la collectivité ; mais, de plus en plus, mutations obligent, ces champs sont entretenus par la propre famille de l'intéressé.

Cependant, en dépit des mutations opérées ou en cours, le Hogon, chef de village, n'est pas sans autorité. C'est une personnalité qui a évolué dans le milieu, il est le plus souvent chef de *Gin'na*, donc gardien des traditions familiales. C'est un homme craint et respecté, car c'est en raison de son âge qu'il est Hogon, et le Hogon mérite respect et obéissance. Comme d'ailleurs son homologue élu, il tranche les litiges, avec l'assistance du conseil des anciens, autrement dit le conseil du village.

## 4. Rôle et attributions du Hogon dans la société Dogon

Il est établi que le peuple Dogon a toujours été un peuple foncièrement pacifique, qui ne disposait ni d'Etat, ni d'organisation centralisée, ni d'armée. Cela ne signifie pas pour autant qu'il s'agisse d'un peuple inorganisé, vivant dans l'anarchie.

L'autorité était exercée par des conseils de village, composés de doyens de lignage et de prêtres totémiques. Le Hogon, considéré comme le chef suprême apparaît comme un de ces rois-prêtres. Ne disposant ni d'armée, ni d'équipement de guerre, il participait aux conflits par sa seule présence morale, son autorité, ses prières, par l'intermédiaire de ses assistants et conseils de notables. Au moment des affrontements avec d'autres groupes (Peuls, Mossis), les prêtres totémiques marchaient à la tête des hommes armés et jouaient un rôle important pour le moral des troupes.

### 4.1 Les symboles du Hogon

Partout dans le monde, la chefferie, la royauté, le pouvoir tout court sont marqués par un certain nombre de symboles. Ceux-ci varient selon les cas. Le pays Dogon ne fait pas exception à cette règle universelle. Nous nous permettons de citer quelques-uns de ces symboles :

- *la Ogo-Gi'ne*, la maison où réside le Hogon, constitue le premier symbole. Elle est bâtie dans un style architectural qui n'a pas son pareil dans la localité, car c'est la maison du protecteur de la communauté, le chef politique et spirituel, le garant de la paix et de la productivité. L'état d'entretien de cet édifice illustre la santé socio-économique des populations concernées.

- *les vêtements du Hogon*

Il s'agit non pas des habits ordinaires portés par le Hogon, mais de ceux qui sont confectionnés pour l'intronisation du Hogon et portés à l'occasion de cérémonies spécifiques concernant la communauté.

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Ces vêtements varient selon les localités. À Arou, la tenue est faite de bandes de cotonnade peinte de quatre couleurs vives symbolisant chacune un point cardinal : le rouge pour le nord, le noir pour l'ouest, le bleu clair pour le sud et le blanc pour l'est. À Nombori, en revanche, elle est faite d'une peau de bœuf tannée et peinte en ocre ; cette couleur est typique de la tenue traditionnelle chez les Dogons ; elle symbolise la pureté du cœur et de l'esprit.

- *la canne du Hogon*

Selon la tradition, les premières cannes portées par les chefs de clan Dogons du Mandé lors de la grande migration étaient en bambou, considéré comme le symbole de la puissance. Cette plante ne faisant pas partie de la flore de la région d'accueil, toutes les cannes sont depuis plusieurs générations confectionnées en bois. La canne du Hogon a une grande valeur symbolique. Par exemple, lors d'une discussion, une fois que le Hogon pose sa canne horizontalement sur le sol, tout le monde arrête de parler. De même lorsque ce bâton est apporté par son émissaire dans une zone de conflit, les heurts cessent immédiatement.

- *le bonnet du Hogon*

Emblème de la chefferie, le bonnet est l'insigne le plus important du Hogon. Confectionné à l'occasion de son intronisation, il est très souvent de même couleur or (ocre), symbole de la pureté du corps et de l'esprit. Le bonnet rouge ocre ne doit jamais sortir de la demeure du Hogon, au risque de provoquer un cataclysme naturel.

- *les bottes et les sandales du Hogon*

Elles sont en cuir rouge, parfois ornées de couleurs : noir, jaune et blanc. Le Hogon porte ses bottes seulement lorsqu'il doit sortir de sa demeure. À sa mort, il est enseveli avec ses bottes au pied.

Par contre les sandales, confectionnés dans une peau de vache blanche, sont portées à l'intérieur de la demeure.

- *autres objets*

Ils sont nombreux : sacoche, oreiller, coupe (plat), lance, bracelet, etc. Chacun de ces objets à une fonction spécifique.

### 4.2 Le Hogon, chef spirituel et politique

Le Hogon, en tant que témoin d'Amma sur la terre, est en relation directe avec l'espace et avec le temps. C'est le grand Nommo, géniteur mythique des êtres humains, maître de l'eau céleste et gardien des principes spirituels des céréales.

Le Hogon est le chef suprême des rituels qui visent à favoriser l'harmonie entre le monde des vivants et celui des morts.

Le Hogon ne doit en aucun cas être impur, car il contaminerait le monde. Aussi, chaque matin, se purifie-t-il avec du charbon qu'il croque. Il est toutefois préservé, de par sa

grande puissance, de la souillure que pourraient lui communiquer les hommes ordinaires en état d'impureté.

Chef religieux, il ne doit avoir de contacts quotidiens avec personne, pas même avec les gens de sa famille : nul ne lui serre jamais la main. Sa femme est seule à pouvoir l'approcher ; elle prépare la nourriture, mais vit dans sa propre demeure et ne peut passer la nuit dans la maison proprement dite de son mari.

Le Hogon ne peut sortir du village, ni même le parcourir au-delà d'une certaine limite. À Sanga, par exemple, quand le Hogon de Dyon se promène, il va quelquefois à Ogol-du-Bas saluer sa famille, ou à l'abri des hommes, ou dans son champ, en tenant sa canne, mais jamais au-delà. Il n'a pas le droit d'exécuter le moindre travail. Il lui est par exemple interdit de cultiver. On dit que « *s'il semait du mil ou émiettait un épi et le rapportait chez lui pour l'égrener, toute la production en mil du pays serait vidée de sa substance* » (Diéterlen, 1982).

Le Hogon ne peut ni manger, ni boire ailleurs que chez lui, à l'exception de la bière offerte par les habitants dont il consomme la première calebasse. Il ne boit que l'eau recueillie par l'un des membres de sa famille à la source sacrée. Ses repas sont toujours servis dans un plat en bois confectionné par son forgeron. De plus, le Hogon est tenu de respecter des interdits alimentaires touchant les animaux et les végétaux (Griaule, 1965).

Le Hogon représente également une autorité judiciaire. Il fait rechercher les malfaiteurs, tranche les affaires graves. Par exemple lorsqu'il y avait un différent entre Dyon et Arou, le Hogon local intervenait en premier lieu. Quand il ne parvenait pas à régler le contentieux, il consultait le Hogon d'Arou qui liquidait l'affaire sans qu'un recours soit possible.

### 4.3 Le Hogon, symbole de la productivité et de la prospérité

Le Hogon, responsable du culte agraire, garant de la fertilité des sols et de l'intégrité de leurs produits, est aussi considéré comme le maître de la productivité.

Le problème de la terre est une affaire trop importante au pays Dogon ; les champs sont individuels, collectifs et une part importante est réservée au Hogon, en particulier à celui d'Arou. Rappelons que, dans l'espace Dogon, seul le Hogon d'Arou est sensé inaugurer et clôturer le cycle agricole, en sa qualité de maître de la pluie et des récoltes.

En tant qu'autorité suprême, le Hogon tient à sa disposition un certain nombre de champs ou Ogo tigu. Ces derniers sont situés en général à proximité de sa maison. Il s'agit le plus souvent des champs les plus fertiles, dont la taille et le nombre sont fonction de l'importance du Hogon. Le Hogon d'Arou, par exemple, a un domaine de douze parcelles, avec, au centre, un espace non défriché, attribué au « Lébé », le grand fétiche protecteur, et au ser-

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pent sacré, gardien de ces champs, qui se retire pendant une période de l'année dans la résidence du Hogon.

L'institution du Hogon, « le Hogona », et, à travers elle, la culture matérielle et immatérielle Dogon sont fortement menacées dans leur intégrité depuis des décennies, par suite de phénomènes socio-économiques et culturels, notamment par les sécheresses répétées des années 70 et le développement des religions révélées, qui ont entraîné l'abandon ou le manque d'entretien d'édifices majeurs tels que les *Gin'na*, les *Ogo-Gi'né*, etc.

La culture immatérielle foncièrement liée à la culture matérielle a également perdu une grande partie de sa substance. Toutefois, en dépit de ces menaces, les Dogons, en particulier la jeunesse, déploient des efforts immenses pour perpétuer leur patrimoine universel par des fêtes traditionnelles, la construction de campements et de musées communautaires, etc.

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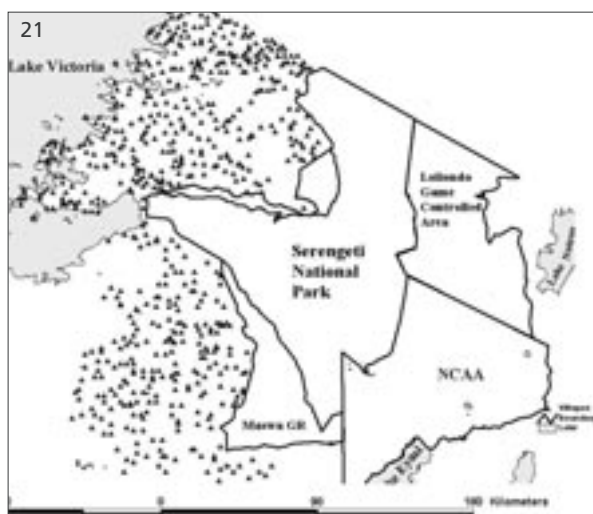
## Africa Afrique

# Community Conservation Services: Experiences from Serengeti National Park, United Republic of Tanzania

Justin Hando

### 1. Introduction

Community Conservation Services (CCS) is an outreach programme of Tanzania National Parks (TANAPA) for the surrounding communities that focuses on local people at village, ward and district levels. The total population of the local communities is 1.4 million, spread across seven administrative districts and over seventy villages and five major tribes with differing cultures (Fig. 21). CCS is a field-based programme that started in 1988 as a pilot project involving three villages at the eastern border of Serengeti National Park. The programme grew over time to cover more parks and in 1992, CCS was incorporated as a department of TANAPA. Today CCS is active in all twelve of the country's national parks.



Population around Serengeti National Park - Triangles represent the location of villages

The concept of CCS was conceived to combat the continued erosion of the integrity of Serengeti National Park despite the increasing efforts of law enforcement. The apparent decline of some of its wildlife species was caused by illegal over-exploitation that peaked in the 1980s. Affected species included the elephant, buffalo, rhino and roan antelope. Also, a progressive shrinking of the natural system had become apparent, caused by human encroachment from the boundary towards the interior of the park, most probably as a result of population growth. These threats forced the management authority to question whether the approaches to conservation were achieving the intended results of protecting biodiversity in Protected Areas.

Several workshops involving wildlife agencies and their stakeholders criticized the concept of 'conservation against the people' which was being practised. Social conflicts between people and the parks, and people and wildlife, were rife under the colonial and postcolonial legislation. The laws imposed penalties for unlicensed hunting, entry into Protected Areas, cutting firewood and collecting medicinal plants, etc. The result of this was that human communities were alienated from their natural resources, creating conflicts, and ending in wanton harvesting. Early ideas suggested that the provision of social and welfare services would reverse the hostility. This involved building schools, dispensaries, water pumps, dams, etc. and teaching the communities the importance of wildlife at the same time. Hence the launch of the CCS programmes.

CCS was established with the objectives of explaining the purpose of the national parks to local communities and to solicit local participation in park management. CCS seeks to protect the integrity of the national parks by reducing conflicts between wildlife and surrounding human communities, by improving relations with those communities and by helping to solve problems of mutual concern. In other words, community conservation seeks to change the ways in which resource users and state agencies interact so that conservation goals are achieved. Prior to CCS initiatives, there was a great degree of hostility between the park authorities and the surrounding human community, and inter-village conflicts largely due to cattle rustling.

The Serengeti-Mara ecosystem, covering a surface area of about 25,000 km<sup>2</sup> in northern Tanzania, is defined by the movement of migratory wildebeest and zebra and comprises several Protected Areas. Serengeti National Park (14,793 km<sup>2</sup>), where CCS was pioneered, is the core of the ecosystem and is one of the great natural wonders of the world. The Serengeti is famous for its annual migration of wildebeest, zebra, Thompson's gazelle and eland, which together number over 2 million. There is also a high diversity and abundance of large predators and non-migratory ungulates (Sinclair and Arcese, 1995). TANAPA seeks to conserve the ecosystem through the contemporary concepts of CCS in tandem with other management practices.

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## 2. Ccs Activities

Information is power and has a great impact on the appreciation of achievement and the acknowledgement of weaknesses. Unfortunately, we have not been very good at data collection and so my account will mostly be qualitative rather than quantitative.

### 2.1 Benefits to the local communities

The needs of the community are integrated in parks management planning with the purpose of improving the welfare of the local people. The communities propose social development projects, and the national park authorities assess and approve projects depending on availability of funds. Once approved, CCS provide the necessary technical assistance and advice. Village committees and the owners of the projects provide leadership and supervision. Table 1 shows examples of CCS projects.

#### Construction work

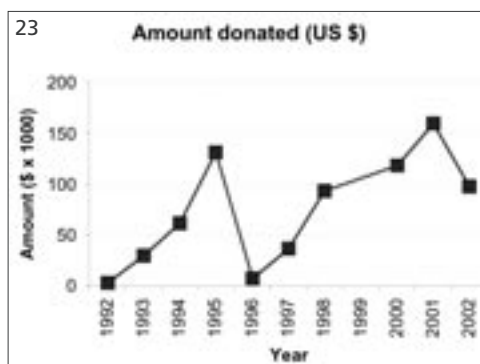
- school classrooms, offices and teachers' housing (Fig. 22);
- dispensaries and other health facilities;
- livestock support infrastructure, for example, drinking water troughs, treatment dips;
- road works including grading and bridge construction.



© Dr. Simon Mduma

Helping Mchuri village to build a primary school

Since 1992, Serengeti National Park has been setting aside a substantial amount of its income to support CCS projects, reaching a peak of over US\$150,000 in 2001 (Fig. 23).



Money spent by Serengeti National Park to support CCS projects from 1992 through 2001

#### Micro-economic projects

Small groups or individuals are educated and encouraged to initiate small-scale entrepreneurs. Engagement in these activities provides alternative sources of income. For example:

- poultry and pig farming;
- vegetable farming (tomatoes, carrots, green peppers);
- carvings and curio shops;
- dairy farming;
- fisheries in Lake Victoria;
- cultural groups performing traditional dance and drama in tourist lodges and hotels;
- CCS advises communities on how to develop and sign contracts with investors to establish campsites for non-consumptive game drives, for example, in eastern Serengeti, where CCS was pioneered.

#### Markets for micro-economic products

CCS campaigns to secure markets for products that are locally produced. We estimate that about 90% of food consumed by Serengeti National Park employees comes from local farmers. Food types produced include cereals, tubers, vegetables and animal products (maize, finger millet, rice, potatoes, beef, milk, chicken, etc.).

A very important market is created among private investors inside the Protected Areas. For example:

- Serena Lodge purchases fresh fish from the local fisherman worth around TZS20 million (Tanzanian shillings) a year, or about US\$20,000.
- Some hotels have agreements with villages to produce vegetables for their use (e.g. Grumeti Tented Camp, Nywatwali village, VIP Safaris and Nyakitono villages).

#### CCS education projects

- CCS staff visit local schools and the general public to explain and demonstrate conservation education.
- Students and villagers are invited to visit the park, where conservation education is conducted in situ. The parks provide transport, accommodation and meals during the visits.
- CCS is actively participating in tree planting and tending campaigns in local schools and villages.
- CCS works with local communities to design micro-economies and social schemes.

#### Collaborators and private investors helping CCS projects

- ConsCorp Grumeti Tented Camp is supporting a waste disposal system in Bunda town.
- VIP Safaris is about to employ fifty village game scouts to protect wildlife in buffer zones and on communal land.
- VIP has also promised to dig shallow wells to provide a safe, clean water supply in Nyakitono village, and has plans to provide water to schools, mainly in Serengeti District.
- The Serengeti Regional Conservation Project, part of the Wildlife Department, is hunting and selling wild meat on an experimental basis. One of the aims of the project is to understand how to suppress the illegal market for meat through legal provisions.



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### 2.2 Contributions of local communities to wildlife conservation

Community-based conservation performs a law enforcement function that is further strengthened by the anti-poaching operations of the Village Game Scouts (VGS). Some villages around the Serengeti National Park have encouraged VGS to conduct anti-poaching patrols. The work of VGS complements that of the anti-poaching forces of the state and the national parks. Under the new Wildlife Policy of Tanzania (1998), VGS are empowered to make arrests within their communal land. VGS also provide tips leading to the arrest of people dealing in illegal trophies (ivory and rhino horn) and, more commonly, illegal game meat. VGS have the advantage of knowing the seasons and areas that are susceptible to illegal activities, as well as having a good idea of the probable perpetrators. VGS and the general public also provide a very vital service by reporting stray animals, for example, rhinos reported in two different locations: first in Machochwe and later in Halawa village.

Serengeti National Park, through its CCS unit, supports law enforcement in community lands, recognizing that this is where most poachers live and sell their illegal wares. Indeed, VGS complements the park ranger force by tracking down culprits outside the boundaries of Protected Areas. In recognizing the contribution of VGS, the parks provided (a) seven bicycles (in 2000) as a trial for facilitating swift travel to the nearest ranger post or police station when in need of assistance, and (b) a total of thirty uniforms for six VGS units. On several occasions, the parks provide transport when requested by VGS in order to conduct anti-poaching patrols.

Besides using the government machinery of prosecuting illegal activities (courts of law and the police), law enforcement in community lands is led by traditional leaders, who have succeeded in controlling cattle rustling which has been a source of major concern for local authorities. Communities use sanctions that have evolved in their societies and have proved to be more effective than the government procedures. Local people are better networked and are therefore better able to influence one another, and they administer sanctions at a lower cost than the customary government bureaucracy can. They know the appropriate and most effective sanctions for the offences committed. Sanctions range from a verbal warning to various forms of punishment, including fines and corporal punishment.

In our experience, limited fining and the threat of punishment have proved effective. Offenders are normally called before the local *baraza* (community council) and interviewed vigorously. If found guilty, the offenders are punished and the retribution instituted immediately. Sometimes verbal warnings are issued, specifying conditions and the punishment that would apply if the offence is repeated. Such sanctions have reduced the time needed for park staff to travel to law courts to give evidence,

thereby allowing more time for fieldwork. These mechanisms need the encouragement and support of the government if they are to work. They also have to be monitored so that they are not abused, as there is no provision for appeal.

### 2.3 Capacity-building

#### *Wildlife management*

The wildlife sector in the United Republic of Tanzania has several training centres where recruits are sent to acquire skills for managing wildlife, including the relevant aspects of law enforcement. Short- and long-term courses are offered at Pasiansi Wildlife Institute and its branches (SRCP, Makundusi, Sekamaganga, etc.). Higher-calibre managers are trained at Mweka College of African Wildlife Management. VGS and a limited number of selected villagers are sent for training at the centres so that they can acquire the appropriate knowledge required for managing wildlife resources. Occasionally, the park ranger force provides on-the-job training by conducting joint patrols with VGS. Training includes field combat drills and intelligence-based activities.

#### *Other vocational training*

- Skills to manage micro-economic projects launched through CCS projects.
- To provide alternative skills, especially to the younger generation in the hope of deterring them from poaching.
- Opportunity training organized by CCS. These include training women to use energy-efficient stoves and to plant trees.
- Veterinary training and related services, especially to support animal husbandry (cattle, pigs, chickens).

#### *Financial capacity*

- Loans and donations are offered to approved micro-projects, especially those proposed by women's groups. This was tried with pig and poultry farming at about TZS250,000 per project, but the initiative was dropped as no funding was available in 2000.

### 2.4 Employment opportunities

- Currently one-third of SNP employees (34% of over 100 employees) are indigenous people from the neighbouring areas. At one time, about 75% of staff came from the surrounding areas.
- VGS are given special consideration when recruitment opportunities in the national park system arise.
- All CCS projects make use of the indigenous workforce, except where specialized skills are not locally available. Examples of locally available expertise include masonry, carpentry, craftworking, weaving, etc.
- Local associations to manage micro-economic projects offer limited employment opportunities. Although they are not working optimally at present, the associations do negotiate and sign contracts for the supply of goods and services to investors and other parks facilities (lodges,

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hotels, tented camps, staff villages, etc.). Associations employ indigenous people to manage and develop projects. So far there are five such groups in Robanda village, mainly providing casual labour. Others are formed on the basis of what they can supply to the lodges, such as locally produced goods and services.

### 2.5 Indicators of CCS success

- There is a flourishing, amicable relationship between local communities and the employees of SNP and other private investors. The one-time heightened hostility (prior to the late 1990s) between parks and local communities has now been consigned to history.
- There are clear signs of increased awareness and sensitivity to environmental conservation. For example, the use of efficient charcoal burners is now widely accepted by over 50% of households in twenty pilot villages where one or two women received training. Successful reforestation projects followed annual tree-planting campaigns.
- Cases of illegal behaviour are increasingly dealt with by village councils. For example, between 1999 and 2002, the Mikese village in Serengeti District dealt with over 400 offences related to wildlife conservation.
- There has been an apparent decline in illegal activities, such as cattle grazing. Poaching missions are being disrupted before they get under way, and sometimes trophies are confiscated as a result of intelligence tip-offs by villagers.

### 2.6 Challenges ahead

Although people living around the Serengeti National Park now have a better understanding of wildlife conservation and although some of their social welfare problems have been partly solved, they still have no reliable sources of income to support their basic needs. We suspect that illegal hunting is still seen as a viable economic base. Conservation education, revenue sharing and donating schools and health buildings are all-important and have increased the appreciation that local communities have for wildlife as a purposeful resource. Certainly people's attitudes towards wildlife conservation are positive, but poaching levels have not declined significantly as was earlier envisaged. Poaching has an economic basis and, without changing the economic incentive system for the villagers, all efforts will bear little fruit.

At present, the wildlife sector is seeking to provide a sustainable basis to provide economic incentives to the local populations in the hope of alleviating poverty. This is achieved by involving people in the utilization of wildlife, a resource that can satisfy basic needs if used wisely. The country has developed the Wildlife Management Areas (WMA) approach to put wildlife on village land under the management of local communities. The ultimate goal of the WMAs is 'conserving wildlife in order to use it'.

WMAs are initiated by the communities and are recognized by the new Wildlife Policy of Tanzania of 1998. The revision of the Wildlife Conservation Act (1974) to accommodate this new policy is now under way. WMAs advocate the sustainable use of wildlife, whether in the form of 'non-consumptive' photographic safaris or 'consumptive' hunting by tourists or locals. Allowed activities are dependent on expert advice and the villagers' decision. Revenue accrued from WMAs is made available for the benefit of the local communities, who ultimately are the landowners.

The expectations of WMAs in conserving wildlife and alleviating poverty are high. While we do concur that WMAs are complementary to the Protected Areas approach (and in no way a substitute), one important question still lingers: to what extent will this approach discourage the occupational poachers and provide them with alternative sources of income to support their everyday needs? We remain optimistic!

### 3. Conclusions

The concept of 'conservation with the people' has a long way to go before strong collaboration and trust can be developed. One of the greatest enemies is poverty and this tends to force people to consciously engage in the negative use of environmental resources for the sake of short-term gains and survival.

In the United Republic of Tanzania, and particularly TANAPA, we are changing our traditional approach to resource protection. We have adopted broad-minded thinking, especially in law enforcement. The conventional use of state bodies is being complemented by other approaches aimed at preserving park resources. There are already positive signs as a result of combining these approaches. The positive values of community involvement are clearly recognized in the survival of national parks. In the case of Serengeti, the sum of different approaches has increased the value of protecting the park more than law enforcement alone. Law enforcement has been in place for over fifty years but has not stopped illegal activities. However, community involvement through the recent approaches is delivering promising solutions. Whether community involvement in wildlife conservation will be a sufficient incentive to preserve wildlife, I dare not predict. However, the present trends are promising and we should allow them more time. In the meantime, we should constantly strive to evaluate and improve the system if we are to reap the expected benefits. The role of the government is to provide an enabling environment for this approach to flourish and hence for the Protected Areas to survive.

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**Table 1. Community-initiated projects supported by the Serengeti National Park CCS programme from 1991- to date**

District	Classrooms	Teachers' offices	Teachers' housing	Dispensaries	Medical staff housing	School desks	Dormitories	Shallow wells	Dams	Rehabilitation	Carpentry workshop	Furniture	Dairy farming	Road construction (km)	Campsites	Total amount contributed by Serengeti National Park (US\$)
Serengeti	15	3	1	1		20	1		9	7	1	2	2	89		181,925.74
Bunda	16	3	4	2					1							125,119.69
Tarime	17	3	1	1				15								99,107.89
Ngorongoro	3	1	2	1	1	107	2	1	3	11		1			1	87,884.15
Bariadi	4			1	1	150	1									64,118.26
Magu	4															26,349.38
Meatu	4															26,300.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>277</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>610,805.10</b>

# Anchoring African Cultural and Natural Heritage: The Significance of Local Community Awareness in the Context of Capacity-Building

Dawson Munjeri

## 1. The Case Of Robben Island

In the epoch-making book, *Long Walk to Freedom*, Nobel Prize Laureate and former President of the Republic of South Africa Nelson Mandela speaks of the hardships of prison life on Robben Island, which was placed on the World Heritage List in 1999. He presents the prison community as comprising both the prisoners and the prison authorities. One particular spot, the limestone quarries, epitomizes the harsh conditions. Dry limestone dust envelops the sweating prisoners, who continuously dig the limestone rock in the heat of the day while the prison warders extract every ounce of the prisoners' ebbing strength. In time the prisoners accept their lot and see the quarries as a 'university' where they learn human values (good or bad). The prison warders begin to see the futility of their oppressive ways and turn to some of the learned prisoners (among them lawyers, teachers, doctors, etc.) for guidance and academic knowledge. The warders open up opportunities for the less-educated prisoners by bringing them recommended educational materials. At this 'university', the prisoner and the prison warder are literally but illegally engaged in lessons not only about co-existence but also on academic subjects. They become aware of human dignity and a shared heritage that knows no colour, race or creed.

The Statement of Significance in the World Heritage Nomination File says that the value which Robben Island enshrines is 'the miracle of the triumph of the human spirit over enormous hardships and adversity'. Awareness of this **value** is not apparent, however, in the management ethos of those who run the World Heritage site.

On two occasions – first when I was carrying out the evaluation exercise for the nomination of the site to the World Heritage List, and second as a visitor to the site – I was struck by the focus placed on certain sections of the prison complex. A former inmate who is now a guide lamented the fact that 'people will never be aware of the true value of this site: they will never experience what we went through'. He took me first to the limestone quarries and then to an original section of the old prison, which is now dilapidated and off the visitors' route. He said mournfully: 'This is the *real Robben Island*: this is where people really suffered and this is where they triumphed.'

In the view of the former inmate, the neglect of the part of the site that he considered most important shows that the authority managing the site is unaware of the site's true value. The capacity-building strategies relating to con-

servation and tourism development can be seen as similarly out of focus. Efforts are centred, for example, on the 'popular sites', such as B Block, where Nelson Mandela and the nationalist leadership had their cells. Just as the Robben Island described in *Long Walk to Freedom* presents a dichotomy of suffering and relief, of cold winter winds and intense summer heat, and of oppressor and oppressed, the management ethos reflected in post-apartheid Robben Island shows the dichotomy that exists between the **values** of the site authorities and the **values** of the local community. In their conservation strategies, the site authorities target high-profile areas but fail to document, conserve or even present the site's intrinsic value. Tourism strategies likewise target the visitors who can afford the costly boat ride from the mainland to the Island, thus disenfranchising the very generators of the heritage.

Two fundamental issues are illustrated by this case. The first concerns awareness. It is wrongly assumed that site managers are themselves always aware of the significance of a site and of its value as World Heritage. When they are not, one might ask, 'Can the blind lead the blind?' If the Periodic Report for Africa 2002 (2003) were a novel or a film, it would be both a comedy and a tragedy. The report illustrates how blind many site managers are. In the two capacity-building workshops in which I was directly and indirectly involved (Namibia, 2001 and Uganda, 2002), 30% of the participants (site managers and middle-level heritage managers) had never even seen a copy of the *World Heritage Convention*. And 40% had never seen the *Operational Guidelines*. An even higher percentage had no understanding of what the two documents mean in practice. Without digressing from the central aim of creating local community awareness, we must continue to stress the importance of building the capacity of site managers.

The second and equally important point that the Robben Island example illustrates is the fact that a site manager and a local community can have different perceptions of what counts as heritage. To the local community, the limestone quarry and the old section of the prison are the real Robben Island. But to the site manager, Robben Island is B Block and its cells. In *Long Walk to Freedom*, Nelson Mandela, who is part of the local community, in fact gives B Block less prominence than the limestone quarries, the 'university'. It is essentially a question of **values**, and of whose values should be pre-eminent. No matter how much effort is put into awareness campaigns, as long as local values regarding World Heritage are not appreciated or considered important, such campaigns are an exercise

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in futility. Seen in this context, capacity-building for site management has to take place in the context of the **values** and **norms** of the local **society**.

A principle underlying conservation, as advocated by scientists, is that you cannot conserve and protect something you do not know. According to Fielden and Jokiletho, the purpose of conservation is to safeguard the quality and value of the cultural and natural resource (Fielden and Jokiletho, 1993). This is true in Africa, especially in the context of local communities. The African experts' meeting on authenticity firmly concluded that the meaning of heritage is a set of values created by the people. A principle seems to be emerging here: heritage and values are synonymous and you cannot conserve or preserve that which local communities do not know (Saouma-Forero, 2001).

In their book *The Art of Happiness*, His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Howard Cutler demonstrate how even avowed materialists fail to find happiness in materialism, but find it instead in human 'warmth and affection'. For all its material wealth, the United States could not stop the process that ultimately resulted in Yellowstone and Everglades National Parks being placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger. 'Warmth and affection' based on values is the way forward; it will bring the life and happiness essential for the protection of World Heritage sites. Capacity-building should thus centre on capturing, understanding, reinforcing and promoting these values and on raising awareness of both the extrinsic and intrinsic value of World Heritage.

### 2. The Case of Great Zimbabwe

The validity of these observations is illustrated by the case of Great Zimbabwe National Monument (Fig. 24). It was placed on the World Heritage List in 1986 on the basis of several criteria: (a) it is an outstanding example of human creative genius (the first cultural criterion); (b) it pays exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition and a bygone civilization (the third cultural criterion); and (c) it is associated with events or living traditions and beliefs of outstanding universal significance (the sixth cultural criterion). It is important to note here that at the time of the nomination, the local community was not consulted. As the Periodic Report for Africa appropriately notes, before the mid-1990s the consultation of local communities was not part of the process of compiling tentative lists and preparing nomination dossiers.



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Great Zimbabwe National Monument, Zimbabwe

A second point worth noting here is that while the nomination was based on six cultural criteria, thus acknowledging the spiritual significance of the site, this dimension was downplayed in management policies. To the local community, however, the spiritual dimension is at the core of the site's worth. Testimony to this effect is recorded in the petition addressed to the site authorities on 27 September 1991. In it the local elders, led by their chief (Chief Zephaniah Charumbira), wrote, 'We feel it is necessary to tell you what pains us most with regard to the keeping of traditional customs with respect to Great Zimbabwe. Every month, every season and every year customs and traditions were practised culminating in one major sacred gathering at Great Zimbabwe. This was stopped by the white governments. When independence came and we Africans took control, the traditional leaders celebrated because we felt we could now practise our own customs and traditions. But we soon discovered that our new government was equally tough in preventing traditional customs from being practised. Our ancestral spirits are not happy with what the government is doing.'

The white government the elders were referring to prohibited the local community from carrying out rituals because Great Zimbabwe was a symbol of African achievement and a rallying point for the liberation struggle against colonization. That is why almost all nationalist political parties had 'Zimbabwe' as part of their name (e.g. Zimbabwe African National Union and Zimbabwe African People's Union). Suppressing the traditional ceremonies was a way to suppress the struggle for African freedom.

Realizing the importance of Great Zimbabwe, the new black government in 1980 immediately asked UNESCO to help to preserve the site. A consultant named Hamo Sasson recommended measures to preserve the fragile site. These included controlling access and managing flows of visitors, both of which resulted in the prohibition of traditional, spiritual ceremonies. After Great Zimbabwe became a World Heritage site, its management was brought in line with 'universal standards', but regrettably this was at the expense of local interests.

A Global Strategy Meeting for a representative and credible World Heritage List was held in Zimbabwe in October 1995. With the advent of the Global Strategy, a new approach for involving the local community was initiated in an attempt to reverse the trend of increased poaching, vandalism and other activities that created conflict. This triggered a series of meetings which culminated in a co-management agreement that would allow traditional practices to take place as long as the fragility of the site is taken into account and care is taken to ensure that the practices do not adversely affect the site. The co-management body, made up of representatives of both the site authorities and the local community (led by the two chiefs), not only regulates the traditional ceremonies but is involved in other activities, including conservation (Matenga, 2001).

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The issues surrounding conservation also illustrate the importance of regulating the relationship between the site authorities and the local community in order to govern the site. For example, the local community at Great Zimbabwe was adverse to the elimination of the baboons which were partly responsible for wall collapses. To the local community, wall collapses were a manifestation of the will of the spiritual powers. There was a strong belief that it was the spirits who were 'moving house' (Munjeri, 1999). Through the co-management structure it was possible to drive home the point that the site could not remain on the World Heritage List if it lost its original qualities. However, rather than poisoning or shooting the baboons, other means acceptable to the spirits were agreed upon.

Equally, the local community's worries that the cement and other bonding materials that were used to conserve the site would offend the spirits, were allayed by involving the local community any time that conservation measures were being taken. As a result, the community came to understand that the World Heritage criteria of 'authenticity' and 'integrity' are in fact consistent with the ethics and conservation practices of the local community itself.

When issues are addressed after damage has already been done – in other words, the *ipso facto* approach – the problem is that problems are dealt with on an *ad hoc* basis rather than holistically. The Great Zimbabwe case clearly demonstrates the problem arising from *post mortem* strategies as opposed to diagnostic strategies. At the time of writing, April–May 2003, a major problem has arisen yet again and has led to open conflict between the traditional authorities and the site authorities. In this particular case the local community leaders, led by the local spirit medium, are insisting that the vast network of tunnels beneath the Great Zimbabwe monument be excavated and exhibited. The tunnels had traditionally offered homes and places of refuge to the local population. The site authorities oppose such excavations, rightly pointing to the damage they could cause to both the structural and archaeological heritage. The tension continues.

*Ipso facto* approaches are 'marriages of convenience' and seldom lead to a total convergence of perspectives. In a recent publication, Arthur Pedersen (2002) writes that at the Great Zimbabwe World Heritage site, 'the creation of a living museum to bring in more visitors met with criticism and indifference. Local people thought the living museum misrepresented the site, was inappropriate and reduces the site's *historical* and *cultural* importance to just another attraction with little reference to people's real *identity*.' (This reference to cultural and historical importance is in fact a reference to **values**, just as the reference to identity is in fact a reference to **norms**.) This local community perspective is in sharp contrast to that of the site authorities. Writing about the same 'living museum project', the site managers said: 'This is a condensed ethnographic recreation of a village, enacting Zimbabwe. The village [living museum] tenants perform activities enacting Zimbabwe rural life and experiences' (Matenga, 2001). *A Tale of Two Cities* indeed.

The issues raised in the Great Zimbabwe example underline the centrality of customs and belief systems. Recognizing local community **norms** and taking these seriously on board in awareness-raising strategies are critically important to the survival of heritage sites. Eric Edroma correctly points out that African societies have themselves contested, challenged and negotiated do's and don'ts that regulate resources. Their **norms** include sacred controls, customary laws, traditions, taboos and pragmatic controls – in other words, mechanisms to promote the conservation of resources (Edroma, 2001).

### 3. The Case of the Kasubi Tombs

How such **norms** impact on site management is illustrated at the Tombs of Buganda Kings at Kasubi in Uganda (Fig. 25). The Kasubi Tombs World Heritage site also illustrates the virtues of adopting diagnostic rather than *ipso facto* (*post-mortem*) strategies. In this case, processes to consult the local community and mechanisms to ensure its participation preceded the nomination of the site to the World Heritage List.



Kasubi Tombs, Uganda

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The Kasubi Tombs survive on the strength of the idiom and traditions of the Baganda, which go back to the thirteenth century. Management of the site is steeped in these traditions. Overall authority is vested in the *Kabaka* (king), who has a clearly defined hierarchy below him with clearly stipulated roles for each individual engaged in site management, decision-making or technical activities. The *Nalinga* (spiritual guardian) and the *Lubunga* (land-use allocator) lead the temporal and spiritual management of the site.

The physical fabric of the site, particularly of the royal tombs (the Muzibu-Azalaa-Mupanga) where the four Baganda kings are buried, is likewise managed according to longstanding traditions. Thus members of the *Ngeye* clan are the thatchers and no one but them may climb on the roofs. Young members of the clan receive systematic training in the craft (Fig. 26). The *Ngo* clan is responsible for all matters relating to bark cloth: its collection, processing and maintenance. Access to the 'sacred forest', where the tombs are shielded behind bark-cloth curtains, is limited to the *Nalinga* and the *Katikkiro* (the prime minister of the Buganda Kingdom).

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Thatching at  
the Kasubi  
Tombs

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In the context of the local community, the sustainability of the site was guaranteed. The same cannot be said for the site's sustainability in the context of its World Heritage status. But when the site was submitted for nomination to the World Heritage List, the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) and the International Centre for Earth Construction, Grenoble School of Architecture (CRATerre-EAG), through the Uganda Department of Antiquities and Museums, conducted an awareness exercise involving all the stakeholders. As a result, the local artisans and craftworkers were trained in the conservation of earthen architecture and indigenous construction materials (wood, grass, fibre, etc.) and introduced to such concepts as 'authenticity' and 'integrity'. At the same time, their own local skills and knowledge were left largely intact. To reinforce the traditional management systems, a Kasubi Heritage Site Commission was established comprising the traditional site managers assisted by a Bugandan ICCROM-trained conservator (ICOMOS, 2001; Munjeri, 2001).

In essence, capacity-building was therefore at three levels: the strategic (policy-making) level, involving the upper echelons of the Buganda kingdom (e.g. the *Kabaka* and the *Katikkiro*); the tactical (site management) level (e.g. involving the *Nalinga* and the *Lubunga*); and the technical level (e.g. artisans). In all of this the Department of Antiquities and Museums, which is the national agency, is playing a crucial advisory, financial and technical role, while at the same time ensuring continued congruence of local community and World Heritage values and practices.

The current management plan stresses the need to increase the capacity of the local custodians for sustaining the site. For example, in order to give the heritage a meaning in the lives of the community, the permanent custodians of the tombs (i.e. craftworkers and widows of past *Kabakas*) are given a portion of the site's entrance fees. Capacity-building therefore serves to preserve and legitimize the traditional **norms**. It empowers the local communities and increases their ability to control their own lives and to plan, manage and utilize their resources sustainably. This is a typical example of a case where 'there is need to salvage the traditional systems and revitalize them'. (Edroma, 2001) It is equally a fine example of how local and universal values and **norms** can be brought together in a way that reinforces each.

It is suggested here that such a mutually reinforcing relationship between local and universal values and **norms** is absolutely essential if the capacity-building and awareness-raising needed for site management is to take place. What it all adds up to is that **society** – at the local community level and preferably also at higher levels – should be totally involved. The current problem, as observed in the Periodic Report for Africa, is that **society** is involved peripherally, if at all. Sardonicly, the report notes that in almost all cases site managers did not know the size and nature of the local population: 'No specific censuses of the local population have been carried out and the real figures are often unknown.' Almost none of the sites inscribed on the World Heritage List before 1996 are underpinned by local community involvement and participation, which means that the local community's **values** and **norms** have seldom been taken on board.

### 4. The Case of the Sukur Cultural Landscape

**Society** itself has to be examined closely for an understanding of its nature and composition. This process and its outcomes are essential for determining how to build capacity in the **society** itself. The intricacies of this are illustrated in the Sukur World Heritage site in Nigeria (Fig. 27). Here the impressive cultural landscape is firmly anchored in the three pillars of **norms**, **values** and **society**.

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Sukur Cultural Landscape, Nigeria

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From the seventeenth century the landscape has had its roots in the *Hidi*, the spiritual leader who is envisaged as a 'Wife' to **society's** elders and trustees, who are represented as the 'collective Husband'. The elders and the *Hidi* are supported by a third tier made up of the young men who are organized into age grades or groups. It is the young men's job to maintain and conserve the extensive terraced landscape as well as the *Hidi* palace. The palace itself 'is a symbolic statement of the relationship of the collective 'Husband' to the 'Wife' and also serves to define power relationships: the *Hidi* at the top of the plateau and the secular leadership in the foothills' (Eboime, 2000, 2001).

'This ordering of space and its use is a telling reminder and reinforcement of the nature and character of the **society** as well as the unwritten codes [**norms**] which are prescribed in obligations, roles and responsibilities.'

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Eboreime writes. Critical to all this is the principle of primogeniture, which sustains the qualities of the landscape. Thus, as the *Hidi* traverses the steep slopes on his white horse along a specially paved route, he is carrying out a ritual that reinforces **society**: the supremacy of the old generation over the young. At the same time the ritual emphasizes the interdependence of the spiritual and temporal worlds, albeit in a defined hierarchical relationship and clearly linking the top to the bottom, the young and the old (Munjeri, 1997).

What this illustrates is that it is best if the local community underwrites both the local and the universal values. The capacity of the site to exist – essentially its sustainability – relies heavily on the nature of the **society** itself. The contribution that can be made by external factors – such as exogenously developed formulas of awareness – is very limited and, ideally, should be limited. Capacity-building should in such instances be restricted to motivating the **societal** chain, whose links are the **norms** based on the **values** of the **society**. In such cases the best approach is therefore one based on laissez-faire principles. This is the prudent approach that has been adopted by the National Commission for Museums and Monuments of Nigeria (NCMMN), which has the overall legal responsibility for administering this and other sites. A hands-off approach is best, one that gives a national body like the NCMMN the role of advisor and provider of the legal framework. The same agency, the NCMMN, is helping to promote the site by publicizing it locally and internationally. This not only attracts the tourism that will bring the economic benefits to help to stabilize the **society**, but it helps to keep the younger generation from moving to the cities in search of greener pastures and thus helps to keep the groups of young men intact.

These positive developments, however, have been an outcome of earlier failed approaches. Initially the focus was on the monumental heritage, such as the architecture of the *Hidi* palace and the archaeology of the site. Non-participatory strategies were adopted and even the heritage authorities of Nigeria were involved only superficially because the drive was coming from elsewhere. Thus, for example, the original nomination dossier used '*Xidi* palace' rather than '*Hidi* palace' at the recommendation of a foreign linguist. The boundaries of the site itself were equally arbitrarily determined. But the views of the local population were unanimous: 'We want Sukur as a whole and not the *Hidi* palace alone, and we want the government to know this. We do not want to have the palace alone on the World Heritage List because this will be to truncate our culture,' said the *Hidi* during the author's mission (Munjeri, 1997).

Indeed, it is a replication of the voices of the elders of Great Zimbabwe. In the case of Sukur, however, these sentiments were taken on board by the national authorities who magnanimously withdrew the earlier nomination dossier and initiated a fully comprehensive consultation process that put the local community at the core. With all

issues resolved, the Sukur Cultural Landscape in 1999 became the first African cultural landscape on the World Heritage List.

### 5. The Four Cases and their Lessons

The picture emerging from the foregoing analysis is that the local community has sometimes been consulted only after a site was placed on the World Heritage List. The Great Zimbabwe and Robben Island cases illustrate the pitfalls of this approach. At that stage, after practices and positions have become entrenched on the sides of both the site authorities and the local community, awareness campaigns are an uphill battle and yield minimum results. The case of Great Zimbabwe also shows that when site authorities try to win support after the fact, they are not negotiating from a position of strength. This tends to compromise their case.

As the meeting of international experts recommended at Great Zimbabwe, local communities should be involved right from the start: from the time that a tentative list is drawn up, through the nomination process and the development of management plans, all the way to the work of site management itself. Local communities should be made aware of all the dimensions of each stage and of their own roles and responsibilities at each stage.

Fortunately, the Periodic Report for Africa notes that since 1996 there has been a growing trend in that direction. Valuable positive lessons have been drawn from the cases of the Sukur Cultural Landscape and the Kasubi Tombs. For the achievement of the best possible results, our approach to capacity-building calls for a five-step process leading to community-based management. This is outlined in our training manual (Munjeri et al., 2002).

#### Step 1:

Social assessment, identification of stakeholders, and formation of an inclusive management committee, *aided by social scientists* who are trained to understand and analyse social organization at sites.

#### Step 2:

Data gathering that fully involves the local community. As the conditions prevailing at the site are surveyed, for example, it may turn out that the local community is best placed to know why certain types of decay are occurring in the cultural or natural resource. Among other things, oral tradition can be an invaluable source of information.

#### Step 3:

Data analysis to determine the value of the site. This entails identifying the wider 'universal' value in addition to the value of the site to the community. Community involvement is critically important in this evaluation process.

#### Step 4:

Action plan that has the broad support of all.



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### Step 5:

Management plan that has the broad support of all. This plan is 'a formal agreement among all the stakeholders as to the future management and use of the site'.

These steps encompass the principles of awareness-raising, capacity-building, community participation and site management.

### 6. Conclusions

Differing situations and circumstances will help to determine the strategies for raising community awareness. The resulting strategies will range from the intrusive to the laissez-faire, depending on the outside forces that are already at work and on the degree to which the local community understands the importance of the cultural and natural heritage. But once these are known, it is possible to decide when and how to begin the awareness campaign.

It goes without saying that in all situations the extent to which **society** (communities) adopts and accepts certain practices and customs (**norms**) depends on the degree of awareness of the **value** of any particular heritage site. An analytical process to diagnose, comprehend and accept these three pillars – **values, norms** and **society** – determines the likelihood that specific awareness strategies will succeed or fail. From start to finish, capacity-building should be aimed at reinforcing these three pillars. Regrettably, little of this process currently takes place. As a consequence, sins of both commission and omission are committed, as is evident in the Periodic Report for Africa 2002.

The conclusion of the present paper is that African sites – even those termed 'fossil' cultural landscapes in the *Operational Guidelines* – are living organisms sensitive to what is brought to them, what is done to them, and what happens to them in terms of 'human warmth and affection' and in terms of appreciation for their intrinsic worth.

Non-participatory policies, strategies and programmes have had their day: They simply cannot yield sustainable outcomes. The five-step approach suggested in this paper is a way to rectify the anomalies of a situation where Africa has the largest number of sites on the List of World Heritage in Danger but still has the smallest number on the World Heritage List (only 8% of the total). This paper addresses this inequity on the African continent and suggests that solutions are possible if we learn the lessons that can be derived from these cases as well as from the Periodic Report for Africa.

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# Traditional and Customary Heritage Systems: Nostalgia or Reality? The Implications of Managing Heritage Sites in Africa

Webber Ndoro

## 1. Introduction

In this paper, I consider two related issues with regard to managing the cultural heritage in Africa: the participation of local communities and the utility of traditional management systems. Although much of the discussion is based on experience in southern and to some extent eastern Africa, I think that many other countries in Africa and even beyond are facing the issues raised here.

In sub-Saharan Africa, the tendency has been to think that heritage management started when Europeans colonized the continent. As a consequence, traditional heritage management systems are dismissed as ineffectual and detrimental to the survival of sites. However the fact that Europeans found so many heritage sites intact means that they survived thanks to some form of traditional management. Obviously, places associated with religious practices and those in everyday use received more attention than those that had been abandoned. In many countries it is no mere coincidence that so many of the World Heritage sites are associated with religious and ritual activities, such as Sukur Cultural Landscape in Nigeria, Khami Ruins and Great Zimbabwe national monuments in Zimbabwe, uKhahlamba / Drakensberg Park in South Africa and Lamu Old Town in Kenya, to mention just a few. Such places were effectively protected by traditional customs through a series of taboos, rituals and restrictions. King Lobengula, the last ruler of the Ndebele state, for example, preserved Khami, now a World Heritage property, as a place for rainmaking and had soldiers stationed at the monument most of the time. During Lobengula's reign the Shona religious leaders who resided in the Matobo area were allowed to conduct rituals at most of the caves. King Mzilikazi (first ruler of the Ndebele state) and Lobengula are said to have sponsored some of the religious ceremonies conducted in the Matobo. However, once the area was designated a National Park and the sites declared national monuments these activities were prohibited (Ranger, 1999). For example, at Thulamela in South Africa local communities could not visit the site until recently (Miller, 1996). The importance of traditional and customary systems is that they place the onus of responsibility on the community. The place is protected as part of people's lives; it becomes a resource to be taken care of day by day.

In the past few decades, heritage management has been changing in many significant ways, at least in theory. One of the most significant changes is the

emphasis on the involvement of ordinary people, particularly local communities, in the management of the cultural heritage. For Africa, this change has underlined the fact that the heritage belongs to local people. If it belongs to them, the management ethos in place must reflect their customary and traditional practices. This has made the issue of ownership central. In practice, however, no real steps had been taken until recently to restore the heritage to the people or to make them take charge of it. Part of the problem is that heritage management has been based on theory, practice and laws derived from the modern state. In addition, those of us who have taken on the task of managing the past for the people have until recently been the products of Western training. Furthermore, nation-states feel that once a place is declared a World Heritage site, the interests of local and traditional communities become irrelevant to its management demands. International interests, as expressed by international conventions, become paramount. The result has been that, in many cases, we have sought to replace traditional systems with what we think are better modern management systems. Very often we have succeeded in ensuring that people no longer recognize or own their heritage. We have also succeeded in undermining the very significant values that formed the basis for their inclusion on the World Heritage List.

There also appear to be variations in the way we define the cultural heritage itself. As a result, heritage legislation and administrative systems appear to protect particular aspects (i.e. that which is scientifically significant). What is anthropologically significant (i.e. the customary and traditional frameworks) is very often ignored. In most local communities in sub-Saharan Africa, customary rights and traditional management systems play an important role in most relationships and perceptions of the world. These traditional practices have shaped the way communities utilize and respect their heritage. Current heritage management systems constitute part of the legislation of the modern state and are therefore viewed as unilateral, supreme and all-encompassing. State law is often in an antagonistic relationship with, and indeed seeks to annihilate, existing traditional systems (Mumma, 1999). In a number of instances international agreements such as the *World Heritage Convention* have failed to place heritage in a local context. It can be argued that the concept of universal values is at variance with respect for 'parochial local traditional or customary systems'. And yet the survival of universal values may actually depend on local traditions.

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**In many systems in place today, the heritage does not fully belong to the people, but to the governments and agencies that have been set up to manage cultural resources. One might also add that since accession to the *World Heritage Convention* brings in financial incentives in the form of assistance to developing countries, it can be argued that international organizations also assume rights of governance. Accordingly, fulfilling convention requirements, rather than serving the interests of the owners of the heritage, becomes the main objective of heritage managers. Management systems in most developing countries have almost totally ignored the significance of traditional and customary systems, which might be the very reason some of the sites are actually on the List in the first place. Protection of resources has focused on physical remains (the tangible heritage) and ignored the value aspects.**

**The overall result is that:**

- (a) in many cases, heritage management practices have denied people access to their heritage;**
- (b) traditional and customary systems are sidelined.**

### 2. Case Studies

In order to illustrate the problems that have arisen, I give examples from Zimbabwe (Domboshava and Silozwane, part of the proposed Matopo World Heritage site), the United Republic of Tanzania (the proposed World Heritage properties of Kondoa Irangi) and finally the World Heritage site of the Tombs of Buganda Kings at Kasubi in Uganda, which demonstrates that traditional management systems can work if given a chance. Although all these examples originally had traditional custodianship and stewardship, the situation changed with colonization. They were declared national monuments. This meant in the case of Zimbabwe that they effectively became the property of the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ), and in the United Republic of Tanzania and Uganda the property of the Antiquities Departments in each country. This has placed certain restrictions on what can and cannot be done by people at the sites, resulting in the problems noted above. Some have been nominated World Heritage properties. In these cases the state feels that its first responsibility is to the *World Heritage Convention*.

#### 2.1 Domboshava

The rock-art site of Domboshava, just outside Harare, is a very popular tourist attraction. It consists of an extensive granite landscape in which a rock shelter with Late Stone Age rock art is located. For the heritage manager, what has until recently been of interest is the management of the rock-art site itself. For local people, however, Domboshava is a rainmaking shrine under traditional and customary management systems (Pwiti and Mvenge, 1996). Thus, for local people wanting to hold rainmaking ceremonies inside the rock shelter, the rock art in isolation

is of little interest. What is important is the context in which the art is placed. But holding such ceremonies there contravenes national legislation because it is felt that their activities are detrimental to preservation, as the ceremonies involve lighting fires under the rock-art panels. Although the practice was banned, people continued to hold the ceremonies secretly. Eventually matters reached a point where even these 'illegal' nocturnal activities became impossible for the locals. The issue came to a head in 1994 when the NMMZ curio shop at Domboshava was destroyed one night in a fire started by local people. Following this, attempts were made by the NMMZ to establish dialogue with local traditional leaders. For a while, this seemed to be working. The locals agreed to relocate their ceremonies. In 1998, however, another incident took place, this time on a scale horrifying to us all as heritage managers. Brown oil paint was lavishly splashed on the rock-art panels. The message seemed to be: 'If we cannot conduct our ceremonies, then you won't have your scientific specimens.' Since then heritage managers have been faced with two issues, one scientific and the other political. Scientifically they have to grapple with the problem of identifying the best method to remove the paint without risking permanent damage to the precious rock art. Politically, they face the problem of establishing peace and harmony with the local community in order to prevent a recurrence of this unfortunate incident.

#### 2.2 Silozwane

Silozwane is a Late Stone Age rock-art site in the Matopo Hills in Matabeleland, not too far from the city of Bulawayo. Traditionally, the Matopo Hills have been a major religious centre for both the Shona and the Ndebele, and rainmaking ceremonies and other rituals have been held there periodically (Ranger, 1999). The rock-art site of Silozwane is valued by local people as a shrine and part of the broader religious importance of the Matobo. Since time immemorial, traditional custodians have always looked after both the natural and cultural aspects of this area. Yet, like Domboshava, the area was declared a National Park, after which a multiplicity of management systems were put in place. A few years ago, one of the locals (ironically a retired policeman) decided that the authorities were not doing a good job of looking after this sacred shrine. So together with local people he organized the cleaning of the rock shelter floor down to bedrock, in the process removing all the archaeological deposits: a great loss to science and a gross violation of the Heritage Act, which clearly states that it is an offence to alter or remove material from a listed national monument.

What do these incidents show us? I believe that, in many senses, people are making a statement about a management system that does not recognize their traditions and aspirations.

What is important in terms of heritage management is our failure to realize that, as cultural heritage sites, these places are more than just the paintings. They are cultural land-

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scapes with their own dynamism and cannot be frozen in time to a single period with a defined boundary. The traditional system of Domboshava includes geological rocks, sacred forests, rituals and traditions, along with the rock shelter and the paintings. This cultural landscape is regulated by a series of customary regulations which do not recognize state laws. The fire which might destroy the paintings brings rain and is a way of communicating with the ancestors. Silozwane too is a rainmaking shrine with sacred forests that cannot be ploughed even today. Thus, according to customary law and traditions, the paintings are part of a large cosmological environment. They cannot be treated as single components. Here lies, perhaps, one great advantage of incorporating customary and traditional systems, in the sense that they do not normally recognize the artificial distinction between nature and culture.

Furthermore, sites like these cannot be owned by an individual. They belong to the community and they have traditional custodians. Their boundaries are amorphous for the simple reason that forests fluctuate according to use and seasons. Connected to boundary issues is that of ownership, which in turn is bound up with the issue of legislation. A protected site must have fixed boundaries. A World Heritage property must have fixed boundaries and buffer zones.

### 2.3 Kondoa Irangi rock paintings

That the situation in Zimbabwe is not an isolated one is clear from the activities at the proposed World Heritage property of the Kondoa Irangi rock-art sites in the United Republic of Tanzania. The majority of painted shelters in the Kondoa Irangi area occur on the slopes or around the base of a steep eastward-facing escarpment that forms the western rim of the Masai steppe. The Kondoa Irangi area contains a very impressive concentration of rock-art shelters with prehistoric paintings. The area is located along the Masai escarpment bordering the Great Rift Valley. The rock paintings are spread out over a wide area within Kondoa district.

The sites were declared national monuments by the Department of Antiquities in 1937 in recognition of the exceptional qualities of the paintings. As at Domboshava and Silozwane, the paintings as individual elements seem not to have any significant meaning to local communities. But at least some of the painted sites have spiritual significance for the local agro-pastoral Irangi people, as evidenced in Louis Leakey's field journal describing their arrival at the Kolo Hill site. In an entry dated 10 July 1951, Leakey wrote '... five local elders ... told us that before we could start work we would have to provide a goat for a sacrifice to propitiate the spirits of the painted site, which are regarded as very powerful' (Leakey, 1983). Sacrificing goats to ancestor spirits as part of healing ceremonies is an ongoing practice at the site, known locally today as Mungumi wa Kolo.

These activities have never been recognized by the Department of Antiquities. The millet spatters are considered

to be detrimental to the preservation of the paintings. In terms of use and function the present management system and legislation fail to recognize a number of issues. Despite the fact that the inhabitants of the area no longer paint, the most significant shelters like Mungume wa Kolo have been associated with their belief systems from time immemorial. The hunter-gatherer art in the area is related to shamanistic belief systems. The so-called 'late white' paintings, which in Kondoa are often superimposed on the hunter-gatherer art, are related to initiation ceremonies in the agriculturalist period. Today the same shelters play a role in ritual and healing for contemporary communities. There has thus been continuity in terms of use and function. The rock shelters form part of the cosmology of local inhabitants. So unless the community's aspirations are taken on board, there will always be antagonism over management. Their belief systems need to be recognized by Tanzanian legislation to enable them to help protect rock art.

### 2.4 Kasubi Tombs

The Kasubi Tombs are located on one of the several hills on which Kampala, the capital of Uganda, is built. They serve as the burial grounds of the *Kabakas*, the kings of Buganda (one of the traditional kingdoms still surviving in Uganda). The tomb itself is a huge, thickly thatched house. The roof thickness ranges from 1.5 m to 2 m. The diameter of the house is about 30 m. The site is associated with strong intangible values and is the spiritual centre of the Buganda Kingdom. It was on account of these values that the site was nominated as a World Heritage site in 2001.

The site is furthermore an outstanding example of traditional African architecture and design. Remarkable features include the spatial organization of the two courtyards, the sequence of entry from the two-door gate house, the drum house next to it, the widows' and twins' houses in a circle inside the inner courtyard down the alley to the main tomb, and a gigantic conical grass-thatched house representing a unique architectural style that has survived through the centuries. The structure is one of the most remarkable buildings made of purely vegetal materials in the entire region of sub-Saharan Africa (Kamuhangire, 2002).

Inside the tomb house, the magnificent detail in design is perhaps unrivalled anywhere in the world. The ring work inside the whole house from apex to ground represents the fifty-two clans of the Buganda community, while straight poles wrapped in bark cloths support the main structure. Long, hand-sewn bark cloths divide the inside of the tomb into two parts, one being the main burial place known as *Kibira* (forest). The platforms in front of the *Kibira* represent the positioning of the graves of the kings, while the symbolic regalia for each of the kings, including photographs, are placed in front of the platforms. The floor is covered with lemon grass and traditional woven mats. The place offers a unique and fascinating experience of the spiritual harmony and strength of the Buganda cultural heritage (Kamuhangire, 2002).

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The Government of Uganda abolished traditional kingdoms in 1967. Before that date, each maintained traditional palaces and burial sites which were protected by traditional and customary laws. After 1967, the army occupied the royal palaces and the burial sites were neglected. In 1971 the government of Idi Amin assumed responsibility for maintaining and protecting some royal tombs. Statutory instruments declared them government preserved and protected sites. They became national monuments and limited traditional rituals were conducted there. This had disastrous results for the Kasubi tombs. The resources allocated were never sufficient and certain practices were introduced that prevented traditional clans from pursuing their traditional role. The very existence of the heritage was under threat. The government awarded priority to other issues, diminishing the significance of the site. And yet under the traditional custodianship and stewardship systems, sacrifices had always been made to ensure the continued existence of the site and all its values.

In 1993 the traditional laws of the kingdoms were restored and their cultural property (including tombs) returned. With this restoration of power, the traditional management system applying to Kasubi was reinstated. In terms of management, the traditional clan members carry out regular maintenance through the agency of the Prime Minister of Buganda, who co-ordinates activities including repairs. The clans carry out the thatching of the tomb houses, wrap bark cloth on support poles and do other odd jobs to maintain the site. This reliance on traditional management and conservation systems has meant that the authenticity of the structures has been maintained. As indicated, the site is also right in the centre of the modern city of Kampala, where we would expect modern encroachment and perhaps desecration of the traditional site. Thanks to a series of taboos which protect the site itself, this has not happened.

The Ugandan Government's recognition of the traditional system should be applauded, for it ensures community participation and continuous dedicated management of the site. The people who are the custodians of the place are aware of the significance of the values it enshrines.

### 3. Conclusions

Empowering local communities and restoring pride through heritage sites are contentious issues in most parts of the world. If these aims are to be achieved, the communities living around the sites need to be involved in their management, and some of their practices will have to find a way into management systems. Involvement in such endeavours would increase their sense of pride and their understanding of the need for the continued survival of heritage sites. We should also be aware that Kasubi is virtually unique. The world is becoming increasingly urbanized, and cultural traditions and customs cosmopolitan. This means that new traditions come into being. Traditions are not as static as we usually suggest: they adapt to changing times and circumstances. I think the hackneyed phrase 'culture is dynamic' also applies in this case.

I would therefore advocate that where they exist and where there are sufficient grounds for encouraging them, traditional and customary systems should be incorporated into the management of World Heritage properties. Like community participation, this gives people a sense of pride and the feeling that the heritage is truly theirs.

It can be argued that local and indigenous communities in most of Africa have long been denied access to heritage sites, initially due to colonial practice and later to the new heritage management systems which tend to ignore local traditions and customs. Access to cultural property for these communities is very important not only because the heritage is theirs. It will also help restore damaged self-confidence. If any development projects are to succeed, the communities concerned must be self-confident and this can be achieved once people begin to be proud of their heritage and to realize that it belongs to them.

In the final analysis, we have to realize that the long-term management of heritage sites anywhere in the world will depend on continued evaluation of the local environment rather than on huge inputs of international aid. The finest system is a management ethos that arises from the local social environment. The future of places like Great Zimbabwe, Khami, Kasubi, Lamu and Tsodilo will depend on the values society ascribes to them at any given time. Their management must therefore be based on broad consultation and accommodation of the diverse customs and traditions of the people.

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# Contribution des sites sacrés à la conservation et à la gestion durable de la biodiversité et des valeurs socio-culturelles : le cas de la Côte d'Ivoire

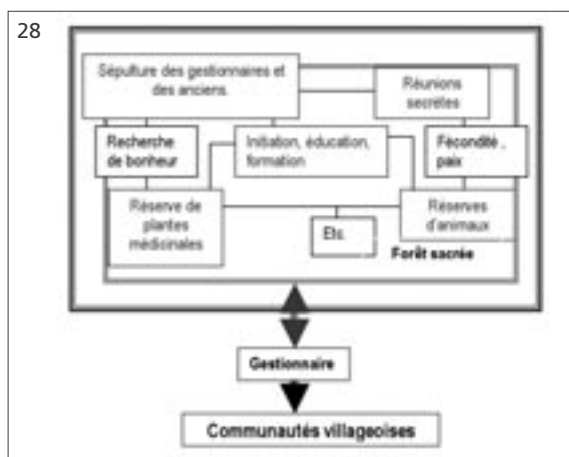
Martine Tahoux-Touao

## 1. Définitions des concepts clés, contexte et problématique de la conservation en Afrique

### 1.1 Qu'est ce qu'un site sacré ?

Un site sacré est un microécosystème (une étendue d'eau, un affleurement granitique, une colline, un arbre, un bois ou une forêt) de 3 à 5 hectares, rarement supérieur à 10 hectares, renfermant une diversité biologique et culturelle, mystique et mythique exceptionnelle. C'est un espace craint et vénéré en raison de la puissance des pouvoirs (spirituels, pratiques, savoirs, savoir-faire et savoir-être) qui régissent ce lieu dont l'accès et la gestion sont réglementés et assurés par les pouvoirs traditionnels : règles et processus de gestion transmis de génération en génération.

C'est un lieu privilégié de conservation des fétiches, des valeurs traditionnelles et des génies protecteurs, éléments séculaires garants de la stabilité de la communauté villageoise. Cet espace se présente souvent comme le lieu d'une première rencontre entre l'ancêtre fondateur et les puissances des lieux que sont les génies protecteurs. C'est également le lieu où se pratiquent les rites initiatiques de formation et d'éducation des jeunes en vue de les préparer à assumer en tant qu'adultes leurs responsabilités dans la société (Fig. 28).



Les fonctions du site sacré

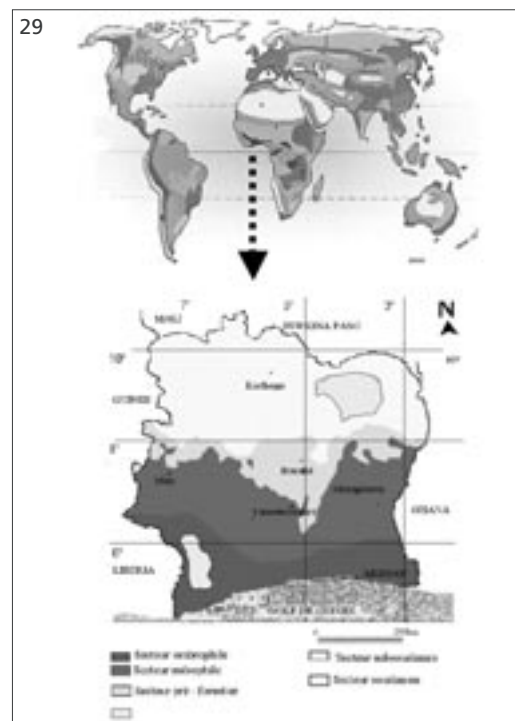
Selon les conditions d'accès, on en distingue trois types :

- Sites sacrés fermés, fréquentés exclusivement par les initiés (type dominant en Côte d'Ivoire), ouvrables exceptionnellement ;
- Sites sacrés semi-ouverts, pouvant être fréquentés par des profanes, mais dans des conditions rituelles particulières ;

- Sites sacrés ouverts, accessibles à tous, sans aucune condition particulière, leur caractère sacré étant préservé.

### 1.2 Contexte national

Située en Afrique de l'Ouest, la Côte d'Ivoire couvre une superficie de 322 462 km<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 29). Elle est limitée au sud par l'océan Atlantique, à l'ouest par la Guinée-Conakry et le Liberia ; à l'est par le Ghana et au nord par le Burkina Faso et le Mali. De par cette situation géographique, elle subit l'influence de la rencontre de la mousson (masse d'air équatorial humide) et de l'harmattan (masse d'air tropical sec) qui détermine quatre zones biogéographiques du sud au nord : la zone de forêts denses, la zone préforestière, la zone de savanes humides (guinéennes) et la zone de savanes sèches (soudaniennes).



Situation géographique de la Côte d'Ivoire dans le monde

En 1960, année de son indépendance, la Côte d'Ivoire comptait 15 millions d'hectares de forêt. Aujourd'hui, une quarantaine d'années plus tard, elle en possède moins de 2 millions. Le taux de boisement actuel se situe à 16 %, bien en dessous du seuil critique de 20 % jugé indispensable pour le maintien des équilibres écologiques. La forêt a vite fait place à de vastes et nombreux blocs de plantations de café, cacao, hévéa, palmiers, etc., qui ont hissé la

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Côte d'Ivoire au 1<sup>er</sup> rang des producteurs de cacao dans le monde et au 3<sup>e</sup> rang pour le café. Malgré la guerre des années 2000 à 2003 qui l'a épuisé, ce pays figure parmi les pays les plus avancés du continent africain.

Aussi l'Etat ivoirien a-t-il entrepris une politique vigoureuse de protection et de reforestation du territoire national, au moyen notamment des forêts classées, des réserves naturelles et des parcs nationaux en nombre important, hérités pour la plupart de la colonisation (Fig. 30 et Tableau 1).

**Tableau 1. Répartition des aires protégées en Côte d'Ivoire (1995)**

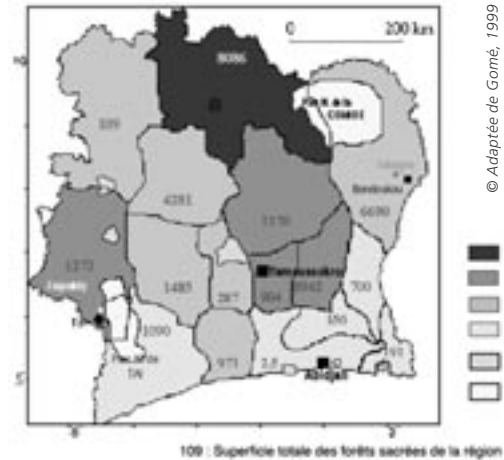
Terres protégées	Nombre	Superficie totale (ha)
Réserves naturelles	5	246 930
Parcs nationaux	8	1 742 100
Réserves botaniques	16	198 418
Forêts classées		3 583 000
<b>Total</b>		<b>5 970 448</b>

Cependant, en raison des conditions de production agricole peu respectueuses de l'environnement, les 5 970 500 ha protégés sont, hélas, loin de compenser les pertes inestimables en biodiversité et même de rehausser le niveau de vie d'une grande partie des populations riveraines. De même, les efforts incessants d'amélioration de la gestion et de la conservation des aires protégées cachent difficilement des points d'ombre au niveau de la mise en œuvre des plans et des processus de gestion de ces aires protégées.

À côté de ces domaines réservés et gérés par l'Etat, les autres écosystèmes sacrés, gardés et gérés depuis des générations par les puissances de la société traditionnelle locale, ont-ils réussi à pérenniser, malgré les freins économiques, démographiques et les effets de la guerre, des mécanismes solides de conservation de patrimoine biologique et culturel inestimables ? Cette riche expérience du patrimoine sacré, souvent négligée dans les politiques de planification nationale, peu connue, peu étudiée, peu ou mal valorisée, regorge de potentialités dont le maintien et la valorisation s'imposent.

En effet, en Côte d'Ivoire comme dans la plupart des pays africains, chaque village possède au moins un site sacré. En 1995, 5 550 forêts sacrées couvrant une superficie de 36 435 ha appartenaient aux 18 080 villages du territoire national (Fig. 30). L'une des causes du peu d'intérêt accordé aux valeurs sacrées réside dans la compréhension insuffisante ou erronée du concept de conservation.

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**Importance numérique et spatiale des forêts sacrées en Côte d'Ivoire**

### 1.3 Conservation : réalités et évolution en Côte d'Ivoire

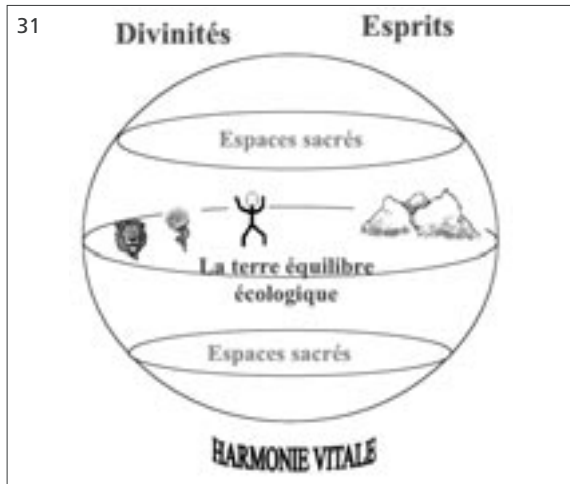
#### 1.3.1 La conservation : un concept bien endogène

La notion de conservation des ressources biologiques est ancrée dans les traditions ancestrales. Ce n'est pas un concept importé de l'Occident. Les perceptions de l'environnement des sociétés traditionnelles africaines (que celles-ci résumant dans leur cadre de vie et dans leur vécu quotidien) sont fondées sur les conceptions « créationnistes » de l'univers. Le créateur, Dieu, est l'unique maître de la nature et de toutes ces composantes (climat, végétation, etc.).

La nature est aussi animée de forces surnaturelles qui conditionnent la vie sociale économique et spirituelle des sociétés traditionnelles. Elle est aussi et surtout le lieu de résidence des ancêtres disparus mais qui veillent sur les vivants parmi lesquels ils sont présents en permanence. Par conséquent, humilité et révérence leur sont vouées de génération en génération à travers la terre, la végétation ou les eaux. Cette conception originale découle d'une perception symbolique de l'univers. En effet, les forêts, les eaux, les montagnes, etc. participent à l'identité culturelle des populations. Cela justifie que ces populations transforment leurs milieux en tenant compte des interdits et des totems. La protection de la forêt est ainsi liée à son utilisation.

Cette vision s'oppose à la conception (occidentale) anthropocentrique dominée par un Dieu unique ayant créé l'Homme à son image pour dominer la nature et ses composantes. Ici, les rapports Homme-Nature sont verticaux. Dieu est au sommet de tout. Vient l'Homme qui exerce sa puissance sur la nature, celle-ci devenant un simple objet à son service (Fig. 31). Cette vision, pendant longtemps, s'est projetée dans les approches et les stratégies de conservation des aires protégées, excluant totalement l'Homme du système de conservation en le présentant comme un danger permanent à éviter. On connaît aujourd'hui les nombreux échecs enregistrés par cette approche d'exclusion. Les conceptions actuelles, participatives, sont le reflet éloquent de la vision traditionnelle de la gestion des ressources biologiques et des valeurs culturelles.

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Vision bio-géocentrique du monde des sociétés traditionnelles

Les perceptions environnementales des sociétés traditionnelles africaines sont donc profondes, sociales, dynamiques et originales. Elles conditionnent aussi bien les rapports de la collectivité au milieu naturel que les relations entre les membres de la société traditionnelle. Le caractère égalitariste de cette société, l'hospitalité légendaire des Africains découlent, sans aucun doute, de leurs perceptions environnementales. Les forêts sacrées ne sauraient en aucun cas faire l'objet d'appropriation individuelle. Il s'agit d'un héritage ancestral qu'il faut absolument laisser aux générations suivantes, en bon état. L'utilisation des ressources naturelles obéit à ce principe d'invulnérabilité et permet, par conséquent, la permanence des préoccupations environnementales dans le comportement des Africains envers leur milieu. Les sites sacrés sont aujourd'hui des terrains privilégiés d'observation et d'expérimentation de cette conception africaine de la conservation.

### 1.3.2 Une conception endogène insuffisamment prise en compte dans les schémas classiques de conservation

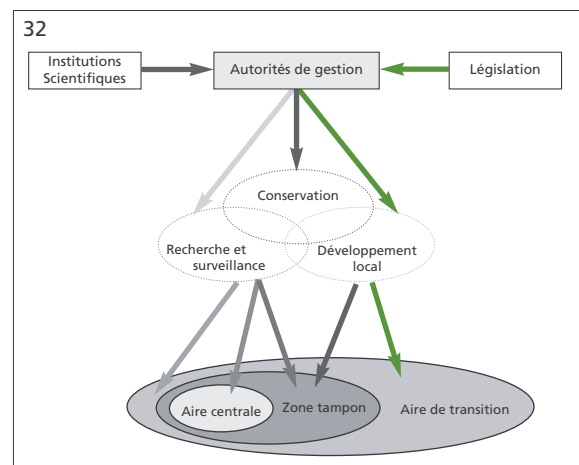
Bien avant la colonisation, les sociétés africaines avaient mis en place des dispositifs endogènes et cohérents de gestion durable de l'environnement, notamment à travers les réserves communautaires et les sites sacrés. Cet héritage environnemental, qui s'est élaboré à partir de perceptions dynamiques des différentes composantes de la nature, est avant tout un élément de la culture. La dimension culturelle est essentielle et doit être une exigence du développement durable. Pourtant, cette dimension culturelle, qui devrait inspirer et guider les planificateurs et les gestionnaires des ressources biologiques de notre continent, est malheureusement reléguée au second plan. Presque aucun schéma de protection et de conservation des forêts classées, par exemple, ne s'inspire des principes et des fondements efficaces des forêts sacrées. Principes et fondements qui constituent pourtant le moteur de la pérennisation de la société traditionnelle.

Aussi la faiblesse de la responsabilisation des populations locales dans la gestion des aires protégées, l'absence de dialogue entre les gestionnaires de ces aires et les populations riveraines, ajoutées à l'insuffisance des approches stratégiques mises en œuvre pour renforcer la protection et à d'autres facteurs, ont-elles provoqué la rupture de l'équilibre entre les ressources disponibles et les besoins croissants de l'Homme. Dans leur quête quotidienne de nouvelles ressources, les populations, assaillies par les nombreux problèmes économiques, ont fortement envahi les aires protégées, surtout les forêts classées, qui ont même connu des cas d'occupation définitive par les populations.

### 1.3.3 Conservation et développement : une intégration nécessaire pour la gestion durable des ressources naturelles

Face à tous ces constats, il apparaît indispensable et urgent de sortir de la conception fermée de la conservation pour la concilier avec la réduction de la pauvreté. Mais comment donc concilier la conservation de la biodiversité, la quête vers le développement économique et social et le maintien des valeurs culturelles associées ? Comment concilier la lutte contre la pauvreté et le processus de conservation ? Comment intégrer les aspirations profondes des populations riveraines des aires protégées dans ce processus de conservation ?

Ces problèmes cruciaux ont changé les fondements de la conception occidentale de la conservation pour aboutir à de nouvelles approches telles que celle dite « écosystémique ». Cette approche est une stratégie de gestion intégrée des terres, des eaux et des ressources vivantes, qui favorise la conservation et surtout l'utilisation durable d'une manière équitable de ces ressources. Elle est soutenue par l'approche de la réserve de biosphère (Fig. 32) qui relie, quant à elle, l'écologie à l'économie et la sociologie à la politique et cherche à assurer que les bonnes intentions politiques ne débouchent pas sur des résultats inappropriés. Cette nouvelle forme de conservation s'ouvre donc et se focalise sur une utilisation rationnelle et une gestion intégrée des ressources vivantes. En fait, ce que l'Occident a mis plus d'un siècle à comprendre, les sociétés traditionnelles africaines le vivaient quotidiennement, depuis toujours.



Gestion d'une réserve de biosphère



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À travers cette étude, nous voulons surtout rendre compte de l'efficacité des pratiques et des stratégies de conservation traditionnelles des ressources biologiques et montrer que leur intégration dans les stratégies de conservation peut être source d'une gestion durable de la biodiversité. Cela est d'autant plus urgent que ces espaces sacrés subissent eux aussi l'effet de pressions anthropiques.

Cette réflexion, fruit de plusieurs années d'observation et d'étude, s'inspirera principalement de 2 exemples :

- La forêt sacrée de Kolodjo du village de Tabagne, dans le département de Bondoukou, en zone de savane et à quelques kilomètres du Parc national de la Comoé, site du patrimoine mondial. Cette forêt a fait l'objet d'une étude partielle, en 1995, qui demande à être actualisée et achevée.
- La forêt sacrée de Zaïpobly, village riverain du Parc national de Taï, réserve de biosphère et site du patrimoine naturel mondial (sud-ouest de la Côte d'Ivoire). Cette forêt a fait l'objet d'une prospection sommaire par notre équipe, en collaboration avec une ONG locale. Les premières estimations méritent qu'une étude profonde, pluridisciplinaire et transectorielle y soit menée à très court terme.

Notre démarche s'articulera autour de 6 points essentiels.

Premièrement, nous montrerons comment, à travers les espaces sacrés, le savoir et le savoir-faire des communautés locales africaines contribuent à la conservation de la biodiversité et des valeurs socio-culturelles ainsi qu'à l'amélioration de l'économie rurale. Deuxièmement, nous présenterons le système de fonctionnement et le rôle des gestionnaires de ces sites sacrés. Troisièmement, nous relèverons les pressions que subissent cependant ces sites sacrés confrontés à des facteurs exogènes. Quatrièmement, nous proposerons quelques stratégies de gestion durable. Cinquièmement, nous dégagerons des perspectives et, sixièmement enfin, nous formulerons des recommandations pour un meilleur partage de ces patrimoines mixtes.

### 2. Importance et rôle des sites sacrés en Côte d'Ivoire

Un constat frappant est que, là où coexistent les réserves de l'Etat (aires protégées) et les réserves sacrées, la partie étatique s'est fortement dégradée, alors que l'espace sacré est resté presque inviolé, jusqu'à une date récente. Par exemple, le Parc national des îles Ehotilé au sud-est de la Côte d'Ivoire, est constitué de 6 îles dont une, Bosson-Assoum, est sacrée. Actuellement Bosson-Assoum est dans un bon état de conservation, alors que les autres sont fortement endommagées. Des exemples similaires sont légion en Afrique et prouvent que la culture africaine, loin de constituer un obstacle à la protection de l'environnement, est l'un des meilleurs garants de la pérennité de la biodiversité.

### 2.1 Importance des sites sacrés dans la conservation de la biodiversité

#### 2.1.1 Les sites sacrés : réservoirs génétiques et floristiques

Le caractère sacré revêtu par ces sites confère une protection efficace de certaines espèces de plantes supérieures. En effet, l'interdiction de cultiver à l'intérieur des forêts sacrées les protège des outils de destruction de la végétation. De plus, les éventuelles formes d'exploitation de ces forêts se font par simple cueillette. Ce mode d'exploitation permet de maintenir l'équilibre entre l'Homme et son milieu.

228 espèces, dont deux en voie d'extinction (*Xylopia elliotii* et *Anthostema senegalense*) et deux espèces rares (*Phyllanthus petraeus* et *Premna lucens*) ont été inventoriées dans le bois sacré de Logouogo à Boundialy (nord de la Côte d'Ivoire). Dans la région du Zanzan, en zone de savane, Kolodjo, la forêt sacrée du village de Tabagne, qui ne couvre que 5,5 hectares, abrite 316 espèces de plantes dont quatre (4) sont endémiques de l'Ouest africain et une douzaine sont classées rares ou en voie d'extinction en Côte d'Ivoire et en Afrique de l'Ouest.

Au plan écologique, ces forêts sacrées peuvent constituer des points de départ de la reconquête de la savane par la forêt au cas où les conditions climatiques redeviendraient favorables.

En zone de forêt dense, par exemple, une prospection botanique dans la forêt sacrée de Zaïpobly, village riverain du Parc national de Taï, a indiqué que cette forêt abrite une diversité floristique intéressante. Elle contient plusieurs espèces endémiques du sud-ouest ivoirien dites Sassandriennes (*Hunteria simii*, *Chrysophyllum taiense*) dont certaines sont menacées d'extinction (*Garcinia afzelii*, *Milicia excelsa*) ou rares (*Uvariadendron occidentale*, *Drypetes pellegrinii*). De nombreux caféiers sauvages y constituent des souches génétiques utiles à l'agriculture. Il s'agit de la *Coffea ebracteolata*, de la *C. canephora*, et de la *C. humilis*, espèces endémiques strictes.

Dans cette zone, les forêts sacrées sont restées presque intactes au milieu des plantations de cacao, de café ou de jachères envahies par la *Chromolaena odorata*, mauvaise herbe envahissante.

#### 2.1.2 Sites sacrés et conservation de la diversité faunique

Au plan faunique, la richesse des aires sacrées est également indéniable. À Kolodjo, il a été répertorié 210 espèces animales composées essentiellement de singes et de céphalophes, de crocodiles, de varans, de serpents, de mangoustes, d'aulacodes, de poissons, d'oiseaux, etc.

À Zaïpobly, en attendant un inventaire plus complet, nous avons observé la présence d'une centaine d'animaux. Les plus importants sont les singes (*Cercopithecus mona campbelli*, *Cercocebus terquetus atys*, etc.), les céphalophes dont le *Cephalophus zebra*, endémique strict de la région de Taï, des pangolins (*Uromanis tetradactyla*,

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*Phataginus tricuspis*, *Smutsis giganta*), des mangoustes, diverses sortes d'oiseaux, de rongeurs et de poissons. Plusieurs animaux que l'on retrouve dans ces forêts sacrées sont classés menacés d'extinction en Côte d'Ivoire. C'est le cas notamment du cercopithèque Diane, du céphalophe zébré, du pangolin géant, etc.

Certaines espèces ont pu survivre et se développer parce qu'elles faisaient l'objet de totems. C'est le cas des singes à Kolodjo et du daman d'arbre (*Dendrohyrax dorsalis* ou *Wla en wè*) à Zaïpobly. Les singes de Kolodjo poussent l'audace à venir se ravitailler dans les cuvettes posées sur la tête des femmes qui traversent la forêt sacrée, au retour des champs.

À Zaïpobly, le cri du daman d'arbre, dans la journée, est présage d'un malheur. Souvent il sort de la forêt sacrée et entre dans le village. Les villageois lui offrent alors du riz avec de l'huile rouge en signe d'adoration.

En dehors des espèces totems, les sites sacrés offrent, dans leurs limites, une protection solide aux autres animaux, la chasse y étant formellement interdite, quels que soit la nature ou le type de la forêt sacrée.

## 2.2 Importance des sites sacrés dans l'économie rurale

La majorité des espèces végétales présentes dans ces lieux sacrés ont d'importantes fonctions dans l'économie rurale : plantes médicinales, alimentaires ou plantes utilisées dans l'artisanat local (confection de masques, d'instruments de musique, d'accessoires de danse, etc.).

À Zaïpobly, par exemple, c'est surtout dans le domaine de la médecine traditionnelle que la forêt sacrée acquiert toute son importance en tant que véritable « pharmacie » naturelle. Pour éviter le gaspillage des espèces, tout prélèvement de plantes dans la forêt sacrée est soumis à l'approbation préalable du *Kwi*. Nous définirons dans les chapitres suivants le *Kwi* : divinité protectrice de la forêt sacrée. Deux procédures de demande d'autorisation sont observées : la procédure « normale » et la procédure dite « d'urgence ».

### La procédure « normale »

Lorsqu'un guérisseur a en charge un patient qui ne nécessite pas d'intervention d'urgence, il vient consulter les gestionnaires de la forêt sacrée et le chef du village, avec une bouteille de liqueur. On ne parle pas au *Kwi* et aux ancêtres avec les mains vides. En Afrique, cet acte raffermi les liens communautaires et surtout participe au règlement des conflits. La liqueur est la boisson indiquée pour appeler les incantations aux ancêtres et au *Kwi*. Tourné vers le soleil levant, d'où provient le bonheur, le notable le plus élevé en dignité procède à la libation. Il demande la bienveillante autorisation et la protection du *Kwi* pour accéder à la forêt sacrée. Il promet en contrepartie de respecter scrupuleusement les interdits fixés par celui-ci. Après la libation, le récolteur est admis dans la forêt sacrée.

### La procédure « d'urgence »

En cas d'urgence (morsure de serpent, crise soudaine, etc.), le guérisseur court informer le chef du village. Le gestionnaire du végétal rentre seul ou accompagné du guérisseur dans la forêt sacrée pour récolter avec des soins particuliers la plante remède. En cours de route, des prières sont dites pour expliquer la situation d'urgence au *Kwi*.

Des jeunes aux vieux, tout le monde connaît et utilise les plantes pour les soins courants et surtout pour se protéger des maléfices et des sortilèges. Des plantes sont même utilisées pour maîtriser les éléments du temps (pluie, tonnerre, etc.).

## 2.3 Importance des sites sacrés dans la pérennisation des valeurs socio-culturelles

Les sites sacrés sont avant tout des centres d'initiation, de formation et des centres religieux. En effet, des rites du *Poru* au nord à la société des masques *Glaè* à l'ouest, en passant par les fêtes de générations au sud et à l'est, le site sacré est l'emblème des valeurs sociales et culturelles de la société traditionnelle. Valeurs inoculées par une éducation et une formation des plus originales au sein de la forêt sacrée, véritable campus de l'éducation traditionnelle. C'est dans ces lieux que se fait le passage d'un stade de connaissance ou de l'adolescence à celui d'adulte.

Par exemple, à Zaïpobly, comme dans toute société *wè*, il existe un rite d'initiation du jeune homme et de la jeune fille. Pour la jeune fille, le rite se déroule au lieu dénommé *Blon kpè*, un endroit bien aménagé au sein de la forêt sacrée.

On comprend, dès lors, l'attachement des populations locales à leurs sites sacrés, qui font office de « Panthéon » (sépulture des anciens et des gestionnaires), de bibliothèque nationale (mémoire du peuple) et d'université traditionnelle, lieu privilégié d'apprentissage des secrets de la nature et donc de la vie.

Comment ces espaces ont-ils pu être gérés et préservés à travers des générations ? Quels mécanismes ont permis de pérenniser ces sites sacrés afin qu'ils jouent leur rôle dans la conservation des ressources naturelles et culturelles locales ?

## 3. Mécanismes de gestion des sites sacrés

### 3.1 Cas de la forêt sacrée de Kolodjo-Tabagne (chez les Koulangos)

La gestion des sites sacrés est assurée par un système social complexe et efficace. La gestion de la forêt sacrée de Kolodjo, par exemple, est assurée par un système composé comme suit :

*Le maître du silence*, *Sakotosè*, gardien des sites et dépositaires de tous les rites, cérémonies ou actions organisés dans les lieux sacrés. C'est le plus craint, car il est le gardien de tous les secrets qui régissent la vie de la

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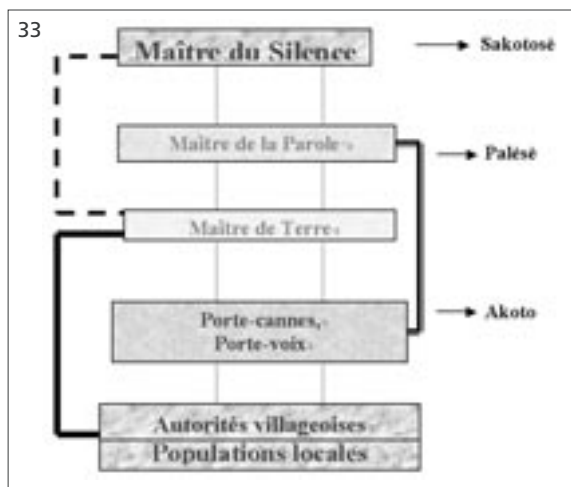
communauté villageoise. Il ne parle donc pas pour maintenir ces secrets. Il veille au strict respect des règles et détecte toutes les entorses à ces règles.

*Le maître de la parole, Palesè*, habile et sage, est chargé de l'autorisation de sortie et entrée des masques dans les lieux sacrés et de la médiation entre le maître du silence et la population. Il est aussi chargé d'appliquer les sanctions infligées par le maître du silence.

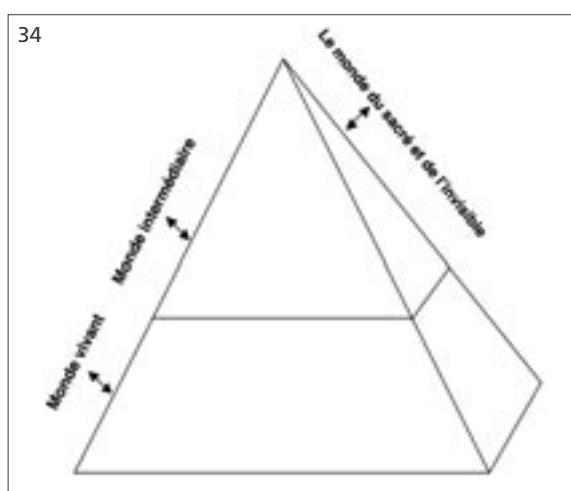
*Le maître de la terre* est chargé de la gestion quotidienne de l'espace villageois et des lieux sacrés. Nul ne peut faire de sacrifice sans son consentement.

*Les autres membres* (porte-voix, porte-canne, *Akoto*) assurent le rôle d'intermédiaires entre le monde du sacré et celui du vécu visible : les sacrificateurs.

Ce système veille au respect scrupuleux des règles et interdits en vigueur. Il est hiérarchiquement organisé selon une pyramide sociale (Figs. 33 et 34).



Système vertical de gestion du site sacré à Kolodjo-Tabagne (Bondoukou)



Système pyramidal de gestion du site sacré à Kolodjo-Tabagne (Bondoukou)

### 3.2 Cas de la forêt de Zaïpobly (chez le peuple wè)

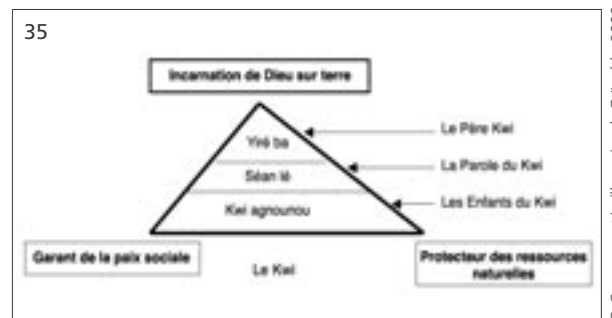
À Zaïpobly, la gestion de la forêt sacrée est le fait du *Kwi*, divinité puissante et cosmogonique ayant un grand pouvoir de protection, mais aussi de police et de justice

coutumières sociales. La société des *Kwi* se compose de trois grands organes constitutifs.

À la tête se trouve un conseil des anciens : le *Yiré ba*. Il est l'incarnation de Dieu sur terre. Il ne peut être vu, ni entendu par les hommes ; ses décisions sont irrévocables. Il est particulièrement redouté au sein de la communauté wè ;

En deuxième position se situe le *Séan lé*. C'est le porte-parole du *Yiré ba*. Il sert d'intermédiaire entre celui-ci et les *Kwi agnounou* ;

En troisième lieu, le groupe des *Kwi agnounou* ou enfants du *Kwi*, groupe d'initiés chargés d'exécuter les grandes œuvres (main active du *Kwi*) ; ils jouent également le rôle d'espions, de détectives (Fig. 35).



Rôle et organisation du Kwi de Zaïpobly

La société des *Kwi* veille sur la forêt depuis son institution en site sacrée, à la fondation du village. L'autorité des *Kwi* est très redoutée et peut infliger des sanctions drastiques et foudroyantes, en cas de manquement aux règles ou aux juridictions de fonctionnement du site sacré. Elle veille au respect scrupuleux des interdits, garants de la pérennisation sacrée du site. C'est pour cette raison que les anciens et les esprits leur ont confié la gestion quotidienne de la forêt sacrée.

Les autres acteurs de la gestion de la forêt sacrée de Zaïpobly sont de deux ordres :

Les autorités coutumières composées du chef et des notables du village, dépositaires du savoir et du savoir-faire, garant des intérêts quotidiens des villageois ;

La population de base dont dépend la réussite du système est composée des autochtones wè et d'allogènes (Akans, Malinkés, Burkinabés, Guinéens, Maliens, etc.).

### 3.3 Conditions d'accès et gestion quotidienne des sites sacrés

L'accès aux sites sacrés est régi par des principes inviolables régulés par le maître du silence. Ces principes se fondent sur les interdits. En fonction de la stratification de la société, les femmes en état de procréation, et les jeunes non initiés n'ont pas accès à l'espace sacré car ils sont considérés comme source d'impureté ou « ne sachant tenir leur langue ». Seules certaines femmes ayant atteint la ménopause et influentes peuvent accéder au lieu sacré. Toutes activités de culture, chasse, extraction de minerai y sont strictement interdites.

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Il arrive, cependant, que des méfaits échappent à la police des *Kwi*. Lorsqu'un cas de prélèvement frauduleux d'une plante ou l'abattage clandestin d'un animal est constaté, l'information est portée jusqu'au Yiré ba . Les *Kwi* agnoux se mettent alors au travail et identifient généralement très vite le coupable. L'auteur saisi est conduit devant les juges, réunis dans l'enclos. Il est soumis à un interrogatoire particulier ; le suspect avoue sa faute. L'amende infligée au coupable représente une somme, voire plusieurs bœufs.

Cependant, un arrangement peut être demandé par le chef du village ou la famille du coupable. Dans tous les cas, on procède à un sacrifice réparatoire, destiné à apaiser le courroux des ancêtres et des divinités outragées, mais surtout à restaurer l'équilibre entre l'Homme et la nature. L'institution des maîtres du silence est l'un des instruments les plus perfectionnés et les mieux adaptés aux circonstances de justice et de police coutumière.

Mais, aujourd'hui, on constate hélas une relative fragilisation de ces sites confrontés aux risques économiques, démographiques, aux conflits civils, etc.

### 4. Pressions anthropiques sur les sites sacrés

#### 4.1 Menaces socio-culturelles

Pendant la colonisation, l'assise religieuse et culturelle de l'Afrique s'est considérablement détériorée sous les agressions extérieures, celles notamment des religions révélées (christianisme et islam). Les sites sacrés sont considérés comme les « temples » des activités démoniaques par les adeptes des religions monothéistes. Ils n'hésitent donc pas souvent à y jeter le feu. En outre, l'école, la modernisation ont créé un écart non négligeable entre les ascendants et les descendants. Il arrive qu'un gardien ou un sacrificateur des lieux sacrés meure sans trouver de remplaçant valable pour sa fonction. En outre, certains jeunes, déçus par leur échec scolaire en ville, reviennent au village et s'en prennent aux reliques forestières sacrées, seules bonnes terres restantes pour l'agriculture. Des conflits perpétuels mettent en question la survie des générations et celle des sites sacrés.

#### 4.2 Pressions démographiques, économiques et foncières

Les systèmes de modernisation rurale tiennent de moins en moins compte de la présence indispensable des sites sacrés. À cause de la modernisation, les responsables n'hésitent plus à lotir les espaces sacrés qui se retrouvent ainsi au cœur des villages, livrés aux regards des non initiés et à la déprédation des animaux domestiques. L'urbanisation fait fi de leur maintien. Les planificateurs ne les positionnent même pas dans les plans d'aménagement.

En outre, ces sites sacrés sont de plus en plus sujets à des pressions économiques. L'agriculture spéculative s'y déve-

loppe avec la complicité de certains chefs de village. C'est le cas de la forêt sacrée de Kolodjo dont une partie a été considérablement grignotée par des agriculteurs. À Zaïpobly, malgré l'interdiction de la chasse, quelques chasseurs téméraires s'infiltrèrent dans la forêt (avec probablement la complicité des enfants du *Kwi*). Les animaux, qui jadis venaient jusqu'au village au crépuscule, se font de plus en plus rares. Ces pressions sont attisées par l'accroissement démographique et les flux migratoires tous azimuts générés par la recherche de bonnes terres cultivables.

#### 4.3 Les conflits civils et leurs effets néfastes

Les conflits civils (guerre du Liberia ou de la Côte d'Ivoire) exposent les sites sacrés à la profanation des pillards en quête d'objets précieux (masques, or, etc.). La guerre provoque d'importants mouvements migratoires humains qui détruisent leur identité culturelle. Les déplacés, à la recherche d'abris, entrent sans distinction dans les forêts, qu'elles soient sacrées ou non. Poussés par la faim, ils abattent des animaux qui jouissaient de la protection du lieu sacré.

Ces convoitises et agressions dont les sites sacrés de Côte d'Ivoire font l'objet mettent en relief la nécessité de leur réhabilitation et de leur conservation par le renforcement du pouvoir des gestionnaires traditionnels. Ceux-ci sont, en effet, soumis à des contraintes considérables. Il faut donc agir. Mais comment ?

### 5. Stratégies pour la réhabilitation et la pérennisation des sites sacrés

#### 5.1 Visions et attentes des populations locales

La gestion des sites sacrés ne peut devenir durable que par la mise en œuvre de deux types d'actions complémentaires : la lutte contre la pauvreté par le développement d'activités génératrices de revenus au profit de la communauté et la valorisation de la forêt sacrée. Les activités génératrices de revenus et les actions de valorisation sont à définir par les populations elles-mêmes.

À Zaïpobly, par exemple, les activités génératrices de revenus identifiées par les populations sont l'aménagement des bas-fonds jouxtant la forêt sacrée pour le développement de la riziculture et la pisciculture. Quant à la valorisation de la forêt sacrée, elle consistera en son aménagement pour l'écotourisme et la vente réglementée des produits végétaux à usage médicinal.

Les activités répertoriées par les populations en vue de valoriser la forêt sacrée sont au nombre de six, dans l'ordre d'importance suivant établi par les populations :

- constitution d'une barrière verte autour de la forêt sacrée ;
- bornage de la forêt sacrée ;
- ouverture de layons et plantation d'arbres fruitiers à usage domestique ;

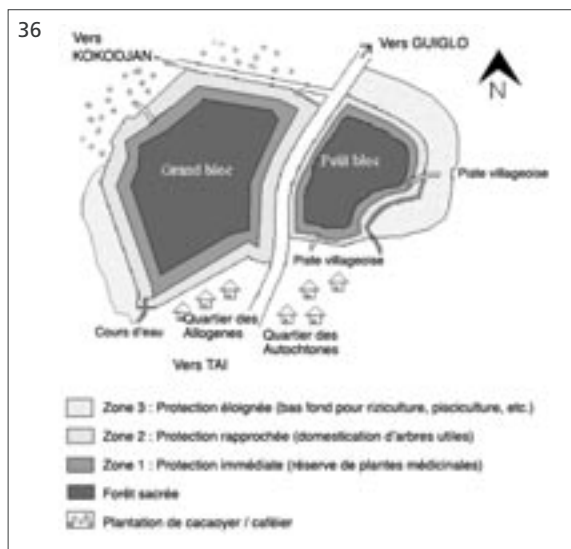
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- création de microprojets générateurs de revenus ;
- inventaire floristique complet ; et
- constitution d'un fichier botanique inhérent.

### 5.2 Aménagements pour une conservation renforcée des sites sacrés

Les populations locales de Zaïpobly ou de Tabagne, conscientes des menaces qui pèsent sur leur patrimoine et leur engagement à pérenniser la gestion de ce patrimoine, ont sollicité un appui extérieur pour renforcer les dispositifs de leurs sites. À la suite de plusieurs concertations, il ressort que leurs préoccupations dégagent leur volonté réelle de voir leur site bénéficier de projets d'aménagement et de développement intégrés à la conservation.

Leur souci de voir leur site sacré bien délimité et matérialisé, et les objectifs qu'elles ont fixés pour une protection et une conservation meilleures de leurs sites sacrés ont inspiré un système de zonage intégré en trois zones (Fig. 36). La zone 1 ou zone de protection immédiate servirait de réserve aux espèces médicinales, aux essences traditionnelles en voie de disparition et aux arbres fruitiers pour les animaux de la forêt sacrée. La zone 2 ou zone de protection rapprochée serait destinée au reboisement domestique à usage courant (makoré et autres arbres domestiqués). Quant à la zone 3 ou zone de protection éloignée, elle serait constituée des bas-fonds jouxtant la forêt sacrée et servirait au développement de la riziculture et de la pisciculture (Fig. 36).



Proposition de zonage pour la gestion durable de la forêt sacrée de Zaïpobly

Cet aménagement fera l'objet d'un projet communautaire dont le financement est à trouver ; il créera à Zapobly des activités de pisciculture, d'élevage de gibier et un système de sensibilisation, d'éducation et d'action socio-sanitaire impliquant toutes les populations cibles (jeunes, femmes) du village concerné. Car la conservation passe nécessairement par la réduction de la pauvreté et le concept de partage juste et équitable des bénéfices de la conservation.

### 5.3 Etablir un partenariat entre les systèmes traditionnels et modernes de gestion des richesses écologiques

L'analyse de la signification, des fonctions, du processus de mise en place et de fonctionnement des sites sacrés (forêt, bois, montagnes ou eau) indique clairement l'importance stratégique de ces trésors de la nature dans le système de conservation des ressources vitales pour la société. Ils sont l'illustration de la parfaite intégration des dualités nature-culture, spirituel-matériel, visible-invisible, facteur de la consolidation du socle de la société actuelle, intégrant harmonieusement le passé, le présent et le futur.

Les microcosmes sacrés imposent donc un regard positif particulier de la part de tous les acteurs de la conservation des ressources naturelles. Attention qui devra se traduire concrètement sur le terrain par des liens de collaboration, des partenariats, des échanges réciproques entre les détenteurs du savoir sacré et nous, les chercheurs, les planificateurs, les conservateurs et aussi les décideurs. Il faut donc réviser les approches, les méthodes de gestion, de conservation, bâtir la confiance entre partenaires, établir un véritable dialogue, tant au niveau local qu'aux niveaux national, régional, voire international.

Cette démarche nouvelle suppose une meilleure connaissance, par la recherche participative et active, des sites sacrés et de l'ensemble des valeurs socio-culturelles et spirituelles (les totems, le systèmes d'alliance entre les peuples, les modes particuliers de règlement des conflits, les sanctions, etc.) qui déterminent ces sites, des mécanismes qui les régissent, des risques qui les affectent.

Les besoins locaux, les visions des populations devront nécessairement guider les comportements des planificateurs et se traduire dans les schémas, plans et stratégies de développement, d'aménagement et de gestion des sites.

Il convient de souligner l'importance de la prise en considération en Côte d'Ivoire en 2002 et 2003, de façon spécifique, des sites sacrés et des valeurs traditionnelles dans les stratégies nationales de mise en œuvre des conventions sur la diversité biologique et de lutte contre la désertification, notamment.

Cela suppose également qu'une attention soit accordée à la clarification du foncier, à la limitation et au zonage des sites sacrés ainsi qu'à l'établissement d'un système de cogestion et d'échanges avec les gestionnaires des aires protégées. Tout ceci s'appuiera sur les lois coutumières qu'il importe de valoriser davantage.

Le partage juste et équitable des bénéfices de la conservation et la réduction de la pauvreté devront être des préalables aux stratégies de conservation et de gestion de la diversité biologique et culturelle. Cela devra se traduire concrètement sur le terrain par des projets pilotes intégrant les activités socio-économiques génératrices de revenus, les valeurs artistiques et artisanales, les coutumes, l'écotourisme culturel. Il faut légitimer les sites sacrés.

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Le renforcement des capacités des gestionnaires des sites sacrés, des chercheurs sur les sites, et aussi des autres acteurs concernés accompagnera ces stratégies de gestion. Il garantira plus durablement les sites sacrés et leur légitimation.

Il faut valoriser les systèmes de sanctions traditionnelles en remettant les braconniers pris en flagrant délit ou toute personne exploitant frauduleusement les ressources des

aires protégées aux chefs coutumiers ou aux chefs de terre des villages riverains de ces aires protégées. Ils appliqueront contre eux la sanction prévue dans ces lieux et recevront en retour une prime forfaitaire annuelle, pour leurs actions en faveur de la protection et de l'utilisation durable des ressources vivantes.

Les populations locales doivent être formées et intégrées dans les corps de surveillance des aires protégées.

### Perspectives : proposition de sites pour inscription sur la liste du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO

Désignation	Localisation	Particularités
<b>A) Sites mixtes sacrés</b>		
La forêt sacrée de Zaïpobly	Taï (ouest forestier)	Riveraine du parc de Taï. Site du patrimoine mondial depuis 1982 et réserve de biosphère UNESCO.
La forêt sacrée de Kolodjo	Tabagne (Bondoukou) (nord-est, savane)	Riveraine du Parc national de la Comoé. Site du patrimoine mondial depuis 1982 et réserve de biosphère UNESCO.
L'île sacrée de Bosson -Assoum	Adiake (sud-est littoral)	L'île sacrée des six (6) îles du Parc national des îles Ehotile.
Les singes sacrés de Soko	Bondoukou (nord-est)	Ecomusée. Site riverain du Parc national de la Comoé et de la ville historique de Bondoukou.
Le lac sacré (avec ses silures sacrées) de Sapia	Bondoukou (nord-est)	Site à mettre en réseau avec les sites n° 2, 4 et 12 (région de Bondoukou).
La source sacrée de Dompleu	Ouest montagneux	À proximité de la réserve intégrale des monts Nimba, site du patrimoine mondial depuis 1982 et réserve de biosphère UNESCO, transfrontalière avec la Guinée et le Liberia.
<b>B) Sites mixtes</b>		
Le Parc national des îles Ehotile	Adiake (sud-est littoral, 70 km d'Abidjan)	6 îles aux vestiges archéologiques, naturels, culturels remarquables, écotourisme.
Le jardin botanique de Bingerville	Bingerville (région d'Abidjan)	Richesse floristique diversifiée, valeur historique et éducative.
<b>C) Sites culturels, archéologiques, historiques et architecturaux</b>		
La plantation de cacaoyers du lauréat national agricole	Abengourou (est forestier)	La culture du cacao fait partie intégrante de la particularité de la Côte d'Ivoire. 1 <sup>er</sup> producteur mondial depuis 23 ans. Plantation de M. Tano Kouame nommé 1 <sup>er</sup> planteur 2001, 2002 et 2003.
La basilique de Yamoussoukro	Centre du pays (savane préforestière)	Monument religieux unique en Afrique (christianisme catholique). Attire des milliers de touristes chaque année.
La ville coloniale de Grand-Bassam	Région sud littorale	Ville historique, architecture coloniale conservée et entretenue. Grand-Bassam: 1 <sup>ère</sup> capitale de la Côte d'Ivoire.
Bondoukou: la ville (historique) aux mille mosquées	Bondoukou (nord-est, savane)	Ville aux valeurs reconnues et visitée au plan continental (Afrique) et international. Reconnue aussi pour ses guérisseurs exceptionnels.
Les sites archéologiques de Bouaflé et d'Anyama	Bouaflé (centre ) Anyama (sud, région d'Abidjan)	Vestiges historiques, archéologiques et culturels exceptionnels. Étudiés par des chercheurs nationaux. Recherche à poursuivre.
Les <i>Soukalas</i> Lobi	Bouna (nord-est, savane)	Patrimoine architectural des Lobis, peuples riverains du Parc national de la Comoé (site du patrimoine mondial et réserve de biosphère UNESCO).

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### 6. Recommandations

Créer et développer un réseau local, régional et international des sites sacrés pour une meilleure connaissance, une meilleure valorisation et un partage véritable de ces richesses mixtes pour le renforcement du patrimoine mondial. Pour ce faire, il faut :

- inventorier et caractériser les sites sacrés ;
- créer tous les mécanismes favorables à une meilleure gestion des sites sacrés afin que ceux-ci jouent au mieux leur rôle dans la réhabilitation des valeurs traditionnelles en symbiose avec les valeurs naturelles vivantes ;
- renforcer les capacités des gestionnaires et prendre en compte leurs centres d'intérêts dans les schémas de développement.

Favoriser dans tous les pays (le nôtre en particulier) des lois-cadres de gestion et de conservation des sites sacrés, à l'instar de celle qui régit les aires protégées en Côte d'Ivoire.

Créer les conditions d'un partage juste et équitable des bénéfiques et des mécanismes de la conservation à tous les niveaux (local, national, régional et international). Pour ce faire, il convient de protéger les productions endogènes (savoirs et savoir-faire) au même titre que les autres auteurs d'œuvres (scientifiques, littéraires, artistiques, etc.).

Inscrire les sites sacrés sur la liste des sites inscrits, ainsi que les sites culturels, très peu proposés en Afrique.

La situation de conflit civil que vient de vivre la Côte d'Ivoire implique que les sites sacrés en général et en particulier ceux riverains des sites du patrimoine mondial (Taï, Comoé et monts Nimba), fortement endommagés par la guerre, fassent l'objet d'une évaluation environnementale d'urgence, accompagnée d'un plan de réhabilitation et de renforcement des capacités de leur conservation.

Améliorer ou créer le zonage des sites sacrés à proposer pour la liste du patrimoine mondial, avec un système de gestion en partenariat avec celui des sites protégés par l'Etat ou le privé. Tenir compte de ces sites dans les plans et stratégies nationaux de conservation des ressources naturelles et culturelles et de développement durable.

Elaborer un projet régional d'expérimentation de l'approche écosystémique participative avec tous les acteurs de la gestion durable des ressources vivantes : scientifiques, conservateurs, planificateurs et communautés locales.

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## Traditional Systems of Land-Use in the Middle East: The Hima System and Mountain Terraces

Faisal Abu-Izzedin

### 1. Islamic Vision for the Conservation of Nature

*There is no creature crawling on the earth, nor bird flying with its wings, but they are nations like yourselves (Koran, surat al-Anaam No. 38).*

The conservation of the natural environment is an imperative commanded by God. The protection of the natural environment from abuse by man leads to the welfare of man himself, together with the welfare of all creation. The Koran has made it clear that each thing and every creature in the universe, whether known to man or not, performs two major functions: a *religious function* in so far as it evidences the Creator's presence, infinite wisdom, power and grace; and a *social function* for the service of man and other creatures.

Man should not ignore his responsibility of stewardship, or *khilafa*, on earth. The all-inclusive approach of Islam to man and the environment – without any discrimination based on time, age, place or race – is the essence of the ecological consciousness that is so sorely needed today for the conservation and sustainable use of the Earth's resources.

### 2. Islamic Principles for the Conservation of Biodiversity

The World Conservation Union's Environmental Policy and Law Paper No. 20 (IUCN, 1993, pp. 29–31) summarizes the principles for conservation:

1. Conservation of the natural environment is a moral and ethical imperative.
2. Ethical teachings should be backed by legislation and effective enforcement of injunctions and prohibitions.
3. The development of the Earth should be planned and implemented in accordance with natural constraints, ecological values and sensitivities.
4. Ecologically sustainable economic development needs to integrate social and economic practices acceptable to local populations.
5. Scientific and technical knowledge of the natural environment and its conservation should continually be improved and developed.
6. Development projects undertaken in one country should not lead to damage, harm or degradation of the natural environment of another country.
7. The natural environment and natural resources should not be subjected to any irreparable damage through military or hostile actions.

From this, it is clear that humans have no right to exploit or damage natural resources in a way that would spoil the food supplies and other sources of subsistence of any living being, nor do we have any right to expose them to the destruction that may happen during military conflict.

### 3. The Hima System

What is a *hima*? *Hima* is a collective term that encompasses a broad spectrum of areas where living and non-living natural resources are protected and managed by local people for the benefit of the community. The term *hima* signifies a 'protected area', 'reserve' or 'multi-purpose area' where local people and wildlife of all kinds are the primary beneficiaries. *Himas* were to be found throughout the Islamic world under different local names and were not limited to a particular region. *Himas* played important roles in restoring rangelands, stabilizing and controlling nomadic grazing, indicating rangeland potential, animal husbandry, the management of water catchment areas, and the protection of biological diversity.

According to Child and Grainger (1990, p. 58) the size of a *hima* is a compromise between the space available and the purpose for which the area was set aside. In the northern Asir Mountains of Saudi Arabia, the *himas* varied from 10 ha to 1,000 ha and averaged about 250 ha.

The following are a few examples of *himas* and their traditional uses in Saudi Arabia:

1. *Hima* Bani Sar near al-Bahah – an area where animal grazing is prohibited, but the cutting of fodder is permitted during drought years.
2. *Hima* Hamid near Beljurashi – an area where grazing and cutting are permitted on a seasonal basis.
3. *Hima* Thamalah near Taif – an area where grazing is limited to certain animals.
4. Hujrahs of the Bani Malek – private *himas* reserved primarily for beekeeping.
5. *Hima* Huraymila in Jabal Tuwayq – an area reserved primarily for the protection of trees.

Why have *himas*? It is sometimes difficult for conservationists living in the twenty-first century to understand why our ancestors developed a *hima* system. It was certainly not simply to abide by some UN resolution or to comply with the provisions of international environmental conventions. Nor, for that matter, was it to gain IUCN's Protected Area status. It was done for a much more basic reason – to help people survive the harsh and merciless conditions that farmers and herders faced in the arid and semi-arid areas of the Middle East.



## Arab States    Etats arabes

It is interesting to note that the frequency of *himas* was much lower among the nomadic pastoralists or *bedou* than among the sedentary town dwellers. Looking at historical records, we find that almost every village was associated with one or more of these *himas*. The reason was clear – *himas* provided sedentary farmers with protection from nomads and their herds (sheep, goats and camels). By keeping the nomads out, the town-dwellers were able to provide grazing areas for their draft animals (cows and donkeys) that were needed to plow the fields and terraces. However, more recently, with the mechanization of terrace agriculture, the need for feeding draught animals such as cattle, horses and donkeys has declined and so these *himas* are now grazed by sheep and goats.

Over thirty years ago, Dr Omar Draz stressed the importance of studying the *hima* system and its role in the tradition of land management in Syria and Saudi Arabia. In 1965 he estimated that there were about 3,000 *himas* in Saudi Arabia. However, it is known that many have been abandoned in recent years. More recently, a number of researchers including Othman Llewellyn (2000, 2001) have promoted the *hima* model as a basis for managing newly created Protected Areas in Saudi Arabia.

*How were himas established?* *Himas* were probably established by trial and error, with different systems being tried to satisfy the needs of farmers and their livestock, and to protect their grazing lands from the advances of nomadic herdsmen. *Himas* are the earliest known record of rangeland management as a social institution and this practice of holding land in a reserved status predates Islam, dating back 2,000 years or more. However, the increase in the number of *himas* is closely linked with the spread of Islam around 1,300 years ago and since then they have become rooted in Islamic law and tribal custom.

Historically, *himas* employed many sound land-use principles and tested many of the ecological and socio-economic aspects now considered essential to the sustainable use of renewable resources, such as:

- allowing the controlled use of natural resources and making sure that those natural resources were conserved properly;
- ensuring that *himas* were respected by allowing the local communities who managed them to apply social sanctions;
- distributing the benefits of the *himas* among members of the community according to a system that the community perceived as equitable.

*What legal institutions governed himas?* In Islam, the governing authorities – whether the ruler or his assistants, or other administrative, judicial or municipal authorities – have the right and obligation to establish *himas* that benefit the ‘common welfare’ (as it is referred to in Arabic) and by doing so to avoid and resolve grievances in society as a whole. The Prophet Muhammad abolished private *himas* belonging to powerful individuals and established *himas* for the ‘common welfare’. Both the Koran and the Hadith

(teachings of the Prophet) are full of references to the need to conserve and manage natural resources for the benefit of humanity. These ‘common welfare’ *himas* included rangelands, forests, woodlands, watersheds and wildlife.

The legal system that governs these *himas* is based primarily on the right of users to benefit from the natural resources of a given area (usufruct). However, and this is the important point, the users were given responsibility for the proper management of the resources. The legal institutions managing *himas* were also required to establish models and incentives that would promote the beneficial use of those Protected Areas and their resources. With such a broad mandate, it is easy to see why there was no general rule for the management of *himas*. The legal rules varied to suit the needs of time and place.

*What caused the decline of himas?* *Himas*, in various states of decline, were functional until about fifty years ago when they were officially discontinued in many countries of the Middle East and replaced by Western-style rangeland and Protected Area management schemes, which so far have had limited success. The reasons for discontinuing the *himas* were various, but the most important are probably these:

1. Many *himas*, particularly the grazing *himas*, were heavily contested by neighbouring tribes, resulting in numerous skirmishes over the years. By eliminating the *himas*, the areas became free for everyone to use and tribal skirmishes were thus reduced to a minimum.
2. Most of the newly established countries in the region wanted a more centralized, Western-style system of government. As the traditional *hima* system was decentralized, it did not fit in with the organizational structure of many governments at that time. An example is the elimination of *himas* in the semi-arid plains of the Syrian *badia*.
3. Rapid economic and social change, spurred by the discovery and exploitation of oil, marginalized the income from farming or grazing and forced hundreds of thousands of people to abandon rural areas and move into urban centres.
4. Rural populations were marginalized and a new structure to manage the *himas* was forced on them by centralized governments or, in areas under colonial rule, by foreign governments. The alienation that rural inhabitants felt at having the management and resources of their *himas* taken away from them meant that the success of the new management systems would always be limited.
5. An interesting reason for the decline of *himas* was the political map of the Middle East, which for a long time was divided up by Western powers into colonies. The colonial powers referred to their colonies as *mahmiya* (same derivation as *hima*). Of course, the colonists used the term in a political and military sense, and so even after many of the countries in the region had gained their independence and decided to establish Protected Areas (*mahmiya/hima*) for reasons of conservation and biodiversity, the political overtones of the words were too obvious to ignore.

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*How can the hima system can be applied in a modern context?*

In an effort to save our dwindling cultural and natural heritage, the concept of the *hima* system and the pragmatic flexibility inherent in the management of *himas* provides us with an important cultural precedent for the protection and sustainable use of natural and cultural resources – particularly World Heritage sites that fall under the cultural landscape category.

Child and Grainger (1990, p. 64) point out that although the reasons for the establishment of Protected Areas today differ from the reasons for which *himas* were established in the past, it is important to remember that those reasons were so varied that we can find many ancient examples to match contemporary needs. They stress that ‘the *hima* tradition provides an ideal vehicle from which to evolve the necessary institutional mechanisms and to encourage public participation among people in a strong position to make a significant contribution’.

In order to apply the *hima* system to a modern context, we need to adapt many of the procedures for the establishment and management of Protected Areas in the Arab world to new approaches. Consider this:

1. Many, if not most, of the projects for the establishment of Protected Areas in the region have been written by non-Arabs.
2. Many, if not most, of the management plans for those areas have been written by non-Arabs.
3. This trend looks like it may continue because, other than in the rich oil countries, most Protected Areas in the region are financed either by the United Nations, United States or European Union and they tend to prefer to contract their own nationals to prepare the necessary studies and plans.

With this in mind, we need to impress upon international donors the need to have local experts on any team that proposes and manages Protected Areas in the Middle East in future. The entire team would then need to be directed to incorporate the basic lessons and principles of *hima* systems in their studies and proposals. Of particular significance would be lessons pertaining to the institutional mechanisms that enable local communities to participate in the management of their natural and cultural resources.

### 4. Mountain Terraces

Whereas the *himas* were primarily a communal system of land-use focused on the conservation of natural flora and fauna, mountain terraces were primarily a private system of land-use concerned with crop cultivation. For hundreds of years, these mountain terraces employed many sound land-use principles that are now formally recognized by land-use planners worldwide.

Mountain terrace agriculture epitomizes a highly developed indigenous system of land-use that has persisted for

centuries in mountainous areas of the Middle East, and is well adjusted to the arid environmental constraints of the region. The traditional system of terraces in Yemen and the western mountains of Saudi Arabia is a very sophisticated method of soil and water harvesting, whereby water catchments are deliberately eroded to fill the terraces with fertile soil. Crops are then irrigated by harvesting water from these and adjacent catchments using furrows, diversion dykes and wells. Each terrace thus concentrates productivity from a much larger area.

Needless to say, the construction of terraces during the past centuries and over many generations required a massive input of human labour. This effort imposed an obligation on the generations of the time and on future generations to conserve these environmentally sustainable concentrations of productivity. The loss of these agricultural terraces has resulted in an increase in the rate of soil erosion and flash floods in the hills and mountains of Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Lebanon.

Functioning mountain terraces and rainwater harvesting systems represent venerable traditions and ‘grass-roots’ initiatives of enormous value. Their value for food production, control of nomadic grazing, management of water catchment areas and the conservation of biodiversity have been acknowledged by many researchers. Unfortunately, their potential for ecological and socio-economic research and development has not received enough attention.

Despite this, it is encouraging to note a very interesting project in Yemen called the Mountain Terrace Project (MTP), which was initiated in 2000 and is due to end in 2003. The MTP is managed by the International Center for Agricultural Research in Dry Areas (ICARDA) and implemented by the Agricultural Research and Extension Authority (AREA) in Yemen with financial support from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Canada. The project applies a community-based research approach and integrated analysis of natural resource management in small watersheds. The basic elements of participatory research include:

- (a) identification of the problem by the community;
- (b) participation by the community in evaluating the options for solving the problem;
- (c) contribution from the community to development action plans;
- (d) development of the organizational capacity of the community in research and development;
- (e) monitoring and evaluation of the projects on the welfare of the people.

#### 4.1 The Mahweet Project – revival of a traditional management system

According to Kyle Foster (2000, pp. 9–10) ‘in the Governorate of Mahweet, 120 km north-west of Sanaa, 99% of all agriculture depends on terraces’. The Mahweet office of the Ministry of Agriculture and CARE, an international NGO, are working together to encourage the rehabilitation

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of eroded terrace fields in an effort to increase food security and to preserve the socio-economic fabric of rural communities. Since 1997, this co-ordinated programme has organized community groups in over twenty-five rural villages to reclaim and rehabilitate over 2,000 individual terraces or 130 ha of formerly abandoned and disused terrace fields.

At the suggestion of the Ministry of Agriculture in Mahweet, CARE has been encouraging a traditional method of terrace rehabilitation known as *jaysh*, the Arabic word for army. The *jaysh* system of communal terrace rehabilitation had not been seen in Mahweet for at least thirty years. In the *jaysh*, a neighbouring village agrees to assist local villagers with terrace rehabilitation activities.

At sunrise a neighbouring 'army' of farmers advances on the village's terraced fields, led by a drummer. They sing and dance the tribal *jambiyah* (Yemeni dagger) dance. The local hosts respond by forming their own 'army', singing their village songs, dancing their version of the *jambiyah* and challenging each other to see who can work harder. In this atmosphere of mock battle, large stones and earth are moved by gangs of singing men (in stark contrast to the gangs of armed men we frequently see killing each other in real battles on our TV screens). In this way, mountainsides are cleared and ploughed, fallen rocks are collected and sorted by size, and retaining walls are built or rebuilt.

Mohammed Surmi, Director-General of the Mahweet Ministry of Agriculture, stated: 'Terrace rehabilitation makes good agricultural sense and at the same time supports tourism by conserving a beautiful part of the cultural heritage of Yemen.' This project is a good example of how an international funding agency can work effectively with a local government body to implement local ideas and revive old practices.

### 4.2 Utmah – A terraced 'cultural landscape' in the mountains of Yemen

Set among some of the most spectacular scenery of mountain peaks, some rising to 3,000 m, and deep valleys that seem to have no bottom, is the mountain community of Utmah. The most spectacular feature of these mountains are the ancient agricultural terraces that begin at the bottom of the valleys and climb to the top of the mountains. These terraces come in all shapes and sizes, following the natural contours of the land and incorporating elaborate irrigation systems.

The villages in Utmah are hard to see because they are built of dark stone obtained from the land itself and they therefore blend into the landscape beautifully. These villages sit on narrow ridges or hang as if by magic from the sides of mountain. In contrast to the dark colour of the villages is the bright green of the agricultural terraces and the dark green of the natural vegetation of the area. This combination of nature and agriculture must have been behind the ancient description of the mountains of Yemen as *Arabia Felix* or Happy Arabia.

It was wonderful to see wild trees, mostly acacias and cactus-like shrubs, growing side by side or intermingling with a variety of domestic crops, such as sorghum and coffee, in what appears to be a mutually beneficial situation for all species. This is a living example of organic or conservation agriculture that developed over the centuries and is still in use today – a far cry from the chemical and mechanized monocultures we see almost everywhere else in the world.

The Utmah area has a population of about 120,000 people, almost all of whom are farmers with cultivated terraces and livestock (cattle, small sheep and goats). Through their local leaders, the people of Utmah promoted the idea of establishing a Protected Area and, to that end, a national meeting was held in Sana'a in March 1999. The main purpose of the meeting was to alert everyone, particularly the decision-makers in government, to the growing dangers and threats to the natural resources of the Utmah area. As a direct result of this meeting, a decree was issued by the Council of Ministers in 1999 declaring Utmah a Protected Area. By doing this, they hoped to benefit from funding being offered by the Global Environment Facility for the establishment of Protected Areas and the conservation of biodiversity.

But Utmah is more than a potential Protected Area, it is a living productive landscape that has a lot to offer as we look for sustainable solutions for the conservation of high mountain areas.

### 4.3 Jebel al-Lawz – Another terraced 'cultural landscape' in the mountains of Yemen

Jebel al-Lawz is a large highland plateau where the air is cool and pure. It takes its name from the abundance of old and young almond trees (*lawz*) that grow there. To this day, the almond groves are still being ploughed with small wooden ploughs pulled by donkeys. The natural beauty of this area is beyond description. The villages in this area blend into the mountain landscape and can be difficult to see because they are built from local stone or mud, and are therefore very well camouflaged. Near Jebel al-Lawz is Jebel Baigan, a place well known for its Himyarite ruins.

A potential Protected Area is located just across a deep valley, which according to the local guides covers an area of about 30 km<sup>2</sup>. According to the descriptions of the guides, the area is full of old trees, mostly *araar* trees and numerous shrubs and herbs. Animals known to live in this area include the mountain ibex, mountain gazelle, rock hyrax, baboon, partridge and wild pigeon, to name but a few. There are also a number of natural caves that have not yet been explored.

Standing on the edge of a fearsome escarpment, with a vertical drop of over 600 m into a seemingly bottomless valley, our local guide took off his *kaffiye*, or headcloth, and threw it into the great emptiness of the valley below. A few minutes later, as if by magic, it reappeared in all its glory, carried up by the continuous air current that is well

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known to the local villagers. He repeated his performance again and again. It was a spectacular show.

There are about seven villages in the Jebel al-Lawz area, and the members of those communities have expressed a willingness to abide by the conditions of a Protected Area in their region. Sheikh Ali bin Ali, the senior tribal leader in this region of Yemen, has assured an IUCN team of his commitment to all matters related to conserving Jebel al-Lawz. He noted that there were many beautiful mountains in Yemen, but he was confident that none could match Jebel al-Lawz. This too is a living productive landscape that needs our attention.

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# Projet-pilote « Sauvegarde et développement des villes du patrimoine mondial en Mauritanie » : exemple d'une coopération tripartite Unesco–Gouvernement mauritanien–Banque mondiale

Anna Sidorenko

### 1. Introduction

**Cette contribution concerne la présentation du projet-pilote « Sauvegarde et développement des villes du patrimoine mondial en Mauritanie » en tant qu'exemple d'une étroite collaboration établie entre le Centre du patrimoine mondial, le gouvernement mauritanien et la Banque mondiale. Le défi de cette collaboration est de permettre le développement et la revitalisation des anciens ksour de Ouadane, Chinguetti, Tichitt et Oualata qui présentent un exemple unique de centres urbains de Mauritanie, habités depuis le Moyen Âge (Figs. 37, 38, 39 et 40).**

**Une année de travail en commun, de réunions, de négociations a permis de rassembler tous les moyens techniques, administratifs et financiers nécessaires à la mise en place de ce projet-pilote. À partir du 15 juin 2003 et pendant les 15 prochains mois, différentes solutions seront testées dans chacune des quatre villes afin de réunir la tradition et la modernité tout en sauvegardant les valeurs culturelles et environnementales qui ont justifié leur inscription sur la liste du patrimoine mondial en 1996.**

### 2. Les villes anciennes et leurs valeurs

#### 2.1 Les tissus urbains des villes mauritaniennes

Les « villes anciennes » de Ouadane, Chinguetti, Tichitt et Oualata sont les derniers témoins de la prospérité d'une région située sur de grands axes caravaniers d'autrefois. Créées au XI<sup>e</sup> et au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, elles ont connu leur apogée entre le XV<sup>e</sup> et le XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Situées dans de riches oasis et construites autour de puits d'eau, ces villes représentent, également, un exemple éminent d'occupation traditionnelle du territoire, représentative d'une culture oasienne du Sahara occidental.

La structure urbaine du centre historique de chacune de ces quatre villes est composée d'autant de parties spécifiques qu'il y a de tribus, sur les terres desquelles ces villes ont été bâties. Il faut souligner que pour les habitants de ces villes de désert, leur appartenance à un lieu représente beaucoup moins d'importance que leur assignation à un groupe humain particulier (clan, tribu, etc.). La ville n'est que le territoire où confluent les intérêts d'un ou plusieurs groupes humains. Elle représente, à l'image des *ksour* arabo-musulmans, des unités fonctionnelles pourvues d'ordre urbain préalablement établi et de règles sur la construction. Ainsi, le droit canonique musulman ordonne qu'aucun voisin ne soit gêné. Cela devint une règle limitant le développement urbain autonome et précisant la fonctionnalité de la ville.

L'organisation de l'espace public et de l'espace domestique, ainsi que le rapport entre ces deux espaces obéissent au même droit qui régit la communauté musulmane.

Imprégnés de cette culture de l'islam d'Al-Andalus et du Maghreb, les clans répartirent entre eux des parcelles autour de la mosquée, premier édifice de la ville.

La ville de Ouadane a été bâtie vers 1141 à partir d'une relation entre six clans sur un emplacement entouré de trois villages en ruines. Pour sa part, la ville de Chinguetti a été créée par deux tribus vers le XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, près d'un autre site urbain du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle, à présent ensablé. L'origine de Tichitt, ville située en milieu désertique très aride, remonte au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. C'est à Tichitt que se manifeste le plus clairement la correspondance entre ses trois tribus et les quartiers de la ville. La ville de Oualata a surgi sur un lieu de marché et l'emplacement de quelques puits au V<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les cinq grandes tribus composent traditionnellement la cité. Chaque groupe occupe un quartier, même si la séparation entre les quartiers n'est pas réellement stricte.



37 Mosquée de Chinguetti



38 Oualata



39 Maçons à Ouadane



40 Tichitt

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Ces villes se dessinaient en assimilant cette cohabitation tribale jusqu'à ce qu'elles obtiennent leurs formes actuelles. Cette forme est décomposée en trois ensembles principaux :

- l'ancienne forme homogène, caractérisée par une occupation du sol dense avec un habitat resserré, aujourd'hui presque entièrement déserté ;
- la forme intermédiaire, avec un établissement respectant l'ancienne forme ;
- la forme récente, caractérisée par un habitat plus dispersé, avec une typologie plus aérée, qui rompt avec celle du vieux tissu urbain.

Le développement urbain s'est fait plutôt en taches d'huile, suivant des principes de voisinage, d'affinités tribales ou religieuses.

### 2.2 Les villes anciennes et leurs traditions

Si la vie urbaine de ces villes s'organise autour de trois composantes principales (la mosquée, la maison et le puits), la vie sociale de ses habitants est rythmée par deux modes complémentaires de relations des communautés locales créées par la symbiose de l'existence matérielle et morale entre la population nomade et la population sédentaire.

Le premier est la *Guetna*, période de récolte des dattes. À son arrivée, l'ensemble des citadins revient à la source des traditions millénaires de la vie nomade. Chacune des villes anciennes, à part Oualata, a sa palmeraie. Depuis des siècles, le palmier a acquis une très forte valeur symbolique.

Parallèlement, l'Esprit des lieux s'inspirait des règles de la vie sociale de ses habitants qui bâtirent leurs villes grâce à une aide mutuelle. La pratique de plusieurs formes de coopération constitue l'un des principes de base du comportement social de ces cités. L'exécution collective du toit, l'excavation d'un nouveau puits et le travail collectif de femmes réunies pour fabriquer des bandes qui constitueront la tente du nomade sont les trois exemples spécifiques de coopération.

### 3. Contexte actuel

Durement affectées par le déclin des échanges commerciaux transsahariens et l'exode des populations vers les grandes villes modernes, les quatre villes anciennes ont été vidées d'une grande partie de leurs habitants. La population propre à ces villes ne dépassera plus 5 000 habitants permanents. Par ailleurs, un mouvement massif de sédentarisation progressive et multiforme est en cours sous le double effet des sécheresses récentes et de l'évolution des standards de vie. Fragilisées par l'avancée du désert, les villes anciennes sont en danger d'ensevelissement et les économies urbaines sont en déroute.

Les handicaps sont divers et nombreux :

- les pierres ont été prélevées sur des maisons anciennes pour servir à la construction de nouveaux bâtiments ;

- les rares réhabilitations qui ont été effectuées ont abâtardi l'architecture d'origine ;
- les rues sont envahies par les sables ;
- les limites de compétence entre les différents intervenants (Fondation nationale pour la sauvegarde des villes anciennes, FNSVA, municipalités, préfets, *walis*, etc.) sont mal définies ;
- la situation foncière n'est pas claire ;
- la législation domaniale, urbanistique et patrimoniale est inadaptée et ambiguë (coexistence d'un droit laïc et d'un droit religieux) ;
- l'action des bailleurs de fonds internationaux n'est pas coordonnée ;
- les ONG sont livrées à elles-mêmes et interviennent de manière désordonnée, sans aucun contrôle ;
- les collectivités locales ne disposent d'aucun moyen matériel, humain ou financier et ne justifient d'aucune capacité de maîtrise de l'urbanisation et encore moins de gestion patrimoniale.

Face à ce constat dramatique, et afin de traduire dans les faits la volonté de sauvetage de ces villes anciennes, le gouvernement de la République islamique de Mauritanie a sollicité l'appui de la Banque mondiale et de l'UNESCO pour mettre en œuvre une stratégie qui doit conjuguer la sauvegarde et le développement des villes anciennes.

### 4. Historique du projet-pilote

En 1981, l'année du lancement, par le directeur général de l'UNESCO et le chef de gouvernement de Mauritanie, de la Campagne internationale de sauvegarde des quatre villes anciennes, la République islamique de Mauritanie a ratifié la Convention sur la protection du patrimoine mondial culturel et naturel de l'UNESCO (convention du 16 décembre 1972). Quinze ans après, lors de leur inscription sur la liste du patrimoine mondial, en 1996, les autorités nationales se sont engagées à élaborer et à mettre en place un mécanisme de protection et de gestion de ces villes.

Les rapports périodiques de la Région arabe soumis au Comité du patrimoine mondial en décembre 2000, ont relevé l'état de dégradation et d'abandon avancé des villes anciennes mauritaniennes.

La survie de ces villes, ainsi que de leur patrimoine architectural et urbain, est soumise à quatre conditions principales :

- la formulation d'un projet de développement socio-économique de nature à fixer les populations ;
- l'adoption d'un schéma directeur de sauvegarde et de développement et la mise en œuvre d'un plan d'action pour chaque ville ;
- l'existence d'une structure permanente de gestion urbaine et patrimoniale qui puisse assurer le respect des directives de sauvegarde et des conseils aux constructeurs ;
- la poursuite des actions de réhabilitation des centres anciens, s'appuyant en particulier sur le secteur privé.

En 2002, le Centre du patrimoine mondial n'a mobilisé, à la demande du gouvernement mauritanien, aucune aide

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financière au titre du Fonds du patrimoine mondial et de la Convention France-UNESCO afin d'élaborer le projet-pilote « Sauvegarde et développement des villes du patrimoine mondial en Mauritanie ». Faisant partie du projet intersectoriel de l'UNESCO « Gestion de sites du patrimoine mondial visant à réduire la pauvreté », ce projet-pilote a pour but d'élaborer une stratégie qui permettrait d'arrêter l'exode des populations et, consécutivement, l'abandon des centres historiques d'Oadane, de Chinguetti, de Tichitt et de Oualata.

### 5. Mise en place du projet-pilote

En mai 2000, l'IDA (Banque mondiale) a accordé un financement de 5 millions de dollars au gouvernement mauritanien pour un « Projet de sauvegarde et de valorisation du patrimoine culturel mauritanien » (PSVPCM). Ce projet a pour objectif de « définir et mettre en œuvre une stratégie cohérente pour la conservation et l'utilisation du patrimoine culturel mauritanien ». Il comporte une composante « Villes anciennes » qui concerne la conservation et la gestion des centres historiques.

En juin 2000, un mémorandum visant à la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel mauritanien a été signé entre l'UNESCO, la Banque mondiale et le gouvernement mauritanien.

Quatre missions du Centre du patrimoine mondial en Mauritanie ont eu lieu durant l'année 2002. À la suite des réunions rassemblant le président du comité d'orientation, le secrétariat permanent du projet mauritanien et le chargé du projet auprès de la Banque mondiale, la convention de coopération visant à la mise en œuvre des activités du projet-pilote a été signée entre l'UNESCO, le gouvernement mauritanien et la Banque mondiale. Intégré au projet « Sauvegarde et valorisation du patrimoine culturel mauritanien » et cofinancé par la Banque mondiale et le gouvernement mauritanien, le projet-pilote devra respecter toutes les procédures de l'IDA. L'ensemble des activités du projet-pilote sera réalisé par le bureau d'études français ACT Consultant associé à un bureau d'étude mauritanien, sélectionnés sur appel d'offres.

Ce projet est cependant placé sous la coordination technique du Centre du patrimoine mondial qui a une fonction de contrôle de la qualité de toutes les activités susceptibles d'avoir un effet sur le maintien du label du Patrimoine mondial dans les quatre *ksour*. Un expert international a été désigné par le Centre, avec l'appui de la Banque mondiale et du secrétariat permanent du projet mauritanien, afin de réaliser une supervision technique des activités réalisées par le bureau d'étude sélectionné tout au long de la durée du projet-pilote. Lors de ces missions, l'expert doit évaluer la conformité des actions entreprises par le bureau d'étude, avec le mandat qui lui a été assigné, ainsi qu'avec les normes internationales relatives à la sauvegarde des sites.

### 6. Stratégie de l'intervention

Au titre du contrat signé avec le secrétariat permanent, le bureau d'étude doit atteindre les objectifs suivants :

- élaborer les schémas directeurs des quatre villes anciennes, ainsi que les orientations techniques et méthodologiques de leur réhabilitation ;
- élaborer une stratégie visant à encadrer toutes les initiatives de réhabilitation des centres historiques des villes anciennes et à engager le développement socio-économique durable des communautés locales de ces villes ;
- tester la faisabilité de cette démarche d'intervention par la mise en œuvre de programmes-tests de travaux.

#### 6.1 Schémas directeurs

Les schémas directeurs de sauvegarde et de développement devraient aider à établir une politique de gestion claire et des règlements bien définis (incluant les spécifications de zonage), ainsi que le cadre institutionnel et administratif de leur mise en œuvre.

L'absence d'outils juridiques et de structures spécifiques de préservation, le manque de compétences des services et des professionnels, sont autant de handicaps qui ne seront pas surmontés par les quelques actions démonstratives qui seront menées à l'occasion du projet-pilote. Un effort d'information et de formation est indispensable pour éveiller les esprits à cette question et assurer un minimum de cohérence et de pérennité dans l'action. Cet effort doit aller de pair avec l'adoption, par les autorités responsables, des mesures législatives et administratives préconisées par le projet, ainsi qu'avec la mise en place des ressources humaines et financières essentielles pour assurer son suivi et la gestion intégrée des activités visant à la sauvegarde des villes anciennes.

Il faut préciser que la gestion urbaine dépasse largement l'élaboration, l'approbation et l'exécution des documents d'urbanisme. La gestion urbaine est la capacité d'organiser et d'assurer le bon fonctionnement de la ville, de sa propreté à la régularité des services fournis aux particuliers, aux opérateurs de tourisme et aux visiteurs. La connexion avec les collectivités locales est de la plus grande importance.

#### 6.2 Chantiers-écoles

Les chantiers-écoles mis en place pendant le projet-pilote permettront, également, de former ou de spécialiser les maçons, les artisans et les différents corps de métiers aux techniques spéciales de réhabilitation. Le bureau d'études procédera à l'identification des professionnels les plus aptes à ces opérations et proposera des formules d'intervention conjointes afin de disposer d'équipes représentant tous les corps de métier et susceptibles de renouveler leur partenariat sur différents chantiers. On privilégiera un encadrement et une animation assurés par les ONG intervenant dans la localité. Le premier chantier à ouvrir dans chaque ville sera un chantier d'aménagement de locaux de

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travail et d'hébergement de l'équipe. À l'issue du projet-pilote, ils deviendront des maisons d'initiatives patrimoniales et touristiques des collectivités locales ou « Maisons du patrimoine ».

### 6.3 Maisons de patrimoine

Il paraît plus facile de parvenir à faire respecter le site par la démonstration et l'exemple (chantier-école), l'animation et le conseil que par le contrôle administratif. C'est pourquoi il faudra créer une structure permanente au service des populations. L'équipe mise en place par le bureau d'étude devant disparaître à l'achèvement du projet-pilote, le bureau d'étude devra préparer sa succession en proposant la création et la mise en place de cette structure permanente de conseil sur les questions de conservation, de réhabilitation et de construction dans les centres anciens (périmètre de classement et zone tampon). Il faut envisager la possibilité de rattacher cette structure à une entité nationale pérenne et légitime. À cette fin, le bureau d'étude se propose de recruter quatre techniciens qui auront vocation à intégrer le personnel communal à la fin du projet. Ils seront formés non seulement à la mise en œuvre des mesures de sauvegarde mais aussi aux actes et aux gestes de gestion urbaine en continuité avec ces actions.

### 6.4 Fonds d'aide pour la réhabilitation

De même que le projet-pilote doit expérimenter les modalités techniques de la réhabilitation, il doit aussi expérimenter les modalités financières. Le bureau d'étude étudiera les diverses possibilités de financer la réhabilitation des bâtiments des centres historiques, qu'il s'agisse de bâtiments publics (budget public, mécénat, solidarité internationale, collectes locales, entre autres possibilités) ou de bâtiments privés. Pour ces derniers, ce bureau d'étude étudiera les différentes possibilités et la faisabilité de création d'un « Fonds d'aide pour la réhabilitation de l'habitat traditionnel ». Il explorera en particulier les variantes suivantes :

- ligne de crédit pour des prêts (microcrédits) aux habitants : identification de l'organisme ou des organismes prêteurs, rémunération de l'établissement financier, critères d'éligibilité aux prêts, plafond des montants prêtés, taux, durée, garanties exigées, etc. ;
- acquisition par la collectivité locale, une ONG ou une association locale d'outils et d'engins qui seront prêtés ou loués aux habitants et aux tâcherons ;
- fourniture de matériaux de construction, remboursables à tempérament ;
- prime forfaitaire (en espèces ou en matériaux) pour les projets de réhabilitation répondant aux critères fixés.

Si le dispositif est arrêté en temps voulu et en fonction du budget disponible, la solution retenue pourra être appliquée à des habitations privées occupées par leur propriétaire et pour réhabiliter à l'occasion des chantiers-écoles, avec intégration d'éléments de confort moderne.

Dans tous les cas, le bureau d'études étudiera et proposera des modalités de constitution de ce fonds (ressources continues à assurer) et son dispositif de gestion et de contrôle des réalisations. La dotation d'un tel fonds pourrait être présentée à différents bailleurs.

### 6.5 Participation des communautés locales

La sauvegarde du patrimoine bâti ne peut pas se limiter à une simple action de restauration et de préservation des valeurs historiques et architecturales. L'ensemble des qualités qui a constitué la spécificité exceptionnelle des quatre villes reconnues mondialement doit être assimilé et compris par des populations locales. Sans leur volonté et sans leur participation, aucune intervention et aucun investissement ne suffirait à faire renaître ces « villes de mémoire ». Le bureau d'étude organisera au moins cinq ateliers (un dans chacune des villes anciennes, plus un à Nouakchott).

Pour les habitants et les associations : découverte de leur ville, présentation des valeurs patrimoniales, sensibilisation à la notion de sauvegarde et de valorisation du patrimoine culturel, commentaire des manuels pédagogiques de concertation ;

Pour les responsables et les professionnels : conseils municipaux, administrations régionales, architectes, ONG, avec formation à la gestion, à la préservation et à la méthodologie de programmation et d'intervention (familiarisation avec le manuel pédagogique de conservation et utilisation de ses recommandations).

## 7. Patrimoine et développement

Ce projet-pilote s'inscrit dans une logique qui associe patrimoine et développement. Cette alliance permet non seulement de mettre en valeur la richesse patrimoniale mauritanienne mais aussi d'assurer la rentabilité et la durabilité des investissements en général.

Le développement incontrôlé, les changements dans l'occupation et l'utilisation du sol, l'altération de l'environnement des sites et de leur intégrité ou bien la simple détérioration des monuments anciens due à une exploitation inappropriée, restent malheureusement un trait commun pour les sites du patrimoine dans le monde entier. L'UNESCO a toujours mis l'accent sur la nécessité d'une approche globale des problèmes, où chaque décision et chaque développement proposé seraient orientés de manière stricte par la compréhension des valeurs du site et mis en œuvre grâce au processus de large consultation avec toutes les parties concernées.

Lors de la mise en œuvre de l'ensemble des activités du projet-pilote, tous les partenaires veilleront à maintenir un équilibre approprié et équitable entre la conservation, la durabilité et le développement, de façon à protéger les biens du patrimoine mondial tout en améliorant la qualité de vie des communautés.



## Arab States États arabes

La ville ancienne par elle-même est une ressource à utiliser pour favoriser la renaissance des métiers anciens, la création de nouvelles activités, l'amélioration des conditions d'habitat et des lieux d'accueil pour les visiteurs. Le rôle spécial des quatre villes anciennes doit être affirmé au niveau national et renforcé par une politique de requalification de leur place dans le contexte mauritanien.

Il est nécessaire que ce projet soit intégré à l'ensemble des réformes en cours visant à encadrer les transformations de la société mauritanienne, et notamment à la stratégie de lutte contre la pauvreté adoptée par le gouvernement mauritanien. Parmi les axes principaux de cette stratégie, il y a lieu de souligner celui-ci : « *le développement urbain devra pouvoir s'appuyer sur la mise en place de nouvelles pratiques de développement local alliant des instruments de planification décentralisée et de dispositifs de gestion maîtrisés par les collectivités locales, garantissant une participation des populations dans tous les processus de décision et fondées sur un cadre institutionnel assurant une intervention coordonnées des services de l'État au niveau local* ».

### 8. Conclusions

L'organisation du mode de vie de ces villes, basée sur la répartition tribale du territoire, devrait être respectée, encouragée et incorporée dans des plans de développement communaux des quatre *ksour*. Ce développement pourrait être accompagné et renforcé par la mise en place d'une coopération décentralisée et de jumelages entre les villes européennes et les quatre villes anciennes, sur la base des réformes en cours en Mauritanie aux fins de décentralisation .

En mars 2003, le Centre du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO a soumis au comité de suivi technique de la Convention France-UNESCO, une proposition d'élaboration de programmes d'information, de formation et de conseil continus à mettre en place dans les quatre villes, fondés sur les recommandations issues des activités du projet-pilote « Sauvegarde et développement des villes du patrimoine mondial en Mauritanie ».

Nous espérons que différents partenaires et bailleurs de fonds soutiendront économiquement l'engagement des autorités mauritaniennes afin qu'elles puissent mettre en place l'ensemble des réformes nécessaires pour assurer la continuité des actions en cours de réalisation.

## Asia and Pacific Asie et Pacifique

## Vanuatu Cultural Centre's Fieldworker Network: Capacity-Building from Inside Out

Tim Curtis

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## 1. Introduction

The Republic of Vanuatu is a Y-shaped archipelago of more than eighty islands in the south west Pacific, situated between New Caledonia to the south and the Solomon Islands to the north (Fig. 41). Before independence in 1980 the chain of islands was known as the New Hebrides and was ruled under a dual French-British administration, the 'Condominium'.<sup>4</sup> Today the education system is roughly 60% anglophone and 40% francophone. However this dual language education system represents only the tip of the iceberg when it comes to linguistic diversity in Vanuatu: 113 indigenous languages are spoken among a population of less than 200,000 people, making this the country with the highest ration of languages to population in the world.<sup>5</sup> Although it is wrong to assume that a 'language group' is a 'culture' in any strict sense, it is nevertheless plausible to state that such linguistic diversity also indicates an extreme cultural diversity – each group has its own set of ritual practices, marriage systems, musical repertoire, mythologies and so on. Although some groups may vary on similar practices and expressions, others are considerably different, yet all are what one could call cultures of 'oral traditions'.

41



Map of Vanuatu

## 2. Map Of Vanautu

Vanuatu, like most other Pacific nations, has no World Heritage sites to this date, although the Vanuatu Cultural Centre has recently received preparatory assistance for one site in the central island of Efate, and work is also pro-

gressing on the potential nomination of a rock-art site in the northern island of Malakula. The country has nevertheless been developing its own national heritage policy, focused more on indigenous Melanesian modalities and values than on classic conservation management principles, and with some success.

The cornerstone of Vanuatu's heritage action is based on the Vanuatu Cultural Centre's 'fieldworker network' whereby local community members are trained annually in anthropological, linguistic and archaeological research techniques. This paper therefore does not address a specific World Heritage site, as there are none in Vanuatu. Rather I hope to briefly present a model of heritage management that is quite unique and could be of particular interest to other States Parties seeking to integrate local populations, including their local knowledge and values, into the management of World Heritage sites of 'out-standing universal value' (Fig. 42).



A man dancing from the opening of a local community cultural centre on Malakula, imitating in some ways what is happening on a national level

### 2.1 The fieldworker network: what is it?

Every year the Vanuatu Cultural Centre holds a workshop for two weeks in the capital, Port Vila. The workshops are held to familiarize fieldworkers with linguistic, archaeological and anthropological methods and ideas as well as to provide them with a forum in which to compare their respective traditions, or *kastom* as tradition is called in Bislama,<sup>6</sup> surrounding a specific theme. The themes have treated a diverse range of topics, covering both what would conventionally be classified as 'natural' and 'cultural' phenomena, even though that distinction makes little sense for most people in Vanuatu (birds, kinship, language, art, myths, etc.). The fieldworkers are trained to research these themes so that they return to their communities and

4. For a comprehensive overview of this extraordinary colonial arrangement and its ongoing repercussions in the post-colonial state see Miles (1998).

5. See Tryon (1996, p. 171).

6. The *lingua franca* of the archipelago.

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carry out their work for a year until the next workshop, when they present their findings to the others. Men's and women's workshops are held separately, in accordance with *kastom*, and an underlying philosophy for the fieldworkers is to encourage the promotion, maintenance, or revival, of *kastom*.

The workshops are run by foreign researchers who have had long-standing associations with Vanuatu. The men's workshop is run by the linguist Darrel Tryon (Australian National University) and the women's under the guidance of anthropologist Lissant Bolton (British Museum). Over the years many of the fieldworkers have become skilled field researchers, despite the fact that most have had little formal education in anthropology, archaeology or linguistics. However the fieldworkers have become more than just 'researchers' but also play the important role of community 'activists' in the fields of both cultural and natural heritage.

The fieldworker network also responded to another need when the former New Hebrides gained political independence (in 1980) from the dual British and French administrations that had governed the archipelago since 1906 under the Condominium of the New Hebrides. The new leaders felt that ni-Vanuatu<sup>7</sup> should conduct their own research into their own languages and cultures and so in 1984 they imposed a moratorium on virtually all foreign research, although those researchers who had been involved in training the fieldworkers were allowed to continue.

On national level the fieldworkers have become a recognized 'institution' unto themselves, and although not all of Vanuatu's 113 language groups have a fieldworker, most of the population is well aware of their work so that their status within the national context has grown over the years (all fieldworkers are volunteers, so financial gain is not a factor). Ralph Regenvanu, the director of the Vanuatu Cultural Centre, explains the advantages of this system from the national level:

In fulfilling its role as the custodian of the national cultural heritage, the Vanuatu Cultural Centre has built up a network of cultural resource managers in the local communities of the country.

As well as serving as counterparts and liaisons for Cultural Centre activities and programs in these local communities, the fieldworkers are also able to provide guidance in the development and implementation of policy in the national institution itself.

More importantly, fieldworkers are assisting their own communities to develop their own culturally distinct approaches to the management of their own cultural resources. This is, in effect, diluting the role of the Cultural Centre as the custodian of the national cultural heritage and 'dissolving the walls' of the institution, in fact – and refocusing it as both a facilitating, training and co-ordination body for local-level cultural heritage initiatives and a preservation-oriented national storehouse for the cultural property of indigenous cultural groups.

This development in the field of cultural heritage management in Vanuatu (the domain of the Cultural Centre and its fieldworkers) is one that is more suited to the national context of continuing vitality of local-level traditions and of extreme cultural diversity. The Fieldworkers Program also offers an example of an alternative approach to involving communities in cultural heritage management (Reganvanu, 1999).

It is clear then that the national body responsible for the management of cultural heritage has come to understand the advantages of putting the responsibility into the hands of communities at the local level: it is not just a question of 'training' the local communities, but also allowing the more policy-focused national approach, which is by nature more 'distant' from the site, to be informed, or itself 'trained' by the local communities which have, after all, been living with the heritage concerned for generations. Where the Vanuatu fieldworkers network provides real innovation is in moving away from concepts of 'co-management' towards integrating into the management strategies the actual local knowledge and values, and the social structures in which they are embedded.

### 2.2 Heritage management with a local flavour

Kirk Huffman, who had arrived in the islands in 1974 to do postgraduate research for Cambridge on the material culture of Malakula, stayed in Vanuatu during the moratorium as Curator of the Vanuatu Cultural Centre and contributed substantially to the building of the fieldworker network. Darrell Tryon was allowed to continue his work, as he was running the Cultural Centre fieldworker workshops every year. Lissant Bolton was allowed to work on her doctoral thesis for Manchester University in Ambae in 1991–92, on condition that she implicate herself fully in the creation of a women's fieldworker network for the Cultural Centre (Bolton, 1993, 2003).

In 1995 the moratorium was lifted with new guidelines for doing research in Vanuatu, including deposition of recordings and other findings with the Vanuatu Cultural Centre and requiring collaboration with a local fieldworker where one is present. Today, no researcher can work in Vanuatu without engaging with the fieldworker system, which means that foreign researchers are expected to assist and help to train the fieldworker in the cultural group where the research is being conducted. In my own case as a Ph.D. student conducting long-term ethnographic research for the first time among the Na'hai speakers of Malakula, the fieldworker, Longdal Nobel Masingyau, also taught me



**Longdal Nobel Masingyau, fieldworker for the Na'hai region asking elders about masks and recording their knowledge**

7. Ni-Vanuatu is the term used to designate the people of Vanuatu.

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many practical lessons in how to conduct research, as I helped him with other aspects (Fig. 43). The training definitely went both ways.

One of the most important aspects of the capacity-building in this context is that the 'trainers' have engaged in a long-term commitment to the fieldworkers, so that the success of the system also lies in the fact that there are short contacts over many years with the same people, rather than 'one-off' grandiose workshops supposed to infuse capacity in a single surge. Dr Bolton, who has been training the women fieldworkers since 1994, suggests that it takes about four years for a fieldworker to become efficient.

One of the main ideas behind the moratorium was the notion that *kastom* belonged to future ni-Vanuatu, and should be 'kept' for them to write about or research. In this view knowledge is understood as a non-renewable resource (Bolton, 1999). It is a view that makes better sense if we take account of the intricate association between knowledge and place in Vanuatu, where each ritual, object, story, song or dance 'belongs' to a place – as do people (Curtis, 2003). If each 'thing to know' has a place, then it follows that these 'things to know' are not unlimited. Moreover, if knowing the place of the 'thing to know' proves someone's right to be in that place, and to use its resources, the stakes then become much higher. *Kastom*, in this context, can be seen as an important resource, not to be distributed and shared with anybody. Indeed there are intricate systems of 'traditional copyright' to regulate access and distribution to traditional knowledge.

The Cultural Centre has incorporated this important aspect of Melanesian cultures into its structure by creating a 'taboo room' where recorded knowledge may be preserved and archived for future generations, while respecting the traditional copyright systems that frame the knowledge. This means that a person may record some myth, song, or botanical knowledge, indicating which people (usually according to which clan they belong to) may access the recordings in the future, and under which conditions (for example if they have fulfilled the required rituals, etc., to have that right). The system has come to be known and trusted throughout the villages, and this has allowed for important documentation of heritage (particularly intangible cultural heritage) that may well have otherwise been lost with the passing away of elders.

Moreover, once we understand that 'knowledge' (or 'culture') is always embedded in 'place' (be it a specific tree, valley, river, etc.), it becomes clearer why the distinction between 'natural' and 'cultural' heritage makes little sense to ni-Vanuatu, or indeed to people throughout the Pacific. By imposing criteria and management strategies drafted in cultural contexts which do approach knowledge in that way, there is a serious risk of 'missing the point' when it comes to the task of cultural (or natural) heritage preservation. To repeat, it is not enough to incorporate a 'co-management' approach, if that simply means including local or indigenous people within a pre-established institu-

tional structure, but it is necessary as far as possible to integrate the local cultural and social contexts into the management strategies themselves. This has been the great success of the Vanuatu Cultural Centre's fieldworker network: to allow the 'training' to go both ways, to teach while being taught, to build capacity from inside out.

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## Asia and Pacific Asie et Pacifique

# Role of the Maori in New Zealand's World Heritage Management

*Tumu te Heuheu*

### Mihi (Greeting)

**Ko Tongariro te maunga**

*Tongariro is the mountain*

**Ko Taupo-nui-a-tia te moana**

*Taupo is the sea*

**Ko Ngati Tuwharetoa te iwi**

*Tuwharetoa are the people*

**Ko te Heuheu te Tangata**

*Te Heuheu is the man*

**E nga mate; haere, haere, haere**

*Tatou nga kanohi ora, kia ora tatou katoa*

I greet you in my native tongue, in order to identify myself. It is customary for the Maori to do this in a sometimes oblique rather than direct manner. This is done by reference to prominent landmarks – in my case Tongariro the mountain and Lake Taupo, more an inland sea than a lake. I then identify my tribe (Ngati Tuwharetoa) and my ancestor (te Heuheu) (Fig. 44). I closed by bidding farewell to the multitudes who have preceded us on Earth and then

I acknowledged all within this room, by greeting the living. In the Maori scheme of things, the connections are the most important as they provide the individual with shelter and protection.



© Department of Conservation

*Te Heuheu Tukino*

## 1. Background

In 1993, I gave a presentation in Germany to allow the World Heritage Committee to come to a conclusion on whether the Tongariro National Park site could also be recognized for its (intangible) cultural values. I do not know if in fact that fifteen-minute presentation contributed to the Committee's acceptance of this nomination, but the inscription of the site has given international accreditation to the voice of the Maori, in recognizing and protecting this important aspect of our cultural World Heritage.

Since that time, the Maori have been interested in identifying their role in World Heritage site management. I could

close my address right here, by saying that the Maori do not have such a role. That, however, would be grossly unfair to the State Party; to the agency of the State Party that has the management role of these sites; and to Ngati Tuwharetoa. Indeed, since the site was inscribed as a cultural World Heritage site, considerable work has been done by the three parties to identify an appropriate role for the Maori in site management.

## 2. Relationship between the Maori and the State Party

The relationship of the State Party with the Maori as the indigenous people of New Zealand was first established on 6 February 1840, with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The Treaty had been conceived as a mechanism to enable the British Government to establish the rule of law over their citizens, who were setting up residency in New Zealand and, at the same time, to offer protection to the Maori, should they also elect to become British citizens. This proposal was agreed to by the Maori. On the face of that agreement, it would be natural to assume that it would simply be a matter of time before an effective relationship would be established between 'the Crown' (as the British Government is commonly described in New Zealand) and *iwi* (meaning the several and separate tribes of New Zealand). But alas, that was not to be.

The Treaty of Waitangi was a simple statement comprising three articles, nobly written to indicate the governance role of the Crown, the continuing roles of chiefs, and a shared citizenry to underpin this new young nation. Unfortunately, confusion was introduced when the text was translated into Maori by English missionaries, using language that was familiar to the Maori – through comparisons with Biblical translations.

A simple example would be the translation of sovereignty as *kawanatanga* in the First Article. This article, based on the concept of one sovereign whom all subjects served, was made understandable to the Maori through a translation that was based on the transliteration of 'Governor', e.g. Pontius Pilate, and then 'governance'. The Maori envisaged the role of the sovereign to be similar to that of Pilate, handing decision-making back to the (Jewish) people. The chiefs were more attracted to the phrase *tinorangatiratanga*, which appeared in the Second Article, as it implied the retention and confirmation of their existing rights as chiefs, at a level comparable to that of a sovereign. The concept of citizenship rights and access to the

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benefits that the new settlers brought, as stated in the Third Article, was an attractive benefit.

In international law, there is a longstanding legal precedent called the *contra preferentem* rule. It says that, when conflicts of interpretation arise between two versions of a Treaty (one in the language of the colonizing power and the other in the language of the indigenous people), the *contra preferentem* rule requires that the version in the indigenous language should prevail.

Although this is a general international practice, the Government of New Zealand has, instead, resolved these differences by legislation. But this element of difference is still a factor in today's world.

### 3. Waitangi Tribunal

In 1975, the government approved the formation of the 'Waitangi Tribunal', to look into breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi. Essentially, the Tribunal hears a claim, considers the evidence brought before it and, if it considers the claim has been proved, recommends to government how reparation can be made. The government considers the recommendations before making a decision to take up, modify or reject some or all of them.

A successful claim, which is highly significant in the context of World Heritage matters, is that of Ngai Tahu, the tribe in New Zealand's South Island, where the World Heritage area of Te Wahipounamu (the place of greenstone) is located. Arising from that settlement process was the development of a mechanism known as *Topuni*,<sup>8</sup> which gives statutory recognition to landscapes of special traditional significance.

It is possible that Ngai Tahu will seek recognition of the cultural values to add to the natural values for which Te Wahipounamu is already listed, but this is a decision for that tribe to make.

### 4. Relationship Between the Maori and the Agent of the State Party

The agent of the State Party is the Department of Conservation. The department was formed under the provisions of the Conservation Act in 1987 and charged with the responsibility for establishing an integrated conservation management process in New Zealand, including the management of national parks.

8. A *topuni* was a garment made from dogskin and worn by people of chiefly rank. If a chief placed such a cloak on the shoulders of another person, then that person was protected. This symbolism indicates that *Topuni* landscapes enjoy similar symbolic protection.

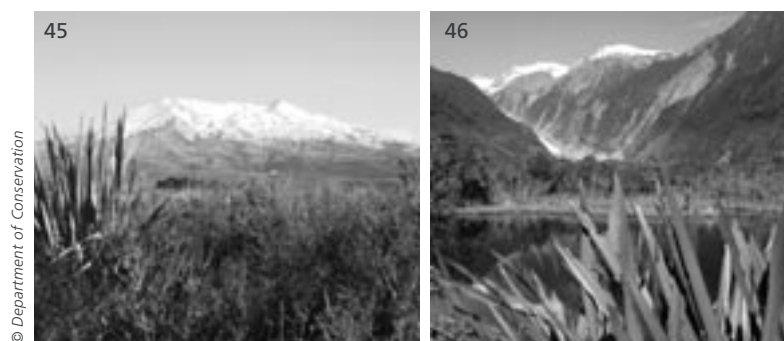
The Conservation Act is important in the way that it sets the style in which the department engages with the Maori. This is expressed in Section 4 of the Act, which directs that the Act is to be interpreted and administered in order to give effect to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

For conservation management purposes, New Zealand is administered as thirteen conservancies. Each conservancy prepares, co-operatively with the communities located within its operational boundaries, a Conservation Management Strategy. The purpose of these strategies is to implement general, high-level policies and establish objectives for the integral management of natural and historical resources and for recreation, tourism and other conservation purposes.

In line with the directions of the Conservation Act, one of the functions of the strategy is to give effect to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi in managing public conservation land. I can illustrate this point using the example of the World Heritage site of Tongariro National Park, which is located within the boundaries of the Tongariro/Taupo Conservancy. Part of the introduction of this strategy is written both in English and in Maori, to recognize that giving effect to the principles is not mere lip-service, but an actual requirement.

Approval of the Strategy was delayed when Ngati Tuwharetoa exercised its right by laying a claim against the Department of Conservation, to show evidence that it was more than just words. The claim was settled by negotiation and without appearing before the Waitangi Tribunal. This also demonstrates that a healthy working relationship exists between the state agency and Ngati Tuwharetoa, where differences can be settled in an environment of trust and good faith.

Tongariro National Park was New Zealand's first National Park, formed in 1887 from Tukino te Heuheu's gift of the land to the nation, for the benefit of all (Figs. 45 and 46). By this action, made for the preservation and retention of the natural and cultural values associated with this unique landscape, and to forestall the parcelling of land for sale for mainly agricultural use, Tongariro became public land. The department has management responsibility for the National Park.



Tongariro National Park

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Ngati Tuwharetoa is not directly involved in this management, unless tribal members are employees of the Department. This is a different situation from that which exists in such places as the Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park in Australia, where there is a joint management agreement between the Australian Government and the indigenous peoples. In 1985, title to the Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park was returned to the Traditional (national) Owners, who in turn agreed a 99-year lease for the park to be managed by the appropriate state agency.

Over the last two months, various meetings of Maori tribal elders have again considered the implications of World Heritage listing. They generally agree that listing brings this landscape and its strong Maori ancestral association to world attention, as a significant relationship with the National Park that is very different from that of the State Party.

The park now attracts visitors from outside New Zealand to experience the values for which the site was listed. Tongariro already draws more than its fair share of visitors in pursuit of recreational activities. This once created concerns among local Maori that World Heritage status would cause the site to be overrun by visitors. That fear has now largely abated, as visitors who are drawn to the place as a World Heritage site are generally selective about when they visit.

### 5. Conclusions

In the context of the title of this talk, the role of the Maori in New Zealand's World Heritage management is through a process of regular consultation with the State Party (Government of New Zealand) and the state agency (Department of Conservation). New Zealand has three World Heritage sites, with Tongariro the only one (at the moment) with the opportunity for the Maori, as the indigenous people, to interact through the Convention. There is, however, no direct involvement by the Maori in the management of the site.

This is not a cause for alarm as there is a very close relationship between the tribe and the Department, both as manager of Tongariro National Park and as the State Party representative to the *World Heritage Convention*. This relationship has been vital in the management of risks to public safety from a predicted lahar (mudflow) from the crater lake of an active volcano, Ruapehu, at the centre of the National Park. The state agency's preference is to address the public safety risks without interfering with natural processes, letting them occur when their time is due. This has not met with universal approval from those who favour a mechanistic solution, but the state agency's approach has the concurrence of Tuwharetoa.

What of the future? The physical, cultural and spiritual ties that bind my people, Ngati Tuwharetoa, and Tongariro are real. Management systems may change over time but the one constant is the affection and association for this landscape. To paraphrase a Maori saying: 'man passes but the land endures'. What will not change is the affinity of Ngati Tuwharetoa for the mountain, as expressed by the words:

Te ha o taku maunga ko taku Manawa  
(The breath of my mountain is my heart).  
In your language, I believe you might say  
'Tongariro is mijn levensadem'.

In conclusion may I, on behalf of New Zealand and the people of the Pacific, thank the organizers for their invitation to address this meeting.

Kia ora tatou

Tumu

## Asia and Pacific Asie et Pacifique

Case Study for the Protection of Living Heritage in India:  
The North Karanpura Valley*Bulu Imam***1. Background**

The North Karanpura Valley is situated in the Upper Damodar River Valley in the northern state of Jharkhand in eastern India. It is a region rich in forests and wildlife, agriculture, tribal and scheduled caste villages, amid a unique palaeoarchaeological heritage, rock art, and Buddhist and earlier megalithic sacred sites, as well as a sacred tradition of village mural painting which is directly descended from Mesochalcolithic rock art. The secular societies have their own ancient cultural traditions and value systems which they share among themselves through agro-economic exchange, mostly based on ethno-botany and the gathering of forest produce. The vast tracts of forest along the Damodar River are the habitat of the World Conservation Union's Red List of Threatened Species, such as the Indian elephant, tiger and bison (Imam, 2001*b*, pp. 34–6).

In 1985, a development project for a network of opencast coal mines in Hazaribagh (North Karanpura Coalfields Project, undertaken by Central Coalfields Ltd, a subsidiary of Coal India) was initiated, and since then it has posed a threat to the region's biodiversity and living heritage of local village cultures and traditional practices. Indeed, the construction of three huge opencast mines has already devastated a vast area of the western part of the valley. Moreover, the projected construction of over seventy such mines will destroy over 200 villages throughout the valley, thus displacing the tribal populations and wiping out the agricultural and forest environment upon which they depend for their survival. As well as signifying the annihilation of local cultural traditions, this will cause a massive loss to a benchmark in biodiversity, the tiger and elephant corridors in the North Karanpura Valley (Bhaskar and Pandit, 1998). The mining of the North Karanpura Valley, with the coal washeries that convey untreated effluents into the Damodar River, causes a threat to human life through pollution of river water and groundwater as far as Bengal, with toxic waste such as arsenic, lead, mercury and chromium. Arsenic poisoning downstream in the Damodar in Bengal has also become commonplace (Moutaigue, 2002, pp. 22–3). The construction of two big dams and super-thermal power stations on the Damodar River and its tributaries in Jharkhand, a new railway, new roads and industrialization will complete the annihilation of the ecological, cultural and human systems which have evolved in symbiosis with the natural environment over many millennia.

An important aspect which has been overlooked in the development project is the need for mandatory archaeological assessment of areas to be mined. Furthermore, there has been no assessment of the destruction of major

wildlife corridors. The severing of the forested and semi-forested transit corridors is threatening the survival of both the elephants in Palamau and the tigers in Hazaribagh.

However, one of the major challenges has been the lack of holistic assessment by the authorities in giving environmental clearance to individual projects, in which the overall damage to a pristine natural ecosystem and cultural complex is completely overlooked. In this regard, coal mining is a far more dangerous threat than the big dams that affect very large areas and displace populations by submergence, as in the Narmada Valley. While mining is a much more insidious form of displacement, it is no less threatening to the local inhabitants and natural environment.

In 1996, the World Bank became involved in funding the rehabilitation and resettlement programmes in the Upper Damodar Valley through Coal India. Some 70 million people who today constitute India's homeless were displaced due to mining (for example, East Parej, where a sacred grove was destroyed at Turi Tola in 1998). Although the project was one of the World Bank's most closely supervised projects (with over twenty-one missions between 1996 and 2001), the Bank's inspection panel found that their staff had violated many of their own policies, including those on resettlement, indigenous peoples, environmental assessment and project supervision, as a result of a lack of local consultation and rigid and inflexible implementation of policies from the top down.

Traditional practices are the products of a traditional culture and environment. If the people are put through a maelstrom of displacement through extensive mining, dams and industrial projects, they will be traumatized both mentally and physically, drained spiritually and psychologically, and will be without the life-supporting agricultural and wilderness areas which they once possessed. The Narmada Valley is a striking example of unfair displacement.

As the traditional communities throughout India are the product of a long and deep symbiosis with their natural local environment, it is to be expected that they will exhibit significant regional biodiversity, yet they are also bonded in the context of the unified peninsular culture for which India is renowned. Any attempt to destroy the highly evolved texture of the root culture through enforced administration or programmes (for example, industrialization and homogenization) must inevitably lead to the violation of the survival mechanism of the diverse ethnocultural fabric of the subcontinent. The cultural diversity of India is absolutely astonishing. It has 20,000 languages, 20,000 castes, 2,800 ethnic communities, 15 major religions, and 600 communities have more than one religion.



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It is due to the traditional cultural isolationism that the resilience of vernacular cultures has, since time immemorial, in spite of race, religion or colour, unified and strengthened the support systems of indigenous societies in valley and on hilltop, in forestland or open field, from craggy Himalayan heights to the oceanic coasts and deserts. The central axis binding the diverse traditional societies is a common cultural heritage rooted in antiquity.

Such cultures, dependent wholly on their biological environment, are to be found in places such as the North Karanpura Valley. An old saying goes, 'who will cut with an axe the branch he is sitting on?' It is precisely because these traditional societies are so dependent upon their natural environment as well as upon one another that they have developed strong and resilient cultures that fight to protect their neighbours as well as their environment.

Specific examples of the strength of the culture and environment of the North Karanpura Valley include the optimum use of agricultural land; great biodiversity in forestland; fine rivers and streams flowing in crystal purity; large villages with many styles of secular and vernacular architecture; self-governance through village councils; complete self-dependence on an exchange agro-economy; complete social and cultural harmony in spite of diversity; clean villages connected by ancient roads; and, in addition to all of this, a dynamic traditional framework for places of ritual significance, such as the sacred sites, dancing grounds and rock art.

### 2. The Sacred Grove, or Sarna

Sacred groves are to be found throughout the Indian sub-continent. They owe their origin to the clearing of forestland for agriculture, and generally contain old forest trees. Traditionally, they were the first isolated patches of forest set aside specifically for the worship of the mother goddess. Evidence of iron smelting is frequently found in or around such groves, indicating that these sites were used by the most primitive iron smelters. Later, Chalcolithic bronze and brass casters made votive animal offerings to the goddess, who is represented by a flat stone. Evidence of these tribal metal casters abounds in dwellings near or within easy access of such sacred groves in central and eastern India throughout Bengal, Orissa, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra.

Also common in the groves in the Jharkhand region are megaliths, or burial stones, evidence of the presence of the Kol, who, along with the Dravidian tribes, once occupied these forests, believed to have been mostly cleared several thousands of years ago for agriculture, long before the north Indian Kol and Munda tribes fell back under increasing Aryan pressure. These tribes used megaliths as burial stones (Das, 2001). This megalithic age has been put between 6000–3000 BC, which coincides with the dating of various layers of the Mesochalcolithic rock paintings for which Hazaribagh is famed.

The Upper Damodar River Valley is home to large groves of mohwa (*Bassia latifolia*), a large fruit-bearing shade tree whose fruits and flowers yield life-sustaining flour and oil, and whose bark has medical uses and is used for such purposes as fermenting hops and as a diuretic. As summer approaches, the flowers and sickly-sweet calyx of the mohwa begin to fall, and their dripping sound may be heard like gentle rain in the soft pre-dawn as the women gather under the trees to sweep the ground bare to receive the falling flowers and fruit. The mohwa is an indigenous age-old tree of the dry deciduous forests of eastern and central India. The mohwa groves may be rightly considered as the sacred groves of the North Karanpura Valley and indeed of Hazaribagh and the whole of Jharkhand, even throughout Orissa and the Central Provinces, as in Chhattisgarh, and the tree upon which the people most depend for survival. The sacred oblong stone representing the mother goddess may be found at the base of the tree. It may be said the mohwa was saved when the jungles were cleared for agriculture long ago.

Another common tree in sacred groves is the ancient saal tree (*Shorea robusta*), a tree of the dry deciduous forests of the region. These groves were left during the clearing of the jungles for agriculture and have in their midst such trees as barh (*Ficus bengalensis*), peepul (*Ficus religiosa*), dumar (*Ficus glomerata*) and mohwa. Many ancient burial stones and sites of worship as well as remains of ancient iron-smelting operations are to be found in these groves.

The sacred groves of saal trees in northern Jharkhand may be studied to form an idea of the role of these groves. Semi-hinduized tribes also pay obeisance to the stone deity representing the mother goddess and rice curd offerings are made to it during various festivals. The incidence of these saal sacred groves is in direct proportion to the forests that have been cleared.

It is a telling observation that in the lower valley of the Damodar River in Manbhum (the former name of the area). Also, the sacred groves of saal and mohwa have almost completely disappeared from an area of several thousand square miles. Coal mining has recently destroyed several important sacred groves, including the beautiful sarna which was destroyed by the Australian-financed Piperwar Opencast Project. Mention may be made in particular of the grove that was destroyed in 1998 in the East Parej Project at Turi Tola and that destroyed by the Hesalong Project at Hesalong in 1999. Both projects were financed by the World Bank.

The role of the sacred groves in the religio-cultural life of the valley people is important as long as the people remain. But the coal mines destroy the agricultural basis for the survival of these societies and turn them into coolie labour, and the process of development brings in outside settlers and a cash economy upon which this society is not at present dependent. Thus the loss of the sacred groves may be seen as secondary to the loss of the traditional society itself and the forest environment which it was

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dependent upon. The story of social displacement and environmental destruction has been a part of India's development over the past half-century and one region after another has been turned from healthy agricultural and forestland into desert, and the homes of healthy tribal societies have become pits of squalor, disease and malnourishment. We are overlooking the ecological and human costs, and refusing to see the local values and traditions as capital resources that are being destroyed by short-term development projects.

### 3. The Dancing Ground, or Akhara

The entire northern Jharkhand region has been proved to be the ancient homeland of a great megalithic people who travelled south thousands of years ago, leaving behind some ancient tribes such as the Malhar metal casters, and other forest tribes. Here the Birhor, a hunter-gatherer tribe and the only existing nomadic hunters, live in small leaf houses called *kumba* and still use their ancient methods of catching small birds and animals in the jungle with nets and snares made from plant fibres. They exchange their catch for rice and oil in the village. The Birhor have a unique knowledge of ethno-botany, art and poetry. Their claim that the mural paintings in the cave shelters of the Hazaribagh region were the work of their ancestors is difficult to refute, as their present-day art is identical to that of the oldest levels of the rock art of the region. Also in these forests we find the hunting Santal, who still conduct vast summer hunts, accompanied by their unique little red hunting dogs (Santal hound). This dog may be claimed to be an original breed, and its antecedents are inextricably interwoven with the religious beliefs of the local tribes, who worship the dog as Bhairav.

The dancing grounds are the heart of the social life of the tribes. There are four seasons in the Indian year and the dances and songs are attuned to these seasonal periods. Much the same may be said of the art, as the sacred murals painted for the harvest and the marriage seasons are also tied to the seasonal calendar. It is in the dance that the cultural life of the tribes is kept alive and the *akhara* is the central fixture about which this revolves, so to speak the altar upon which the cultural life of the tribe is focused.

The *Karma* songs are danced around the branch of the karam tree (*Adina cordifolia*), with the advent of the winter. As harvest approaches, the *Dussera* songs are sung and danced. *Dong*, *Lagre*, *Mutkar*, *Jharpat*, *Tapadi*, *Bilma*, *Patas*, *Morna* (mourning), *Dahar*, *Dadaria*, *Jhumar*, *Ber* and *Ropa* (planting) are all dance forms which are accompanied by songs. Among the Baiga tribe of the Central Provinces (Chhattisgarh) there are some songs not danced to, such as *Dadaria* (*Salho*), *Saila*, *Sajani*, and the bawdy *Bilma* forest songs. These are also familiar to the Santal of Hazaribagh. The Hindu calendar is also observed through these dances and songs in *Holi*, *Asarh*, *Shravan*, *Bhado*, *Kajli*, *Chaitra*, *Sohrai*, *Baha*, *Karam*, *Desai*, etc., as many

tribal religio-cultural elements have entered Hindu worship. All dances are generally performed in the *akhara*, or traditional dancing grounds, in the village and this must be seen as the cohesive centre of the entire village. Of course with the destruction of the village these will cease to exist, and will not reappear at camps where displaced villagers have been resettled by the government authorities, who in any case are caste biased and see these performances in their natural setting as examples of backward tribalism. It is in the dance that the tribal people find their true ethnic identity, and the alteration of the dance form or *akhara* for the modern stage is in line with the modern government trend of drawing tribal people into the mainstream, which is held to be synonymous with development. The dancing ground or *akhara* is in a central place in the village and it is central to tribal village society, and its destruction or loss through displacement of the villagers by a mining project, or its co-option into a modern social setting, are equally devastating for the traditional life of the tribe.

### 4. The Burial Ground and Pathalgada

The burial ground is a most important sacred site. The *pathalgada* (family burial stone) is of utmost importance for people who worship their ancestor (*purkha*) as an embodiment of the cosmic ancestor. Here we may find the full relevance of cremating and then interring the bones of the deceased in an earthen vessel which is ceremonially deposited under the *pathalgada*. This is a large megalith, which is typical of the Mundaric tribes of Jharkhand, who left vast megalithic burial grounds from Jharkhand to Chhattisgarh, such as the one at Chokahatu, east of Ranchi, where there are no fewer than 7,000 burial stones (Roy, 1912, p. 91). Such megaliths cover the flanks of the Damodar River and its tributaries in Jharkhand and have faced the brunt of the destructive development from mining throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century. There is no way to save the burial grounds during mining operations and only one or two megaliths may be protected, as in cases such as Bhagwantand, where the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) has been able to get a concession from the mining company. Many megalithic sites in Jharkhand have been found to have an archaeoastronomical layout related to the equinox or solstice, and several sites are located on latitudinal or other significant positions and are aligned with other sacred sites or megalith groups (ley lines).

It is time to ask how much justification there was for the mass destruction of sacred sites of worship, not only those of tribal people, but also of such major religious sects such as the Jains in the lower Damodar region. Today many Buddhist and Jaina sacred sites are in the line of the coal mining coming down the North Karanpura Valley on the west side. These, along with other sacred sites, will be wiped out and become one with the coal dust, the memory of them forever erased as their place in the landscape disappears into vast pits several kilometres long and hundreds of metres deep.

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### 5. Rock Art and Sacred Sites

The prehistoric rock art of the North Karanpura Valley was examined and dated by the renowned rock-art expert Erwin Neumayer in 1993–95. In 1991, I discovered the first Mesochalcolithic shelter containing rock art, at the eastern end of the closed upper valley, at a jungle village named Isco. Since then another dozen priceless rock-art sites have been discovered by our INTACH team. Many of the rock-art sites are located within proposed mines. The Isco rock art falls within the proposed Rautpara Opencast Mine Project. If the mining of the valley goes according to plan, most of the rock-art sites will be damaged or completely destroyed. At the Thethangi site, blasting for a railroad has affected the Saraiya and Thethangi rock art overlooking the railway. It must be noted that the prehistoric pottery of the Hazaribagh region has been found to be as old as or even to predate the painted pottery of the Indus Valley (Satyawadi, 1994, p. 10). Furthermore, in the immediate vicinity of the rock-art sites, major palaeoarchaeological deposits have been found, showing evidence of a Lower Palaeolithic stone-tool culture (Imam, 1995a). The nomadic Birhor tribe of Hazaribagh claim that their ancestors painted the oldest levels of rock art in the caves, which is borne out by their continuing to paint in a similar style, that of a very primitive hunting people.

As brought to light by research, the prehistoric rock paintings of the North Karanpura Valley are directly linked with the Indus Valley culture and script, and links have also been shown with rock art in prehistoric Iran and Australia and with Dogon rock art in Mali. It is of further interest that the rock art is directly connected with a continuing sacred mural painting tradition throughout the valley and its environs in Hazaribagh by the tribal and semi-hinduized scheduled caste women in the villages. In a bid to preserve this continuing tradition and the values of indigenous communities, the Tribal Women's Artists Cooperation was formed in 1995. Representatives have attended the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations, and have made regular statements.

### 6. Experience Acquired from North Karanpura Valley Campaign

In my campaign in North Karanpura, I have tried to gather research and resources from several disciplines to present holistic evidence of the region's heritage, which may be divided into the following headings: archaeology and rock art; indigenous rights; ethnic heritage; village art and vernacular craft and architecture; wildlife corridors and biodiversity.

This has required detailed studies such as my 1992 work on the biodiversity of the valley and its environs (Imam, 1992) and the first study of the wildlife corridors, presented at the First World Mining Environment Congress in New Delhi in 1995 (Imam, 1995b). It has involved groundbreaking rock-art and archaeological discoveries and research. It has necessitated the design and implementation of a sustained indigenous rights campaign supported by archaeological and cultural researchers.

This article encapsulates the most urgent aspects of saving a threatened World Heritage site in India. I thank the thousands of volunteers and hundreds of organizations both in India and abroad who have encouraged and supported my work.

Further details on the campaign are available from the website: [www.sanskriti-hazaribagh.com](http://www.sanskriti-hazaribagh.com)

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## Asia and Pacific Asie et Pacifique

## Partnerships for Empowered Participation: Mainstreaming a Community-Based Paradigm for World Heritage Management

Beatrice Kaldun

**1. The Main Issue**

In order for heritage assets to function as a development resource base, they must be (a) identified as abundant; (b) be authentically conserved; and (c) be sustainably managed. Success with a strategy that uses heritage as a tool for development requires a broad base of qualified cultural and natural heritage asset managers, embedding both formal and non-formal development policy planning and community management structures.

**2. Means: from Theory to Practice**

Over the past decades, countries in Asia have experienced unprecedented economic prosperity, brought about by a strategy emphasizing capital investment in infrastructure, heavy industry, agro-business, urban renewal and tourism. This strategy has exacted a heavy toll on the environmental and cultural heritage resources of the countries in the region. While the damage to the environmental resources has already been recognized for some time, the alarming depletion of the common stock of cultural resources that this strategy leads to has only been recognized relatively recently. Existing national legislation for the protection of heritage is a case in point, as it predominantly serves to protect monumental heritage, but excludes vernacular heritage and the skills and knowledge that this encompasses.

In response to this situation, UNESCO's programme in Asia over the last ten years has developed and implemented measures to catalyse a paradigm shift in heritage conservation in relation to the way cultural and natural resources for conservation and sustainable development are managed, and a shift away from central planning towards engendering community participation and responsibility for the stewardship of both natural and cultural resources.

This paradigm shift in the approach to heritage conservation takes culture beyond the realm of a small elite of professional conservationists, to make it a general concern of the population at large, and a tool for poverty alleviation by identifying and promoting employment and small business opportunities in the conservation and managed development of the heritage of a community.

Not only does sustainable development of the heritage mean local action, but cultural heritage conservation itself depends on the commitment and involvement of local communities. Policy-makers as well as heritage professionals are faced with the challenge of recognizing that for conservation to be implemented effectively and in a

socially acceptable way, the populations living in or near heritage sites must be given a leading role in the development of policy, as well as in the management of the heritage sites. UNESCO's programme has worked towards this principal understanding and aims to provide the necessary mechanisms and tools for all stakeholders, local communities, heritage professionals and policy-makers. Three overarching objectives are crucial to the work being carried out: (a) to empower individuals in local communities, as well as the communities as a whole, to enable them to understand and advocate the long-term conservation of the heritage in their communities; (b) to enable the local communities to play a leading role in actual hands-on conservation and preservation work, such as monitoring the condition of the site, taking part in preventive conservation and ongoing maintenance and restoration; (c) to develop the means through which local communities can benefit financially from the enhanced conservation of the heritage, while at the same time maintaining their social and spiritual traditions.

**3. Methodology: from Idea to Tested Model**

A methodology has been developed to empower local stakeholders and communities through management training, with community-based culture specialists working within the framework of traditional cultural institutions, such as temples and mosques, alongside other stakeholders of a community's cultural resources. Emphasis is placed on the validation of local knowledge and traditional cultural practices, as well as on the use of more recently available data sources and information tools. Models are formulated to guide the different management tasks needed at World Heritage sites, complete with embedded indicators to monitor progress and evaluate results.

A set of interfacing steps and processes have been developed and implemented in selected pilot sites in the Asia-Pacific region with the aim of spearheading community responsibility for stewardship of the culture and natural resource base:

1. establishing a local community base (*participation*);
2. capacity-building for informed management (*decision-making*);
3. structured problem-solving (*process*);
4. modelling action (*building models*);
5. replicated success – the importance of local empowerment and measuring impact (*indicators*).

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### 3.1 Establishing a local community base

The instrumental element and starting point in establishing a local community base is using conservation policies to promote local community stewardship of the heritage and generate socio-economic benefits for local communities. Fundamental to the process is the creation of a direct link between heritage safeguards and socio-economic development. In this context, heritage conservation is recognized as broad-based and anchored in the institutions of the local community. Only through community stewardship of heritage will we be able to sustain its universal, long-term protection.

Because experience has shown that heritage conservation must be anchored in the community if it is to succeed, and because we see that this has become the weakest link in the conservation chain, the UNESCO Regional Office in Asia and the Pacific has put considerable effort into working with and developing the capacity of local governments, community-based institutions and NGOs to successfully manage their heritage resources for both conservation and development. The starting point is participation, which means engaging communities in the process.

To this end we have developed the LEAP Programme, which aims to achieve integrated community development and cultural heritage site preservation through Local Effort in Asia and the Pacific. The programme was pioneered in 1996 with generous funds provided by the Government of the Netherlands and seeks to encourage local communities to 'leap' forward, using their local cultural assets as a springboard, and empower them to participate and develop their heritage in a profitable yet responsible and sustainable manner (Figs. 47, 48 and 49).

The strategic approach in the implementation of the LEAP Programme is to initiate a series of participatory and catalytic activities that spur local interest groups to assess the nature, characteristics and economic potential of indigenous resources, and then to develop these resources in ways that are both profitable and sustainable. Although the specific project activities undertaken within the LEAP Programme differ from site to site, a ten-step process has evolved to structure the activities into a logical and strategic sequence, which when followed gradually builds towards the objective of fostering community participation and competence in the care and management of heritage sites. The sequential activities are as follows:

- Step 1: The first step is to encourage activities which engender a stewardship ethic and community participation in historic conservation. These include developing the technique of 'envisioning' among the communities as a means for them to self-identify their needs and expectations of the future and how heritage might contribute to community development.
- Step 2: The next programme activity involves the mobilization of the local government departments around the use of heritage conservation for development. Local leaders and site managers are encouraged to develop zoning and environmental management plans for both preservation and development of heritage sites. This includes training in the use of basic site management tools such as mapping and computer-aided geographic information systems.
- Step 3: The identification of pilot projects within the community is the next step. This is done on the basis of community-based participatory research work to identify and assess the locally significant sites and heritage properties for protection and possibly adaptive re-use.
- Step 4: Because they have disappeared in many places, research, development and training in low-cost, traditionally appropriate and historically accurate techniques for building maintenance is a key part of most LEAP projects.
- Step 5: A return to traditional materials necessitates a revival of (and economic support for) traditional building and associated trades in the local community to produce the materials which are necessary for the authentic restoration and maintenance of historic buildings. These businesses often still exist but in rump form, because of falling demand for their products as they were replaced by modern industrial materials. With support and a surer flow of orders, these businesses can once again be made to flourish locally and, taking advantage of modern transport infrastructure, many can even develop into successful local suppliers of construction materials.
- Step 6: Not everyone in the community can be or wants to be a builder or in a related profession, and in any case, without activities taking place inside them, buildings are merely shells. So a sixth LEAP action is aimed at promoting traditional crafts and skills by offering training to the local community, as well as at promoting the continuation and development of intangible cultural activities and performing arts which have potential market appeal and can be developed into professions which offer full- and part-time employment to members of the community.
- Step 7: Virtually every community we have worked with identifies tourism as one way to develop heritage as an economic resource. This is an important way to involve young adults in heritage conservation efforts by developing employment opportunities where they can serve as the interpreters of local heritage. In order for local communities to develop tourism that is distinctive and therefore attractive to visitors, yet at the same time respectful of local culture and profitable for local residents, the seventh LEAP action aims to provide training for and the promotion of community-based, tourism-related occupations grounded in the accurate interpretation of the unique local culture, history and environment.

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- Step 8: An eighth LEAP action assists curriculum development for both formal and non-formal education in local history, heritage conservation and small-business management skills in the culture industries.
- Step 9: There is also the need to set up revolving loans and low-interest credit schemes for conservation, maintenance and business development. Sometimes this can be achieved through the establishment of local community market co-operatives. At other times, agriculture or rural development banks will make loans to modernize traditional industries which have market potential.
- Step 10: Finally, in order to learn from one another's experiences, a final LEAP action aims to link communities and individuals together through practical seminars, fostering the creation of networks for the exchange of technical information among site managers and town planners, including information exchange and networking through the UNESCO website.



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Luang Prabang, Laos – LEAP Programme

This structural framework of activities provides a model which makes the LEAP experience gained at demonstration pilot sites sustainable, replicable and transferable to other communities elsewhere in the region, and indeed, worldwide. The strategies and activities developed also aim to achieve a multiplier effect that demonstrates to national authorities the value of promoting community-based activities for the preservation and safeguarding of their traditional heritage. By doing this, the aim is to encourage the authorities to embed these strategies into their national policy.

### 3.2 Capacity-building for informed management

As mentioned under LEAP Step 2, a sound knowledge base at the local and community level is essential for any decision-making process. Within this understanding, that without information we cannot make decisions, UNESCO has developed practical, easy-to-use yet state-of-the-art management tools and has supported the training of local cultural heritage managers in the skills to use these management tools, to establish and use an integrated database as a knowledge resource for decision-making as an essential component in our programme of local community management of heritage sites.

The aim is to assist local site managers to take stock of and document both the physical and intangible cultural resources and to draft an overview of the conservation needs of their site. In doing so, they enable themselves to prioritize and respond to the needs of the communities inhabiting their sites, and to work together with them in developing activities and plans envisaged and developed by the communities. The control and knowledge of heritage management can therefore be placed directly in the hands of local managers after giving them the training, technical expertise and equipment necessary to carry out the task of heritage management.

The standard tool is the UNESCO publication on the use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) (Box, 1999), which provides the necessary skills for the computerized management of heritage sites. In World Heritage sites such as Vat Phou in the Lao People's Democratic Republic, GIS and state-of-the-art management tools were used to survey and create computerized maps of the archaeological site with a view to identifying, cataloguing and protecting the widely scattered heritage resources of this vast cultural landscape. The emphasis lies on the application of non-invasive archaeology techniques.

### 3.3 Structured problem-solving

The process of problem-solving entails the use of baseline data, the formulation and socialization of a plan, monitoring its implementation and maintaining an effective system of feedback. In order to exemplify the entire process from the identification of a problem to its structured solution, our office has developed a project that focuses on the process, but is at the same time a step towards the

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development, testing and formulation of models to guide heritage management.

Under LEAP Step 7, the issue of tourism is addressed as a major concern within the context of heritage development. With this in mind, a four-year project entitled 'Culture Heritage Management and Tourism: Models for Co-operation among Stakeholders' was developed and implemented from 1998 to 2002 in response to an identified need to open and to structure avenues of communication between the tourism industry, those responsible for the conservation and maintenance of cultural heritage properties and all other stakeholders. By developing and testing models for the preservation of heritage and the development of tourism as a local resource, the aim is to form mutually beneficial alliances that are both economically profitable and socially acceptable to local inhabitants and other stakeholders, including conservation concerns and tourism concerns.

In five phases and a number of carefully designed steps, a set of pilot sites were selected. These include historic towns such as Luang Prabang in Lao PDR, Hoi An in Viet Nam, Vigan in the Philippines and Bhaktapur in Nepal. In Phase I, case studies were developed at each of the pilot sites to make a critical analysis of the strategy to manage tourism development, and to evaluate the effectiveness of measures that had been put in place to capture tourism revenue to finance heritage conservation. In Phase II, a workshop was conducted at one of the pilot sites (Bhaktapur, Nepal), during which each pilot site formulated action plans to develop sustainable community-based tourism based on local heritage resources. This process was conducted under the guidance of a multidisciplinary team of experts. During Phase III, the implementation and monitoring of the pilot site action plans were carried out. In Phase IV, the action plans and their applicability were evaluated during a second workshop (Lijiang, China), and a set of models for co-operation among the stakeholders were developed, based on the experience of the previous phases of the project. During Phase V, four models emerged from the exercise and these were tested over a period of six months. In a final evaluation and mainstreaming workshop, the four models were compared and evaluated for their applicability. The four models are highly detailed, involving indicators and feedback loops. They can be summed up as follows.

- *Models for fiscal management of heritage conservation, maintenance and development at the municipal level*, achieved through review and overview of the impact of current income-generating mechanisms, and by identification and utilization of new income-generating strategies and opportunities.
- *Models for investment by the tourism industry in the sustainability of the cultural heritage resource base and supporting infrastructure*, achieved through education of tourism operators about the value and conservation needs of the heritage, and by formulating mechanisms

through which the tourism industry can contribute financially, and in other ways, to preservation activities.

- *Models for community education and skills training, leading to employment in the heritage conservation and cultural tourism sectors*, including activities associated with intangible cultural heritage. The emphasis lies on new opportunities for women, youth and the elderly, and success can be achieved by identifying new local business and employment opportunities, by designing skills-training programmes and through financial incentives to turn potential opportunities into reality at the local level.
- *Models for conflict resolution among tourism promoters, property developers, local residents and heritage conservationists*, achieved by providing a permanent venue where all stakeholders can raise and discuss their situations and concerns, as well as a place where they can receive educational and other information about heritage conservation needs and tourism development plans. Equally important is the empowerment of local stakeholders by involving them in the planning and implementation of heritage conservation projects and cultural tourism activities.

A workbook, *Culture Heritage Management and Tourism: Models for Co-operation among Stakeholders*, has been published so that the models and processes can be applied and replicated at other heritage sites. It can also be used, however, as a policy-framing document to introduce a radically new form of community-based cultural tourism as an integral part of heritage management.

### 3.4 Modelling action

As has been emphasized in the context of structured problem-solving, models provide a way to mainstream good practice, so that it can be applied in similar situations at other heritage sites and, more importantly, so that it can serve as framework for policy-making. To turn any site-specific experimental strategy into a model that others can follow, it is essential to examine the limitations, advantages and implications of each element and identify under what preconditions each element might apply. There are cases where a model cannot be formulated, and in that case it is advisable to either replicate best practice or avoid repeating actions that led to failure.

During the tourism project, the focus lay on the construction of models with a view to mainstreaming. The construction and further elaboration of the models for developing sustainable tourism was accomplished in three steps: (a) by examining the implementation of the action plans formulated during the first workshop and tested in the following implementation phase; by assessing the successes and the conditions that have affected relative success – achieved by assisting the pilot site teams in the implementation of the action plans and monitoring the results; (b) evaluation of the action plans to determine the

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extent to which each site has successfully achieved the objectives of the project; to engender improved co-operation and mutual benefit for both tourism and heritage conservation, and all stakeholders. This is followed by a reformulation of the action plans based on the outcomes of the evaluation and a replication of best practice throughout the Asia-Pacific region. This is achieved by presenting the results from the implementation of the action plans during the second workshop, by making optimum use of the experiences of all the pilot sites and through the expertise of the experts in reformulating the action plans; (c) the lessons learned from the implementation of the action plans led to the drafting of the UNESCO Models of Co-operation for the Development of Sustainable Tourism in Asia. This was achieved through a set of preliminary focus group clinics and the presentations by the pilot sites on the implementation of the action plans, which had the desired effect of resulting in very productive model-building.

### 3.5 Replicated success: the importance of local empowerment and impact measurement

Best case practice and models can only be replicated elsewhere if they are community-driven and their impact is fully monitored and measured, which includes the formulation of a set of indicators that shows how the process is working, and whether it is successful or unsuccessful.

We asked ourselves the question, do these models stand up to practical application in a wide variety of circumstances?

To test this, we have applied the models to a very difficult situation: the introduction of community-based ecotourism among indigenous cultural groups inhabiting the highlands of northern Lao PDR as part of a project entitled 'Nam Ha Ecotourism: Integrated Planning for Culturally and Ecologically Sustainable Tourism Development through District and Local Community Management'. The objectives of the Nam Ha Ecotourism Project are:

- to use tourism as a tool in an integrated approach to rural development;
- to ensure that tourism serves to contribute to, and not detract from, the conservation and preservation of natural heritage;
- to use tourism as a means of validating traditional cultures, thereby promoting and supporting their continuity and preservation;
- to ensure community participation in and management of tourism development, with the aim of protecting the cultural rights of the affected indigenous people;
- to respect traditionally evolved practices of land-use and stewardship;
- to enable local communities to preserve their environments while simultaneously developing their economic potential through ecotourism and cultural tourism;
- to provide members of local communities with training and human capacity-building in skills relevant to the local tourism industry; and
- to integrate public- and private-sector activities.

Working in collaboration with the provincial tourism office, the Nam Ha Ecotourism project aims to utilize tourism to assist in the social and economic development of ethnic villagers who would otherwise have only limited access to market commodities or social support services. It also intends to provide a tool for forest biodiversity conservation and heritage conservation. By giving villagers a larger economic base, ecotourism can help to reduce the reliance on forest flora and fauna resources. This is of particular relevance in the area in question, as a great many villages are located within or close to Lao PDR's largest National Protected Area.

In order to develop a model for sustainable ecotourism management that might be applied in other districts and provinces in Lao PDR and the wider region, the Nam Ha project established a series of guidelines and practices that sought to maximize the benefits of ecotourism for both the provincial stakeholders and the target communities, and to minimize any potential negative socio-cultural and environmental impact of repeated tourist visits to these communities. The project has established a first-class working model for ecotourism activities in areas of great cultural and natural richness and diversity.

To measure the project impact on cultural and material aspects of village life as a result of tourist visits, three monitoring protocols were developed through the project. These include: (a) a village household survey; (b) monthly monitoring of wildlife and resource use; (c) trail maintenance and impact survey. A visitor feedback form was also developed to give a sense of how tourists assess the trek and the visitor experience. Based on the monitoring protocols, the project administrators have been able to assess the impact of ecotourism as a tool for sustainable management and development.

### 4. Mainstreaming: from Model to Institutionalized Policy

The above examples make it clear that success with a strategy using heritage as a tool for development requires a broad base of qualified culture and natural heritage asset managers, embedding both formal and non-formal community management structures and development policy planning. The formulation of models that guide the different management tasks needed at World Heritage sites, complete with embedded indicators to monitor progress and evaluate risks, are an important element of structured problem-solving strategies that manage tensions between conservation and development.

Within the context of mainstreaming models (such as co-operation models among stakeholders for the development of sustainable tourism, and the Nam Ha models on indigenous management of culture and natural heritage resources) and integrating them into heritage policy as part of development planning, one important issue is the use of 'cultural impact assessments'. Unfortunately, their use is lagging behind environmental impact assessments.



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In a test case at the World Heritage site of Vat Phou and Associated Ancient Settlements within the Champasak Cultural Landscape, UNESCO has insistently called on the government and an international consortium of contractors for a cultural impact assessment to be conducted before any work is started on construction of a planned road through the World Heritage site. This has resulted in the rerouting of the road away from the monuments, avoiding the as yet unexcavated, underground archaeological deposits. Even more importantly, issues concerning the protection of the environment and serenity of the living temples have been assured as a result of the cultural impact assessment.

Following this success story, UNESCO is now involved in a vigorous campaign to ensure that cultural impact assessments become standard practice in every internationally financed development project throughout the region, and we are working with the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) and a wide range of partners in the public and private sector to develop regional protocols for the use of these cultural impact assessments.

The purpose and policy objectives of cultural impact assessments are to avoid or to mitigate any adverse impact on cultural heritage assets, and to protect them from destruction or irreversible damage resulting from competition with modern infrastructure development. Basic steps in the assessment process include screening and scoping, public meetings, analysis of planning controls, development of a mitigating strategy, regulatory reviews, mediation, development of a work management plan, emergency recovery, monitoring of the implementation, and reporting and review.

### 5. Partners in Empowerment

None of the programmes aimed at mainstreaming community stewardship of the cultural and natural resource base which have been carried out over the last ten years in the Asia-Pacific region would have been possible without a network of partnerships at all levels.

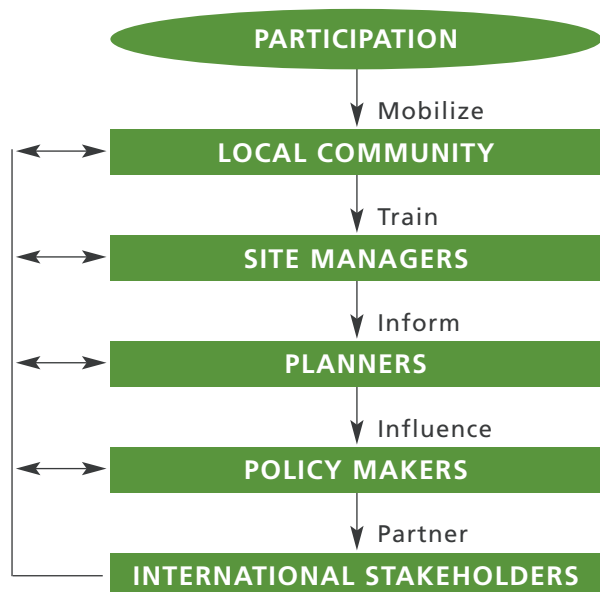
The most recent network, an institutional one, has emerged from the need to build a regional base of endogenous professional capacity within the cultural sector. To this end, UNESCO, ICCROM and other regional training institutions are mobilizing universities throughout the region to form a network known as the Asian Academy for Heritage Management. The Academy will offer several services to the profession:

- postgraduate residential degrees in conservation;
- Internet-based, extramural diploma courses for in-service professionals;
- short certificate courses in specific conservation techniques;
- licensing of professional specializations;

- cultural impact assessments;
- joint field schools, organized and hosted on a rotating basis;
- seminars and workshops for professionals and decision-makers;
- joint research and co-publication of results, including benchmarking best conservation practice.

The principle objective of the Academy is to create and empower a local base of cultural professionals to combat the negative effects of globalization on the cultural resource base.

Within the context of partnerships, we have devised a very straightforward graphic which illustrates the network and the links between the partners in empowered participation and management.



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## Europe and North America Europe et Amérique du Nord

# Involving Aboriginal People in Site Management

*Christina Cameron*

### 1. Aboriginal Peoples in Canada

According to the 2001 national census, Aboriginal peoples comprise over 3% of the Canadian population of 30 million people. They are separated into three distinct groups: Indians (First Nations), Inuit and Metis. By far the largest group are First Nations at 608,850 people; the smallest group at 45,000 are Inuit; and the fastest-growing segment is the Metis, at 292,305.

Aboriginal people live in all parts of the country. Almost half live in urban areas. In general terms, there are more Aboriginal people as a percentage of the population in western Canada, in the northern parts of other provinces and in the three northern territories. The survival of Aboriginal languages is a challenge in this modern era of mass communication. At the present time, fifty-three Aboriginal languages are spoken in Canada, found in eleven major family groups. As several languages have only a handful of speakers left, experts predict that over time only three languages will survive and be viable: Cree, Inuktitut and Ojibway.

The Norse first reached the Atlantic shore of North America in around AD 900. In the centuries that followed, Europeans encountered Aboriginal peoples throughout the country. Over time, colonial governments tried to clarify the relationship between the government and Aboriginal peoples, first through a number of Peace and Friendship treaties, the Royal Proclamation of 1763 (following the victory of Britain over France) and by the historic numbered and other treaties. To this day, government is still engaged in negotiating comprehensive land claims, also known as modern treaties, with different Aboriginal groups. In Canada's Constitution Act of 1982, existing Aboriginal and treaty rights of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada are recognized and affirmed. Further, Aboriginal peoples are defined as Indians, Inuit and Metis. Canada's relationship with Aboriginal groups continues to be defined through various court rulings, particularly in the areas of Aboriginal rights, the scope of obligatory consultation and the place of oral history as legal evidence.

### 2. Principles and Practices of Parks Canada

In recognition of the importance that Aboriginal people attach to the land, Parks Canada has set itself five specific priorities to increase Aboriginal participation in protected heritage areas. Parks Canada staff at all levels of the organization are charged with improving relationships with Aboriginal communities, increasing employment of Aboriginal staff, enhancing economic opportunities for

Aboriginal people, enhancing the commemoration of Aboriginal history, and increasing Aboriginal heritage presentation in national parks and national historic sites.

Canada's national parks system is the oldest in the world. It has been created and continues to develop with the collaboration of Aboriginal people. The intention of the system is to have at least one national park in each different physiographic region of Canada. One-third of the existing thirty-nine national parks have Aboriginal people on park management boards. But Canada is poised to begin a new phase of park creation. The Prime Minister announced in late 2002 a major initiative to add an additional ten national parks to the system, thereby increasing the Protected Areas in Canada by another 100,000 km<sup>2</sup>. All ten new national parks will be created with the co-operation of Aboriginal people. When the national parks system is complete, it is anticipated that a total of 325,000 km<sup>2</sup> will be set aside for park purposes, 80% with the help of Aboriginal people.

Canada's system of national historic sites finds its roots in designations that began in 1917, near the end of the First World War. At the very first meeting of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada in 1919, historic places linked to Aboriginal history figured prominently. However, it must also be noted that for much of the first seventy-five years, Aboriginal history was commemorated mainly at sites marking early encounters between Europeans and native populations, and through archaeological sites, presented by professional archaeologists – and not by Aboriginal people. Consequently, Aboriginal people did not have a stake, did not easily recognize their achievements and felt that the persons, places and events did not well represent their history.

In order to achieve a more representative system, Parks Canada refocused the programme to identify new proposals for designation, this time in consultation with Aboriginal people. No proposal is now placed before the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada without the endorsement of the relevant Aboriginal group or groups. While the process has taken a long time to gain momentum and trust, statistics from the last five years suggest that it is beginning to produce positive results. From 1998 to 2003, new commemorations of Aboriginal history include five national historic sites, thirteen persons and two events of national historic significance.

As part of this initiative, Parks Canada has developed tools designed to ensure sound working relationships with Aboriginal people. Guidelines to structure these relationships were outlined in 1998 in a 'Statement of Principles

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and Best Practices'<sup>9</sup>. This document discusses responsibilities and roles to be played by each party commemorating Aboriginal history. The principles call for the recognition of traditional knowledge (often oral tradition), a respect for community structures and values, and Aboriginal participation in the development and presentation of proposals for commemoration.

Particularly helpful in this renewal has been the concept of cultural landscapes. Rooted in the definition of heritage so well articulated in the *World Heritage Convention* as 'the combined works of nature and man', the concept of cultural landscapes took on real meaning in the early 1990s, when international experts developed criteria for their inscription on the World Heritage List. Following UNESCO's lead, Canada developed its own cultural landscape definitions and criteria, including a specific one for Aboriginal cultural landscapes:

An Aboriginal cultural landscape is a place valued by an Aboriginal group (or groups) because of their long and complex relationship with that land. It expresses their unity with the natural and spiritual environment. It embodies their traditional knowledge of spirits, places, land uses and ecology. Material remains of the association may be prominent, but will often be minimal or absent.<sup>10</sup>

To support this definition, Parks Canada developed some specific guidelines to identify historically important Aboriginal cultural landscapes. The guidelines include the recognition of traditional knowledge and Aboriginal participation in the selection process; in addition, they require that these places have significant interrelated cultural and natural attributes, and significant associations with the spiritual, cultural, economic or environmental values of the associated group. The introduction of Aboriginal cultural landscapes into the work of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada has encouraged new proposals and facilitated the involvement of Aboriginal peoples in the commemoration of their history.

### 3. Opportunities for Aboriginal Involvement

This section of the paper highlights specific opportunities for Aboriginal peoples to become involved in the management of Canada's national parks and national historic sites. These opportunities include the identification of park and site values, planning and management processes, traditional use, archaeology, staff jobs and economic benefit arrangements.

9. 'Commemorating National Historic Sites associated with Aboriginal People's History', Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, July 1998.

10. *Ibid.*

### 3.1 Identification of values

Aboriginal peoples can contribute significantly to our understanding of the values and cultural associations of protected heritage areas. Take the case of Waterton Lakes National Park, which is the Canadian portion of the Waterton Glacier International Peace Park (Fig. 50). Designated as a World Heritage site under *natural* criteria (ii) and (iii), Waterton Glacier International Peace Park takes on additional meaning when we learn that the most distinctive mountain feature in the park, known to the Blackfoot Indians as Chief Mountain, is the spiritual heartland and vision quest site for the Kainai and Pikuni Blackfoot (Fig. 51).



Waterton Glacier International Peace Park



Chief Mountain a spiritual place and vision quest site for First Nations, Waterton Lakes NP

Another example may be found at Gwaii Haanas national park reserve and Haida heritage site. One small part of this vast island park has been inscribed on the World Heritage List for its richly carved and easily understood totem and mortuary poles. Less easily understood but deeply significant is the cultural landscape of the park, with many known archaeological sites and a vast array of spiritually significant places.

An exciting chapter in this story unfolded recently during an underwater archaeological expedition. Scientific theories on glaciation and its impact on the planet's evolution are well known, including the presumption that waters rose when the glaciers melted. At Gwaii Haanas, the Haida First Nation retain in their oral history a persistent story about villages and lands that were drowned by floods. Inspired by these stories, Parks Canada archaeologist Daryl Fedje discovered in the waters near the park a human-made basalt flake at 53 m depth and a 'drowned forest' of spruce trees at 145 m below the water's surface. Fedje's

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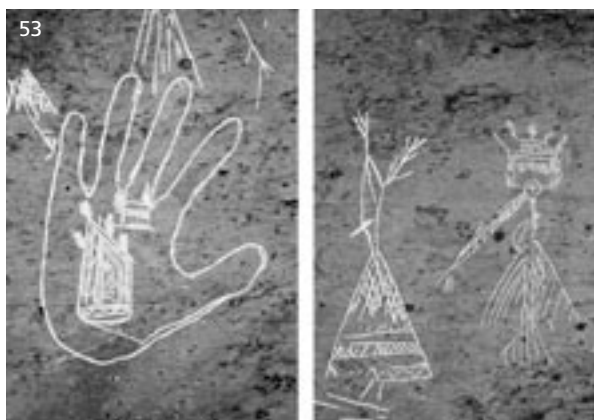
discoveries confirm the oral tradition of the Haida people and provide the first tangible evidence of early Holocene occupation approximately 10,000 years ago.

Another important place known as Xa:ytem National Historic Site has been identified and designated as a result of our new approach of working together with the Aboriginal community to select suitable candidates for commemoration (Fig. 52). At first glance, what we have in the British Columbia landscape is a boulder – sometimes called an erratic – deposited on the land about 10,000 BP when the glaciers melted. However, according to the Sto:lo First Nation who live in this area, the 'rock' is one of the 'stone people' of Sto:lo oral tradition. Present-day elders recount the story of three chiefs who were turned to stone for refusing to follow the teachings of elders in a far-away time. More recently, the fields around the boulder have been excavated and have yielded evidence of an ancient settlement of about 9,000 BP, thereby confirming the human dimension of the site.



*Xa:ytem National Historic*

A final example involves a national park, Kejimikujik, which was set up in 1974 to preserve the inland lakes, rivers and woodlands on the Atlantic coast uplands. On several of the flat rocks are found petroglyphs that represent the lifestyle, art and observations of Mi'kmaw people in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Fig. 53). These faint images, inscribed in soft slate, show people in traditional dress, wildlife, hunting scenes and naïve representations of European sailing vessels. Originally, they were merely treated as cultural resources in the national park. It was only after discussions with the Grand Council of the



*Kejimikujik National Park*

Mi'kmaq, the Aboriginal group from this area, that the values of the park were redefined in terms of a cultural landscape. The national park has now also been designated a national historic site.

### 3.2 Planning and management processes

There are a variety of ways in which Aboriginal people can participate in the planning and management processes that are needed for protected heritage areas. A unique example in Canada is found at Gwaii Haanas national park reserve, which was created through an agreement between Canada and the Haida Nation. The two parties agreed to work collaboratively on the creation and management of the national park reserve, pending resolution of the outstanding comprehensive land claim by the Haida Nation. In operational terms, this means that a Parks Canada superintendent works side-by-side with a representative of the Council of the Haida Nation to provide direction and approval for activities in the park reserve.

At other national parks, we find a range of advisory boards and consultative committees that have been created through park establishment agreements to provide ongoing Aboriginal participation in planning and development activities. When parks and sites are of particular interest to Aboriginal peoples, as for example in the case of Kejimikujik national park and national historic site, Aboriginal representatives are asked to join Parks Canada in co-signing statements of significance and management plans. Recently, in an ongoing effort to remove irritants and improve relationships, Parks Canada has set up a national Aboriginal Consultative Committee, composed of a cross-section of Aboriginal people with expertise or an interest in the Parks Canada programme.

### 3.3 Traditional use

Over the years, an outstanding issue between Aboriginal peoples and Parks Canada has been access to national parks for traditional use. In the recently amended Canada National Parks Act, a new provision allows for the authorization of traditional spiritual and ceremonial use of parks. Whereas this provision does not include hunting and fishing activities, it does provide for the gathering of medicinal plants, the carrying out of cultural ceremonies and the collection of red ochre, a substance historically used for over 5,000 years in Aboriginal burial rituals and in other contexts.

### 3.4 Archaeology

As part of impact assessment and mitigative measures, Parks Canada undertakes archaeological work before constructing roads and buildings, with the result that there are extensive archaeological collections which often contain material culture resources of great interest to Aboriginal peoples (Fig. 54). From a policy perspective, Parks Canada provides access to its collections and, under special circumstances, will transfer artefacts of ceremonial and spiritual value to specific related groups. One of the by-products

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of conducting archaeological excavations is the disinterment of human remains. In those instances, the related Aboriginal group is consulted as to the preferred reburial ceremony and process. Indeed, many archaeologists now refuse to excavate burial sites. No human remains are retained in the collection.



Archaeology at Parks Canada

© Parks Canada

### 3.5 Employment

Parks Canada has adopted a staffing strategy to increase the number of Aboriginal employees in the agency. Statistics bear witness to the success of the undertaking, as Aboriginal representation in Parks Canada's workforce has doubled from 4% to 8% over the last five years. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that labour market availability is only slightly over 4% of the Canadian population.

Aboriginal people can be found in all parts of the organization. There are Aboriginal park wardens working on aquatics programmes, checking weather equipment, monitoring natural resources and providing search and rescue services. There are Aboriginal cultural resource management specialists who are engaged in recording oral history from the elders, gathering documentary evidence from community practices and written sources, and unearthing the history that is written on and beneath the surface of the land. There are increasing numbers of Aboriginal people engaged in heritage presentation activities. Parks Canada strongly encourages the telling of Aboriginal stories in Aboriginal voices and has therefore launched a programme to present Aboriginal history at all parks and sites (Fig. 55). To quick-start the process, an Aboriginal Heritage Presentation Innovation Fund has distributed US\$300,000 towards nineteen new Aboriginal heritage presentation products that are directly delivered to park and site visitors by Aboriginal people.



© Parks Canada

Using Aboriginal voices to tell Aboriginal stories

In general, Parks Canada has had great success in attracting Aboriginal employees who are motivated by the mandate and activities of the agency. The challenge is one of retention, once employees have reached a certain level of

training and experience. The job market for experienced Aboriginal employees is quite competitive, and Parks Canada's salaries often do not match those of other organizations. Nonetheless, five of the thirty-two field unit superintendent positions – at the executive level – are occupied by Aboriginal people. In a concerted effort to fast-track high fliers to prepare them for management positions, Parks Canada has launched an Aboriginal Leadership Development Program. Now in its third year, the programme aims at moving participants through modular training part-time over four years. It is a mixture of classroom training and field experience. At one session in the Yukon territory, for example, an elder travelled with the group for two weeks in his traditional territory and shared the history of the place and his people.

### 3.6 Economic benefits

In addition to direct employment, parks and sites offer other economic opportunities to Aboriginal people. In some cases, park establishment agreements call for certain guaranteed levels of employment. In the case of the new territory of Nunavut, the Canadian Government has an obligation to negotiate an Inuit Impact and Benefits Agreement (IIBA) as part of each agreement to establish a national park or a national historic site. In more general terms, Parks Canada can choose to give preferential treatment to Aboriginal peoples for the procurement of goods and services.

## 4. Conclusion

This paper has attempted to convey the range of opportunities for Aboriginal people to be involved in the management of protected heritage areas in Canada. The principles and practices provide the framework needed in order to engage Aboriginal people in this important work. But these are only tools. Success is determined by the degree to which Aboriginal people are meaningfully engaged in identifying park and site values, participating in management processes, carrying out staff work in all parts of the programme, presenting their own stories about these special places, and deriving economic benefits from the presence of parks and sites in their regions. With active Aboriginal involvement, the parks and sites can benefit from enhanced understanding of their values. Aboriginal perspectives and knowledge can contribute to better protection and presentation.

In closing, I would like to mention the Parks Canada Charter. When the new Parks Canada Agency was created, there was a legal requirement to create a charter – or statement of fundamental values – in consultation with all agency staff. One of the four defining roles set forth in the one-page charter relates to Aboriginal people. 'We are partners, building on the rich traditions of our Aboriginal people, the strength of our diverse cultures and our commitments to the international community.' As a mark of Parks Canada's esteem and respect for Aboriginal people, I am proud to report that the agency charter has already been translated into ten Aboriginal languages.

## Europe and North America Europe et Amérique du Nord

Stelling van Amsterdam – Defence Line of Amsterdam:  
Built to Protect People, Sustained to Connect People

Caroline Smook

**1. Introduction**

The historical line of defence called *Stelling van Amsterdam* is one of seven World Heritage sites in the Netherlands. The *Stelling* forms a wide ring around Amsterdam. This defence line, 135 km long, was built between 1880 and 1914 to protect the capital of the Netherlands. Forty-two fortresses, plus various buildings, locks, dams, canals, water reservoirs and meadows belong to this strategic military system which was based on the use of flooding (inundation) as a means of defence (Fig. 56). Although the defence line has never been fully used, it had a military function until after the Second World War. Since then the Netherlands Government has gradually sold the fortresses and other parts of the *Stelling* to various new owners, thus ending the government's management of the defence line as a single entity.



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Historical map of the defence systems around Amsterdam, 1910

In the early 1980s the Province of North Holland was one of the first bodies to acknowledge the cultural, historical and natural value of Amsterdam's defence line. Nowadays the defence line forms a relatively quiet, secret and partly hidden built landscape. Mainly because of the enthusiasm and determination of several provincial workers and politicians, the Defence Line of Amsterdam became a World Heritage site. Since 1983 the province has put a lot of time, effort and money into sustaining the *Stelling* through research and policy-making as well as by investing in restoration and conservation.

On the basis of experience gained in the Province of North Holland over the last twenty years, this paper examines five different aspects of managing this complex site:

- (a) legislative protection
- (b) restoration, re-use and education
- (c) organization and participation
- (d) conservation and planning policy
- (e) linking universal and local values

**2. Legislative Protection**

The province's active involvement in the *Stelling* began in 1983 when it tried to prevent the demolition of one of the fortresses. Although the attempt failed, this was the first step in identifying the *Stelling* as a cultural treasure.

The first years were spent making an inventory of the complete defence line, based on fieldwork and study of the archives. This extensive research culminated in 1987 in a policy paper (declaration of intent) in which the province stated its position on the preservation and development of the *Stelling* as a whole:

Top priority will be given to the conservation and development of the cultural, historical and natural situation. This objective, however, does not exclude new functions or use of the *Stelling* as a whole, or parts of it. ... This policy, aimed at conservation as well as development, will gain importance when the different aspects of the *Stelling* can be experienced by the population. This means that the *Stelling*, or parts of it, should be more open to the public.

Between 1990 and 1994, 125 objects in the Province of North Holland were listed as provincial monuments. Besides the forty-two fortresses, the list includes locks, dams and even dykes. The fortresses and other parts of the *Stelling* in the adjoining province of Utrecht are protected as either national or local monuments. The listing means that no major changes can be made to these objects without a government licence. The 1987 policy document also describes how other legal instruments – such as regional and local planning, and nature and landscape preservation – can be used to protect the *Stelling* as a whole. The policy paper marks the first attempt to integrate the conservation of cultural heritage with planning policy and the development of other functions.

The Defence Line of Amsterdam became a World Heritage site in 1996. Its nomination was prepared by the Province of North Holland together with the National Department for Conservation and the Protection of Monuments in the Netherlands. The *Stelling* as a whole is of outstanding universal value because it is a well-preserved example of a nineteenth-century, typically Dutch line of defence based

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on the use of flooding. This large military structure, together with its counterpart the *Nieuwe Hollandse Waterlinie*, is unique in the world because of the ingenious system for using water and because of the exceptional combination of culture and nature it represents. The Province of North Holland was appointed as the level of government primarily responsible for the preservation of the *Stelling* as a whole. The national government has begun looking into the possibilities of listing the whole structure as a 'Protected Area' under the Monuments and Historic Buildings Act (1988). Although preparations are under way, the final decision about this listing has not been made yet. The consequences have to be examined first in close collaboration with all the parties involved. In the meantime, several projects aimed at restoration, re-use and education are in progress. Up to now these projects have focused mainly on the fortresses.

### 3. Restoration, Re-Use and Education

After the legal protection of the 125 objects was formalized in 1994, it became obvious that major repairs were needed before the *Stelling* could be properly maintained. Private owners and trustees of fortresses and other parts of the *Stelling* turned to the province for money with which to repair and restore the monuments. Over the last ten years public and private parties together have invested about 30 million euros in the maintenance of the *Stelling*. The province has contributed approximately 10 million euros to several major restoration projects on the grounds that re-use will encourage public access. Traditional ways of conserving cultural heritage did not always prove effective for giving specifically military objects new functions, however. Architects and builders have experimented with different methods of restoration and renewal. The following projects provide examples:

- a local community and arts centre in Fort aan de Drecht;
- a visitor centre for Natuurmonumenten (the National Trust for Nature Conservation) in Fort Spijkerboor;
- a training institute in Fort IJmuiden, where plays, art exhibits, dance parties and other cultural events are also held (Fig. 57);
- a facility for artists in Fort Vijfhuizen, which combines housing, studios, an art gallery and a tea garden.



57  
The 42 fortresses are the most visible objects of the *Stelling*

© Province of North-Holland, Beelddocumentatie

The biggest challenges occur in the parts of the defence line situated in or very close to urban areas, such as the booming Haarlemmermeer area near Schiphol Airport. The strategy here is not to try to keep the *Stelling* free of urban development but rather to make it part of town planning. The new office area Beukenhorst Zuid is a good example of how the *Stelling* can be incorporated into urban design, and how modern techniques can be used to make it an attractive feature of the urban landscape (Fig. 58). The *Stelling* is the focal point of a specially landscaped area where workers in the nearby office buildings can take walks. This illustrates how cultural heritage can inspire contemporary designers and can be turned into something useful for the public.



58  
The historical *Stelling* integrated in a modern office area

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Although the World Heritage designation generated a lot of publicity in 1996, the *Stelling* is still not very well known to the general public, not even to people who live in the vicinity. Most people find it difficult to recognize the defence line because it is partly hidden in the regular landscape. The Dutch saying 'unknown, unloved' is certainly true for the *Stelling*. Much work remains to be done in order to raise public awareness and create more public support for the *Stelling* as a World Heritage site.

### 4. Organization and Participation

The *Stelling van Amsterdam* Foundation was set up in 1996 to promote and look after the interests of the World Heritage site as a whole. Private owners, trustees, local governments and various interest groups are represented in the Foundation, which is the official 'owner' or 'holder' of the *Stelling van Amsterdam*. The Foundation encourages innovative plans for maintaining the objects and landscape of the *Stelling* and for getting local communities involved. At some of the fortresses, volunteers perform tasks related to maintenance and the preservation of the landscape and natural environment. Together with these participants, the Foundation initiates activities to make the *Stelling* better known and more accessible to the public. During the first 'Month of the *Stelling*', in September 2003, various aspects of the site will be featured in a special activity programme for the public. There are also plans for setting up an educational programme for schools and for getting more volunteers interested in working on the *Stelling*.

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*Herstelling* is the name of a foundation and special project that was started in co-operation with the province and the City of Amsterdam. It is in fact an employment scheme by which people from different cultural backgrounds who have little or no job experience participate in the maintenance and repair of the World Heritage site. It offers them an opportunity to prepare themselves for a regular job or for further professional training. This project is successfully fighting unemployment among specific target groups while at the same time helping to ensure the preservation of the *Stelling van Amsterdam*. The *Herstelling* approach has been copied in other projects in the Netherlands and abroad. The *Herstelling* organizers are now working together with the organizers of similar projects in Copenhagen, Antwerp, Hamburg, Willemstad (Curaçao) and Paramaribo (Suriname). Recently Queen Beatrix visited *Herstelling* workers at one of the fortresses, and was reportedly very impressed with the results (Fig. 59).



Herstelling at work on a fortress

© Stichting Herstelling

### 5. Conservation and Planning Policy

The *Stelling* is situated in the Amsterdam region, one of the most densely populated and economically dynamic areas of the Netherlands. As a result of globalization and modernization, the Amsterdam region is changing rapidly into a metropolitan area with a multicultural population. But it is not a traditional metropolis like London or Paris. It is rather an urban network of old and new towns and cities (including Schiphol Airport City) strung across the typically Dutch open landscape.

The main challenge for the future is not only how to sustain the World Heritage site in this dynamic environment but also how to have the site contribute to the quality of life of the inhabitants. This calls for a more flexible and open attitude towards the preservation and development of cultural and natural heritage – an attitude that allows for change and the acquisition of new functions where appropriate. In the Netherlands the strategy for integrating the conservation of cultural heritage into regional planning policy is called ‘preservation through development’. The national plan for heritage preservation known as ‘Belvedere’ (1999) promotes this strategy, particularly for the preservation of cultural landscapes and larger structures such as the *Stelling van Amsterdam*.

In order to sustain the *Stelling* within the dynamic planning for the Amsterdam region, the provincial authorities felt it necessary to make a new long-term strategic plan for the *Stelling* as a whole. The plan was drawn up by landscape designers in 2001, based on research by experts in the fields of cultural history, urban planning and design, nature and landscape preservation, and modern water management. A journalist was asked to investigate the cultural and social meaning of the *Stelling* in the twenty-first century. He came up with ‘the ring of silence’ as a concept for the future development of the *Stelling*. The site would be a counterweight to the dynamic city: a public place where people discover and experience the defence line as a cultural treasure, while enjoying the peace and quiet of the outdoors and participating in social and cultural events.

The main objective of the plan is to revitalize the *Stelling*, converting it into an attractive public space for the benefit of the local communities in the Amsterdam region. In order to achieve this, the *Stelling* has to be made more visible and accessible to the public without losing its mysteriousness and without compromising the intrinsic values of the World Heritage site.

This calls for a well-balanced, modest plan that will make the historical military infrastructure more visible in the landscape while at the same time making it useful for a variety of new functions. The integrated plan provides for different kinds of recreational use in combination with water storage, nature and landscape preservation, agricultural use, social and cultural functions, and the creation of new neighbourhoods on a very small scale that offer both housing and workplaces. It is not a restoration plan but rather a flexible framework which allows professionals in the fields of planning, design and construction to use their creativity and imagination (Fig. 60).



The historical defence line as a planning zone

© Province of North Holland

Recently the provincial government of North Holland approved a planning document which declares the *Stelling* to be in a zone of its own for planning purposes. The boundaries of the zone are based on the interaction with the underlying and surrounding landscape. Within the zone the closed circle of dykes and the legally protected



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monuments are fixed objects, but the specific use to which the open fields are put can be adapted to the needs and demands of different functions. The planning regime does not preclude all major transformations of sections of the *Stelling*, but as decisions are made, the public's interests have to be weighed carefully against the intrinsic value of the site. Any transformations made within the zone have to take the main characteristics of the *Stelling* into account.

The province is now working on a management plan for implementing this new policy for the *Stelling*. It is an ambitious plan that will take at least twenty years and will cost a lot of money. Commitment and active participation on the part of national and local governments, owners, trustees, interest groups and local communities will be crucial to the success of the plan, which is aimed at gaining surplus value by linking up projects in different fields and setting up public-private partnerships for their financing and execution.

Failure to secure sufficient commitment, active participation and funding threatens the future of the *Stelling*, but the biggest threat to a sustainable future is that the *Stelling* could become an isolated relic of the past that has no connection with the needs and demands of present-day society. It is therefore a cause for concern that the predicate 'World Heritage' is being used more and more in order to obstruct or prevent new development, change and innovation.

### 6. Linking Universal and Local Values

In the last twenty years, the attention of the provincial authorities has shifted away from the protection and conservation of monuments and towards the integration of the *Stelling* as a whole into planning policy. But the *Stelling* has more to offer society than cultural, historical and natural values which are preserved as though on display in a museum. The *Herstelling* Foundation proves this point.

The challenge for the future is to see how this World Heritage site can make a contribution to the economic, social and cultural development of the multicultural population of the Amsterdam region. Amid the global dynamics of the twenty-first century, the *Stelling* as 'a ring of silence' represents such values as peace and quiet, identity and cultural history. But the *Stelling* can be more than this. It can be claimed and occupied by local communities as a meeting place, a stage or a showcase for cultural exchange and social integration on different levels.

The *Stelling* zone is a connected place that links universal and local values for the benefit of everyone who wants to participate. It should become a living, vibrant monument that invites everyone to work together to build a new future which expresses and celebrates people's cultural diversity.

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## Europe and North America Europe et Amérique du Nord

## An Operational View of Managing World Heritage Sites in Canada

*Josie Weninger*

**This paper deals with the management of a World Heritage site from an operational point of view, with emphasis on the involvement of Aboriginal peoples. The introduction restates the Parks Canada Agency's approach to the management of national parks and historic sites, specifically in regard to Aboriginal peoples. The paper then presents the geographical and political context in which the Southwest Northwest Territories (SWNWT) Field Unit operates, followed by a description of the background and factors affecting the operations of Parks Canada at each of the three sites within the area. Finally, the paper outlines lessons learned and areas of involvement of Aboriginal peoples in the management of these sites.**

### 1. Principles and Practices of Parks Canada

Parks Canada's approach to managing its national parks and historic sites is contained within a 1998 'Statement of Principles and Best Practices'. This document calls for the recognition of traditional knowledge, respect for community structures and values, and Aboriginal participation in the development of proposals for commemoration. In addition, staff at all levels are charged with improving relationships with Aboriginal communities, increasing employment of Aboriginal staff, enhancing the commemoration of Aboriginal history, and increasing heritage presentation in national parks and national historic sites.

### 2. Geographical and Political Context of Operation

The SWNWT Field Unit operates within the geographic area of the Northwest Territories (NWT) and northern Alberta – a vast and sparsely populated space. The population of the NWT is 44,000; approximately two-thirds of these people are of Aboriginal descent. In northern Alberta, a large percentage of individuals in the majority of the communities is also of Aboriginal descent. The birth rate of Aboriginal peoples is 1.5 times the national average, so there is a higher proportion of young people within the Aboriginal population. This community is, in some cases, only one generation removed from subsistence farming, which leads to a strongly rooted feeling of 'ownership' of the land and its resources.

Politically, the field unit operates within a land claims framework. Land claims have led to the creation of a number of national parks and national historic sites in northern Canada, and resulted in agreements with Aboriginal

peoples about the establishment and management of these sites. Currently, within the geographic region where the field unit operates, the Deh Cho and Akaitcho land claim processes are under negotiation, as is the NWT Metis process, which is similar to a land claim process. This has created expectations among Aboriginal people with regard to operation and management at existing sites and parks.

### 3. Establishment and Management of Wood Buffalo National Park, Nahanni National Park and Sahyoue-Edacho National Historic Site

Two of these sites, Wood Buffalo National Park and Nahanni National Park, are designated World Heritage sites. Sahyoue-Edacho (Grizzly Bear Mountain and Scented Grass Hills) National Historic Site is part of a cultural landscape, but is not a designated World Heritage site. However, it is included in this paper for the purposes of demonstrating inclusion of Aboriginal peoples from the initial proposal of the site to the Historic Sites and Monuments Board through to a process for determining long-term management of the site.

Wood Buffalo National Park was established in two parts: south of the Peace River in 1922, and north of the Peace River in 1926. The purpose of establishing the park was to protect the wood bison in the area.

At the time of establishment, the Cree, Chipewyan and Metis peoples hunted and trapped within the area. To allow this to continue and to prevent undue hardship to these peoples, the regulatory regime of Wood Buffalo National Park allows for descendants of people listed as using the park for these purposes at time of establishment to continue these practices under a permit system. The Canadian government did not consult Aboriginal peoples when creating new parks during those early years of establishment. The list of hunters and trappers is not seen as complete by some local Aboriginal people and has been a source of conflict between the park authorities and individuals.

A second factor that affected the government's relationship with Aboriginal peoples resulted from an organizational change in the mid-1960s which meant that Wood Buffalo National Park reported to Parks Canada, instead of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. This also signified a shift in mandate – from a socio-economic emphasis to the protection of land, flora and fauna. It also included a move towards hiring staff from the 'south',

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often with more training in park management, instead of recruiting local people. A further change was the increased emphasis on science and enforcement of regulations to manage the park, with resulting conflict in the use of resources and protection mechanisms.

In 1986, the Mikisew Cree Land Claim Agreement was signed. In 1999, the Smiths Landing First Nation Treaty Land Entitlement Agreement was signed, and the Salt River First Nations Treaty Land Entitlement Agreement followed in 2002. Seven reserves for these First Nations are being established. A Wildlife Advisory Board has been set up through the Mikisew Cree Land Claim Agreement.

There are eleven Aboriginal and two community groups in and around Wood Buffalo National Park, all of whom expect to work with park staff in the operation and management of the park.

Nahanni National Park, the second area under discussion, was established in 1976 as part of the national park system. Its boundaries did not include the whole of the ecoregion, and its status as a national park complies with only part of the national regulatory regime for park management. For example, hunting and trapping by local Aboriginal people still takes place within this reserve.

At Nahanni National Park, only one Aboriginal group is involved in the management and operation of the reserve, which results in less complexity in building and maintaining a good working relationship.

The Deh Cho Land Claim Process, currently at the negotiation stage, is seen as the mechanism for identifying possible areas of expansion and moving the reserve to full national park status. In the meantime, an Interim Measures Agreement has provided for the creation of the Naha Dehe Consensus Team. This team was assigned the leading role in writing the Ecological Integrity Statement and the Park Management Plan – the direction-setting documents designed to guide management action at each park for a five- to fifteen-year period.

Sahyoue and Edacho, which constitute the third area discussed in this paper, were designated as national historic sites in 1998. A commitment to achieving national historic site status was contained within the Sahtu Dene Metis Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement. Research for proposal documents included significant interaction with the Sahtu Dene and Metis. Since national historic site status was granted, the nearby community of Deline has been part of a Protected Area Strategy working group whose main task is to examine possibilities for subsurface protection and management options for the sites, of which only 20% is owned by the Sahtu Dene and Metis. The remaining 80% is Government of Canada Crown Land through the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. The community sees Parks Canada Agency legislation as the best means of achieving subsurface protection of the land.

As at Nahanni National Park, only one Aboriginal group is working with Parks Canada and others on the management issues – the Sahtu Dene and Metis.

The Sahtu Dene Metis Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement applies to Sahyoue-Edacho National Historic Sites and the northern area of possible expansion of Nahanni National Park.

### 4. Lessons Learned and Areas of Involvement of Aboriginal Peoples in the Management of these Sites

Involvement of Aboriginal peoples during the research and designation process, as at Sahyoue-Edacho National Historic Sites, is essential. Specific participation includes gathering and recording oral history about past use of the land and evidence supporting the designation of the area as a national historic site or a national park. Another element of participation involves carrying out inventories of cultural, ecological, geological and non-renewable resources.

Being part of the proponent group advocating either national park or national historic site status reinforces continued views of ownership and ongoing protection and presentation of the sites. Establishment of a national park, national historic site or World Heritage site without community support distances local people from the need to protect the site, decreases ongoing use and knowledge of changes, and may lead to conflict. Essentially, the local community may perceive the intervention as another culture's regulatory regime being imposed on a local pattern of use. If Aboriginal peoples are not involved during the establishment phase, then they must be allowed to participate in decision-making or research activities in order to prevent the deterioration of relationships and to obtain a complete picture of past use and site resources.

Aboriginal peoples need to see themselves reflected in the staff makeup of each site. At Wood Buffalo National Park and Nahanni National Park, approximately 70% of the employees, ranging from clerical to senior management positions, are Aboriginal. This increases insight into different cultural views of management issues and facilitates communication at local level. This is of course predicated on effective internal communication to ensure that staff understand how and why decisions are made.

Management bodies also need to include local people, so that their views are formally included in ongoing discussions of operations and management direction. The Mikisew Cree Land Claim Agreement provides for the creation of a board of local people to advise senior staff on the management of hunting and trapping in Wood Buffalo National Park and the possibility of the involvement of local people in other activities. However, this board has not operated for seven years, due to the Mikisew Cree First Nation launching a lawsuit regarding

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the content and implementation of their land claim. Parks Canada has been working to restore the board and there is a possibility that outstanding issues might be resolved by a mediator appointed by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Traditional knowledge is incorporated into the design of ecological plans through public input. In addition, such knowledge is used in the implementation of monitoring programmes at Wood Buffalo National Park. One example of this is moose monitoring. Input on areas of focus for surveying is sought from Aboriginal peoples, members of Aboriginal groups are hired as part of the monitoring crews and presentations of final results are shared with each Aboriginal group. Traditional knowledge and oral history is also incorporated into interpretive programmes at Nahanni National Park and emphasis is placed on Aboriginal youth delivering the programmes.

The national parks under discussion are situated in less-populated regions of Canada, and Aboriginal peoples seek economic opportunity through the establishment and operation of these sites. There are tourism opportunities at both Nahanni National Park and Wood Buffalo National Park. At Nahanni, one guide licence is set aside for exclusive use by an Aboriginal group. At Wood Buffalo, staff train Aboriginal groups and individuals, helping them to gain guide status and to refine their market niche. Training is also given in the rules and philosophy of the sites and in how to pass this message on to others.

As Treaty Land Claim Processes and Treaty Land Entitlement Agreements are signed and the Aboriginal groups assume self-management, part of ensuring that they see themselves as equal partners at the management table includes some form of cost sharing. This makes sure that they feel that they are full partners in paying costs, and are therefore entitled to be part of the decision-making body.

Government representatives need to be aware of the need for training Aboriginal peoples in the management and operation of sites. This includes making places available for staff training, hosting workshops on subjects such as cultural resource management, and the possibility of cost-shared training in specific jobs, as is under discussion within Wood Buffalo National Park. A consequence of this involvement is better understanding of how site managers reach their decisions.

Simple, ongoing information-sharing about work activities leads to effective working relationships with Aboriginal peoples and brings forth unsolicited information about ecological or cultural resource management.

Having Aboriginal and community leaders as colleagues also creates a level of trust and courtesy that ensures that issues can be discussed before the media or other parties have a chance to create animosity over matters such as non-inclusion in operations and management decision-making.

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# Archaeology and Community Development at the World Heritage Site of Copán, Honduras

*Ricardo Agurcia Fasquelle*

### 1. Introduction

Honduras is one of the poorest nations in Latin America. Estimates for 2002 indicate that 64% of the population lives in poverty while 45% is considered to live in conditions of extreme poverty. Infant mortality rates are 34 per 1000, while life expectancy is 71 years. In rural areas such as that of the Copán Valley in western Honduras, the situation is even worse.

It is here that the the Maya Site of Copán World Heritage site is found in a small, 24 km<sup>2</sup> valley surrounded by pine-covered mountains, very close to the border with the neighbouring Central American Republic of Guatemala. The ruins at Copán are vestiges of the Maya, probably the most advanced ancient civilization of the Americas. In the eighth century AD, Copán was a thriving city of over 27,000 people. Research sponsored by the Government of Honduras over the last twenty years has clearly documented the extent of this ancient city and the splendour of its sculpture and architecture. These comprise the most important pre-Columbian patrimony for Honduras and the principal cultural attraction for tourism. Copán is without a doubt one of the most informative and impressive Maya ruins in Central America. It is also one of the cornerstones of the socio-economic development of western Honduras.

Today the population of the Copán Valley is estimated to be about the same as in ancient times. The majority of the people are 'mestizos', a mix of Native American and European stock. There are also about 4,000 indigenous people living here, mostly in hamlets and villages scattered throughout the mountains. Many of them identify themselves as 'Chortí Maya', descendants of the sophisticated people who built this great centre. The majority of the farmers in the rural areas of Copán live in conditions of extreme poverty with limited income and educational opportunities. The traditional agricultural practices which used to provide them with a marginal livelihood prove insufficient today. A rapidly growing population, combined with limited access to land and the demise of many of the cash-crops of the past (mostly tobacco and coffee) have come together to paint a very bleak picture for the poorest of this region.

One of the few alternatives for the area is the fast-growing tourism industry, founded on the visitors that come to Copán from all over the world to visit

the World Heritage site. This has already supported a significant growth in tourism services, and promises to be a viable economic alternative for the region if wider income generation opportunities can be made accessible to a larger portion of the rural inhabitants of the Copán Valley, including the Chortí.

The current Honduran Government is fully aware of the significance of Copán for promoting the sustainable economic development of the region. It is also keenly aware of the need to preserve the site for future generations, while increasing the number of visitors. The municipal government, NGOs and civil society are also working to enhance non-farm economic activity, diversify employment and foster enterprise activity. Many international organizations are helping in this effort.

This case study aims to demonstrate that, if appropriately managed, the cultural heritage of a young nation can be a valid option for socio-economic growth, community development and poverty reduction.

### 2. Site Development

Since 1839, Copán has been the focus of numerous projects, directed by many of the most legendary figures of Maya archaeology. From the beginning, this research tradition has played a leading role in the scientific study of this ancient civilization, while attracting the interest of a very wide public throughout the world. Copán is probably the best-known Maya site in scientific terms. Indeed, data banks accumulated over the course of more than a hundred years of research confer to it the most complete and balanced view of the ancient Maya world.

It is this early research that led to its receiving significant attention from the Honduran Government. In 1843 Congress declared it a National Zone of Antiquities. The limits of the archaeological park were first established in 1874. In 1982, they were expanded when the site was declared a National Monument.

In 1952 the Honduran Institute of Anthropology and History (IHAH) was created, following the example of Mexico, and Copán was placed under its guardianship. In the 1970s, at the request of IHAH, UNESCO became involved in providing technical assistance to Copán. This relationship led to the declaration of the ruins as a World Heritage site in 1980 and to the development of the first management plan (1984).

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Work on a second management plan was begun in 2000 and the plan is about to be finalized. IHAH contracted the Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) to develop this plan and provide a systematic framework for the conservation, investigation, administration and interpretation of the site. This new plan has benefited from a high level of input from stakeholders, including participatory workshops and consultations.

### 3. Contemporary Projects

From 1977 to 1997 the Government of Honduras provided major funding for scientific research and the development of basic infrastructure for tourism at Copán. With funds from the Central American Bank it started the Proyecto Arqueológico Copán, Phase One (PAC I 1977–80) and hired Claude F. Baudez of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (France) to direct it. Building on earlier research by Harvard University, this project set out to define the limits of Copán's urban core and create a systematic inventory of its outstanding architecture and sculpture.

PAC I was followed by a second phase, PAC II (1980–85), which was financed by the World Bank and directed by William T. Sanders of Pennsylvania State University (United States). Sanders extended Copán's archaeological survey to the hinterlands, covering a territory of 135 km<sup>2</sup>. At the same time, an extensive excavation programme was begun to compile a representative sample of all the types of residential group identified by the reconnaissance work.

With this research, the spatial, temporal, and architectonic nature of the ancient city was clarified, while at the same time new perspectives on its social, political and economic organization were developed. In 1985 William and Barbara Fash of Harvard University (United States), accompanied by Rudy Larios Villalta, began a new era of research with the creation of the PECEMCO project (Proyecto para el Estudio y Conservación de la Escultura en Mosaico; Copán Mosaics Project; 1988–1997), the main objective of which was to rescue and interpret Copán's sculpture. Three years later, and with the financing of USAID, these efforts were broadened with the creation of the PAAC project (Proyecto Arqueológico Acrópolis de Copán), which incorporated three other major research institutions: the University of Pennsylvania (field operations directed by Robert Sharer), Tulane University (E. Wyllys Andrews V), and the Copán Association (directed by the author). After a decade of research emphasizing settlements dispersed throughout the Copán Valley, this project turned its attention to the heart of the city and the conservation of its most precious resource: its sculpture.

Throughout the execution of these projects, the government has sought the highest standard possible of scientific advice in the fields of archaeology and conservation, and has always been most respectful of them. In this sense, the presentation of the 'archaeological product' to tourists

was secondary to the scientific criteria. The development of Copán has shown that this practice not only allows for the enhancement of the visitor's experience but also helps to care for, and minimizes the damage to, the cultural resource.

Among other factors, this strategy has led to the development of non-traditional areas which have placed the site on the leading edge of Maya studies and cultural tourism. A clear example of this is the excavations and restoration work carried out at the residential ward of Las Sepulturas, north-west of the main group, between 1980 and 1985. This has allowed not only the opening up of new areas to visitors and extension of the average length of stay, but also the development of a much better understanding of ancient Maya domestic life. In Las Sepulturas, the visitors get to experience the Maya on a more human scale ... one can almost hear the footsteps of children in the residential compounds. The incorporation of this residential ward to the site has also increased the 'carrying capacity' of the archaeological park and allowed for more visitors to be present in Copán without overcrowding the main group.

The same has occurred with more recent work at the site which, under the aegis of the Copán Association, has developed two new museums (the Copán Sculpture Museum, 1996, and the *Casa K'inich* Children's Museum, 2002), and an underground tunnel circuit that allows visitors to see the 'mummified' Rosalila Temple buried inside the Acropolis.

Between 1999 and 2002, the Copán Association also helped to implement a small, innovative and successful programme called Profuturo-Copán, which was financed by the World Bank. In co-ordination with local initiatives and government support, this programme has helped to foster a new perspective on the role that parks such as Copán can play in regional and local development, poverty reduction and environmental management.

The pre-Hispanic subcomponent in Copán was designed to support research on pre-Hispanic practices and provide scientific knowledge and training for teachers, students and local guides, promote ownership among indigenous peoples and help establish a small learning centre on the Maya for children.

The main objective of the research programme was to construct a model of interaction between the cultural and natural landscapes and the population of the valley over the last 4,000 years. This programme brought together the efforts of numerous researchers with both public- and private-sector support (up to fifteen different universities and organizations were involved). CEMCA, the French Centre for Mexican and Central American Studies (Centro de Estudios Mexicanos y Centro Americanos) was selected to co-ordinate the programme. A portion of the research focused on the identification and description of Chortí medicinal and ornamental plants.

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For the training programme, the Universidad Pedagógica Nacional Francisco Morazán (UPN) was incorporated into the project. It was targeted at local residents, teachers, students and indigenous communities.

A broad group of Honduran men and women were trained in a variety of subjects, including archaeology, astronomy, biodiversity, communication and ethno-history. The courses included language training (in English and French), as well as practical experiences with workshops and field visits. For many of the students on these courses, the training was seen as a means of enhancing their employment opportunities (e.g. as tour guides) or of improving their capacities as operators of tourism-related businesses, including language schools, restaurants and hotels. The participants learned about the Maya and Copán, and also gained a better understanding of the impact of tourism on the local culture and the site itself.

Eighteen representatives of three Maya Chortí communities attended courses and practical training. The recruitment of participants was handled through CONIMCH (Consejo Nacional Indígena Maya-Chortí de Honduras) and announced through the local councils in each village.

As a result of this training programme and concurrent initiatives carried out by the Chortí organization and community leaders, the Chortí villages are beginning to make plans for tourism in their villages and for possible employment in the park. By the provision of knowledge and skills training, the communities have been empowered to provide their own guiding and other services, rather than rely on intermediaries. In one specific case, a training unit on museography that was included in the courses provided participants from one village with the inspiration and the necessary skills to install a small community museum.

The UPN provided lectures on the Maya and their neighbours and on tourism, a comprehensive bibliography was developed and presented to the students, and there were eight organized study tours of about four days to Copán with a total of about 100 students participating.

The learning centre, *Casa K'inich* (House of the Sun), was created by the Copán Association as part of the Profuturo-Copán Project. It is an innovative forum for students and their families to learn about Maya civilization. The design of the exhibits was co-ordinated through the Copán Maya Foundation (a US-based sister organization of the Copán Association) with special emphasis on the delicate relationship between the Maya and their spiritual and natural environments. *Casa K'inich* opened in February 2002 and has already been visited by thousands of Honduran children, many from rural villages and hamlets. This unique learning centre is also the first of its kind to include texts in an indigenous language (Chortí).

### 4. Results

Since the government's intensive programme of research and site restoration began in 1975, it has been accompanied by a very significant increase in tourism and regional economic development. The number of annual visitors has increased from 12,500 in 1975 to 135,000 in 2002. The economic growth of the local community of Copán Ruinas is self-evident in the diversity and quantity of tourism-related enterprises that have developed in this same period. At present, this charming village of about 7,000 inhabitants, with its ceramic-tiled roofs, adobe walls and cobble-stoned streets, has thirty hotels and inns, thirty-four restaurants, cafeterias and bars, twenty-five souvenir shops and many more micro-enterprises focused on eco-tourism and adventure travel. This has increased from about three in each category in 1975. It also boasts two paved highways, modern telecommunications (including Internet centres and a cellular phone service), a new drinking-water supply, a first-class bus service and round-the-clock electrical power, none of which existed in the locality when the programme began.

The government's investment in the archaeological projects between 1977 and 1996 totalled 21 million *lempiras* (approximately US\$4 million). This investment was recovered within three years (1997–2000), just from visitor entrance fees at the archaeological park. Government revenue from this source currently stands at 15 million *lempiras* per year (US\$940,000). This is small in comparison to the revenues generated by the rest of the tourism industry (transport, food and lodging) in the area. Studies are currently being carried out to quantify this accurately.

Furthermore, throughout this same period, hundreds of peasant families have found an alternative source of income to agriculture in the archaeological research at the site. Most who came to work for us initially were bare-footed; at the end, however, they came to the site on bicycles and had built their own homes. Many developed skills as masons, stone carvers, tour guides and expert excavators, and have found a consistent means of subsistence that has raised their standard of living enormously. The village of Copán has experienced an economic awakening that is unparalleled in the rest of rural Honduras.

Research at Copán has also been the best marketing tool for the tourism industry. News of the discoveries at this site have been heralded all over the world, including five articles in one of the widest read magazines (*National Geographic*), repeated mentions in large newspapers (such as the *New York Times*) and special programmes on many major television networks in Japan, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, Spain, Taiwan and the United States (e.g. TBS/Japan, Discovery Channel and National Geographic Television).

At the same time, a large volume of articles has appeared in specialized books and journals. Today it is impossible to

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refer to ancient Maya civilization without making reference to the work done at Copán. We are on the cutting edge of socio-cultural research about the Maya, their ideology, religion, social and political organization, economy, environment, demography, hieroglyphic writing and cultural collapse.

Copán has also made major contributions as a model for site conservation and management and the rational exploitation of a cultural resource for tourism. Its management plans have been among the first in the region and have set a standard for those at other Maya sites.

Work at Copán has also allowed for the development of a huge sense of dignity among all Hondurans derived from the knowledge of their own history. The importance of this for the current government was made clear in January 2002, when the newly elected president of Honduras, Ricardo Maduro, decided to hold the better part of his inaugural events at the site.

### 5. Current Problem Areas

*Site management and conservation.* In spite of the high levels of income that the site has been generating, only about 30% of these revenues are reinvested in the management and conservation of the site. This has proved insufficient. Recent evaluations indicate that the infrastructure for visitors has been overextended. The same holds true for the conservation of the main monuments on the site. The new management plan has taken note of this and suggests reasonable alternatives.

*Urban infrastructure.* Owing to the rapid growth of the tourism industry, the village of Copán Ruinas has overextended its basic services. The existing sewerage, solid waste, electricity and communications systems are currently taxed to their limit and in some cases are leading to the contamination of the surrounding environment. The municipal government, in co-ordination with many local civil organizations, is lobbying the central government and many international organizations to execute projects that will bring improvements to all these services.

*Social problems.* Between October 1998 and September 2000, the archaeological site was the target of three hostile takeovers. Two of these were carried out by the Chortí and one by the employees of the park. All focused on pressuring the central government in order to obtain concessions (land for the first group and salary increases for the second). Greater efforts will have to be made to ensure that the economic benefits of the site reach the rural areas that surround Copán.

The local municipal government has also repeatedly expressed its desire for greater participation in the management of the site and particularly in sharing the revenue that comes from it. Discussions on this subject with the

central government are ongoing. In recent times there has also been a notable increase in social problems linked to tourism, such as drug trafficking, petty crime and prostitution.

All these subjects are debated openly in local forums and generate major community participation. The outlook for improving the situation of many of these is positive.

*Natural resources.* In spite of a permanent reforestation programme, management of the natural resources of the archaeological park has not received major attention in the past. This situation is no longer acceptable because of increasing awareness of the importance of the forest around the site: it is the only remaining swathe of broad-leaf forest in the valley bottom and is home to a large number of species of plants and animals. The new management plan for the site has emphasized this need and made some pertinent recommendations.

### 6. Conclusions

It is evident that the archaeological development of the World Heritage site of Copán by the Government of Honduras has been accompanied by an unparalleled growth in the tourism industry. The socio-economic benefits derived from this have been growing exponentially and for the most part have had a very beneficial impact on the surrounding communities.

It is equally true that greater and broader efforts have to be made to extend these benefits to the human populations still living under very precarious conditions in the villages and hamlets that ring the Copán Valley.

Site conservation, in both its cultural and natural elements, must also continue to receive primary attention. Only adequate planning of the site and the area as a whole, and a clear understanding of the detrimental aspects of this kind of development (e.g. cultural and environmental degradation), can make these early successes sustainable.

Notwithstanding, archaeology and site development at Copán have not just been about pretty objects and long-dead people. They have been about the growth and development of contemporary populations, about feeding poor people, giving them jobs and making them proud of their heritage.



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### Site Management and Partnerships: The Sian Ka'an Biosphere Reserve Experience

Alfredo Arellano-Guillermo

#### 1. Introduction

The area known as Sian Ka'an has the highest diversity of habitat types in the Yucatán Peninsula (Mexico): a total of 528,000 ha, of which roughly one-third is tropical forests, one-third is wetlands and one-third is bays and marine habitats (Fig. 61). Sian Ka'an extends 40–50 km inland and is approximately 120 km long, facing the Caribbean Sea with beautifully wild white sand beaches. It is fringed by a continuous coral barrier-reef. Its marine boundaries are set at a depth of 50 m after the reef. Its boundaries on land were drawn using the administrative limits of the federally owned lands, and, where possible, those of the local watershed. This considerable biodiversity includes 103 species of mammal and more than 350 species of bird. Within Sian Ka'an's limits, twenty-three archaeological sites representing the Mayan culture have been described.



Sian Ka'an

By presidential decree, Sian Ka'an was declared a Protected Area in the Biosphere Reserve category on 20 January 1986. With the help of academic institutions, the federal authorities set the boundaries, taking into consideration the environments to be protected, land tenure, the borders created by roads, and the economic activities taking place. The areas with the most important and well-preserved environments were decreed core zones.

The reserve was carved out of the *ejidos* (community-owned land). Nowadays only small fishing villages (Punta Allen, Maria Elena and Punta Herrero) remain within the reserve, and there are small, privately owned properties along the coast.

The polygonal line defining the core zones is described in the presidential decree. The limits of the core zone are always 3 km from the reserve's access roads. The core zone has a total surface area of 279,704 ha. The Uaymil core zone has a surface area of 40,180 ha; the Cayo Culebras marine core zone has a surface of 6,105 ha and the Muyil core zone surface is 33,418 ha.

In the coastal area, coconut production has been declining rapidly due to a palm disease and to falling market prices, so that most of the coastal entrepreneurs are considering the promotion of tourism and real state as an alternative. Basic studies – funded by the National Council for Science and Technology (CONACyT) – were conducted in 1982–83 to describe all resources in the area and to analyse the socio-economic conditions. Local people were involved as much as possible in the field studies as informers, guides and field assistants.

Sian Ka'an currently has approximately 1,000 inhabitants, mostly lobster fishermen and tour-guide operators organized in nine co-operatives. There are also some Mayan peasant families inland, and approximately sixty residents, fishing-club owners and guides for sport fishermen living on private coastal properties.

The 477,730 ha of the Sian Ka'an Reserve Transition Zone belong to the Mayan Macewal Zone, a very important ethnic and cultural area of Mexico. The Mayan communities hold the land in their custody by means of the *ejido* land tenure system created after the Mexican revolution. The Mayan Macewal Zone has large expanses of well-preserved tropical forest which are seen as the Sian Ka'an-Calakmul section of the Mesoamerican Biological Corridor.

The economy of the region in terms of rural production currently has three main elements: traditional agriculture, beekeeping and logging, and chicle (gum) harvesting.

Household incomes are derived primarily from three products: timber, chicle and honey. Each household shares in profits from the communal farming organization's sale of timber (mostly in the form of logs). In addition, each household sells either honey or chicle, so that earnings per head of household are calculated on the basis of two activities. Generally speaking, beekeeping is a more profitable, less risky and

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less potentially damaging activity than chicle harvesting. In recent years, as a result of devaluation, a reduction in the volume of forest products, and the depressed state of the chicle and honey markets, the people have been forced to leave their communities to seek additional income in the tourist areas of the state. This means an average yearly income of US\$700 per head of household.

### 2. First Step in the Partnership Process: Decree and Management Plan

In 1984 a process began aimed at formulating a management plan with the participation of local communities. Agencies of the state and federal governments created a steering committee to co-ordinate the fieldwork. A local council was also established, which includes representatives of the fishermen, coconut growers, cattle owners, peasants and scientists as well as representatives of the municipalities and the steering committee. Forestry concessions and squatter cattle ranches were asked to gradually leave the area, fishermen organized themselves in order to control their fishing grounds, education and awareness activities started, and the main access roads were brought under control. At the same time, a zoning scheme was drafted and discussed by the council members and the groups they represent, and regulations for each of the zones were proposed. A management plan was drafted, discussed and reviewed and finally approved by the state government in 1986.

The project attracted the attention of international environmental organizations such as WWF-US and Conservation International. On their recommendation a local NGO (Amigos de Sian Ka'an) was established in 1986 to develop participatory field projects and education and awareness campaigns among the local communities, and to promote popular participation in the conservation of the area. Celebrities from Quintana Roo and Mexico City agreed to be founding members alongside local landowners and conservationists. The state research centre CIQRO (now ECOSUR) and the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) have been undertaking fundamental biological and ecological research projects since that date.

The government presence in the first eight years was weak, but Amigos de Sian Ka'an played an important role in promoting participatory research and development projects among the local communities. Communities inside the reserve took part in projects involving horticulture, lobster management, diversification of fisheries, the management of useful wild palms, and ecotourism. Communities in the surrounding *ejidos* were involved in projects to improve agricultural techniques, wildlife management and crocodile ranching. As a result of the weakness in the government presence and the NGO's lack of authority, however, there were several delays in the

drafting of regulations and the defining of government policy aimed at achieving the required conservation and development.

In Sian Ka'an, the management plan focused on establishing a zoning scheme that would accommodate all claims from local inhabitants to the global priority of conservation. Three types of zone were established: (a) *multiple-use zones*, which if they are inland are dedicated to coconut production, and if they are on the coast are dedicated to small-scale tourism; (b) *gathering zones*, which inland mean traditional uses which do not disturb the structure of the forest (e.g. no logging), and on the coast mean fishing zones under co-operative control; and (c) *core zones* for the strict protection of biodiversity, which on the coast mean fish-breeding areas, stands of mangrove and coral reefs. For each zone, special regulations were proposed. These resulted in the control of road construction, housing construction, transport, the use of fires, pollution, research, tourism, management practices and the use of all natural resources. The plan was passed by the state government in 1986 but before it could be approved at the federal level there was a political turnover which caused the plan to be 'forgotten' until 1993. The plan was finally formalized at federal level in 1996.

The Sian Ka'an Management Plan defines the following objectives for the reserve:

- To conserve the natural resources contained in the central coastal region of Quintana Roo as a sample of the Meso-American and Caribbean ecosystems.
- To preserve genetic diversity, particularly the species which are endemic, endangered or threatened and the species which are useful to society.
- To contribute to the ecological and hydrological processes which ensure fisheries productivity and soil stability, and which prevent climate change.
- To protect and promote the scenic environment and cultural values, including archaeological and historical remains and the traditional uses of natural resources.
- To offer sustainable development options that use the tropical forest, wetlands and coastal areas in an environmentally sound way and that involve the local communities in planning how these resources will be used in an integrated way that allows for multiple and sustained use.
- To offer training to local inhabitants in how they can increase their income through the reserve programmes.
- To promote scientific research, particularly in ecology, economics, the social sciences and the management of natural resources.
- To have an area that can serve as a useful baseline or benchmark for assessments of human impact on the ecosystems of the Yucatán Peninsula.
- To offer opportunities for environmentally friendly recreation.
- To facilitate education at local and regional levels regarding nature and the environment.

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### 3. Second Step in the Partnership Process: Institutional Co-Ordination and Mainstreaming

After 1994, with the help of funds from the Global Environment Facility (GEF), an effort was made to establish a stronger governmental framework for Protected Areas. The effort began with the National Institute of Ecology and resulted in 2000 in the National Commission on Protected Areas, which focused first on ten and later on fifty-two Protected Areas. These included Sian Ka'an Biosphere Reserve. The new institutional capacity for the co-ordination of activities led to new relationships and partnerships and to new stability.

#### 3.1 Participation of research institutes and NGOs

The management of Sian Ka'an falls under the National Commission on Protected Areas, a government agency which co-ordinates the participation of over sixteen academic institutions and research institutes and twelve national and international NGOs. These include the WWF, the University of Florida, the World Conservation Union (IUCN), the Nature Conservancy (TNC), the UN Environment Programme (UNEP), the UN Development Programme (UNDP), the World Heritage Centre (WHC), Amigos de Sian Ka'an A.C., the Marine Science Institute (UNAM), the University of Texas at Corpus Christi, and the Regional Center for Fisheries Research.

The National Council for Science and Technology conducted a national survey among research and academic centres to define priority areas for the funding of research. Like Sian Ka'an, most of the Protected Areas had been designated as such because of their biodiversity. Together with the National Commission on Protected Areas, several institutions promoted the initiative and encouraged researchers to generate scientific information pertaining to Protected Areas. The finance ministry helped by giving tax breaks to NGOs that contributed to conservation efforts in Protected Areas.

These incentives, together with the field stations, boat transport and other facilities made available within the area, have increased the presence and activities of researchers and NGOs in Sian Ka'an. Already more than 500 studies, thesis work and reports, in both the natural and the social sciences, have been written about the Sian Ka'an area. Applied research has dealt with such subjects as fisheries, the coral reef, chicle harvesting, plant species for crafts and ornamental use, useful palms, species with commercial potential, and crocodile monitoring. Land-use has also been characterized for purposes of development planning.

#### 3.2 Government agencies

Local government takes part in the management of Sian Ka'an. The provincial government of Quintana Roo and two municipalities play a role in the planning and man-

agement of private land-use, road maintenance, and social programmes in the towns. The work of co-ordination on the administration of land-use is perhaps the most difficult, as municipal and provincial government both claim responsibility. This relationship requires much policy work directed towards making the local authorities understand the value of conservation and introducing them to the concept of sustainable development. This involves a search for alternative productive activities and for economic instruments in support of environmental policy.

#### 3.3 Main regional projects

Sian Ka'an Biosphere Reserve has played a key role in Mexico with regard to two regional conservation and development projects financed by the World Bank under the GEF programme. These projects are the Protected Areas Mesoamerican Corridor and the Mesoamerican Barrier Coral Reef.

### 4. Third Step in the Partnership Process: Local Communities

#### 4.1 Applications of environmental law

The concept of Biosphere Reserve as a management category for Protected Areas was introduced in Mexican environmental law in 1988. Both the core and buffer zones are defined by legal boundaries. Article 48 of the Environmental Law establishes the local population's exclusive right to use the natural resources of buffer zones. Productive activities may be carried out only by the communities that inhabit the zones, and land-use must be based on ecological classification and forecasting and on considerations of sustainability.

This has been a great advantage to local people, making it possible for them to set up enterprises that benefit from the regulation of natural resources, while at the same time making them more aware of the dangers of uncontrolled growth.

#### 4.2 Local communities and *ejidos* partnerships

Seven *ejidos* in the transition zone are involved in managing Sian Ka'an, together with eleven producers' organizations, most of which are co-operative societies for fisheries, tourism and timber production.

Since the Mexican revolution, the land in the *ejidos* has belonged to the communities. Sian Ka'an is surrounded by seven *ejidos*. Around 97% of the land and waters within Sian Ka'an is federally owned. Strictly speaking, it is illegal for the inhabitants of the *ejidos* to use some natural resources like hunting for food, inside Sian Ka'an, but the authorities take indigenous traditions into account. People need to have a bond with their piece of land if they are to develop a feeling of responsibility for its conservation. They also need stable land-use rights. In the 1980s the

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Reserve proposed granting concessions to plots of agricultural land for periods of ninety years. The concessions were subject to the Reserve's regulations, and they were lost if the regulations were not observed. This programme did not continue because a redefinition of plans in the 1990s was oriented to work in the transition zone (outside Sian Ka'an boundaries). This new strategy was aimed at enhancing the sustainable development of the *ejidos* bordering the Reserve. The Reserve's managers also wished to establish a controlled transition zone around the Reserve: a stable, populated belt where the living standards of local people would steadily improve. This was seen as the best way to prevent squatting inside the Reserve.

In the marine zone, lobster fishermen developed a concept as an experiment that is unique in Mexico. They divided the fishing grounds in the two bays among them: 110 fields were defined in Ascension Bay for the 110-member co-operative. Strictly speaking, this agreement could not be legalized, but it has already become a 'traditional use' in Sian Ka'an and as such is respected by the authorities. Each fisherman looks after his own field, taking steps to improve the habitat for lobsters. This virtually guarantees conservation, and the co-operatives exercise extreme vigilance against poachers and outsiders. This is in sharp contrast to most fishing areas, where resources are grabbed by the first person to arrive on the spot or by the fishermen with the best equipment.

The Ecological Territorial Ordering Plan (POET), created under the Environmental Law, established special regulations for privately owned coastal lands. This 'partnership planning tool' co-ordinates the efforts of three levels of government – central, regional and local – to integrate environmental criteria into development planning. Among other things, measures call for the conservation of natural vegetation, no new access roads, no sand extraction, piers on poles to avoid erosion, specifications regarding the relationships between ocean front, plot size and construction, and lighting restrictions in areas where sea turtles breed.

In Sian Ka'an the growth of the local population is expected to be controlled by several factors: a ban on settlements in the national lands, a minimum size for ocean-front plots on the coast, and a maximum number of fishing and tourism co-operatives, which in turn means a maximum number of fishing fields and boats for tourism services.

Monitoring sustainable development with the help of indicators is an essential part of this 'partnership' arrangement for the purpose of deriving maximum benefit from the establishment of a Protected Area. Indicators are related to such parameters as average income, lobster production and female participation in economic activities.

### 4.3 Assessment Council

In 1994 the Assessment Council for the Sian Ka'an Biosphere Reserve was reinstated. Its members represent local producers, NGOs, local communities, landowners,

local research centres, and governmental agencies. The Council reviews the management programme, supports the efforts of the Sian Ka'an director and advises government decision-makers, and contributes to the annual programmes for the area. For operational reasons, the Council is divided into four committees: tourism, fisheries, forestry and landowners.

### 4.4 Integration of local communities into tourism activities

In 1995 a 'public use programme' was established to regulate and promote community involvement. One of its most important achievements has been to draw local communities into the development of tourism in Sian Ka'an. At the same time, however, tourism development poses a threat to the original intentions of the Reserve as it will inevitably bring population growth and immigration, both of which are bound to have an impact on the area's sustainability.

Rojo Gómez (Punta Allen) is the most important community in the Sian Ka'an coastal area. The community's own organizations have been decisive in ensuring the equitable distribution of the social and economic benefits derived from tourism development. Seven co-operative societies have been formed. Their ninety-three members offer tourist services (boating, kayaking, restaurants, lodging) in Punta Allen and Punta Herrero. A similar initiative has been taken by two rural groups in Chunyaxché zone.

Communities living inside the Reserve have benefited economically from their involvement in the tourism industry. Nearly 150 local residents have been certified to work as guides for fishing expeditions and other nature-based tours. This has diversified their productive activities. It was made possible by environmental legislation, measures to mitigate possible impacts, and short courses of local natural history. With the help of experts, a basic training course (including both theory and practice) for sport fishing guides was designed and presented to the co-operative societies for tourism services. This specialized activity has already shown great potential, and demand for it has grown. Other residents of Punta Allen have been given three-month courses in natural history, ornithology and English by the RARE Center for Tropical Conservation. This was done with support from Amigos de Sian Ka'an and other governmental and non-governmental organizations. The Mexico National Commission of Protected Areas also has trained co-operative members in business management and administration.

### 5. Fourth Step in the Partnership Process: International Agencies and Co-Operation Mechanisms

Sian Ka'an has been accepted under several international initiatives, including UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere Programme (MAB), UNESCO's World Heritage List (under

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natural heritage criteria (iii) and (iv)), and the Marine Protected Areas Network of the North American Commission for Environmental Cooperation. The Mexican reserve has also signed a co-operation agreement with Guanacabibes Biosphere Reserve in Cuba, and has participated in several initiatives involving international co-operation. The most recent co-operative effort has been with UNESCO agencies that seek to 'link World Heritage sites through demonstration sites'. Under these auspices, Sian Ka'an has been selected for three pilot programmes promoted by UNESCO:

(1) UNF/UNEP/WHC/RARE Center. Pilot project 'Linking Conservation of Biodiversity and Sustainable Tourism at World Heritage Sites' through the World Heritage Centre

Although heralded as a likely solution to conservation and community-development challenges, the global tourism industry is currently generating few tangible benefits for places in developing countries that have become World Heritage sites because of their biodiversity. Local staff and other stakeholders do not have the resources, experience or training they need in order to use tourism as an effective tool for achieving long-term biodiversity conservation. Focusing on six World Heritage sites – Ujung Kulon National Park, Komodo National Park (Indonesia); Tikal National Park (Guatemala); Rio Plátano Biosphere Reserve (Honduras); Whale Sanctuary of El Vizcaíno, Sian Ka'an (Mexico) – this project is developing a replicable strategy for addressing the challenge through innovative site-community planning, catalytic training programmes for local residents and staff, new partnerships with the private sector, targeted marketing, low-impact tourist amenities, and new financing mechanisms to cover ongoing site monitoring and conservation costs.

(2) UNF/UNDP. Pilot project 'Community Management in the Conservation of Protected Areas (COMPACT)'

The UNESCO/UNDP Community Management of Protected Areas Conservation Programme is aimed at demonstrating how community-based initiatives can significantly increase the effectiveness of biodiversity conservation by complementing and adding significant value to existing conservation programmes at five natural World Heritage sites – Belize Barrier Reef Reserve System (Belize); Mount Kenya National Park/Natural Forest (Kenya); Puerto Princesa Subterranean River National Park (Philippines); Morne Trois Pitons National Park (Dominica); and Sian Ka'an (Mexico).

In Sian Ka'an this programme is not taking the place of any government or community authority. It will be a complement to the conservation and development activities carried out by governmental, academic and development agencies.

The aim of the programme is to fund activities that benefit Sian Ka'an by:

- increasing the capacities of community-based organizations and regional NGOs whose existence and future prospects are closely linked to the Sian Ka'an Biosphere Reserve;
- increasing local awareness of the need to protect the Sian Ka'an Biosphere Reserve;
- promoting and supporting communication and co-operation among all the stakeholders in the Sian Ka'an Biosphere Reserve, and between them and other relevant groups at local and regional levels;
- increasing awareness of the mutual interdependence between community development and conservation of the Sian Ka'an Biosphere Reserve.

(3) UNF/UNEP demonstration site for the project 'International Coral Reef Action Network' (ICRAN)

The International Coral Reef Action Network is a collaborative effort developed to reverse the decline of the world's coral reefs. ICRAN consists of a set of interlinked, complementary activities designed to help implement the International Coral Reef Initiative (ICRI) Framework for Action, and to facilitate the proliferation of good practices for coral reef management and conservation.

ICRI is an informal partnership of governments, NGOs and organizations such as UNEP, ICLARM and the World Bank, which was launched in 1995 in response to the alarming rate at which coral reefs are disappearing. Its aim is to trigger action to save coral reefs. ICRI has been further endorsed by the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands of International Importance, the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD), UNEP and the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC) of UNESCO.

In 1995 the region known as the Wider Caribbean developed an Agenda for Action under ICRI. The group implementing the UNEP's Caribbean Environment Programme (UNEP-CAR/RCU) was identified as regional contact point and facilitator for implementation of the ICRI process.

The project has two phases: a start-up phase (1999–2001) and an action phase of four years (2001–05). During the start-up phase, ICRAN conducted pilot activities in the Wider Caribbean, East Africa and South-East Asia. It also developed a strategic plan with its partners and reviewed mechanisms and potential for fund-raising for the action phase.

The primary objective of the ICRAN activities in the Wider Caribbean is to build capacity on the ground for the sustainable management of coral reefs, emphasizing the role of Marine Protected Areas (MPAs), local communities and the tourism sector. To this end a number of regional and local activities will be undertaken which include training, the promotion of best practices, the assessment and mon-

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itoring of coral reefs (including socio-economic assessment), and the mapping of MPAs and their habitats. A campaign to raise public awareness of the economic value of coral reefs will be directed mainly towards decision-makers and developers. To maximize results and sustainability, demonstration sites will be established at four locations: Soufriere Marine Management Area (Saint Lucia); Hol Chan Marine Park (Belize); Bonaire Marine Park (Netherlands Antilles); and Sian Ka'an Biosphere Reserve. The sites will be used to promote best practices, not only throughout the life of the project but also on a continuous basis after completion. Demonstration sites will be chosen which meet specific criteria and offer potential for successful best practices. Technical assistance will address any shortcomings and help the sites to function well for demonstration purposes.

Three projects funded by the United Nations Foundation (UNF) are aimed at consolidating processes and programmes and at generating models to be reproduced at World Heritage sites elsewhere in the world that have similar environmental and socio-economic conditions.

### 6. Conclusions

Partnerships with NGOs are an important way to win broader public support and to create the critical mass needed for promoting the concept of sustainable development. Research centres help to generate information and to provide arguments that can influence decision-making.

Collaboration with government agencies helps to ensure that public policies are consistent with project aims as regards sustainable development.

Partnerships with communities are essential at all stages of establishing, managing and preserving a World Heritage natural site. They are important for:

- avoiding opposition to the site and to the regulations that will conserve it;
- gaining public support for conservation programmes;
- demonstrating to local inhabitants that proper interaction with the site is in their own long-term interest;
- winning a consensus in support of site management programmes and actions;
- generating genuine empowerment for the community.

Several mechanisms or strategies can be used to establish partnerships involving local communities. These include publicity campaigns, international co-operation, environmental education, and development programmes related to site conservation and local councils or committees. The experience of the Sian Ka'an Biosphere Reserve has shown, however, that a good partnership with local communities must provide the local inhabitants with beneficial rights that override the rights of outsiders to access and use natural resources. This is especially important for resources that are considered common property, i.e. where

access is free or the property rights are not formally defined. Such beneficial rights would give local inhabitants priority or even exclusive rights to permits or concessions granted, for example, for the operation of commercial boat trips around the reefs or for fishing commercially in the bays.

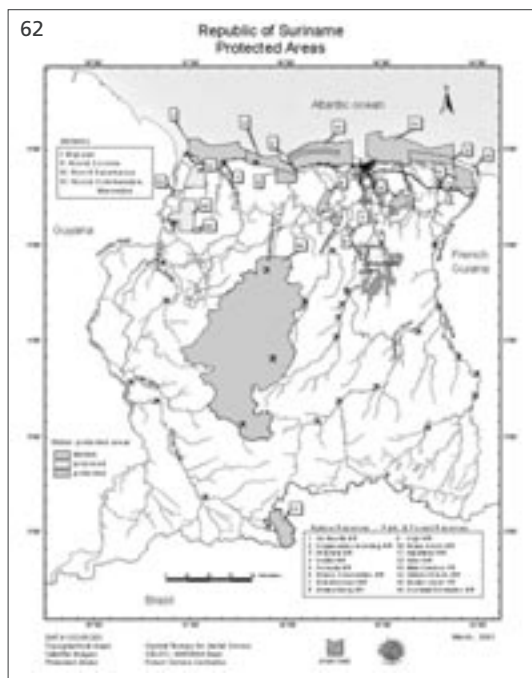
## Latin America and the Caribbean Amérique latine et les Caraïbes

### Natural Heritage in Suriname and its Benefits for Local Communities

Bryan C. Drakenstein

#### 1. Introduction

Some 90% of the surface of Suriname (about 164,600 km<sup>2</sup>) is still covered with tropical (mesophytic) and savannah (xerophytic) forest. Protected Areas (eleven nature reserves, one nature park and four multiple-use management areas) account for about 13% of the land surface (Fig. 62). This percentage is set to increase to 13.8% once two proposed nature reserves and two proposed forest reserves have been established. The Central Suriname Nature Reserve was declared a Protected Area in 1998. Covering some 1.6 million ha (10% of the land surface of Suriname), it encompasses the Raleighvallen, Tafelberg and Eilerts de Haan Nature Reserves.



Republic of Suriname Protected Areas

#### 2. Institutional Framework

In 1948, the Nature Protection Commission (*Natuurbeschermingscommissie*) was established by government resolution as an advisory body to study conservation problems and to propose legislation on nature conservation. The resulting Game Act (*Jachtwet*, Government Bulletin 1954, No. 25) and the Nature Preservation Act (*Natuurbeschermingswet*, Government Bulletin 1954, No. 26) entered the statute books in 1954 and are implemented by the Nature Conservation Division of the Forest Service, assisted by the Foundation for Nature

Conservation in Suriname (STINASU). The Forest Service and STINASU operate under the auspices of the Ministry of Natural Resources. The Forest Service is responsible for the management of all nature reserves, while its Nature Conservation Division is charged with day-to-day running. At present the Head of this Division, Ferdinand L. Baal, is the manager of the Central Suriname Nature Reserve (CSNR).

Some noteworthy international organizations active in conservation in Suriname include Conservation International Suriname (CIS), Amazon Conservation Team (ACT) and WWF-Guianas.

Some community-based organizations and local NGOs are the Organization for Indigenous Tribal Leaders in Suriname (VIDS), Sanomaro Esa (a women's group), Pater Alhbrinck Stichting (PAS), Stichting Meu Eucare Urakanumke (MEU) and the NGO Forum.

#### 3. Central Suriname Nature Reserve

The Central Suriname Nature Reserve (CSNR) was registered as a natural heritage site on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2000 under natural criteria (ii) and (iv). The site encompasses significant vertical relief, topography and soil conditions that have resulted in a variety of ecosystems. This ecosystem variation allows organisms within these ecosystems to move in response to disturbance, adapt to change and maintain gene flow between populations. The site's size, its undisturbed state (generally a rare condition in Amazonian forest parks) and protection of the entire Coppename River watershed, will allow long-term functioning of the ecosystem. The site contains a high diversity of plant and animal species, many of which are endemic to the Guyana Shield and are threatened on a global scale.

The Reserve comprises 1.6 million ha of the tropical forest of west-central Suriname. It protects the upper watershed of the Coppename and the headwaters of the Lucie, Oost, Zuid, Saramacca and Gran Rio rivers and, due to its pristine state, includes a range of topography and ecosystems of notable conservational value. Its montane and lowland forests contain a high diversity of plant life, with more than 5,000 vascular plant species collected to date. The Reserve's animals are typical of the region and include the jaguar, giant armadillo, giant river otter, tapir, sloth, eight species of primate and 400 bird species such as the harpy eagle, the Guyanese cock of the rock (*Rupicola rupicola*) and the scarlet macaw.

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In the Raleighvallen area, the vegetation predominantly consists of mixed mesophytic tropical rainforest, vegetation in rapids and falls and granite outcrops (inselberg), notably the impressive 240 m high, dome-shaped Voltzberg and the 360 m high Van Stockumberg. All eight species of primate occurring in Suriname can be found here, as can about 350 bird species including the Guyanese cock of the rock.

In the Tafelberg area, the most interesting ecosystems are part of the Roraima sandstone formation. According to our present knowledge, the Tafelberg (table mountain) is the easternmost extension of what is left of this formation. The mountain has the same physiography as the Kaieteuran series in Guyana and the Tepuis in the Venezuela savannah, however, it is the only one on Roraima sandstone that is situated at lower elevations. Primeval tropical rainforest and other ecosystems also occur here.

The Eilerts de Haan area is part of a mountain range with primeval tropical rainforest as well as ecosystems typical of the mountainous interior.

In 2002, the following research was conducted in the Central Suriname Nature reserve:

### 4. Indigenous and Maroon Communities Surrounding CSNR

The indigenous and Maroon communities surrounding CSNR are:

- *Matawai*: mostly located in different villages along the Saramacca River; the nearest village to the eastern border of the CSNR is Poesoegroenoe, about 2 km away.
- *Saramaccaner*: the nearest village is Kayana, some 40 km from the eastern border of the reserve. By boat, it is 75 km downstream of the Gran Rio river.
- *Tarëno*: the nearest village of this indigenous community is Peletutepu, some 50 km from the southern border of the Reserve. However only the Tarënos from Kwamalasamutu, located about 90 km from the southern border, have claimed historical hunting rights within the CSNR. The Tarëno community comprises different indigenous communities, of which the Tarëno tribe is the largest. It is foreseeable that they will also play a major part in the development of the CSNR.
- *Kwinti*: located in the villages of Witagron and Kaaimanston. Witagron is 180 km from Paramaribo and 32 km (by boat) from the northern border of the CSNR. The current population is approximately 124 people (102 in Witagron and 22 in Kaaimanston). Prior to the civil strife of the mid-1980s, the total population was approx-

Main researcher and affiliation	Period covered (start; duration)	Research area(s)	Research topic (e.g. taxon studied)
J. G. Sanderson Conservation Intl.	30 Jan. 2002; 2 months	CSNR (Raleigh.-Voltz.) Brownsberg NP	Wildlife camera trapping
S. Boinski University of Florida	Feb. 2002; 5 years	CSNR (Raleigh.-Voltz.)	Monkey behaviour and ecology
M. J. J. Jansen-Jacobs NL Herbarium (UU)	1 April 2002; 2 months	CSNR (Raleigh.-Voltz.)	Inselberg flora inventory
N. Duplaix	1 June 2002; 2 months	CSNR (upper Coppename river system)	Wildlife survey (wet season)
N. Duplaix	17 Sept. 2002; 1 month	CSNR (upper Coppename river system)	Wildlife survey (dry season)
J. G. Sanderson Conservation Intl.	18 Sept. 2002; 8 months	CSNR (Raleigh.-Voltz. and upper Coppename)	Wildlife camera trapping
B. P. Noonan Texas University	1 Dec. 2002; 6 months	CSNR (near airstrips); Sipaliwini NR; Brownsberg NP	<i>Dendrobates</i> frog biogeography and herpetofauna surveys

Source: CSNR Research Agreements 2002 (STINASU, 2002)



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imately 400, however, Witagron was totally destroyed at that period and it was not until 1992 that people started returning to the villages. Until now the Kwinti have had the most contact with the Nature Conservation Division and STINASU, largely due to the location of Witagron, which is the land gateway to the CSNR.

### Basic facilities and institutional structures in Witagron

Facilities	Availability
Electricity	Yes, in the evenings if fuel available
Medical	Yes, basic
School	None
Communication	Short-wave radio
Community-Based Organization (CBO)	Name
Yes, two	Foundation for Development of Witagron and Surroundings (SWOWO) and the women's group, Koebi Koebi

### Benefits for Witagron and CSNR

Benefits for CSNR from Witagron	Benefits for Witagron from CSNR
Labour	Employment (by STINASU at Raleighvallen area in the CSNR)
Traditional knowledge of the area and its biodiversity	Assistance from STINASU for small-scale community development projects
Cultural heritage	

### 5. Participation of Local Communities

The Nature Preservation Resolution (*Natuurbeschermingsbesluit*) of 1986 includes a provision on the 'traditional' rights and interests of tribal communities in the Protected Areas.

Several meetings with these communities had resulted in an agreement that allows people living in tribal communities to maintain their traditional rights and interests within the nature reserves, provided that:

- no harm is done to the national objectives of the proposed nature reserves;
- the underlying reasons for these traditional rights and interests still exist; and
- the traditional rights and interests are limited to the consolidation of all people into a unified citizenship of Suriname.

The traditional rights and interests can be described as follows:

- free choice for the settlement of a village (this means permission to build camps);
- free choice of plots for the establishment of shifting cultivation grounds;
- permission to hunt; up to now, the indigenous and Maroon communities in Suriname have been allowed to hunt without needing a hunting permit. They do need a gun permit, however, but this can be obtained free of charge;
- permission to fish; and
- the opportunity to obtain a cutting permit. This system, although geared towards maintaining the indigenous and Maroon communities, also controls the use of timber products.

These activities may only take place on public lands which have not yet been formally given to third parties. Furthermore, this freedom of action is limited by the people's own traditional and cultural norms as well as general laws and specific legal instruments on hunting, fishing, and forest utilization.

The policy of the Forest Service for involving local communities in the management of all nature reserves has two tracks:

1. For *long-term activities*, a management plan for each Protected Area is drafted following consultation with the local communities. This plan sets out a detailed consultation structure with regard to the management of the area concerned.
2. For *short-term activities*, several projects (e.g. nature tourism, agriculture and fisheries) are planned with the involvement of the local communities.

### 6. Galibi Nature Reserve

A working example of the relationship with local communities based on the policy of the Forest Service can be found in the villages of Christiaankondre and Langamankondre. The Galibi Nature Reserve (approx. 4,000 ha) was created in 1969 to protect sea turtle nesting beaches. It includes important nesting beaches for the leatherback (*Dermochelys coriacea*), the green turtle (*Chelonia mydas*), and the olive ridley (*Lepidochelys olivacea*). The villages of Christiaankondre and Langamankondre are located on the coast of Suriname near the Galibi Nature Reserve. This Reserve is at the mouth of the Marowijne River, which forms part of the border with French Guiana. These two indigenous villages have a population of approximately 800. The head villager of Christiaankondre is also the chair of the Organization for Indigenous Tribal Leaders in Suriname (VIDS).

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### Basic facilities and institutional structures in Galibi (Christiaankondre and Langamankondre)

Facilities	Availability
Electricity	Yes
Medical	Yes, basic
School	None
Communication	Short-wave radio, telephone, television reception and a local radio station
Community-Based Organization (CBO)	Name
Yes, six	Foundation for Development of Alusiaka and others

At present there is a Consultation Commission for the Galibi Nature Reserve with two representatives from the nearby villages of Christiaankondre and Langamankondre, one representative from the District Commissioner of the Marowijne district, a representative from the Fisheries Service and a representative from STINASU. The Head of the Nature Conservation Division also chairs the commission.

In the Galibi Nature Reserve, there is currently a collaborative project on nature tourism and sea turtle conservation between the local organization STIDUNAL and STINASU. STIDUNAL is responsible for the transport by water to and from the STINASU lodge at the nesting beaches. It also acts as an intermediary for providing STINASU with seasonal workers from the two communities. WWF Netherlands is a long-time partner and funding agency of all the conservation activities at the Reserve.

### Benefits for Galibi and the Galibi Nature Reserve (GNR)

Benefits from Galibi for GNR	Benefits from GNR for Galibi
Labour	Employment at STINASU (permanent and seasonal workers)
Traditional knowledge of the area	Tourism, tour operators, guides, lodges, transport; all self-employed from the communities
Traditional knowledge for management of the NR through participation in the Galibi Nature Reserve Consultation Committee	Souvenirs, including a visitors' centre
Cultural heritage	Fishing (part-time poachers received small loans to improve their fishing tackle and to become full-time fishermen)
Boat-building	

Looking at the communities of Witagron and Galibi, we see some differences, such as:

- location and accessibility of the communities;
- size of the communities;
- civil strife, and the resulting devastation of the Galibi villages, is avoided;
- level of institutional development through CBO differs;
- education facilities, non-existent in Witagron;
- consultation committee in place in the Galibi Nature Reserve;
- good communication facilities in the Galibi area;
- integration with ecotourism within the framework of the Reserve. Clearly visible through the building of lodges and boats for tourism.

### 7. Lessons Learned

Some of the lessons learned during the years of nature conservation and management, and the consultation process in Galibi:

- the size of the communities will minimize any negative impact they might have on nature, but will also influence the level of human resources (knowledge, capacity) that can be mobilized;
- time is required for the integration and adaptation of current practices, the introduction of new means of income-earning and integration of the culture and customs of the surrounding communities into the management goals of the Reserve;
- strengthening organizational capacity, for example, by people setting up their own businesses (ecotourism or other) and participating in consultations;
- the community has a clear idea and objective (community leaders) as to what its role should be within the CSNR, and vice versa;
- the provision or improvement of basic facilities such as a school, medical care, communication and the protection of traditional knowledge is also required, if local community participation in the CSNR and the resultant benefits are to be improved.

These subjects may seem obvious, but they do need to be emphasized as they constitute the basic requirements which, together with a programme for consultation, should result in improved participation of local communities in the management of the CSNR and directly tangible benefits.

A positive aspect of this case is the fact that the Community Development Fund Suriname (CDFS) was recently launched to provide some assistance in reaching the communities. Also due to be launched is the Fund for the Development of the Interior, which aims to positively change the situation in the different communities in the inland areas.

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## Proposed World Heritage Cultural Landscape in the Argentinian Andes and the Involvement of Local Communities: Pintoscayoc, a Case Study in Quebrada de Humahuaca

María Isabel Hernández Llosas

**1. Introduction**

Quebrada de Humahuaca is a long and large rift valley system located in the South Central Andes in north-west Argentina, close to the border with Bolivia. It belongs to the eastern ranges of the Andes which extend from Bolivia to Argentina (Fig. 63). Quebrada de Humahuaca borders the high plateau to the north and west and the lowlands to the south and east, where the tropical rain forest begins (Fig. 64). The rift valley system is in the shape of a tree, with the main trunk located in a north-south axis, through which the main river flows southward along a 166 km course (Fig. 65). It begins at an average altitude of 5,000 m MSL from Puna and ends southward at 1,500 m MSL where the rift system meets with the Yungas (Fig. 66). Quebrada de Humahuaca therefore straddles two very different environments and is a gateway to both geographical regions. In the past, these regions were the birth-place of related human traditions and cultures which are still alive today.



Quebrada de Humahuaca

The rift valley system itself is a geographical and cultural unit that can be described as a 'continuing cultural landscape' according to the UNESCO classification (UNESCO, 1972, 1994). This consideration is based on the concentration of material and non-material evidence of a long history of human

occupation, spanning more than 10,000 years. The clearly close and changing relationship between human societies and this specific territorial entity left evidence of cultural landscapes that had been continually 'repainted' throughout history. The present result is the existence of a continuing cultural landscape that has developed its present form by association with and in response to its natural environment, while playing an active role in contemporary society, closely associated with the traditional way of life. The cultural landscape is also impressive in terms of natural beauty. Its significance is aesthetic, artistic, scientific (geological, geographical, archaeological, historical, anthropological and sociological), symbolic and social, and all these values are recognized by different human groups, including local communities, the scientific community, visitors and tourists, many of whom have different and sometimes contradictory interests.

The value and potential of the region have been presented in previous papers (Hernández Llosas, 1999, 2001). Although the local and national authorities developed the idea of nominating Quebrada de Humahuaca for inscription on the World Heritage List, they did not fully recognize the importance of designing a comprehensive management plan involving all the social actors in the process. There are several reasons for this. First, the dominant concept of heritage is still tied to the old view that considers cultural heritage to embody only specific material remains linked to the colonial and republican past. Second, the political, economic and social crisis the country has faced for several decades is reflected in the lack of good policies and programmes for heritage management. The access to heritage management and policy is restricted to politicians and government officials who are not specifically trained in these particular topics and whose dialogue with other social actors is scarce.



Puna or High Plateau



Basin or Lower Rift Valley



The Yungas or Upper Tropical Rain Forest

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Within this scenario, and even though we have presented a schematic proposal for the general management of the whole Continuing Cultural Landscape of the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Hernández Llosas, 1999, 2001), it is obvious that such an enterprise is a long-term, vast and difficult task. Taking this into account, we perceive the joint interpretation and management project at Pintoscayoc, a specific site within Quebrada de Humahuaca, as a model to be extended to the wider context of the Quebrada. In Pintoscayoc a comprehensive archaeological project, initiated by the Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET), the Argentine National Council for Scientific and Technological Research, in collaboration with local communities, yielded knowledge about the geology, archaeology, history and anthropology of the place (Hernández Llosas, 1998, 2000). The community living there today comprises herders and farmers, an extended family group that belongs to a larger group of 150 inhabitants of the surrounding area, whose culture is tied to Andean traditions. We believe that linking the scientific knowledge with the community's traditional knowledge of the place is the best way to interpret and manage this particular cultural landscape.

This paper presents the project to interpret and manage the heritage values of Pintoscayoc. The objectives of this project are to promote the creation of a working group that serves to integrate the local community, scientists and other scholars and social actors, to share knowledge (traditional and scientific) about the place and to decide how and which part of that knowledge is appropriate to be shared with a broader group of people, and to explore the possibility of promoting tourism in the area. The idea of promoting tourism or attracting visitors is based, first, on the necessity of finding ways of sustainable development for the local community and, second, on the opportunity to bring that knowledge to the general public as a means of promoting the revalorization of the heritage on a broader social scale.

First, however, we need to discuss some key issues relating to the following topics. What is heritage all about? Whose heritage is it? Which part of the past and present are considered heritage? What have archaeology and archaeologists got to do with heritage? Can archaeology help in the search for a local and national cultural identity? How can this be related to local sustainable development?

### 2. Addressing the Issues

The concept of heritage is closely related to the significance that particular things have for specific groups of people (Pearson and Sullivan, 1999). Heritage comes from

the past and links past objects, events and beliefs with present people, becoming the inheritance of the present people.

In regions where colonialism has been part of the historical process in recent centuries, as in the case of the Americas, the recognition of particular objects, events and beliefs as heritage has been restricted by the colonial domination of the previous inhabitants, the original people. The result of this has been the recognition of colonial and republican times as the local past, history and heritage. The European past, traditions and beliefs became the roots and the model to follow. The Aboriginal past was, and still is, perceived as an extension of nature and is considered to be part of the natural history rather than the history (see Byrne, 1991, for similarities in the Australian context). Thus, when defining 'archaeological heritage' many scholars and politicians, as well as the general public, perceive the 'archaeological record' or 'archaeological remains' (sites, objects, etc.) as 'heritage', although they only recognize the scientific values. This dominant ideology ignores the basic definition of heritage which requires a group of people to recognize something as their own. Only then does the concept of heritage come into play as a social value (Ballart, 1997).

In Argentina, the consequences of this way of thinking are manifold and become apparent at the social, political and economic levels. However, they are particularly visible in the distinct lack of any modern heritage legislation, the paucity of policies and strategies to protect and manage archaeological heritage, and the lack of dialogue among political and local authorities, local communities and scientists. In this context, the local communities, mainly the Aboriginal and mestizo ones, are perceived by the authorities and the scientists as groups of people that have to be taught the values of the natural and cultural heritage, the scientific aspect of them being the only important values. In doing so, they are failing to recognize the importance of traditional knowledge, local values and the points of view of the community.

One of the arguments in favour of this position is the difficulty in proving a direct link between these communities and the archaeological remains. Again, this approach not only fails to recognize the basic concept of heritage as a social value, but it also denies the historical drama that led to the present situation. The indigenous people were subject to massive killings, forced assimilation and marginalization, the result of which was that the original owners of the land were chased off and their material culture and physical remains transferred from the landscape to museum collections. Their present descendants are perceived as uncultured. They were dispossessed of life, their culture, land and past, and their absence from the landscape removed them from sight, putting into question the notion of authenticity of the landscape.

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### 3. Re-Establishing Visibility

#### 3.1 When part of the past has been erased, how can it be brought back?

There are several ways to re-establish the visibility of a past that has been erased. To begin with, the dominant notion that links the Aboriginal past with natural history has to be changed in favour of the notion that the original people's past and present are part of the cultural history.

One way to promote this notion is to restore the knowledge of the continuity of human development in a particular land and the cultural construction of that land, also referred to as the *continuing cultural landscape*. To bring back that knowledge, there is a powerful tool known as *interpretation*. These are two key concepts that require further elaboration.

#### 3.2 Continuing cultural landscape

The concept of landscape has lately been considered and referred to as a cultural construct (Ashmore and Knapp, 1999; Bender, 1994; Bradley, 2001). Within this perspective, landscape is perceived as being different from environment itself, and is regarded as the place where culture is displayed, providing evidence of the culture. A particular landscape today appears as a palimpsest because it contains traces of the interrelationships between places, events, people and the setting throughout history. The changes over time have given rise to layers which appear today in different ways. It is 'the landscape as a whole – that largely man-made tapestry – in which all other artifacts are embedded ... which gives them their sense of place' (Lowenthal, 1981). Conceived in this way, the landscape is a significant reminder of the past and can inform and enlighten us on social history and on the way our predecessors were involved in landscape-making. The landscape also has the ability to promote a sense of place, to create links with the past and to develop a sense of continuity with the present. In this paper, we take the World Heritage category of 'continuing cultural landscape' to have been conceived along these lines.

#### 3.3 Interpretation

Interpretation has been defined as 'a communication process, using a variety of approaches and techniques, designed to reveal meanings and relationships of our cultural and natural heritage to the public through first hand experience with an object, artifact, landscape or site' (Vancouver Island Regional Interpretation and Information Plan, Evans, 1985, cited in Sullivan, 1996). This communication process involves at least three stages: (a) recovering the information; (b) giving meaning to that information; (c) presenting that information to others. The whole process has a high level of subjectivity and is related to the value system of the actors involved. One category of key actors is the scientist, who can recover scientific informa-

tion about the past and present landscape. Other key actors are the local communities. It is important to state the obvious here because, as was explained before, the dominant perception of heritage values is connected to scientific and Western values and these undermine the relevance of working with the community on heritage topics. It is also important to consider the characteristics of local communities, because the perceptions of heritage will be different among Aboriginal and mestizo people, and the ties of these people with traditional ways of life will be stronger than among the recent immigrants to the area. As with any communication process, the interpretation of a particular landscape will convey a certain message, and it is important to be conscious that the message and the interpretation are, by their very nature, subjective (Sullivan, 1996).

#### 3.4 Constructing visibility

Interpretation is the tool used to show the past and the present of a particular continuing cultural landscape that comes from the joint effort of a group of people who wish to display and share their knowledge (traditional and scientific), their values and their points of view with others. The aims of interpretation are numerous. Communicating values and showing the significance of a cultural landscape are the core objectives, but enhancing the cultural experience of visitors and protecting and conserving the heritage are no less important concerns. The practical implementation of the interpretation can adopt many forms. In dealing with complex situations, such as the interpretation of a cultural landscape, there are many options available and these include the development of a detailed project, an assessment of the places to be shown, the physical protection of these places, the setting-up of interpretation centres and/or museums, the development of interpretative trails, etc. In these terms, interpretation is one effective way to construct (or re-construct) visibility of a past that was erased or hidden, potentially giving access to that knowledge to a broader group of people (local and national visitors as well as foreign tourists). Interpretation is a powerful tool that has to be used with care, conscience and a sense of ethics. With this as a starting point, the interpretation has to be developed within the framework of a management plan and will ultimately constitute a very important part of that plan.

### 4. Pintoscayoc Archaeological Project

Pintoscayoc is a locality set in the upper sector of Quebrada de Humahuaca, a high rift valley at an altitude that ranges from 3,000 m to 4,100 m above sea level. This upper location has particular characteristics in topography and resources quite different from those that can be found in the basin, or lower sector, of the rift valley where altitudes range from 1,500 m to 2,900 m MSL (Fig. 67). Pintoscayoc is a typical high rift valley environment, with a steep topography, outcrops with rock shelters, a scarcity of spring water, and characteristic wild plants and animals.

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This land and its resources have been used by human societies from around 10,000 years ago.



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**Upper or High Rift Valley**

Since 1982, a comprehensive archaeological project has taken place here. The project was directed by the present writer, carried out as part of a CONICET research programme and implemented by former archaeology students from various Argentine universities. The team also included specialists from a variety of disciplines. The aims of the project were to research a specific location which was perceived as a cultural landscape in order to investigate the relationship between human societies and the land of the region over time, to analyse the changes in the ways of occupation of this particular area throughout the course of history, and to evaluate the causes of these changes.

Several archaeological sites varying in nature were found. Some of them have rock art and/or archaeological deposits (Fig. 68). These were recorded, excavated and studied. Information on the human occupation from 10,700 years ago until the present day was recovered, showing a changing relationship with the land, which can be traced over time, but also showing that a basic traditional way of life remained constant (Hernández Llosas, op.cit.). Even though the present community does not openly recognize



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**Rock art from the first encounters with Spanish Conquerors**

the archaeological remains as those of their direct ancestors, there is an implicit recognition and respect for their forebears as they refer to them as *los antiguos* (the elders). During the 1980s, when the scientific investigation of the area commenced, the dominant scientific paradigm was to carry out basic archaeological research. Within that framework, the objective of the original project did not take into account the possibility of working together with the local community on heritage topics. Even if the relationship between the archaeologist and the local inhabitants was always very close at a human level, any efforts to combine traditional knowledge with the knowledge gained through scientific research was only devised and designed much more recently.

### 5. Towards Joint Management and Interpretation of Pintoscayoc Continuing Cultural Landscape

Since 1997, when the excavation phase of the project finished, the team started to develop the idea of a joint management plan for the whole site, to be designed and carried out together with the local community. One year earlier, an anthropologist from the group, Pablo Masci, initiated several activities with the community in order to form a co-operative to sell local produce to people visiting the area as cultural tourists. The visitors were students of the University of Buenos Aires who went there as part of a recreational programme. The results of these preliminary activities were encouraging, not only because of the interest that this type of tour generates among visitors, but also because of the new types of relationship that the co-operative generates among the local people. The results were excellent in two ways: the students gained a lot of knowledge and the local people increased their potential for economic development.

The success of these preliminary activities reinforced the idea of the importance of utilizing the knowledge and the archaeological collection acquired during the scientific project in a broader programme that considers management and interpretation, but is oriented towards sustainable development by promoting it as a cultural attraction for different target groups of visitors. With this in mind, the idea of developing a new project to manage and interpret the whole Pintoscayoc locality (integrating all the natural, archaeological and historical remains together with the present fields that are used or inhabited today) arose as a joint initiative between the scientists who have worked there and the community. The actors of the project have yet to formally organize the working group and communicate the initiative to the local government in order to work with it in arranging the legal and bureaucratic aspects. At this stage, the design of the management plan is being developed as a priority, together with the schedule of activities, and the fund-raising programme that supports the project. CONICET, an agency that supports scientific investigation, is not directly involved in the project, but does support this type of initiative at an academic level. As this is a joint project in spirit and practice, both parts of the working group will train each other in raising awareness of Pintoscayoc's values. In doing so the local community, working together with the archaeologist and anthropologist, will decide which of these values are to be shown to the visitors and how.

To co-ordinate and facilitate the interpretation, a project to build an 'interpretation centre' in the main part of the locality (close to the present school facilities) has been proposed. This centre aims to centralize the display of knowledge about the site and to show and organize the different sites that can be visited by trekking (geological outcrops, caves with rock art, herding stations, etc.) and which are to be prepared as interpreted cultural trails (Fig. 69). To present the scientific information, the local community must first agree

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on what to display, and then display it in a public-friendly way. This display will include geological, geographical, biological, archaeological and historical information. To present the traditional knowledge about the place, the local community will propose and decide which aspects of that knowledge (from craft techniques to religious beliefs) they would like to share and how. The interpretation centre and visitor management will be in the hands of the community, the representatives of which will act as the custodians of the archaeological collection deposited in the museum of the interpretation centre.



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**Goats and sheep, traditional herding station**

### 5.1 Interpretation

To display the information and knowledge about the place, ten main themes will be presented, not only at the interpretation centre, but also through cultural teaching trails crossing the Pintoscaiyoc landscape:

**Theme 1: *The creation of the land (geology).*** How the place came to be what it is today / the Palaeozoic basin / the Miocene, Pliocene and Pleistocene elevation process, orogenic complexity / the resulting elevated basin, the ongoing geological process / the dynamics of the rift valleys / the selection of sites in the landscape with a high visibility and exposure of the past geological process.

**Theme 2: *The land (ecology).*** The gifts of nature. What nature offers today / the desert environment and its similarities with other deserts of the world / water: the crucial resource / the particular climate (Buitrago and Larran, 1994) / the native flora (steppe species and the very characteristic cactus) (Cabrera, 1957a; Ruthsatz and Movia, 1975) / the native fauna (large and small mammals, herbivores and predators) (Cabrera, 1957b) / the importance of the camelids / the native fauna domesticated / plants and animals introduced after Spanish colonization.

**Theme 3: *The first humans enter the land.*** The genesis of the cultural landscape by people who hunt and gather c. 11,000–7,500 years ago (c. 9050–5500 BC). Pleistocene – Holocene edge: the first entrance of humans into the region as a local phenomenon of a global process (Gamble, 1994) / exploration, colonization, effective occupation of the land (Borrero, 1994; Hernández Llosas, 2000) / the hunter-gatherer way of life and beliefs. The abandonment of the land c. 7,500–5,000 years ago (c. 5500–3000 BC). Middle Holocene: drastic reduction of the humidity, abandonment or occasional occupation of the land (Yacobaccio, 1997).

**Theme 4: *Changing relations with the land.*** The cultural landscape of the first people to produce food c. 5,000–3,000 years ago (c. 3050–1050 BC). The beginning of the Late Holocene: the different way of returning to the land / the starting point of a new relation with the land / triggers of the process / the impossibility of maintaining a hunter-gatherer way of life / the adoption of new ways of life in economy, social and ideological aspects (Hernández Llosas, 2003).

**Theme 5: *The productive land.*** The cultural landscape of people who intensively produce food c. 3,000–550 years ago (c. 1050 BC–AD 1450). Development of the Late Holocene: the intensification in the use of the land / changes in social relationships / causes and consequences of the process at social, political and ideological levels (Hernández Llosas, 2000; Nielsen, 1997).

**Theme 6: *The land conquered.*** The cultural landscape during the Inca domination c. 550–450 years ago (c. AD 1450–1550). The spread of the Incas from the Central Andes / the regional form of the general process (Raffino, 1993) / the Waka at Pintoscaiyoc (Hernández Llosas, 2002).

**Theme 7: *The land invaded.*** The landscape disrupted by the Spanish conquerors c. 450–350 years ago (c. AD 1535–1635). Invasion and resistance / the drastic end of the Aboriginal era / the integration into general world history since then (Martínez Cereceda, 2000) / the local manifestation of the process (Hernández Llosas, 2001).

**Theme 8: *The land as a Spanish colony and the Republic.*** A syncretic cultural landscape c. 350–100 years ago (c. AD 1635–1900). The Spanish colonial way of life / the forced change in living on the land and attitudes / the last century's wars of independence and the birth of the nation-state (Busaniche, 1973).

**Theme 9: *The land today.*** A changing cultural landscape tied to the past c. 100 years ago–present (c. AD 1900–2000). The ongoing process / adaptation to the present historical conditions / the maintenance and reinvention of the traditional way of life / the interweaving of the Andean and Spanish worlds.

**Theme 10: *The land tomorrow – the future cultural landscape.*** The uncertainty of the future / the risk of losing traditions, the heritage and the land / danger and ways of protecting the continuing cultural landscape of Pintoscaiyoc (Fig. 70).



© María Isabel Hernández Llosas

**Present people, uncertain future**



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### 6. Politics, Science, Community: A Dialogue to be Established

Throughout recent decades, a deeper awareness and understanding of the relevance and values of our cultural and natural heritage has reached different social groups at a global level. This awareness has brought with it new possibilities to 'use' that heritage for different purposes, most attention being focused on sustainable development projects. This awareness has also brought with it some dangerous situations where powerful economic groups want to take advantage of the economic potential of the heritage for their own benefit. Some projects proposing the exploitation of the natural and cultural heritage by private groups have been put forward to the political decision-makers in a search for financial support with the initial investment, such as a French proposal for cultural tourism in north-west Argentina (Reboratti, pers. comm.). The benefits of these projects for the local communities relate to the job opportunities that the projects could offer them (e.g. hotel attendants, tour guides, drivers, etc.). This type of project is a real danger all over Latin America, given the political and economic crisis in most of the region and the resultant susceptibility of politicians, and the desire of local and foreign private economic groups to take advantage of that.

In these circumstances and with a view to avoiding such situations, it is even more important to develop understanding and co-operation between politicians, scientists and local communities in favour of positive management practices that regard the community not just as a target for development, but as having a primary active role in the process. The idea of sustainability based on heritage is especially important today, when the economy of the country is deteriorating so rapidly that the most vulnerable social groups, such as these communities, are the most severely affected. We believe that the use of natural and cultural heritage sites for sustainable development purposes can only be achieved if all the social actors are involved, particularly the local communities, and, if the heritage management is based in these communities, with the help of local authorities and other interest groups (e.g. scientists). With this in mind, we agree with UNESCO's belief that heritage can be seen as a 'resource' only if its valorization aims to achieve 'the flourishing of human existence in all its forms and as a whole' (Isar, 1998). It is clear then that heritage should be seen as a potential source of spiritual and material growth for the local and international community.

In this light, management and presentation can be seen as the pathway to 'sustainable development' if the interpretation of heritage results in the 'attractions' offered as part of a cultural tourism development programme.

### 7. Conclusions

At this stage, it is important to go back to the necessity of giving visibility to a past that has been erased. The idea of bringing heritage knowledge to the general public is important given the almost total lack of information that the average person in Argentina has about the country's Aboriginal past and its significance. This lack of knowledge is a hangover from the official education and other policies followed in the past. These policies, which started in the mid-nineteenth century with the birth of the nation (together with the massive killing of the Aboriginal people of Pampa and Patagonia, and the immigration programme to bring Europeans to populate the country), were based on a belief in the creation of a new nation with new people. This belief created a myth of a nation, and built a segregated past, resulting in the nation being dispossessed of its past and the creation of a national identity crisis.

The only way to face the national identity crisis is to recognize and promote the multicultural heritage of the country. To heal the rupture with the untold past, it is necessary to develop a reconciliation process, to discover the social significance of how the 'different' pasts have shaped the nation, and to promote a new perception of the past including all the diverse social and cultural groups. Archaeology and archaeologists can help in this process by working with and for the community, to encourage the pursuit of a new national identity with a new common future rooted in the true past of our land and our people.

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### Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, Colombia: Indigenous Territories in a Complex Scenario

Juan Mayr

**The Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta (Colombia), is one of the most ecologically and politically complex regions in Latin America. It provides, however, valuable experience in participatory planning, involving a whole spectrum of local actors – indigenous peoples, peasant farmer communities, large-scale landowners and government authorities – for the joint construction of a comprehensive sustainable development plan.**

#### 1. Bioregional and Cultural Context

Reaching an altitude of 5,775 m above sea level, just 42 km from the Caribbean coast, the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta is the world's highest coastal mountain range. It is geographically isolated from the Andean cordillera, and encompasses an area of about 17,000 km<sup>2</sup>.

Due to the range of altitudes and its geographical location, the Sierra Nevada contains a mosaic of all the globally significant ecosystems that can be found in tropical Latin America. It is rich in biodiversity, with numerous endemic reptile, plant and bird species. And despite the fact that only 15% of the original forests remain, tapirs, pumas, spectacled bears and otters can still be found. The Sierra is also the source of thirty-five watersheds, which supply 1.5 million inhabitants of the region, as well as vast urban and farming areas on the surrounding lowlands.

In recognition of these special characteristics, the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta was declared a Biosphere Reserve within the UNESCO–MAB Programme.

Until 500 years ago, the Sierra supported a large indigenous population. The region is scattered with the ruins of hundreds of settlements, well-built stone terraces and paths that also served as drainage channels, and which are evidence of the practice of vertical ecology (including the growing of different crops at different altitudes, and bringing salt and fish up to the mountains from the sea). But this situation changed drastically from the early seventeenth century, when the Spaniards won control of the lower Sierra and began to ransack Indian graves to steal gold craftwork and pottery. Later, there was the exploitation of valuable tropical timber, and then migrating peasants began to invade Indian lands.

Nowadays, the Sierra's indigenous population includes only 32,000 people, from four main ethnic groups: the Kogi, Arhuaco, Wiwa and Kankuamo. There are approximately 150,000 peasants and 1.5 million urban dwellers in the lowlands.

#### 2. Kogi Indians: Guardians of the 'Heart of the World'

The indigenous peoples of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta have been integrated into Colombian society and undergone varying degrees of acculturation. Among them, the Kogi stand out as having succeeded in preserving their traditions, and as the best guardians of the knowledge of their ancestors.

The Kogi are practitioners of the 'Law of the Mother', a complex code of rules that regulates human behaviour within a sacred territory, in harmony with plant and animal cycles, astral movements and climatic phenomena. Strict observance of this code of knowledge has enabled the Kogi to survive and remain self-sufficient over the course of several centuries.

Decision-making in personal and community affairs is concentrated in the hands of the *Mamas*, native priests who possess a profound knowledge of their environment, astronomy and ecology, and use this knowledge to maintain the delicate balance between man and nature. The *Mamas* are responsible for the management of resources such as water, the forest and crops, as well as the spiritual and moral balance of the individual and society in general.

To the Kogi people, the Sierra is the 'Heart of the World'. The complex geography of their traditional territory is delimited by a series of sacred sites. Each one of these sites is the origin of the fathers and mothers of plants, animals and minerals, as well as the site of origin of the different lineages into which indigenous society is divided. The *Mamas* must therefore look after its physical and spiritual health, to guarantee the harmony of the universe. They believe that the Sierra moves between good and evil, between day and night, between south and north, searching for equilibrium.

#### 3. Cultural Patrimony and Biodiversity Under Threat

This unique example of harmony between people and their environment is now more threatened than ever before.

Since the time of the Spanish conquest and the colonial period, the Kogi have been forced to retreat further and further up the mountains, as new settlers have taken over the fertile lower slopes. The situation now is that drug-traffickers, cattle farmers and wealthy banana or palm-oil growers have appropriated the most fertile lands of the

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Sierra Nevada and its surrounding areas. There is additional pressure on the Kogi from the presence of armed groups and the cultivation and trafficking of illegal drug crops (coca and marijuana).

The environmental and natural base of the Sierra Nevada has also suffered a severe impact through the massive destruction of its ecosystems, in particular due to exogenous farming and land-use practices. This has had a serious effect on water sources, affecting the population and ecosystems of the lower lands. And the situation has been further exacerbated due to climatic change, which has led to melting of the mountain glaciers of the Sierra Nevada and rapid deterioration of the high *páramo*, which acts as a giant water-holding sponge. Whereas previously the forest cover and local indigenous practices for the use and management of land and natural resources served to regulate the water flow of the rivers and streams which plunge down the Sierra valleys, there are now bare, eroded slopes, which result in alternate flooding and drought. In brief, human settlement, an advancing agricultural frontier, and the cultivation of illegal crops have contributed to the destruction of 72% of the area's original forests. Streams and rivers are being choked by erosion.

What is surprising, in this context, is the capacity of the Kogi to assimilate these difficulties, and indeed the strengthening of their culture as a strategy for survival. During the last few years they have in fact recuperated much of their traditional territory: in the higher regions of the Sierra Nevada, much of the forested area and valleys are once again in the hands of the Kogi Indians. This revindication of their territorial rights and the recognition of their cultural identity should be highlighted as providing an important basis for the ecological stability of the region.

### 4. Need for a Strategy and Plan for a Sustainable Future

It is not only the environmental, historical and cultural characteristics of the Sierra Nevada that make it a microcosm of national reality, but also the social, political and economic conflicts of the region.

In 1987, a Colombian NGO, Fundación Pro-Sierra, proposed a diagnostic of the environmental, socio-economic and institutional situation of the region, to be carried out in co-ordination with the regional government authorities and a national government agency. The diagnostic highlighted serious environmental deterioration and a volatile situation of social conflict and violence. It concluded that both the ecological and the social degradation were rooted in the lack of any strategic development generated from within the Sierra Nevada region.

The results were made widely available, as a means of raising regional and national awareness of the problems being faced by the Sierra Nevada and its inhabitants, and to

promote a common vision on the territory, which is split into multiple political-administrative divisions.

The challenge has been to bring together conflicting interest groups, and to generate a collective awareness of the problems of the Sierra Nevada and the importance of a strategy for future sustainable development of the region. This has meant ensuring that all the institutions covering the Sierra are involved – two national parks, two indigenous *resguardos* (collective territories), three departments and fourteen municipalities – and addressing the considerable lack of co-ordination between them.

### 5. Indigenous *Resguardos* in Colombia

Colombia's policy on indigenous peoples includes recognizing their rights to political-administrative autonomy, land tenure, education and health. The policy has been carried out largely through the establishment of indigenous *resguardos*: in essence, the provision of a collective property title over indigenous ancestral territory, in a legal form that protects both the territory and indigenous cultural and political autonomy.

The establishment of the *resguardos* has great relevance because it recognizes the role of traditional indigenous management systems in conserving the environment.

As part of the new territorial ordering of the Colombian nation, and a general policy of political administrative decentralization, there is currently a possibility of converting the *resguardos* into a new form: indigenous territorial entities. This will have many political and administrative implications.

### 6. Starting the Process: Local Consultation

One of the first achievements was when the national government began to refer to the Sierra Nevada as a single 'territorial unit' and even engaged in consultations with some of the local communities on their priorities for development activities in the region. However, this conventional approach to development focused solely on building and infrastructure, and took no consideration of the environment.

Nevertheless, around the same time, the new Political Constitution of Colombia was being drafted, which contemplated a transformation towards participatory democracy and the recognition of cultural diversity. The new Constitution also contained various articles aimed specifically at environment protection. Pro-Sierra worked with the national government to identify the need for a process that was inclusive of all sectors of the Sierra Nevada region, to analyse the environmental, social and cultural problems, and to guarantee protection of the watersheds, with the aim of achieving regional sustainable development.

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Water was chosen as the strategic focus, as everyone is interested in water, even though they may have differing points of view. It is also an element that validates indigenous knowledge, as the indigenous people have traditionally managed the conservation of natural resources, including the water that ensures the region's well-being.

A bottom-up approach was advocated, with support from the National Department of Planning and funding from the German development agency GTZ. It was developed through consultancies and discussion with all inhabitants and resource-users of the Sierra Nevada: indigenous communities, peasant farmers, district, municipal and departmental government bodies, and the business sector (investors, workers, chambers of commerce). Each of these groups has different ways of understanding life in the Sierra and different expectations for the region's future. The tendency is for each group, or resource-user, to think only of their own reality, and to give validity only to their own particular reasoning. The academic and scientific sectors were also consulted and, together with the University of the Andes, strategies were designed for awareness-raising, capacity-building and consultation with the peasant farmer and indigenous communities.

During the process it emerged (inevitably) that the demands of different sectors with regard to the Sierra are multiple and varied. Although the growing environmental problems were affecting all sectors, there was no common understanding of the complexity of the mountain range, nor the ways in which the activities of each person or sector was affecting the others. Workshops and meetings, as well as theatre and other dynamic and interactive methodologies, were used to explain land and water conflict.

The concepts of sustainable development and conservation, however, imply a vision of the future that is difficult to grasp in a region torn apart by armed conflict. Therefore, human rights education also had to be incorporated into the process.

Over a period of four years, consultations were carried out with all the different actors, and a chain of interrelated social, political and economic problems emerged, including:

- loss of traditional farming systems;
- introduction of inappropriate land-use;
- loss of indigenous traditional territories and sacred sites;
- serious inequity in land ownership;
- an image of the Sierra as a refuge for migrating peasants;
- armed conflict and violation of human rights;
- acculturation by a large part of the indigenous population;
- external market demands, such as instability in coffee prices;
- demand-led increase in the illegal cultivation of drugs;
- lack of state support, and lack of co-ordination between different government bodies;
- administrative corruption in local and departmental government bodies.

### 7. Next Step: Towards a Sustainable Development Plan

The next step was to produce a draft document, the basis of the future Sustainable Development Plan, which incorporated principles of respect, equity and participation. The document sought to include the recommendations of all the different social and institutional groups, and was presented to them to ensure that it gave a faithful representation of their views.

After more consultation and feedback on this preliminary document, a Sustainable Development Plan for the Sierra Nevada was produced. It was a participatory process, involving all the different social, political and economic sectors of the region, and complemented by scientific and technical information. This allowed critical areas and threatened ecosystems to be identified, and led to greater awareness of the current and potential impact on all communities that inhabit the Sierra and its surrounding regions if current trends are not changed.

Above all, the production of the Sustainable Development Plan was a flexible rather than a rigid process. It was soon recognized by the national government, which passed a law through Congress enabling the creation of a Regional Environmental Council, in which all stakeholders in the region participated. The Council meets three times a year to analyse themes of interest and develop agreed activities; it also has a Directive Committee that includes indigenous authorities and representatives from national government, and which analyses themes of interest to the indigenous communities.

Without doubt, the participation of indigenous people in the consultation process of the Sustainable Development Plan for the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta has validated their traditional knowledge, and led to acknowledgement of indigenous social, cultural, political and economic systems as the principal means for sustaining the Sierra Nevada. The process has been fundamental in achieving greater understanding of the spiritual role played by the Kogi and other indigenous groups in the conservation of their territory and in dealing with the ecological problems generated by the unrest in the country. It has helped to generate respect for the 'Law of the Mother' and for indigenous territories and their sacred sites.

### 8. Looking at the Outcomes

As with any dynamic and highly complex process involving many people and diverse interests, the development plan for the Sierra Nevada has seen its share of challenges and contradictions.

The process has led to greater awareness of the history and current realities of the region. It has allowed collective reflection about the problems, their causes, and different ways of solving them. It has also aroused the interest of

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different actors in the region, and stimulated various processes of political, administrative and community organization, as well as citizen overseers, to confront the challenges of the future – a situation that was unthinkable some years ago.

Indigenous communities which have been empowered by the Sustainable Development Plan and become more aware of the significance of their contribution to sustainability and biodiversity conservation are now developing a stewardship approach towards the Sierra Nevada: working for its sustainable management together with the local and regional authorities, as an active way of undertaking the holistic conservation of the 'Heart of the World'.

### 9. Microcosm of Realities in the Tropical Belt

There is a direct correlation between cultural diversity and biodiversity in tropical regions, which have the greatest concentration of cultural and biological diversity on the planet.

Of the world's 6,000 cultures, almost 80% are indigenous and a large percentage of these are threatened. Looked at from another angle, there are currently 2,500 languages at imminent risk of extinction, and with them the knowledge they contain. In other words, we find ourselves on the threshold of the greatest cultural and environmental destruction we have ever known, and with it the loss and erosion of knowledge accumulated over centuries.

We cannot ignore the fact that, throughout history, the interaction between the humanity and nature, and the development of innovations and technology that are drawn from the particular characteristics of territory and local environment, have produced various forms of adaptation, transformation and cultural response to the great challenges that natural conditions have imposed on different human groups. Cultural diversity is the expression of these multiple forms of adaptation, characterized by history, knowledge, technology, creativity, artistic expressions, language, spirituality and ethical values, which together form part of the patrimony of humanity. It is as necessary for humanity as biodiversity is for nature. And to cite just one example: 1.2 billion people (20% of the world's population) currently depend on traditional farming practices for their survival. This surely constitutes a great alternative means of eradicating poverty, one of the Millennium Goals.

However, with exponential population growth, advances in modern technology, and the development of megacities and their patterns of communication, production and consumption – stimulated by the globalizing economy – the breach between cultures has widened. Traditional cultural systems are threatened as never before, beneath the indifferent gaze of the developed world, and this generates yet more conflict and instability in many regions. The situation

is especially evident in the tropical belt, where nearly twenty countries are currently engaged in armed conflict, which is generally focused on zones of high biodiversity and within the sacred territory of hundreds of different traditional peoples.

It is in the midst of this conflict – which affects Colombia and many other countries of the tropical belt – and in the context of globalization and international unilateralism, that the need is ever more urgent to find new formulas that guarantee respect for the sacred space in which indigenous cultures are developing, and for their knowledge and history, which show us other forms of adaptation and thinking and real solutions to local and global problems.

In the case of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and other tropical regions, traditional societies which have succeeded in defending their cultural customs despite constant external pressure are today more threatened than ever. Their capacity for cultural adaptation and readaptation to these conditions, as well as the associated knowledge which has enabled them to use and sustainably manage the natural resources in tropical regions of high biodiversity and great fragility, are at considerable risk. There is a need for innovative mechanisms leading to the self-determination of different cultural expressions and their associated knowledge, as well as adequate forms of interrelationship with the dominant society.

### 10. Final Comments

At many levels, the experience gained and the overall process being implemented in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta provide an important reference point and source of information for similar processes in other regions of the country, such as in the Pacific bio-geographical region and the coffee-growing region, as well as internationally.

Above all, the process of local consultation in developing the Sustainable Development Plan has led to increased recognition of the importance of traditional indigenous cultures and their contribution to a better option and guarantee for environmental and territorial management in the Sierra Nevada, on the basis of their ancestral knowledge. Indeed, consideration of the cultural diversity of the Sierra Nevada is fundamental to sustainable development. It is only through the cultural validation of all stakeholders that greater social cohesion and overall social benefits can be achieved.

This is just one of the lessons learned. Success is still in the future, due to the immense complexity of the region and the changing scenario within which the local people are living. What has been achieved is a greater understanding of the realities and possibilities for conflict resolution in this region, even though the path is still a long one. As such, the experience of the Sierra Nevada contains elements of a universal character, especially for tropical regions with

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similar characteristics and inhabited mainly by indigenous peoples.

From a wider perspective, too, the Sierra Nevada shows that further debate on cultural diversity is of the highest importance, and demands immediate attention from all sectors involved. Respect for multicultural dialogue must take priority, as a path for the peaceful solution to conflicts and the construction of an ethic as the inspiring source for sustainable development. We find ourselves faced with a historic opportunity, to imagine and construct new possibilities and give an innovative response to the great challenges of our time.

It is the moment to reflect and UNESCO, together with other agencies of the United Nations, faces the challenge and obligation to preserve the cultural and environmental patrimony, and the knowledge associated with it, by offering and implementing new mechanisms that can guarantee future sustainable development for humanity.

In other words, there is a need to deepen a constructive dialogue and establish innovative ways to guarantee the understanding, respect and development of diverse cultural forms and their associated knowledge, as part of a culturally pluralistic world in an era of globalization and as an ethical imperative. The aim of this contribution is to stimulate that discussion.

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Latin America and the Caribbean **América latina et les Caraïbes****Role of Local Communities in the Management of World Heritage in Argentina: The Case of Cueva de las Manos**

María Mercedes Podestá and María Onetto

**1. Introduction**

This presentation focuses on the archaeological site of Cueva de las Manos (Argentina), which was inscribed on the World Heritage List as a cultural property in 1999. The site is located on the Río Pinturas in Patagonia. Its nomination gave it international recognition as representing one of the most important rock-art sequences in South America. It was painted by hunters who have inhabited the Río Pinturas valley and its environs since at least 9,000 years ago. For some decades, this once protected place has been in a constant state of interaction and exchange with its surroundings, largely as a result of the growth in tourism activities. This case study examines the role of local communities and tourism operators who have shown a new attitude and new interest in the area since Cueva de las Manos, Río Pinturas was officially designated as a site with outstanding universal value. This study also deals with the challenges facing site managers who are trying to interest the new communities in the notions of authenticity and integrity.

**2. Cueva de las Manos and Prehistoric Habitat of Río Pintura Valley**

The site of Cueva de las Manos is found in the upper part of the Deseado Basin at the base of a steep cliff overlooking the Río Pinturas canyon. The canyon offers a natural means of protection from the harsh climatic conditions of the region, and conditions at river level are more moderate than in the surrounding area (Fig. 71). The west winds that blow frequently across the pampas and highlands have less of an impact in the canyon. As a result, the natural

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The site of Cueva de las Manos is found in the upper part of the Deseado basin at the base of a steep cliff overlooking the Río Pinturas canyon

humidity of the valley is retained and winter conditions are less severe. The topography of the upper Río Pinturas valley is impressive. Its unusually varied sample of land forms and the corresponding variety of soil types and microhabitats result in a very rich diversity of flora and fauna (Christie et al., 1999).

The valley is an exceptional example of a prehistoric human habitat. Archaeological sites found on both sides of the Río Pinturas canyon are evidence of pre-European settlements belonging to hunters who were using the varied resources available along the valley and its environs at least 9,000 years ago. Scientific research has been carried out in the region by Gradin and collaborators, and archaeological investigations are now coordinated by Aguerre (Gradin and Aguerre, 1994; Gradin et al., 1976).

The rich concentration of paintings in the Río Pinturas canyon – and the lack of them in immediately adjoining regions – attests to a long tradition of activity that has symbolic significance. The Cueva de las Manos rock-art sites were significant for the people who inhabited the area for many thousands of years. The continuity of this symbolic activity is evident in the fact that most of the panels have been painted and repainted again and again. It is also evident in the hundreds of superimpositions of handprints throughout the artistic sequence.

The first groups of hunters who occupied Cueva de las Manos left extraordinary hunting scenes where animals and humans are interacting in a very dynamic and naturalistic way. A variety of hunting strategies are used before our very eyes: the animals appear either surrounded, or trapped in an ambush, or harried by hunters who are throwing stone spheres (*boles*) or other weapons. Handprints and stencils, painted in a wide variety

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of colours, can be found in most of the rock shelters. These stencils, sometimes forming palimpsests, are the most frequent motifs in Cueva de las Manos. There are more than 800 of them! (Fig. 72).

*The rich concentration of paintings in the Río Pinturas attests to a long tradition of activity of symbolic importance in this canyon*



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Another outstanding feature of the rock-art sequence is that the animals depicted on the walls are the main species that are still found wild in the area today: the guanaco, the rhea and a lizard called matuasto. Guanaco and rhea hunting was an ancestral practice until the nineteenth century. Hunting activity is one of the main subjects of the rock paintings of Cueva de las Manos, and many archaeological remains provide evidence of how these people managed to maintain their hunting way of life for thousands of years.

In paintings of a later period, hunting scenes are replaced by single figures of guanacos; the intimate bond between man and animal is apparently lost. The last episode of the rock-painting sequence, which ended about 1,300 years ago, is characterized by geometric motifs and other non-figurative designs. The representations of animals and humans are very schematic.

### 3. Contact with Europeans: A Turning Point

The period of contact with Europeans, which began during the sixteenth century, was a turning point for the Tehuelche hunters. The advent of the horse and its incorporation into their culture brought about a dramatic change. The Tehuelche acquired this animal for both transport and hunting. European travellers in Patagonia at that time (Musters, Onelli and others) drew pictures of hunting scenes in which indigenous people are shown with these new acquisitions.

As time went by and more and more explorers, travellers and settlers from very different cultures arrived in their territory, the way of life of the Cueva de las Manos hunters was changed forever. Later, with the settlement of the first *estancias* (ranches) and the establishment in 1880 of the first village, Nacimiento (today Perito Moreno), these groups gradually began to disappear. Some of them slowly integrated with the newcomers. The cultural exchange, which was overwhelmingly unidirectional – from the colonists to the Tehuelche – resulted in major changes which affected the indigenous population's hunting tools and customs, their relationship with natural resources, and their social behaviour, health and very survival as a people (Martinic, 1997, p. 124). Some of the descendants of these families left Río Pinturas during the last century, bringing to an end the Tehuelche traditional practices within the valley (Aguerre, 2000).

The symbolic value of the site is a fundamental aspect of Cueva de las Manos. Nowadays, the inhabitants of Argentina have little awareness of their pre-Hispanic past. Their links with that period were deeply disrupted by colonization of the territory and the intercultural encounter. Nevertheless, Cueva de las Manos is one of the major legacies of this past and even today it has great significance for local people and for some visitors. The Cueva de las Manos Festival takes place every summer in Perito Moreno, one of the nearest population centres, which is located 160 km

north of the site. This town celebrates the Provincial Day of Rock Art and is considered the archaeological capital of the Province of Santa Cruz because of its proximity to the cave. On a few occasions we have observed how Cueva de las Manos rock art still holds spiritual power for some local people, but for most of them it represents a superb aesthetic heritage of the ancient inhabitants of Patagonia. Cueva de las Manos is one of the jewels of our national heritage and could well become an icon of national identity. Its extraordinary beauty and uniqueness are recognized and treasured by the international community, hence its World Heritage listing (INAPL, 1999).

### 4. Legislative and Administrative Framework

Cueva de las Manos and other archaeological and natural sites in this area are protected by federal and provincial laws, and administered by the Government of the Province of Santa Cruz through the Municipality of Perito Moreno. Cueva de las Manos was declared a National Historic Monument in 1993. This nomination and the site's inclusion on the World Heritage List in 1999 reflect national and international recognition of its outstanding value (Podestá et al., 2000).

A rock-art conservation research project to protect the Cueva de las Manos site was initiated in 1995 by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología y Pensamiento Latinoamericano (Secretaría de Cultura de la Nación) (Fig. 73). This cultural resource management project, known as DOPRARA, is aimed at investigating the deterioration of the rock paintings and developing strategies for recording, conserving and managing this cultural resource (Onetto, 2001). The Canadian Conservation Institute (Department of Canadian Heritage) is collaborating in the project by providing advice on conservation and by undertaking analytical studies of materials such as rock-painting pigments and mineral accretions (Rolandi et al., 1998; Wainwright et al., 2002) (Fig. 74).



© I.N.M. Wainwright, Canadian Conservation Institute, Ottawa

**Scientific team at Cueva de las Manos with Prof. Carlos Gradín, who for 25 years has been in charge of the site's archaeological research**

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**I. N. M. Wainwright from the Canadian Conservation Institute, Ottawa, taking samples from Cueva de las Manos**

The Cueva de las Manos site consists of a 600 m complex of paintings on rock faces within caves at the base of a cliff at the side of the rift valley through which the Río Pinturas flows. The site is located on private property (Estancia Los Toldos) and covers an area of 600 ha. The immediate vicinity of the site is sparsely populated; a few local inhabitants live either on estancias or in puestos (very small and precarious cattle stations).

## 5. Visitor Management

The extraordinary landscape in which Cueva de las Manos is situated, and the opportunity to learn about pre-Hispanic times in Patagonia, are the main reasons that over 8,000 people visit this valley each year. The heritage site is one of the main tourist attractions of the region.

The most significant feature of this tourism is its marked seasonality, with the majority of visitors arriving between December and March. There are two main ways of reaching the site: (a) across route No. 40 that joins the town of Perito Moreno with the small village of Bajo Caracoles, 45 km from Cueva de las Manos; or (b) from Estancia Los Toldos, 15 km from the site on the opposite side of the river.

Since 1980, the main sections of rock wall on which paintings are found have been enclosed with chain-link fencing to control visitor access. Although the fence can be climbed quite easily, it has significantly reduced the damage caused by visitors. There is also a guard permanently stationed at the site. There are parking facilities, a reception and visitor orientation centre, toilets, and lodging for the guard. At the entrance, visitors pay an admission fee and sign a register, leaving a record of their presence at the site. Visitors are invited to record their place of origin, nationality and the purpose of their visit, and most leave a personal comment as well.

There are many types of visitor, including scholars, students and general tourists. As we have pointed out, one of the features of tourism at the site is the division into high and low seasons which results from the very cold winter.



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**This heritage site is one of the main tourist attractions in this part of the Patagonia region. Brochures on Cueva de las Manos are available for tourists**

During the summer season, guided tours are organized by Perito Moreno's Tourist Office. Tourism operated by the private sector has increased a great deal recently and tours are now also organized by the owners of the estancias, who combine visits to the site with trekking, hiking and horseback riding. The site is currently experiencing an increase in visitors from other parts of the world (Fig. 75).

## 6. Role of Local Community

Nearly all the activities related to tourism at Cueva de las Manos are organized by the local community (Bajo Caracoles, Perito Moreno and Estancias Turísticas). These activities consist primarily of the following services:

- *Accommodation* is available away from the site at a number of modest hostels in Bajo Caracoles and Perito Moreno as well as at tourist ranches, which are becoming very popular in Patagonia. There are four of these close to Cueva de las Manos which offer a range of services for visitors, including accommodation, meals and tours.
- *Transport and tours* are organized by the Tourist Office of Perito Moreno, which is run by the local government. Private tours are also available from the estancias (ranches). Tour operators from elsewhere also include the site in their wider regional tours.
- *Security and crowd control* are the responsibility of the local guards.
- *Services to assist researchers*, provided by several members of the local community, have made a major contribution to the archaeological investigations of the last twenty-five years.

## 7. Site Management and Local Community

Collaboration and co-operation between the site managers and the local community have been established on a permanent basis:

- *Dialogue with the local community.* In February 1999, UNESCO and representatives of the Instituto Nacional de

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Antropología y Pensamiento Latinoamericano (INAPL) conducted a dialogue with the local authorities and with inhabitants of Perito Moreno and the nearest villages. This consultation was aimed at encouraging the local people to take part in the preservation of Cueva de las Manos, and at learning how aware they are of the site's value.

- *Training course for local guides.* The Secretary of Tourism of the Province of Santa Cruz initiated a training course for local guides. INAPL is responsible for managing the course and for providing its archaeological content.
- *Cultural exhibition.* A two-week exhibition was organized by INAPL and held in Perito Moreno.
- *Monitoring the state of the site.* With the help of guides from Perito Moreno, INAPL researchers keep an eye on the site as regards its conservation.
- *Workshops.* A number of workshops are currently being conducted to discuss how to manage the flow of visitors and how to minimize the impact of tourists on the natural and cultural heritage of the site.

### 8. Site Management and Local Community since Unesco Nomination

The site has always attracted public attention. TELECOM, a leading telecommunications agency, even used images of Cueva de las Manos for a publicity campaign in 1997 (TELECOM, 1997). However, it was not until after the World Heritage nomination in 1999 that the local community began to take much interest in the site from either a local perspective or a wider point of view.

Unless there is a permanent programme of conservation, the growing public interest in the site will work against its long-term preservation. This problem is illustrated by a project known as 'End of the Millennium in Cueva de las Manos', proposed by the local tourist agency ELAL. A major event was supposed to be held at Cueva de las Manos on 2 January 2000. Plans included:

(a) building a 'Temple of Peace', which was to be a small construction alongside the wall of a rock shelter near the entrance to the visitors' centre. Its purpose would be '... to protect the hands that the people attending the Millennium Event will paint on the rock. These hands will be a symbol for future generations. ... The Temple of Peace will turn out to be a place of pilgrimage for future generations and, furthermore, it will become an additional tourist resource'.

(b) providing a large area near the Temple where people could congregate during the event. According to the proposed programme, 'Every 20 minutes starting at 10 a.m. there will be a guided tour along the paintings in addition to a video show about rock art in Patagonia at the visitors' centre'.

In response, INAPL made the following recommendations, which conform with the criteria of the *World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO, 1972) regarding the protection of World Heritage properties:

(a) Keep the site free of any type of building and of all visual or sound contamination.

(b) Do not disrupt the surface of the ground, as this would be extremely harmful to the archaeological remains. Soil disturbance and the dust it raises would be harmful to the rock paintings.

(c) Large concentrations of visitors and guided tours all day long could cause severe damage if they are not properly controlled.

(d) Transforming the proposed 'temple' into a future place of pilgrimage would have negative effects that should be evaluated.

INAPL suggested suspending plans for the Millennium Event until specialists working on the preservation of the site could be consulted. This advice was taken and the event did not take place.

### 9. Final Remarks

Here we focus on how the local community was involved in the management of Cueva de las Manos after the UNESCO nomination.

As mentioned above, local communities and tourism operators have shown a new interest in the Río Pinturas region since Cueva de las Manos was officially designated a site with universal value. There is no doubt that this new attitude is a very promising change from the past and has resulted in some very positive benefits for the World Heritage site. However, the possibility of other, more negative effects on this cultural resource cannot be overlooked, as the proposal of a local tourism office to hold a Millennium event indicates. If this event had taken place, it could have had a very negative impact on the integrity of the site.

It is important to consider that World Heritage is primarily a matter of conservation and all proposals must be subject to tests of appropriateness and sustainability. The fact that a project could bring economic benefits to local communities is not sufficient reason to support it.

Cueva de las Manos is located in a remote area, far removed from population centres, which means that even administering the site requires a great deal of effort. Argentina has undergone economic crises in recent years. At the same time, there are great expectations regarding the tourism industry and the economic development it will bring. All these factors could make it difficult to administer particularly attractive heritage sites.

The management plan initiated in 1995 under the DOPRARA rock-art conservation research project, and reinforced again in 1999 prior to the UNESCO nomination, has encountered severe difficulties in the last few years. To overcome these difficulties enough for the management plan to be implemented successfully, several basic conditions have to be met:

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- Two groups of stakeholders must become fully involved: the inhabitants of the towns of Perito Moreno and Bajo Caracoles, and the owners of the *Estancias Turísticas*.
- A participatory approach must be adopted which ensures that all interest groups and stakeholders in the region of Cueva de las Manos are involved in resolving divisive issues.
- All parties must be committed to the success of the management plan.

The principal aim of the INAPL project is to empower the local community so that it can understand the need to conserve the Cueva de las Manos site, advocate this conservation on a long-term basis, play a leading role in the work of protecting, conserving and managing the site, and benefit financially from the site's conservation through tourism.

Formal collaboration would provide a framework within which a participatory approach could be made to work. Such collaboration would involve local and provincial authorities, residents, landowners (*Estancias Turísticas*), organizers of domestic and foreign tours to Cueva de las Manos, and INAPL advisors. Already, INAPL and the local and provincial authorities are seeking possible solutions. Consideration is being given to creating a Development and Advisory Committee made up of site managers and representatives of the local communities and provincial authorities.

How will this proposal be implemented? Two years ago, the Comisión Argentina del Patrimonio Mundial (Argentine National World Heritage Commission) was created under the jurisdiction of CONAPLU (Argentine National Commission for UNESCO). This commission is the first one of its type in Latin America. Its main purpose is to oversee activities specifically related to World Heritage properties. One of its proposals, not yet implemented, has been to create regional subcommittees to take care of specific sites in each area of the country. The aim is to achieve a strong relationship between the World Heritage Committee, the regional subcommittees for Patagonia, and the Development and Advisory Committee for Cueva de las Manos.

The main purpose of the Development and Advisory Committee for Cueva de las Manos should be the administration and conservation of the site. The committee should select trained personnel to manage the property. The staff will be in charge of site security, preventive conservation, and enforcement of existing laws.

The Development and Advisory Committee should work closely, and perhaps even overlap, with officials of the Municipality of Perito Moreno and the Province of Santa Cruz who are responsible for culture, tourism and the environment. It should also include one representative each from the village of Bajo Caracoles, the *Estancias Turísticas*, and the local tourist agencies, plus several INAPL scientific advisors. The INAPL representatives should continue to

offer advice regarding how best to investigate the site, and to monitor and plan its exploitation and conservation.

If these groups perform together well, it should become easier to overcome at least some of the current problems, such as the cuts in travel funding. This in turn will make it easier to hold regular inspections of the site and to find permanent solutions to the more urgent threats to its integrity.

Through the committees, the local community will in future become responsible for the administration of Cueva de las Manos. 'Administration' will include guiding the flow of tourists, providing security for the site, monitoring and a variety of tasks related to preserving the site. There are all kinds of professional people in Perito Moreno but they need to be properly trained. Members of both INAPL and the World Heritage Committee belong to the national heritage authorities, so they will and should continue working as advisors and trainers.



Information: Diana Rolandi

This proposal of a participatory model involving all groups with an interest in Cueva de las Manos could be of great help for the preservation of one of the world's most exceptional prehistoric landscapes.

### Acknowledgements

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Conclusions and  
Recommendations of  
the Conference  
Conclusions et  
recommandations de  
la conférence

3

## Summary

These conclusions and recommendations were agreed upon by the participants at the conference *Linking Universal and Local Values: Managing a Sustainable Future for World Heritage* (Amsterdam, the Netherlands, 22–24 May 2003). The conference was attended by representatives from Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Canada, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Egypt, France, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Honduras, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Kenya, Lebanon, Mali, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Peru, Poland, Portugal, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Suriname, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Uganda, the United Kingdom, the United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam, Zambia, Zimbabwe, the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, ICCROM, ICOMOS and IUCN. The Conference Programme and List of Participants are annexed to this document as Annex 1 and Annex 2.

The abstracts and papers can be downloaded from the website <http://www.unesco.nl>

## Preamble

1. The Participants expressed their sincere gratitude to the Netherlands National Commission for UNESCO for organizing the conference and to the Netherlands Ministry of Education, Culture and Science for its financial support, as well as to the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, the Province of North Holland and the Netherlands Committee for IUCN for their collaboration.
2. Since *The World Heritage Global Strategy Natural and Cultural Heritage Expert Meeting: Linking Nature and Culture* (Amsterdam, the Netherlands, 1998), there has been a shift in focus from identification of potential World Heritage sites to management and conservation in the context of development. Further emphasis has been placed on the intrinsic relationship between culture and nature, people and place, and cultural diversity.
3. The aim of the conference was to bring together a wide range of heritage professionals, active both at theoretical and practical level of site management and conservation, in order to better understand the connection between local values and 'outstanding universal value', on which conservation and management strategies are to be based.
4. The conference paid tribute to the broadening concept of World Heritage which is being embraced around the world – with a special focus on mixed cultural and natural properties, on cultural landscapes, on culture-nature linkages, on the involvement of local communities, on traditional management practices and knowledge, on spiritual and sacred values, and on the intangible and the stories narrated by World Heritage that are vital for the safeguarding of 'outstanding universal value'.
5. In a stimulating environment of cross-cultural and multidisciplinary exchange, case studies highlighted the diversity of World Heritage and the great richness in the variety of management systems, challenges and innovative approaches to World Heritage conservation.
6. The conclusions and the recommendations of the conference will be transmitted to all States Parties to the *World Heritage Convention*, to the World Heritage Committee at its 27th session (Paris, 30 June–5 July 2003), to the World Heritage Centre, to other relevant UNESCO units and agencies, international organizations, as well as to the Advisory Bodies, with a request for their comment and opportunities for collaboration.
7. It is hoped that this conference will lay a cornerstone for the continued sharing of practical experience and lessons learned about different approaches to and systems of World Heritage conservation. The conference papers and summary of discussions shall be published as a compendium, providing the means by which a broad audience can access new information and knowledge, and above all gain inspiration and encouragement for the sustainable management of cultural and natural heritage.

## 8. The participants:

(i) *Recognize* the existing frameworks, such as the inter-governmental system, the legal systems of each State Party, and the responsibility of the States Parties, and acknowledge the existence of heritage co-operation promoted by Conventions (such as the *World Heritage Convention*), Declarations, Recommendations and Programmes of UNESCO.

## Outstanding universal and local values

(ii) *Recognize* that the *World Heritage Convention* aims to protect cultural and natural heritage of 'outstanding universal value', but underscored that the whole range of values – including local values, intangible and spiritual values, and traditional management systems – should be fully understood, respected, and taken into account in the process of identification and sustainable management of World Heritage, as for example in Côte d'Ivoire where the NGO Croix Verte de Côte d'Ivoire has developed inventories and networks of sacred forests with the support of the government and the International Development Research Centre based in Canada.

(iii) *Emphasize* that universal and local values are part of a continuum, not a hierarchy, and should not be separated. Indeed, it is not viable to identify or manage universal value without acknowledging and maintaining the value of place to the local peoples.

(iv) *Acknowledge* that World Heritage properties are dynamic entities where cultural and social values evolve. They should not be frozen in time for purposes of conservation. Indeed, the continuity between the past and future should be integrated in management systems accommodating the possibility for sustainable change, thus ensuring that the evolution of the local value of the place is not impaired.

#### **Participation and involvement**

(v) *Highlight* that 'World Heritage is about people as well as places'. All stakeholders possibly affected by the inscription of a site on the World Heritage List should be made aware of, consulted and involved in the interpretation and assessment of its values, in the preparation and presentation of the Nomination, as well as of the management system. The Participants recommend that States Parties ascertain that measures are undertaken by the authorities to ensure that all stakeholders are informed of and fully understand all possible implications, benefits, costs and consequences of World Heritage status on their cultural and natural heritage and resources. Furthermore, all stakeholders should continue to be consulted about the protection of the site once it is inscribed on the World Heritage List.

(vi) *Recognize* that the inscription of a property on the World Heritage List should benefit the international and the local community as a whole, and not just some intermediaries. The benefits for the local communities need to be considered in the context of both safeguarding the values of the property and the social and economic development. The benefits can include, among others, respect for traditional lifestyles and investment of revenue (notably from tourism) in property, housing and educational facilities.

(vii) *Further recognize* that site owners and custodians play a central role in the management of World Heritage sites, and consider that their involvement is an essential prerequisite for the identification of World Heritage value. This implies that the authorities responsible for sites and the local communities need to work together.

(viii) *Agree* that meaningful stakeholder consultation and involvement should be based on accepted standards and principles and on the recognition of local values and of 'outstanding universal value'.

(ix) *Urge* that new ways be found for the voices of local communities, including indigenous peoples, to be heard, particularly in international fora on heritage conservation and management.

(x) *Recommend* that all efforts be made to maintain social structures and traditional skills that are vital for the safeguarding of World Heritage and for social and economic development.

#### **International co-operation**

(xi) *Recognize* that the multi-lateral and interdisciplinary approach promoted by the *World Heritage Convention* can lead to new opportunities for peace-building, sustainable development and international co-operation, and emphasize the need for States Parties to cooperate with each other to achieve this, as well as for international organizations to mainstream their efforts in the field of heritage conservation and management.

(xii) *Recommend* that co-ordination and co-operation between and within UN agencies (particularly UNESCO, FAO, UNDP, UNEP) and the World Bank be further enhanced, and stress the need for strengthening ties between the *World Heritage Convention* and other Conventions for the protection of cultural heritage and the environment, particularly the Draft Convention for the safeguarding of Intangible Heritage and the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity.

(xiii) *Strongly encourage* that the World Heritage Committee and the World Heritage Centre look into further opportunities for collaboration with other UNESCO Programmes, as for example the Local and Indigenous Knowledge Systems (LINKS) intersectorial initiative, and the Man and the Biosphere (MAB) Reserve Programme, such as the International Network of Sacred Natural Sites for Diversity Conservation.

#### **Management systems**

(xiv) *Recognize* the need to apply a diversity of management systems to World Heritage. In situations where the sustainability of local and universal values and heritage depends upon customary protection and traditional knowledge, flexible systems and approaches not necessarily based on a rigid concept for management planning should be fostered. Traditional management systems should be used wherever they prove to be most effective for conservation and most advantageous for sustainable social and economic development of the local populations.

(xv) *Recommend* that greater efforts be made to share experiences of the diversity of management systems worldwide.

(xvi) *Strongly advocate* that management systems consider varied opportunities for social and economic development through conservation addressing the needs of local peoples, and examine the prospects for involving the local communities in managing the area around a site, as has been demonstrated at Belovezhskaya Pushcha / Bialowieza Forest (Belarus/Poland).



(xvii) *Recommend* that scientific research and interdisciplinary work linking culture and nature in theory and practice as a basis for management systems be strengthened, particularly with a view to reinforcing dialogue between indigenous and scientific knowledge holders to enhance biodiversity conservation and to transmit local and indigenous knowledge by education. To this effect, the example of the Vanuatu Cultural Centre's 'fieldworker network' could be advocated and promulgated wherever applicable.

### **Capacity-building**

(xviii) *Recommend* that efforts be made towards increasing the understanding of the significance of human knowledge as capital, and as a basis for sustainable conservation and development founded on respect and involvement for social and cultural values of local communities.

(xix) *Agree* that capacity-exchange is an essential addition to capacity-building, and to this end recognized a specific need for South-South collaboration. Hence, the unilateral (i.e. North-South) export of expertise should be avoided wherever possible.

(xx) *Acknowledge* that capacity-building and capacity-exchange are a continuing process, based on trust and enduring relationships that require a long-term commitment.

(xxi) *Further acknowledge* that capacity-building and capacity-exchange constitute a continuous dialogue between all stakeholders, that should concentrate on the development of skills, and also on awareness-raising. Capacity-building and capacity-exchange should be flexible enough to encompass the diversity of management systems, and develop the expertise of stakeholders in technical skills, as well as in other essential skills such as managerial skills.

(xxii) *Appeal* to the States Parties, the World Heritage Committee, the World Heritage Centre, the Advisory Bodies and all relevant agencies to further disseminate the object and purpose of the Convention and the *Operational Guidelines*, and to share the expertise acquired and lessons learned from projects with local communities and site managers.

### **Partnerships**

(xxiii) *Acknowledge* that conservation and management cannot be sustainable without partnerships at all levels.

(xxiv) *Recognize* the fundamental role of the States Parties in establishing and implementing long-term partnerships.

(xxv) *Recognize* the need for sustainable support structures and financing, creating benefits and win-win situations for all, as well as the necessity of moving away from one-off project financing to built-in mechanisms.

(xxvi) *Appeal* to funding agencies to take local values into account for sustainable development and conservation projects.

(xxvii) *Advocate* the need to mainstream conservation and co-ordination mechanisms, building on the principals of holistic, long-term, comprehensive, ownership-based, participatory and partnership development.

(xxviii) *Agree* that to build partnerships for heritage conservation and management the international community needs to look at the larger picture with integration at all levels and across all sectors and constituencies, taking into account complexities and interdependencies and *continua*. There is a necessity to build on similarities and to share, learn and listen.

(xxix) *Recommend* the creation of UNESCO–World Heritage Centre scholarships for research, training and fieldwork on World Heritage properties, and asks interested States Parties to develop this proposal in association with UNESCO.

### **Communicating the message from Amsterdam**

(xxx) *Recognize* the need for this agreed approach to conservation to be promulgated and publicized. Some of the approaches suggested in this document will be a challenge to others, and should therefore be explained, discussed and advocated (as for example at the Vth World Parks Congress, Durban, South Africa, September 2003).

(xxxi) *Recommend* that the *Operational Guidelines* and procedures, as well as the Regional Action Programmes of the World Heritage Committee, be revised to clearly reflect these conclusions and make them operational.

## Résumé

Ces conclusions et recommandations ont été agréées par les participants à la conférence *L'union des valeurs universelles et locales : la gestion d'un avenir durable pour le patrimoine mondial* (Amsterdam, Pays-Bas, 22–24 mai 2003). Des représentants d'Afrique du Sud, Allemagne, Argentine, Australie, Belgique, Bolivie, Burkina Faso, Canada, Colombie, Côte d'Ivoire, Égypte, France, Géorgie, Ghana, Honduras, Inde, Iran (République islamique d'), Kenya, l'ex-République yougoslave de Macédoine, Liban, Mali, Mexique, Nicaragua, Nouvelle-Zélande, Pays-Bas, Pérou, Pologne, Portugal, République-Unie de Tanzanie, Royaume-Uni, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Uganda, Viet Nam, Zambie, Zimbabwe, du Centre du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO, de l'ICCROM, de l'ICOMOS et de l'UICN ont assisté à la conférence. Le Programme de la conférence et la Liste des participants sont annexés à ce document comme Annexe 1 et Annexe 2.

Les abstraits et les communications peuvent être téléchargés du site <http://www.unesco.nl>

## Préambule

1. Les participants ont exprimé leur profonde reconnaissance envers la Commission nationale des Pays-Bas pour l'UNESCO pour l'organisation de la conférence et envers le Ministère néerlandais de l'Éducation, la Culture et les Sciences pour son soutien financier, ainsi qu'au Centre du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO, à la province de Noord-Holland et au Comité néerlandais pour l'UICN pour leur collaboration.
2. Depuis la réunion d'experts *World Heritage Global Strategy Natural and Cultural Heritage Expert Meeting : Linking Nature and Culture* (Amsterdam, Pays-Bas, 1998), il y a eu un glissement d'orientation partant de l'identification de sites potentiels du patrimoine mondial vers la gestion et la conservation dans un contexte de développement. Davantage d'importance a été accordée à la relation intrinsèque entre la nature et la culture, les gens et les lieux, et la diversité culturelle.
3. L'objectif de la conférence fut de rassembler un large éventail de professionnels du patrimoine, actifs à la fois au niveau théorique et au niveau pratique de la gestion et de la conservation de sites, afin de mieux comprendre la connexion entre les valeurs locales et la « valeur universelle exceptionnelle », sur lesquelles les stratégies de gestion et de conservation doivent se fonder.
4. La conférence rendit hommage au concept grandissant du patrimoine mondial qui est accueilli très positivement de par le monde – avec un accent particulier sur les propriétés mixtes culturelles et naturelles, sur les paysages culturels, sur les liens entre la culture et la

nature, sur la participation des communautés locales, sur les pratiques de gestion et le savoir autochtone, sur les valeurs spirituelles et sacrées, sur l'immatériel et les histoires racontées par le patrimoine mondial qui sont essentiels à la sauvegarde de la « valeur universelle exceptionnelle ».

5. Dans un environnement stimulant d'échanges trans-culturels et inter-disciplinaires, des cas d'études ont souligné la diversité du patrimoine mondial et l'immense richesse dans la variété des systèmes de gestion, des défis et des approches innovatrices à la conservation du patrimoine mondial.
6. Les conclusions et les recommandations de la conférence seront transmises à tous les Etats Parties à la *Convention du patrimoine mondial*, au Comité du patrimoine mondial à sa 27<sup>ème</sup> session (Paris, 30 juin – 5 juillet 2003), au Centre du patrimoine mondial, aux autres unités et agences appropriées de l'UNESCO, aux organisations internationales appropriées, ainsi qu'aux organes consultatifs, avec une requête pour leurs commentaires et des opportunités de collaboration.
7. Il est à espérer que cette conférence pose une pierre fondatrice pour le partage continu de l'expérience pratique et des leçons acquises sur les différentes approches et les systèmes pour la conservation du patrimoine mondial. Les communications et un résumé des discussions seront publiés comme compendium, fournissant les moyens par lesquels un vaste public pourrait accéder à de nouvelles informations et connaissances, et surtout obtenir de l'inspiration et de l'encouragement pour la gestion durable du patrimoine culturel et naturel.

## 8. Les participants :

(i) *Reconnaissent* les structures existantes, telles que le système inter-gouvernemental, les systèmes légaux de chaque État partie, la responsabilité des États parties, et reconnaissent l'existence de la coopération pour le patrimoine promue par les Conventions (telles que la *Convention du patrimoine mondial*), Déclarations, Recommandations et Programmes de l'UNESCO.

## Valeurs universelle exceptionnelle et locales

(ii) *Reconnaissent* que la *Convention du patrimoine mondial* vise à protéger le patrimoine culturel et naturel de « valeur universelle exceptionnelle », mais soulignent que l'entièreté de la gamme des valeurs - y compris les valeurs locales, les valeurs spirituelles et intangibles, et les systèmes autochtones de gestion – doit être prise en compte dans le processus d'identification et de gestion durable du patrimoine mondial, comme par exemple en Côte d'Ivoire, où l'ONG Croix Verte de Côte d'Ivoire a développé des inventaires et des réseaux de forêts sacrées avec le soutien du gouvernement et du CRDI canadien.

(iii) *Accentuent* le fait que les valeurs universelles et locales font partie d'un continuum, non une hiérarchie, et ne doivent pas être dissociées. En effet, il n'est pas viable d'identifier ou de gérer la valeur universelle sans reconnaître et maintenir la valeur du lieu pour les populations locales.

(iv) *Reconnaissent* que les propriétés du patrimoine mondial sont des entités dynamiques où les valeurs culturelles et sociales évoluent. Elles ne devraient pas être figées dans le temps dans le but d'être conservées. En effet, la continuité entre le passé et le futur devrait être intégrée dans les systèmes de gestion, qui devraient accommoder la possibilité de changement durable et ainsi s'assurer de ce que l'évolution de la valeur locale du lieu ne soit pas étouffée.

### **Participation et implication**

(v) *Soulignent* que « le patrimoine mondial concerne autant les populations que les sites ». Tous les preneurs de participation éventuellement concernés par l'inscription d'un site sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial devraient être sensibilisés, consultés et impliqués dans l'interprétation et l'évaluation de ses valeurs, dans la préparation et la présentation de la Nomination, ainsi que du système de gestion. Les participants recommandent que les Etats parties s'assurent de ce que les autorités aient pris les mesures nécessaires afin que les preneurs de participation soient informés et comprennent entièrement toutes les éventuelles implications, bénéfiques, coûts et conséquences du statut de patrimoine mondial sur leur patrimoine et leurs ressources culturelles et naturelles. En outre, toutes les personnes concernées devraient continuer à être consultées sur la protection du site une fois qu'il est inscrit sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial.

(vi) *Reconnaissent* que l'inscription d'une propriété sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial devrait bénéficier intégralement à la communauté internationale et locale, et pas uniquement à quelques intermédiaires. Les bénéfices pour les communautés locales doivent être appréciés dans le double contexte de la sauvegarde des valeurs de la propriété et du développement économique et social. Ces bénéfices peuvent inclure, entre autres, le respect pour les styles de vie traditionnels et l'investissement du revenu (particulièrement du tourisme) dans l'immobilier, le logement et l'éducation.

(vii) *Reconnaissent* également que les propriétaires et les gardiens de sites jouent un rôle central dans la gestion des sites du patrimoine mondial, et considèrent que leur implication est un pré-requis essentiel pour l'identification des valeurs du patrimoine mondial. Cela suppose une collaboration étroite entre les autorités responsables pour les sites et les communautés locales.

(viii) *S'accordent* que la consultation et l'implication éloquentes de tous les preneurs de participation soit basée sur des normes et des principes acceptés et sur la reconnaissance des valeurs locales et de la « valeur universelle exceptionnelle ».

(ix) *Préconisent* vivement que de nouvelles méthodes soient trouvées pour que les voix des communautés locales, y compris celles des peuples autochtones, soient entendues dans les fora internationaux sur la conservation et la gestion du patrimoine.

(x) *Recommandent* que des efforts soient réalisés pour maintenir les structures sociales et le savoir-faire traditionnel qui sont indispensables à la sauvegarde du patrimoine mondial en vue du développement économique et social.

### **Coopération internationale**

(xi) *Reconnaissent* que l'approche multilatérale et interdisciplinaire promue par la *Convention du patrimoine mondial* peut mener à des opportunités nouvelles pour la construction de la paix, le développement durable et la coopération internationale, et accentuent la nécessité de collaboration entre les Etats parties afin de réaliser cela. Les participants souhaitent également que les organisations internationales intègrent leurs efforts dans un courant principal pour la conservation et la gestion du patrimoine.

(xii) *Recommandent* que la coordination et la coopération entre et à l'intérieur des agences de l'ONU (particulièrement l'UNESCO, le FAO, le PNUD et le PNUE) et la Banque mondiale soient augmentées davantage, et insistent sur la nécessité de renforcer les liens entre la *Convention du patrimoine mondial* et les autres Conventions pour la protection du patrimoine culturel et de l'environnement, notamment le projet de Convention pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine immatériel et la Déclaration universelle sur la diversité culturelle.

(xiii) *Encouragent* fermement le Comité du patrimoine mondial et le Centre du patrimoine mondial d'envisager des opportunités supplémentaires de collaboration avec d'autres Programmes de l'UNESCO, comme par exemple l'initiative inter-sectorielle Systèmes de Savoirs Locaux et Autochtones (LINKS), et le Programme Homme et Biosphère (MAB), tel que le projet MAB pour un réseau international de sites sacrés naturels pour la conservation de la diversité biologique.

### **Systèmes de gestion**

(xiv) *Reconnaissent* le besoin d'appliquer une diversité de systèmes de gestion au patrimoine mondial. Dans les situations où la survie des valeurs locales et universelles dépend de la protection coutumière et du savoir autochtone, on devrait favoriser des systèmes flexibles

et des approches qui ne seraient pas nécessairement basées sur un concept rigide de planification de gestion. Les systèmes traditionnels de protection devraient être utilisés là où il s'avèrent être les plus efficaces pour la conservation et le plus avantageux pour le développement économique et social durable des populations locales.

(xv) *Recommandent* davantage d'efforts pour partager les expériences de la diversité des systèmes de gestion à travers le monde.

(xvi) *Préconisent vivement* que les systèmes de gestion considèrent les opportunités variées pour le développement économique et social, à travers une conservation prenant en compte les besoins des communautés locales, et examinent les perspectives pour impliquer les communautés locales dans la gestion du territoire autour du site, comme cela a été démontré au Belovezhskaya Pushcha / Forêt de Bialowieza (Biélorussie/Pologne).

(xvii) *Recommandent* que la recherche scientifique et les travaux inter-disciplinaires liant la culture et la nature en théorie et en pratique soient renforcés, surtout en vue de consolider le dialogue entre les détenteurs de savoirs autochtone et scientifique, afin de rehausser la conservation de la biodiversité et de transmettre les savoirs locaux et autochtones par l'éducation. A ces fins, l'exemple du 'réseau de chercheurs sur le terrain' du Centre culturel de Vanuatu pourrait être préconisé et appliqué là où c'est possible.

### **Renforcement des capacités**

(xviii) *Recommandent* que l'on entreprenne des efforts en vue d'accroître la compréhension de la signification du savoir humain comme capital, et comme base pour la conservation durable et le développement fondé sur le respect et l'implication des communautés locales pour les valeurs sociales et culturelles.

(xix) *S'accordent* pour affirmer que l'échange des capacités est un complément essentiel au renforcement des capacités, et à ces fins reconnaissent que la coopération sud-sud est absolument nécessaire. De ce fait, l'exportation unilatérale (à savoir, nord-sud) d'expertise devrait être évitée partout où possible.

(xx) *Reconnaissent* que le renforcement et l'échange des capacités constituent un processus continu, fondé sur la confiance et les relations établies dans la durée qui requièrent un engagement à long terme.

(xxi) *Préconisent* encore que le renforcement et l'échange des capacités sont un dialogue continu entre tous les preneurs de participation, qui devrait se concentrer sur le développement des techniques, et aussi sur les programmes de sensibilisation. Le renforcement et

l'échange des capacités devraient être suffisamment souples pour englober la diversité des systèmes de gestion, et développer l'expertise des preneurs de participation en techniques et savoir-faire, ainsi que dans d'autres disciplines essentielles telles que les compétences de gestion.

(xxii) *Font appel* aux Etats parties, au Comité du patrimoine mondial, au Centre du patrimoine mondial, aux organes consultatifs et à toutes les agences appropriées afin qu'ils répandent davantage l'objectif et le message de la Convention et des *Orientations*, et qu'ils partagent l'expertise acquise et les leçons tirées des projets menés avec les communautés locales et les gestionnaires de sites.

### **Partenariats**

(xxiii) *Reconnaissent* que la conservation et la gestion ne peuvent être durables sans partenariats à tous les niveaux.

(xxiv) *Reconnaissent* le rôle fondamental des Etats parties dans l'instauration et la mise en œuvre de partenariats de longue durée.

(xxv) *Reconnaissent* le besoin de structures d'appui et de financement durables, créant des bénéficiaires et des situations de gain sans conteste pour toutes les parties, ainsi que la nécessité de s'écarter du financement ponctuel de projets vers des mécanismes incorporés.

(xxvi) *Font appel* aux agences de financement pour qu'elles prennent en considération les valeurs locales pour des projets de développement et de conservation durables.

(xxvii) *Préconisent* la nécessité d'axer les mécanismes de conservation et de coordination dans un courant principal, en se fondant sur les principes de développement holistique, à long-terme, compréhensif, basé sur la propriété, participatif et en partenariat.

(xxviii) *Conviennent* qu'en vue d'édifier des partenariats pour la conservation et la gestion du patrimoine, la communauté internationale devrait adopter une vision large, avec une intégration à tous les niveaux et à travers tous les secteurs et toutes les circonscriptions, prenant en compte les complexités, les inter-dépendances et les continua. Il est nécessaire de construire sur les similitudes et de partager, apprendre et écouter.

(xxix) la création de bourses UNESCO–Centre du patrimoine mondial pour la recherche, la formation et le travail de terrain sur les propriétés du patrimoine mondial, et demande aux Etats parties intéressés de développer cette proposition en association avec l'UNESCO.

**Communiquer le message d'Amsterdam**

(xxx) *Reconnaissent* la nécessité pour cette approche convenue d'être promulguée et rendue publique. Certaines de ces approches suggérées dans ce document seront un défi pour certains, et devront par conséquent être expliquées, discutées et préconisées (comme par exemple au V<sup>ème</sup> Congrès mondial sur les parcs, Durban, Afrique du Sud, septembre 2003).

(xxxi) *Recommandent* que les *Orientations* et les procédures, ainsi que les programmes d'action régionaux du Comité du patrimoine mondial, soient révisés afin de refléter explicitement ces conclusions et les rendre opérationnelles.

1. Programme of the Conference  
Programme de la conférence
2. List of Participants  
Liste des participants
3. Synthesis Report of the Conference  
Rapport de synthèse de la conférence
4. Abstracts  
Abstrait

# Annexes

# Programme of the Conference

## Programme de la conférence

### Wednesday 21 May

- 16.00-21.30 Registration of participants at the Hotel Arena  
18.00-21.30 Welcoming reception and *buffet ambulatoire at the Hotel Arena*

### Thursday 22 May

#### 09.45-12.00 Opening Session

- Opening Address:  
09.45-09.50 Dr B.E. van Vucht Tijssen (President, Netherlands National Commission for UNESCO)  
09.50-10.05 Dr R. van der Ploeg (Chairperson for the Conference)  
10.05-10.15 Dr Mechtild Rössler and Dr Sarah Titchen (UNESCO World Heritage Centre),  
on behalf of Mr Francesco Bandarin (Director, UNESCO World Heritage Centre)  
10.15-10.30 Ms J.L.D. Heukers (Directeur Directie Juridische Zaken), on behalf of Dr C.P.  
Veerman (Minister of LNV)  
  
10.30-10.50 *Coffee Break*  
  
10.50-11.00 Introduction to the Keynote Speeches  
Dr Gaballa Ali Gaballa (Former Secretary-General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities in Egypt;  
Former Vice-chairperson of the World Heritage Committee)  
11.00-11.30 *Local Involvement and Traditional Practices in the World Heritage System*  
Prof. Sharon Sullivan (Australian Committee of ICOMOS)  
11.30-12.00 *Linking Universal and Local Values for the Sustainable Management of World Heritage Sites in Africa*  
Prof. Eric L. Edroma (Professor of Environmental Sciences, Nkumba University, Uganda)

#### 12.00-13.15 Lunch

#### 13.15-15.30 Session 1: Site Management – A Common Responsibility of Local Communities and National Authorities

- Moderator:  
Dr Sarah Titchen (Chief, Policy and Statutory Implementation Unit, UNESCO World Heritage Centre)  
  
Presentations:  
13.15-13.35 *Involving Aboriginal People in Site Management*  
Dr Christina Cameron (Director General, National Historic Sites, Parks Canada)  
13.35-13.55 *The Place of Community Based Law in the Management of World Heritage*  
Dr Albert Mumma (Senior Lecturer, Faculty of Law, Nairobi University)  
13.55-14.25 *World Heritage: A Process of Understanding and Choices*  
Mr Philippe Delanghe (Programme Specialist for Culture, UNESCO Office Jakarta)  
14.25-14.40 *The Role of the Maori in New Zealand's World Heritage Management*  
Mr Tumu te Heuheu (Paramount Chief, Ngati Tuwharetoa)  
14.40-15.30 Discussion  
  
15.30-15.50 *Coffee Break*

**15.50-18.05 Session 2: Site Management and Involvement of the Local Communities**

Moderator:

Mr Elias J. Mujica (Deputy Coordinator, Consortium for the Sustainable Development of the Andean Ecoregion – CONDESAN)

Presentations:

- 15.50-16.05 *How World Heritage Sites Disappear: Four Cases, Four Threats*  
Mr Cor Dijkgraaf (Chairman, ICOMOS Scientific Committee on Shared Built Heritage)
- 16.05-16.20 *La participation communautaire à la gestion du site de la falaise de Bandiagara : « Ecotourisme en pays Dogon »*  
Mr Lassana Cissé (Directeur, Mission culturelle de Bandiagara, Mali)
- 16.20-16.35 *Proposed World Heritage Cultural Landscape in Argentinian Andes and the Involvement of Local Communities: Pintoscayoc, a case-study in the Quebrada de Humahuaca*  
Dr María Isabel Hernández Llosas (Scientific Researcher, CONICET)
- 16.35-16.50 *Natural Heritage in Suriname and its Benefits for the Local Communities*  
Mr Bryan Drakenstein (Legal Advisor, Nature Conservation Division)
- 16.50-17.05 *The Role of Local Communities in the Management of World Heritage in Argentina: The Case of Cueva de las Manos*  
Ms María Mercedes Podestá (Researcher, Instituto Nacional de Antropología)
- 17.05-17.15 *Community Conservation Services: Experiences from Serengeti NP, Tanzania*  
Mr Justin Hando (Chief Warden, Serengeti National Park)
- 17.15-18.05 Discussion
- 18.15 Departure to Haarlem by Bus

**19.00-20.30 Reception at the Provinciehuis in Haarlem Hosted by the Province of North-Holland****20.30-22.00 Dinner at the Carlton Hotel, Haarlem****Friday 23 May****09.00-11.00 Session 3: Site Management and Local Values**

Moderator:

Prof. Peter Fowler (World Heritage Consultant)

Presentations:

- 09.00-09.20 *Managing World Heritage Cultural Landscapes and Sacred Sites*  
Dr Mechtild Rössler (Chief, Europe and North America Unit, UNESCO World Heritage Centre)
- 09.20-09.35 *Contribution des sites sacrés à la conservation et la gestion durable des ressources naturelles en Afrique : le cas de la Côte d'Ivoire*  
Dr Martine Tahoux Touao (Centre de Recherche en Ecologie, Université d'Abobo-Adjamé, Côte d'Ivoire)
- 09.35-09.50 *Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta – A Philosophical Reserve for Humanity: Indigenous Territories in a Complex Scenario*  
Mr Juan Mayr (Advisor, UNEP)
- 09.50-10.05 *Operational View of Managing World Heritage Sites in Canada*  
Ms Josie Weninger (Field Unit Superintendent, Parks Canada)
- 10.05-11.00 Discussion
- 11.00-11.20 *Coffee Break*



**11.20-13.00 Session 4: Site Management and Traditional Management Systems**

Moderator:  
Prof. Peter Fowler

Presentations:

- 11.20-11.35 *Traditional Systems of Land-Use in Desert Landscapes of the Middle East: The Hima System and Mountain Terraces*  
Mr Faisal Abu Izzeddin (IUCN Senior Consultant in Biodiversity and Protected Areas)
- 11.35-11.50 *La chefferie traditionnelle Hogon : sa déchéance et quelques solutions de dynamisation*  
Dr Mamadi Dembele (Directeur de recherche, Institut des Sciences Humaines, Bamako, Mali)
- 11.50-12.05 *Traditional and Customary Heritage Systems – Nostalgia or Reality?: The Implications on Managing Heritage Sites in Africa*  
Dr Webber Ngoro (Programme Specialist, ICCROM)
- 12.05-13.00 Discussion

**13.00-14.00 Lunch**

**14.00-15.50 Session 5: Site Management and Capacity-Building**

Moderator:  
Ms Bénédicte Selfslagh (Division du patrimoine, Ministère de la Région Wallonne; Rapporteur of the World Heritage Committee)

Presentations:

- 14.00-14.20 *Anchoring African Cultural and Natural Heritage: Significance of Community Awareness*  
Mr Dawson Munjeri (Deputy Permanent Delegate of the Republic of Zimbabwe to UNESCO)
- 14.20-14.35 *Vanuatu Cultural Centre's 'Fieldworker Network': A Successful Community-Based Heritage Network*  
Dr Tim Curtis (UNESCO)
- 14.35-14.50 *The Stelling of Amsterdam: Built to Protect People, Sustained to Connect People*  
Dr Carolien Smook (Province of North-Holland)
- 14.50-15.50 Discussion
- 16.00 Departure by Bus to Fort Nigtevecht

**16.30-18.00 Field Visit to Stichting Herstelling (Fort Nigtevecht), Defence Line of Amsterdam**

18.00 Departure for Fort Pampus by boat

**18.30-22.00 Dinner at Fort Pampus**

22.30 Bus to Amsterdam

**Saturday 24 May**

**9.30-11.30 Session 6: Site Management and Partnerships**

Moderator:  
Ms Claudia von Monbart (Senior Consultant, World Bank Office Paris)

Presentations:

- 9.30-09.50 *Partnerships for Empowered Participation: Mainstreaming a Community-Based Paradigm for World Heritage Management*  
Ms Beatrice Kaldun (Office of the UNESCO Regional Advisor for Culture in Asia and the Pacific), representing Dr Richard A. Engelhardt (UNESCO Regional Advisor for Culture in Asia and the Pacific)

09.50-10.05	<i>Site Management and Partnerships: The Sian Ka'an Biosphere Reserve Experience</i> Mr Alfredo Arellano-Guillermo (Director, Sian Ka'an Biosphere Reserve, Mexico)
10.05-10.20	<i>Archaeology and Community Development in the World Heritage Site of Copan, Honduras</i> Mr Ricardo Agurcia (Director, Copan Association)
10.20-10.35	<i>Projet-pilote "Sauvegarde et Développement des villes du patrimoine mondial en Mauritanie : exemple d'une coopération tripartite UNESCO-Gouvernement mauritanien-Banque mondiale"</i> Ms Anna Sidorenko (Assistant Programme Specialist, Arab States Unit, UNESCO World Heritage Centre)
10.35-11.30	Discussion
11.30-12.00	Coffee Break
<b>12.00-13.00</b>	<b>Closing Session</b> Chairperson: Dr Rick van der Ploeg  Conclusions Recommendations Discussion Closing Remarks
<b>13.00-14.30</b>	<b>Lunch</b>
<b>14.30-17.00</b>	<b>Canal Cruise</b>

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# Synthesis Report of the Conference

## Introduction

**The conference *Linking Universal and Local Values: Managing a Sustainable Future for World Heritage* (Arena Hotel, Amsterdam, the Netherlands, 22-24 May 2003), was organized by the Netherlands National Commission for UNESCO, with the support of the Dutch Ministry of Culture, Education and Science, and in collaboration with the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, the province of North Holland and the Netherlands Committee for IUCN. The conference was chaired by Dr Rick van der Ploeg. It was attended by 56 cultural and natural heritage experts from 36 states parties to the *World Heritage Convention*, from the advisory bodies, from UNESCO and from the UNESCO World Heritage Centre. The conference agenda and list of participants are attached to this document as Annexes 1 and 2.**

## Introduction to Keynote Speeches

*Professor Gaballa Ali Gaballa*, former Secretary-General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (Egypt), used the cases of the Luxor Valley and the city of Cairo to illustrate tensions between national and local levels and the importance of involving local populations in the management of sites. He said that local people are often reluctant to cooperate with representatives of the public administration, as this could restrict their freedom or create additional constraints in their day-to-day lives. In his view, this reflects the division between global (or universal) and local values. The concepts used in the preservation of heritage are often of Western origin, and do not always take into account the everyday life of local communities in developing countries, their spiritual values, the emotions aroused in them by a particular World Heritage site, their economy or even their language. Consequently, dialogue on two levels is required to overcome these tensions: between the national and the international community on the one hand, and between governments and local communities on the other.

## Keynote Speeches

*Professor Sharon Sullivan* (Australia) introduced the theme of the conference by using the example of the Willandra Lakes Region (Australia) to show that local involvement and the beneficial use of traditional practices play an essential role in the sustainable conservation and management of World Heritage. She referred to a central difficulty in the practice of heritage conservation, namely that it is a construct of the western world's heritage practice and has

many of its characteristics. These include a certain degree of rigidity, and centralization, as well as a bias towards the West's traditional view of what constitutes cultural heritage (principally monuments and pristine nature). This gives rise to a number of problems in accommodating local values and alternative management systems. After explaining these limitations, she emphasized that the concept of World Heritage was more powerful and adaptable than originally envisaged, and she suggested some possible ways forward. First, the requirements of other conventions, such as the Convention on Human Rights, should be observed in conjunction with the application of the *World Heritage Convention*. Second, it is essential for issues relating to community participation and indigenous practices to be considered and dealt with from the beginning of the World Heritage listing process. It is before the nomination proposal that an explicit process for the involvement of stakeholders and the identification of all heritage values should be established. The management system plan that is submitted together with the nomination should demonstrate that all stakeholders have been consulted, that issues of land tenure and land use have been discussed, that provision has been made for the conservation of all the values identified and to identify potential conflict in this area, and that the management system addresses the economic and social issues of local communities and traditional custodians. She concluded by suggesting that heritage professionals relinquish their grasp on preconceived notions and recognize the wisdom of local people.

*Professor Eric Edroma* (Uganda) described the four values or functions of World Heritage sites: (1) as a life support system contributing to the livelihoods and welfare of populations living within or adjacent to a Protected Area (2) as a sink absorbing waste products of economic and social activity (3) as a source base supplying raw materials and energy for both production and consumption (4) as centres exceptionally endowed with charismatic species which may be rare, endemic, or unique, or with high densities of wildlife. He described six types of system for achieving sustainable management of World Heritage properties: (1) fortress conservation (2) community conservation (3) conservation by commercialization (4) integrated conservation development projects (5) new fortress conservation (6) decentralization of natural resource management. In answer to the question 'What is the way forward that will link universal and local values to guarantee sustainable management of World Heritage properties?' he considered that management should focus not only on conservation, but also on achieving sustainable development for the rural communities that attach local value to them. The historical fortress conservation approach cannot achieve this linkage, and a combination of management

approaches is required to achieve the twin goals of conservation and development.

### **Plenary Session 1: Site Management – A Shared Responsibility of the Authorities and Local Communities**

The moderator of the session, Dr Sarah Titchen (UNESCO World Heritage Centre), explained that a synthesis report of the conference would be prepared along with a compilation of key conclusions and recommendations that would be presented to the conference participants in the final session.

*Mr Philippe Delanghe* (UNESCO Office Jakarta, Indonesia) expressed the conviction that local communities and national authorities are the key players in the destiny of World Heritage. In a series of case studies he illustrated the fact that World Heritage management is mainly a process of *understanding* (governments often have difficulty in comprehending the concept of World Heritage) and making choices (he stressed the importance of the choice of the site, the Tentative Lists, and the implications of World Heritage Listing, noting that choices made in haste are not always the best option). The case studies of the World Heritage sites of Sangiran and Borobudur in Indonesia were used to explain management challenges stemming from the administrative decentralization policy Indonesia launched in 1998. One of the implications is that although local governments are now financially independent and local communities play an increasingly important role, no clear guidelines have been developed for World Heritage. The issue of the baroque churches of the Philippines, although in a serious state of neglect and on the List of World Heritage in Danger, cannot be resolved by the government as they are the property of the Vatican. The pre-historic rock-art site of Tutuala and its natural environment in East Timor, a new Member State of UNESCO, constitutes a totally different case as it is an untouched area, but offers no human resources for the preservation of the site.

The speaker then presented the twofold, practical response of the UNESCO Office in Jakarta to the limited knowledge of communities and authorities in relation to World Heritage:

(1) a project involving local communities at Borobudur, mainly in response to the March 2003 UNESCO – ICOMOS reactive monitoring mission and (2) a CD-ROM on World Heritage in English, Indonesian and Portuguese, with graphics backed by traditional music from the sites, recognizing the importance of intangible heritage values. The CD-ROM will be used as an educational instrument at a national conference the Indonesia National Commission for UNESCO is organising in July 2003, entitled *Raising of Awareness on World Heritage*, at which national and local authorities, and teachers and students from ASP schools will be present. This will be the start of wider dissemination throughout the region, focusing first of all on local

authorities in areas where potential World Heritage sites are located.

### **Discussion**

*Mr Makgolo Makgolo* (South Africa) emphasized that over the coming decades, heritage professionals should focus on making the *World Heritage Convention* more relevant to the needs of local people. He summarised the opening session, referring to the three principles of World Heritage management: sustainability, livelihood and community involvement. He pointed out that trust was the fundamental principle underlying these themes. One problem is that politicians compete among themselves, hindering dialogue between national authorities and local communities. Politics has to be relevant to the needs of the local people if trust is to be established. He considered poverty eradication to be the key issue, as every African government has to deal with this problem. The *World Heritage Convention* could benefit the people by providing housing and employment opportunities. Indeed, in order to convince people of the importance of World Heritage, it must somehow be demonstrated that World Heritage management is a source of employment and income. He also underlined the necessity to address the issue of war in the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention* and to reinstate local values, commenting on the antagonism between national and local values, which is often rooted in a colonial past. Bearing in mind that the definition of local communities, and therefore of indigenous people, varies from region to region, he suggested the development of World Heritage regional criteria. He stressed the need to move away from the concept of fortresses and to make sites more accessible, especially places in Africa possessing spiritual values. He advocated efforts at all levels to reinstate a dialogue founded on trust between national authorities and local people.

*Dr Titchen* noted that community involvement is an integral part of the World Heritage system. There are, however, many constraints due to its operation within the intergovernmental system.

*Mr Cor Dijkgraaf* asked Dr Cameron whether cooperation between the Canadian authorities and Aboriginal people could be considered as a partnership.

*Dr Cameron* answered that in the most developed situation, local communities act as full partners; indeed they co-sign all documents and authorities. In other situations, local communities participate in a more limited way. The most important pre-condition for cooperation is to build up trust, group by group and case by case.

*Mr Dawson Munjeri* (Zimbabwe), asked Mr te Heuheu to explain how exactly Maori see their role and what satisfaction they get from the cooperation process.

*Mr te Heuheu* answered that, above all, they seek to protect their values and heritage, and that this cooperation is seen as an extra means of ensuring this. He noted that initially Maori were suspicious of the national government,

and believed that international cooperation might support their case better. However, after undergoing a learning process it appears they now have a better understanding of the national government's intentions.

*Mr Drakenstein* (Suriname) asked *Dr Mumma* whether, when dealing with the impact of modernization and globalization, the regeneration of the community benefits World Heritage management, or whether it benefits World Heritage.

*Dr Mumma* answered that developing a framework for World Heritage management could also result in the necessary democratization of structures of authority. Conservation must be a crucial issue because resource management has to change in a modern world.

*Dr Titchen* closed the session by noting a recurrent issue: the need to identify principles, ethics, standards or criteria for facilitating the participation of local communities in the identification and conservation of World Heritage.

### **Plenary Session 2: Site Management and Involvement of Local Communities**

Moderator, *Mr Elias Mujica* (Peru), opened the session by stating that World Heritage conservation and management is dynamic, both in theory and practice. One of the major changes in the past decade is a shift from a 'glass-box' perspective to a participatory approach. In the past, only natural and cultural heritage professionals were entitled to intervene in heritage issues, isolating the heritage from the common people. Under the participatory approach, the main purpose of heritage is recovered, in the sense that it is the community that gives meaning and sense to heritage. He noted that a decade ago, a session at a World Heritage meeting entitled 'Site Management and Involvement of Local Communities' would have been unthinkable. However, he commented that community involvement is an extremely complex issue, since there are as many perspectives and beliefs in the world as there are communities. There is no universal pattern. Moreover, the involvement of local people in conserving and managing their heritage is not a matter of laws or official rules, but one of self-conviction, requiring a long process of practice and advocacy. Finally, he remarked that it should not be assumed that people should be involved in the conservation of 'relics' of the past, when they are more worried about solutions to their present needs. He stressed the need for a process developing stronger links between the heritage and the people who give it meaning and sense.

*Mr Mujica* commented that this statement demonstrated first of all the lack of interest in conservation among local populations if no economic benefits are forthcoming; and second, that assistance from other stakeholders is vital. He furthermore commented that this illustrates the benefits of linking sites to research institutions. He also emphasized

the need to present indigenous values as different, but not better or worse. *Mr Mujica* ended the session by emphasizing that involving local groups in the sustainable management of cultural and natural heritage is a complex process that requires long-term collaboration founded on trust on the part of all stake-holders.

### **Plenary Session 3: Site Management and Local Values**

Moderator of both the third and fourth plenary sessions, *Dr Peter Fowler*, welcomed the participants and introduced the first speaker.

#### **Discussion**

*Mr Nicholas Katanekwa* (Zambia) remarked that it is difficult to enforce national laws in Zambia, as people are concerned that once an area is declared a national monument, the site will lose its local values. Although sites may not be national monuments, they are protected by local people and traditional chiefdoms. He stressed the need to recognize traditional systems as effective and viable, identify local intangible values, and guarantee access to local communities for holding traditional ceremonies.

*Dr Fowler* noted that the general lesson is to look closely at national legislation, but also at other existing mechanisms in a flexible way. He cited the example of Avebury in the United Kingdom, where a stewardship scheme compensates farmers who farm in an ecofriendly way.

*Dr Bogdan Jaroszewicz* (Poland) emphasized that site managers should take a step further by not only involving local communities in site management, but also by being involved in management of land outside the park. Furthermore, two extra stakeholders have to be taken into account: politicians and businessmen.

*Ms Mariam Traore* (Burkina Faso) remarked that Burkina Faso has two cultural sites on the Tentative List, and that the nomination process began by raising the awareness of people living around the sites. She stressed the need to exploit a concept of endogenous conservation, and for synergy between conservation and development. The fundamental role of the national government is to interest the local population through raising awareness of the social and economic benefits to be derived from conservation. The national authorities also have a responsibility to provide a basic minimum in technical material and resources.

*Mr Makgolo* commented on the apparent contradiction in Zambia, whereby people strive for nomination of a site to the World Heritage List, yet do not want it declared a national monument. He advocated the need for flexibility within the Convention to recognize traditional protection. *Dr Rössler* responded that the *World Heritage Convention* allows for flexibility as the *Operational Guidelines* have made provision for traditional management systems since 1992.

*Dr Rössler* noted conflicts in nomination processes, as some groups are not in favour of a World Heritage listing, an example being the Waddensee, located between the Netherlands, Germany and Denmark, where nomination is opposed by certain states parties. Resolving this contradiction is a matter of continued dialogue, and explaining the concept of World Heritage with all its obligations, benefits and implications. *Dr Fowler* remarked that it is clearly very important that a dialogue takes place before nomination, rather than risking the discovery of divergences and conflicts after inclusion on the List.

*Professor Gaballa* asked whether a means could be found within the framework of the *World Heritage Convention* to give a voice to local communities and indigenous peoples. *Dr Fowler* noted the importance of defining the idea of participation in the process, rather than consultation. *Ms Weninger* referred to the idea of the World Heritage Indigenous Peoples Council of Experts as a platform for information sharing, advice and opportunities for local people. She suggested inviting indigenous peoples to conferences, nominating them as co-presenters or presenters, and creating scope for them to be there with the specialists.

### **Plenary Session 4: Site Management and Traditional Management Systems**

#### **Discussion**

*Dr Fowler* invited comments from the floor.

*Mr Mujica* insisted on the importance of facilitating the participation of indigenous communities in international platforms (such as the World Water Forum) with the assistance of NGOs and governments, and by organizing workshops in the various countries in order to better disseminate indigenous knowledge.

*Ms Maria José Curado* (Portugal) commented on the difficulty of pursuing traditional management systems in the Alto Douro wine region, as they are expensive and difficult to maintain. How can people be convinced that it may be important philosophically to maintain these traditional systems of land use?

*Mr Patrice de Bellefon* (France) stressed the need to recognize that traditional agriculture not only produces food security, but also guarantees biodiversity. In his view, traditional farmers must therefore be promoted through a new social and educational mission. He emphasized the need for them to bear responsibility, and to be subsidized by national authorities and the European Commission.

*Dr Jaroszewicz* stated that for people to protect their traditions against the influence of potentially damaging external forces, people must be made to feel proud of them.

*Dr Rieks Smeets*, Chief of the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Section, drew the participants' attention to the

Convention for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage that is currently being drafted. The current text attaches great importance to the identification, documentation, inventorying and transmission of local values, traditions and expressions; the preliminary text expresses itself against the freezing of traditional expressions and representations, and asks for the protection of the conditions that enable communities and groups to further develop or recreate their intangible heritage. He hoped to work in close collaboration with the World Heritage Centre in order to enhance the documentation and transmission of traditions and expressions relating to monuments and sites.

*Mr Katanekwa* noted that for many people in the Western Province of Zambia fire is an important tool for regrowth of grass, clearing fields, facilitating hunting, and smoking out bees. However, uncontrolled and destructive burning is a widespread phenomenon. Before independence, natural resources were under the jurisdiction of the traditional chiefs. In 1975, forests became state-protected areas. Traditional chiefs could no longer exercise control over burning practices, and the government did not have the means to effectively control fire as its representatives were not accorded as much respect as those of the Royal Establishment. Concerns expressed by all stakeholders about long-term environmental changes and the impact of uncontrolled burning led to the start of a fire management programme initiated by the Rangeland Management Team, which realized that fire management implemented by local communities was the first step to conserving natural resources in general. Workshops, involving representatives of different users of natural resources, the different villages, local government staff, the local councillor, village headmen and the area chief, were organized at district level to discuss burning practices. The policy of giving greater responsibility and authority to local communities was fully supported. In all the workshops, it was decided that the Royal Establishment would play a central role in fire management and conservation practices again. Following the workshops, participants agreed to brief their fellow villagers and initiated the formation of Silalanda Natural Resources Committees responsible for further work on the details of burning policy, awareness-raising amongst villagers, attendance and supervision of villagers when burning and dealing with offenders. The first task of the Silalanda Natural Resources Committees was to formulate bye-laws based on the discussions held during the workshops. A meeting with the district government and traditional authorities was held to ensure that the bye-laws were compatible with governmental and traditional laws and regulations. Subsequently, a meeting was held in which the bye-laws were presented and approved by members of the community. Afterwards, the Committees started an active campaign to make the bye-laws known to the entire community and to people from elsewhere who passed through the area. At the end of the dry season, it was concluded that the incidence of fires had declined dramatically, and that everywhere within Silalanda, people were aware of the importance of fire

control. Other advantages were mentioned. For example, more grass was available for animals, which were consequently in better condition.

*Mr Isaac Nyadi Debrah* (Ghana) remarked that in Accra, due to the pressure of globalization and since the arrival of Christian populations, local people have difficulty in practicing their culture. He stressed the need for respect for ideas and values.

*Dr Fowler* noted that although the *Operational Guidelines* have recognized the validity of traditional management systems since 1992, it is not a logical jump to go from local values to 'outstanding universal values' within the framework of the *World Heritage Convention*. *Dr Titchen* responded that the significance of local values is covered by Article 5 (a) of the Convention which states that 'Each State Party shall endeavour ... to adopt a general policy which aims to give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community'.

The moderator for sessions 3 and 4, *Dr Fowler*, concluded that three main themes had emerged:

#### Resource Issues

- a) Traditional management practices, characteristically embedded in local values, represent a process of environmental adaptation which has been found to work in a particular place (but not necessarily elsewhere); they constitute an adaptive process likely to be changing rather than stable and to involve access to and control of such basic resources as water (e.g. irrigation) and food supplies (e.g. by mechanisms such as seasonal grazing, common rights, transhumance).
- b) In many places, war and other sources of disruption have interrupted access to and care for natural and cultural resources.

#### People Issues

- a) Social structures are vital in traditional land management and will almost invariably have to adapt to new circumstances to continue in a 'traditional' mode.
- b) Heritage may well be sustained by traditional belief systems, land tenure and inheritance, and by hierarchical internal authority systems.
- c) Traditional values are likely already to have changed, or be in the process of change, under external influence, for example through the impact of materialism or conservation upon spiritual values.
- d) Demographic change, notably the exodus of the young to cities, is also likely to be in progress, with consequences for land use.
- e) Perceptions of 'heritage' are likely to be various and strongly held, requiring clear definition.
- f) The full range of 'heritage stakeholders', including external ones, needs to be identified and involved in any local situation, with respect for traditional views and in the expectation that they will be diverse and even conflicting.
- g) External interest in a local situation, however well-intentioned, needs to be respectful, patient, personal and visible.

#### Management Issues

- a) Traditional management should always be respected but may well need to be either reinforced in the face of socioeconomic change or encouraged to adapt to contemporary circumstances. For example, because it is labour intensive, it may be too expensive to survive without changing.
- b) Traditional land use has often led to a high conservation value over and above immediate purpose, as in the case of sacred forests.

### Plenary Session 5: Site Management and Capacity Building

Moderator *Bénédicte Selfslagh* (Belgium) opened the session by reminding the participants that capacity building is one of the four strategic objectives which were established by the World Heritage Committee at its 26th Session in Budapest in 2002. She raised the question of whether or not sending international experts is sufficient for building efficient local capacity.

#### Discussion

*Ms Selfslagh* invited the participants to make recommendations on capacity building.

*Mr Munjeri* recommended that capacity building should focus on increasing understanding of the scenarios. He believes that only then will we be able to adopt management strategies that are flexible enough to embrace the diversity of our heritage.

*Dr Curtis* stressed that long-term commitment and two-way dialogue are essential for good capacity building. Teachers must recognize that they are also pupils.

*Dr Smook* noted that it is imperative to consider the multicultural population of the Amsterdam region and to discover how the site can have a meaning for them, as well as for indigenous Dutch people.

*Ms Selfslagh* commented that this was an issue faced by many countries.

*Ms Seema Bhatt* (India) shared her experience at Keoladeo Ghana National Park (India). When it was declared a national park in 1982, people were forbidden to collect firewood. This resulted in conflict between local communities and the authorities, resulting in deaths. She noted the inherited colonial approach to management. It is imperative that all authorities, including site managers, be made to understand the significance of the various Conventions. She advocated that the target group for empowerment by capacity building should be local communities. The key to successful conservation in India and developing countries is to link it to livelihood. She noted that harvesting in India is a sensitive issue, as there is a strong belief in various communities that it is damaging to

the land. She noted that tourism can be beneficial for communities, but that local people should be the guides, and should therefore be empowered for this purpose. Similarly, monitoring and evaluation should be carried out by local communities. Consequently, traditional and indigenous knowledge and practices must be considered a fundamental part of management. However, they may not always be compatible with the scientific approach, as in the case of fire, which is an important aspect of conservation for traditional peoples, whereas site managers see it only as a threat.

*Dr Marine Kenia* (Georgia) referred to hundreds of tower houses that were built from the 13th to 16th centuries as defence posts against invaders in the village of Chazhashi, in Upper Svaneti in the Caucasus mountains. She noted that the Georgian National Committee for ICOMOS, in collaboration with the local communities, relevant authorities and with financial support from the Getty Grant Programme, has developed a preservation plan and recommendations for the site management that will also increase tourism and bring economic benefits. She emphasized that in the case of Upper Svaneti, development through conservation is the only option for the sustainable development of the region: improving the cultural and natural environment will increase tourism and create employment opportunities. She suggested that the World Heritage Centre establish a network of highland World Heritage settlements, similar that of the cities, which would provide states parties with a platform on which to exchange ideas.

*Mr Ndoro* (ICCROM) observed that capacity building it is a never-ending process. It should emphasize dialogue between site managers and the communities around them. It should be initiated at various levels, both technical and political. It should draw on the wisdom and human resources already existing within local communities.

*Professor Gaballa* drew attention to the issue of managing change. In his view, the main problem is in getting local people to understand the *World Heritage Convention*, the *Operational Guidelines*, the Programmes and recommendations of the meetings. The World Heritage Centre could examine the possibility of bringing together groups of people and transferring the information to them in ways they understand.

*Mr Munjeri* pointed out the gap between 'what we say' and 'what we do', and that we do not translate issues discussed into what we do in the field.

*Dr Titchen* explained the World Heritage periodic reporting system, which follows a six-year cycle on a regional basis. Reports have already been completed in the Arab States, Africa and Asia-Pacific Region. After having assessed the needs outlined in the Africa and Arab States reports, the World Heritage Committee became aware of the necessity for action and decided to follow up in each of these

regions with a programme of concerted action to assess capacity building, awareness raising and other issues. The framework for follow-up in the Arab States has been developed. Ideas have been discussed in the World Heritage Centre for Africa and will shortly be discussed with the states parties and the advisory bodies. The key finding is that all stakeholders have to be involved in the programme for concerted action. She mentioned that the training strategy must address the needs revealed by periodic reporting region by region, sub-region by sub-region. The training strategy is a separate issue at the moment, and education must somehow be incorporated into it.

*Dr Mumma* remarked that regeneration of communities is the way to improve capacity building. It is important to appreciate that capacity building does not necessarily need to focus on technical issues, but often concerns training in how to deal with 'soft' aspects such as democratic issues, accountability, and visibility.

*Ms Selfslagh* stressed the importance of using existing local capacity and building on it. She concluded that heritage professionals have a responsibility to ensure that heritage conservation sustains development.

### Field visit

The participants visited Fort Nigtevecht, part of the Defence Line of Amsterdam, where the province of North Holland and the City of Amsterdam are working together on a unique employment scheme in which young people participate in maintenance and repair work. The *Herstelling* Foundation offers this specific target group an opportunity to prepare themselves for a regular job or for further professional training. After visiting Fort Nigtevecht, the participants dined at Fort Pampus, another feature of this World Heritage site. Fort Pampus was built in 1895 on an artificial island to defend the city of Amsterdam from enemy warships attacking from the Zuiderzee.

## Plenary Session 6: Site Management and Partnerships

Moderator *Ms Claudia von Monbart* (World Bank, Paris) introduced the session by highlighting the importance of partnerships for efficient capacity building.

### Discussion

A lively discussion ensued on questions relating to capacity building and management skills, where the emphasis lay on (1) the ability to work with people and on information exchange (2) the active involvement of people from local communities in the nomination and assessment of World Heritage sites, which can primarily be achieved through 'empowerment' and (3) the question of intellectual property rights to the information being exchanged.

The principle of 'ownership' was also discussed, reaffirming that it is essential to give local institutions the power to facilitate communication among all the stakeholders.

Some concerns were also expressed, such as the risks of overemphasizing the importance of involving local communities as partners in decision making, and the significance of World Heritage sites, leading to insufficient attention for the non-listed heritage, and the need to find the intangible elements of the tangible heritage. Other criticisms included the fact that heritage management at technical level often comes from above, from organizations like the World Bank, without the involvement of local professionals. A question that was brought up several times during the discussion was the spiritual value that people throughout the world associate with their land.

The principle of partnership was discussed and participants remarked that partnership between people in the cultural and natural field and the scientific world is also very important. The general impression was that the natural sector was moving much faster than the cultural sector. A more integral approach was therefore needed when managing heritage. In this approach, improving infrastructure, education or health services should also be considered in drafting management plans for heritage. More focus on cooperation at local level is needed in order to find out how culture and heritage can benefit local people, as it seems that national interests often do not correspond with local interests.

*Ms von Monbart* summarized the panel discussion as follows.

- Heritage conservation needs partnership at all levels.
- Sharing of experience and information is essential to conservation.
- There is a need for sustainable support structures and financing, creating benefits and win-win situations for all, in order to move away from stringent financing to built-in mechanisms.
- There is a need to mainstream conservation and coordination mechanisms, building on the principles of holistic, long-term, comprehensive, ownership-based, participatory and partnership development at all levels
- The international community needs to look at the larger picture. We need integration at all levels and across all sectors and constituencies. We are talking about complexities, interdependencies and continua. We have to build on similarities and to do a lot of sharing, learning and listening.

She then closed the session.

## Closing Session

The chair, *Dr Rick van der Ploeg*, presented the conclusions and recommendations which had been formulated by the drafting group. He invited *Ms Bénédicte Selfslagh*, Rapporteur of the World Heritage Committee 2002-2003, and the other moderators to comment on the recommendations. The participants were then asked to comment and to suggest other recommendations. After much debate, it was decided to convene for lunch, while the wording of the recommendations was finalized. After lunch and having presented a new draft of the recommendations, the chair suggested to the participants that a mandate be issued to the drafting group to come up with a final set of recommendations as quickly as possible.

Following the approval of this proposal by all participants, *Dr Rieks Smeets* expressed his gratitude on behalf of the organising committee to all the participants for their contribution to the results of the meeting, and thanked the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science for its support, as well as the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, the province of North Holland and the Netherlands Committee for IUCN.

*Dr Mechtild Rössler* expressed, on behalf of UNESCO and the World Heritage Centre, her gratitude to the Government of the Netherlands and the Netherlands National Commission for UNESCO for having hosted the conference, which will contribute to the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention*.

*Professor Gaballa Ali Gaballa* expressed his appreciation on behalf of the participants to the Government of the Netherlands and to the organising committee for their warm hospitality, and for offering a stimulating environment for debate.

The chair officially closed the conference. He thanked the participants for having come to the Netherlands and congratulated the organising committee on the smooth running of the meeting.



## Rapport de synthèse de la Conférence

### Introduction

La conférence intitulée *Liens entre valeurs universelles et valeurs locales : gérer un avenir durable pour le patrimoine mondial* (hôtel Arena, Amsterdam, Pays-Bas, 22-24 mai 2003) était organisée par la Commission nationale néerlandaise pour l'UNESCO, avec le soutien du ministère néerlandais de l'enseignement, de la culture et des sciences, en collaboration avec le Centre du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO, la province de Hollande septentrionale et le Comité néerlandais pour l'UICN. Présidée par Rick van der Ploeg, la conférence a regroupé 56 experts du patrimoine culturel et naturel provenant de 36 États parties à la Convention du patrimoine mondial, membres des organismes consultatifs, de l'UNESCO et du Centre du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO. L'ordre du jour de la conférence et la liste des participants sont joints à ce document aux annexes 1 et 2.

### Introduction aux discours principaux

*Gaballa Ali Gaballa*, ancien secrétaire général du Conseil suprême des antiquités (Égypte), illustre, à l'aide du cas de la vallée de Louxor et de celui de la ville du Caire, les tensions qui surgissent entre l'échelon national et l'échelon local, et l'importance que revêt la participation des populations locales à la gestion des sites. Les populations locales, précise-t-il, hésitent souvent à coopérer avec des représentants de l'administration publique, car elles y voient une menace à leur liberté ou un risque de contraintes supplémentaires dans leur vie quotidienne. À son avis, cette réticence reflète la distinction entre valeurs mondiales (ou universelles) et valeurs locales. Les idées sous-tendant la préservation du patrimoine sont souvent d'origine occidentale et ne tiennent pas toujours compte de la vie quotidienne des communautés locales dans les pays en développement, de leurs valeurs spirituelles, des émotions que suscite en eux un site particulier du patrimoine mondial, de leur économie ni même de leur langue. En conséquence de quoi un dialogue s'impose sur deux niveaux pour surmonter ces tensions : d'une part, entre la communauté nationale et la communauté internationale ; d'autre part, entre les gouvernements et les communautés locales.

### Discours principaux

*Sharon Sullivan* (Australie) introduit le thème de la conférence en utilisant l'exemple de la région des Lacs Willandra (Australie) pour montrer que la participation locale et l'utilisation profitable des pratiques traditionnelles tiennent

un rôle essentiel dans la conservation durable et la gestion du patrimoine mondial. Elle fait référence à une difficulté qui est au centre même de la pratique de la conservation du patrimoine, à savoir le fait qu'il s'agit d'une conception de la pratique du patrimoine émanant du monde occidental et qu'elle en présente nombre de ses caractéristiques. Parmi celles-ci, on peut citer un certain degré de rigidité et une approche centralisée, ainsi qu'une inclination à adopter la vision occidentale traditionnelle de ce qui constitue le patrimoine culturel (principalement les monuments et la nature dans son état originel). Cette tendance est source de difficultés quand il s'agit de combiner les valeurs locales et les modes novateurs de gestion. Ayant exposé ces faiblesses, elle attire l'attention sur le fait que la notion de patrimoine mondial est plus puissante et plus adaptable qu'on ne le pensait au départ, et elle propose quelques manières de progresser en ce domaine. En premier lieu, il convient d'observer les dispositions des autres conventions, telle la Convention des droits de l'homme, dans le cadre de l'application de la Convention du patrimoine mondial. En deuxième lieu, il est indispensable de considérer et de traiter les questions relatives à la participation de la communauté et aux pratiques indigènes dès le début du processus d'inscription sur la liste du patrimoine mondial. C'est avant même la désignation qu'il faut élaborer un processus explicite d'implication des parties prenantes et de recensement de toutes les valeurs du patrimoine. Le plan de gestion qui est remis avec la désignation doit démontrer que toutes les parties prenantes ont été consultées, que les questions portant sur le régime foncier et l'utilisation des terres ont été discutées, que des dispositions ont été prises pour conserver toutes les valeurs répertoriées et pour cerner les conflits potentiels dans la zone, et que le mode de gestion englobe les questions économiques et sociales des communautés locales et les gardiens des traditions. En conclusion, elle propose que les professionnels du patrimoine abandonnent leurs préjugés et qu'ils reconnaissent la sagesse des populations locales.

*Eric Edroma* (Ouganda) expose les quatre valeurs ou fonctions des sites du patrimoine mondial : 1. soutien aux conditions de vie contribuant aux moyens de subsistance et au bien-être des populations vivant à l'intérieur ou près d'une zone protégée ; 2. puits absorbant les déchets de l'activité économique et sociale ; 3. source fournissant des matières premières et de l'énergie pour la production et la consommation ; 4. centres exceptionnellement dotés d'espèces hors du commun qui peuvent être rares, endémiques ou uniques, ou présentant de fortes densités d'espèces sauvages. Il décrit six types de systèmes permettant d'appliquer une gestion durable des biens du patrimoine mondial : 1. la conservation de type protectionniste, coupée des populations locales ; 2. la conservation par les

communautés ; 3. la conservation par le truchement de la commercialisation ; 4. les projets de développement intégrés en matière de conservation ; 5. la conservation du nouveau type protectionniste ; 6. la décentralisation de la gestion des ressources naturelles. En réponse à la question : « Quelle est la manière d'avancer qui établira des liens entre les valeurs universelles et les valeurs locales afin de garantir la gestion durable des biens du patrimoine mondial ? », il avance qu'il faut centrer la gestion non seulement sur la conservation, mais aussi sur la réalisation d'un développement durable pour les communautés rurales qui leur confèrent une valeur locale. L'approche historique de la conservation de type protectionniste ne peut pas établir ces liens et il convient de combiner différentes approches de gestion pour atteindre le double but de la conservation et du développement.

### **Première séance plénière. La gestion des sites. Une responsabilité commune des autorités et des communautés locales**

La modératrice de la séance, *Sarah Titchen* (Centre du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO) informe qu'un rapport de synthèse de la conférence sera rédigé, ainsi qu'une compilation des principales conclusions et recommandations qui seront présentées aux participants à la conférence lors de la séance finale.

*Philippe Delanghe* (UNESCO, Djakarta, Indonésie) exprime sa conviction que les communautés locales et les autorités nationales sont les principaux acteurs de la destinée du patrimoine mondial. Il a montré dans diverses études de cas que la gestion du patrimoine mondial est avant tout un processus de *compréhension* (les autorités ont souvent du mal à appréhender la notion de patrimoine mondial) et de choix (il souligne l'importance du choix du site, des listes indicatives, et les implications de l'inscription sur la liste du patrimoine mondial, faisant remarquer que les choix fixés en hâte ne sont pas toujours les meilleurs). Les études de cas portant sur les sites du patrimoine mondial de Sangiran et de Borobudur, en Indonésie, ont servi à expliquer les enjeux de la gestion découlant de la politique de décentralisation administrative lancée par l'Indonésie en 1998. Parmi les incidences de cette politique, l'auteur signale que, si les collectivités locales sont maintenant indépendantes sur le plan financier et qu'elles assument un rôle croissant, aucune ligne directrice n'a été définie pour le patrimoine mondial. Aux Philippines, le gouvernement ne peut pas résoudre la question des églises baroques, qui se trouvent pourtant dans un état grave de négligence et sont inscrites sur la liste du patrimoine mondial en péril, parce qu'elles sont la propriété du Vatican. Au Timor-Oriental, nouveau membre de l'UNESCO, le site d'art rupestre préhistorique de Tutuala et de son environnement naturel constitue un cas totalement différent puisqu'il s'agit d'une zone intacte, mais il ne dispose d'aucunes ressources humaines pour préserver le site.

L'orateur présente alors la réaction au plan pratique, en deux points, du bureau de l'UNESCO à Djakarta face au savoir limité des communautés et des autorités concernant le patrimoine mondial : 1. un projet à Borobudur auquel participent les autorités locales, décidé principalement à la suite d'une mission de suivi réactif effectuée par l'UNESCO-ICOMOS en mars 2003 ; 2. un cédérom sur le patrimoine mondial, disponible en anglais, en indonésien et en portugais, avec des représentations graphiques, accompagné de musique traditionnelle des sites, reconnaissant l'importance des valeurs immatérielles du patrimoine. Le cédérom sera utilisé comme instrument pédagogique lors d'une conférence nationale, intitulée *Raising of Awareness on World Heritage*, organisée par la Commission nationale indonésienne pour l'UNESCO, qui se tiendra en juillet 2003. Cette rencontre rassemblera des autorités nationales et locales, des enseignants et des étudiants d'écoles affiliées au réseau des écoles associées de l'UNESCO. Cet événement marquera le début d'une vaste diffusion dans toute la région, axée avant tout sur les autorités locales des zones où se trouvent des sites potentiels du patrimoine mondial.

### **Débat**

*Makgolo Makgolo* (Afrique du Sud) déclare que, pendant les décennies à venir, les professionnels du patrimoine devraient s'efforcer d'adapter la *Convention du patrimoine mondial* aux besoins des populations locales. Il résume la séance d'ouverture, se référant aux trois principes de la gestion du patrimoine mondial : durabilité, moyens de subsistance et participation des communautés. Il souligne que la *confiance* est le principe qui sous-tend ces thèmes. Il soulève un problème : les hommes politiques se font concurrence, empêchant le dialogue entre les autorités nationales et les communautés locales. La politique doit répondre aux besoins des populations locales si on veut établir la confiance. Il considère que tout dépend de l'éradication de la pauvreté, puisque tous les gouvernements africains sont confrontés à ce problème. Les populations pourraient tirer avantage de la *Convention du patrimoine mondial*, sous forme de possibilités de logement et d'emploi. En fait, pour convaincre les populations de l'importance du patrimoine mondial, il faut montrer d'une manière ou d'une autre que la gestion du patrimoine mondial génère des emplois et des revenus. Il insiste sur la nécessité de s'attaquer à la problématique de la guerre dans la mise en œuvre de la *Convention du patrimoine mondial* et de restaurer les valeurs locales, mentionnant l'antagonisme qui oppose les valeurs nationales et les valeurs locales et qui, bien souvent, trouve ses racines dans le passé colonial. Tenant compte du fait que la définition des communautés locales, et donc des populations indigènes, varie d'une région à l'autre, il propose le développement de critères régionaux en matière de patrimoine mondial. Il souligne le besoin de s'éloigner de la conception protectionniste et de rendre les sites plus accessibles, surtout les lieux situés en Afrique qui possèdent des valeurs spirituelles. Il demande que, à tous les niveaux,

on s'efforce de renouer un dialogue fondé sur la *confiance* entre les autorités nationales et les populations locales.

*Sarah Titchen* précise que la participation des communautés fait partie intégrante du concept du patrimoine mondial. De nombreuses entraves, toutefois, résultent du mode opératoire dans un cadre intergouvernemental.

*Cor Dijkgraaf* demande à Christina Cameron si la coopération entre les autorités canadiennes et les Aborigènes pourrait être considérée comme un partenariat.

*Christine Cameron* répond que, dans la plupart des cas, les communautés locales cosignent tout. Dans d'autres situations, les communautés locales participent, mais sont déçues parce que les fonds disponibles sont insuffisants pour permettre leur pleine participation. Le préalable le plus important pour une coopération efficace est la confiance, établie groupe par groupe et cas par cas.

*Dawson Munjeri* (Zimbabwe) demande à Tumu te Heuheu d'expliquer comment les Maoris voient exactement leur rôle et quelle satisfaction ils retirent du processus de coopération.

*Tumu te Heuheu* répond qu'ils cherchent avant tout à protéger leurs valeurs et leur patrimoine et qu'ils considèrent cette coopération comme un moyen supplémentaire d'y parvenir. Au début, ajoute-t-il, les Maoris se méfiaient du gouvernement national et pensaient que la coopération internationale les aiderait davantage à défendre leur cause. Cependant, à l'issue d'un processus d'apprentissage, il apparaît qu'ils comprennent mieux maintenant les intentions des autorités nationales.

*Bryan Drakenstein* (Suriname) demande à Albert Mumma si, parlant de l'influence de la modernisation et de la mondialisation, la revitalisation de la communauté profite à la gestion du patrimoine mondial ou bien au patrimoine mondial lui-même.

*Albert Mumma* répond que le développement d'un cadre pour la gestion du patrimoine mondial pourrait aussi entraîner la démocratisation nécessaire des structures de l'autorité. Il faut accorder une importance primordiale à la conservation parce que, dans un monde moderne, il convient de modifier la gestion des ressources.

*Sarah Titchen* clôture la séance en attirant l'attention sur une question récurrente : le besoin de définir des principes, une éthique, des normes ou des critères pour faciliter la participation des communautés locales au recensement et à la conservation des sites du patrimoine mondial.

### **Deuxième séance plénière. Gestion du site et participation des communautés locales**

Le modérateur, *Elias Mujica* (Pérou), ouvre la séance en déclarant que la conservation et la gestion du patrimoine mondial sont dynamiques, tant en théorie qu'en pratique.

Un des principaux changements survenus au cours de la dernière décennie réside dans l'abandon de la perspective « sous verre » qui a laissé la place à une approche participative. Dans le passé, seuls les professionnels du patrimoine naturel et culturel étaient habilités à intervenir dans les questions relatives au patrimoine, ce qui revenait à isoler le patrimoine du commun des mortels. L'approche participative permet de redécouvrir la vocation majeure du patrimoine, du fait que c'est la communauté qui donne une signification et un sens au patrimoine. Il fait remarquer que, voici dix ans, une séance d'une réunion d'experts du patrimoine mondial intitulée *Gestion des sites et participation des communautés locales* aurait été impensable. Cependant, il précise que la participation des communautés est une affaire extrêmement complexe, puisque le monde compte autant de perspectives et de croyances que de communautés. Il n'existe pas de modèle universel. En outre, la participation des populations locales à la conservation et à la gestion de leur patrimoine ne dépend pas des lois et règlements officiels, mais d'une autoconviction qui requiert un long processus de pratique et de persuasion. Il ajoute enfin qu'il ne faudrait pas penser que les populations doivent être associées à la conservation de « reliques » du passé lorsque leurs besoins présents sont une cause de profonde préoccupation. Il souligne la nécessité d'un processus développant des liens plus solides entre le patrimoine et la population qui lui donne sa signification et son sens.

*Elias Mujica* intervient pour dire que ces propos dénotent avant tout le manque d'intérêt pour la conservation de la part des populations locales lorsqu'elles n'en tirent pas d'avantages économiques ; ils montrent également que l'aide d'autres acteurs est indispensable. L'exemple montre l'avantage qu'il peut y avoir à établir un lien entre les sites et les organismes de recherche. Il souligne également le besoin de présenter les valeurs indigènes comme étant différentes, mais ni meilleures ni pires. *Elias Mujica* clôture la séance en rappelant que la participation des groupes locaux à la gestion durable du patrimoine culturel et naturel est un processus complexe qui exige une *collaboration* sur le long terme, fondée sur la *confiance* de la part de toutes les parties prenantes.

### **Troisième séance plénière. Gestion du site et valeurs locales**

Le modérateur pour le troisième et quatrième séances plénières, *Peter Fowler*, souhaite la bienvenue aux participants et présente le premier orateur.

#### **Débat**

*Nicholas Katanekwa* (Zambie) fait observer qu'il est difficile d'appliquer les législations nationales en Zambie, car les populations s'inquiètent du fait que, dès qu'une zone est déclarée monument national, le site perd ses valeurs locales. Bien que les sites ne soient pas forcément des monuments nationaux, ils sont protégés par les popula-

tions locales et les chefferies traditionnelles. Il insiste sur le besoin de reconnaître l'efficacité et la viabilité des systèmes traditionnels, de cerner les valeurs locales, et de garantir l'accès aux sites aux communautés locales afin qu'elles y tiennent leurs cérémonies traditionnelles.

Pour *Peter Fowler*, une leçon s'impose à tous : il faut examiner de près la législation nationale, mais il convient également de montrer une certaine souplesse envers les autres mécanismes existants. Il cite l'exemple d'Avebury, au Royaume-Uni, où un plan de gestion indemnise les exploitants qui pratiquent une agriculture respectueuse de l'environnement.

*Bogdan Jarosewicz* (Pologne) ajoute que les gestionnaires de sites devraient aller plus loin et non seulement associer les communautés locales à la gestion des sites, mais aussi participer eux-mêmes à la gestion des terres à l'extérieur du parc. En outre, il ne faudrait pas oublier deux catégories d'acteurs : les hommes politiques et les hommes d'affaires.

*Mariam Traore* (Burkina Faso) fait remarquer que le Burkina Faso a deux sites culturels inscrits sur la liste indicative, et que le processus de désignation a commencé par une sensibilisation des populations vivant à proximité des sites. Elle souligne la nécessité de recourir à la notion de conservation endogène et le besoin d'une synergie entre conservation et développement. Le rôle du gouvernement central consiste principalement à susciter l'intérêt de la population locale à l'aide d'actions de sensibilisation aux avantages sociaux et économiques qui découleront de la conservation. Les autorités nationales ont également la responsabilité de fournir le minimum indispensable en ce qui concerne l'équipement technique et les ressources.

*Makgolo Makgolo* revient sur la contradiction apparente constatée en Zambie, où les populations s'efforcent de faire inscrire un site sur la liste du patrimoine mondial tout en refusant qu'il soit déclaré monument national. Il recommande que la convention ait la flexibilité nécessaire pour reconnaître la protection traditionnelle. *Mechtild Rössler* répond que la *Convention du patrimoine mondial* permet cette flexibilité puisque les *Orientations* prévoient les modes de gestion traditionnels depuis 1992.

*Mechtild Rössler* attire l'attention sur des conflits lors des processus de désignation, certains groupes étant défavorables à l'inscription sur la liste du patrimoine mondial. Certains États parties s'opposent, par exemple, à l'inscription du Waddensee, situé entre les Pays-Bas, l'Allemagne et le Danemark. Cette opposition exige un dialogue continu et de plus amples explications sur la notion de patrimoine mondial, ainsi que de ses obligations, de ses avantages et de ses implications. *Peter Fowler* fait remarquer qu'il est manifestement très important qu'un dialogue ait lieu avant la désignation, afin d'éviter de découvrir des divergences et des conflits après l'inscription sur la liste.

*Gaballa Ali Gaballa* demande si on pourrait trouver un moyen, dans le cadre de la *Convention du patrimoine mondial*, pour donner la parole aux communautés locales et aux peuples indigènes. *Peter Fowler* précise qu'il est important de définir l'idée de participation au processus, plutôt que celle de consultation. *Josie Weninger* rappelle l'idée d'un Conseil d'experts des peuples indigènes du patrimoine mondial constituant une plateforme de partage de l'information, de conseil et d'opportunités pour la population locale. Elle propose d'inviter des peuples indigènes aux conférences, au titre d'intervenants ou de coin-tervenants, et de créer la marge de manœuvre permettant qu'ils se joignent aux experts.

### **Quatrième séance plénière. La gestion des sites et les modes de gestion traditionnels**

#### **Débat**

*Elias Mujica* revient sur l'importance de la participation des communautés indigènes aux plateformes internationales (tel le Forum mondial de l'eau), avec l'assistance d'ONG et de gouvernements, et par l'organisation de séminaires dans les divers pays en vue de mieux diffuser le savoir indigène.

*Maria José Curado* (Portugal) expose les difficultés à poursuivre l'application des modes de gestion traditionnels dans la région viticole de l'Alto Douro : ils sont onéreux et peu aisés à maintenir. Comment peut-on convaincre les gens qu'il peut être important au plan philosophique de maintenir des modes traditionnels d'utilisation des terres ?

*Patrice de Bellefon* (France) met en exergue le besoin de reconnaître que l'agriculture traditionnelle ne produit pas seulement la sécurité alimentaire, mais garantit aussi la biodiversité. À son avis, il convient donc d'encourager les exploitants agricoles pratiquant une agriculture traditionnelle, dans le cadre d'une nouvelle mission sociale et éducative. Il souligne le besoin qu'ont ces agriculteurs d'assumer une responsabilité et de bénéficier de subventions des autorités nationales et de la Commission européenne.

*Bogdan Jarosewicz* affirme que, pour que les populations protègent leurs traditions contre l'influence de forces externes susceptibles d'être préjudiciables, il faut qu'elles soient très fières de ces traditions.

*Rieks Smeets*, chef de la section du patrimoine culturel immatériel de l'UNESCO, attire l'attention des participants sur la Convention pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel qui est en cours d'élaboration. Le texte le plus récent attache une grande importance à l'identification, à la documentation, à l'inventaire et à la transmission des valeurs, des traditions et des expressions locales ; l'avant-projet dénonce le gel des expressions et des représentations traditionnelles et demande la protection de

conditions qui permettent aux communautés et aux groupes de continuer à développer et de recréer leur patrimoine immatériel. L'intervenant espère travailler en étroite collaboration avec le Centre du patrimoine mondial afin d'encourager la documentation et la transmission des traditions et des expressions relatives aux monuments et aux sites.

*M. Katanekwa* déclare que, pour de nombreux habitants de la province occidentale de la Zambie, le feu est un outil important pour la repousse de l'herbe, le défrichage des champs, qui facilite également la chasse et fait fuir les abeilles. Cependant, les incendies non maîtrisés et destructeurs sont un phénomène répandu. Avant l'indépendance, les ressources naturelles étaient placées sous la juridiction des chefs traditionnels. En 1975, les forêts sont devenues des zones protégées par l'État. Les chefs traditionnels ne pouvaient plus exercer leur influence sur les pratiques du feu, et le gouvernement n'avait pas les moyens de maîtriser effectivement les incendies parce que ses représentants n'inspiraient pas autant de respect que ceux du Royal Establishment. Toutes les parties prenantes ont exprimé des inquiétudes concernant les changements de l'environnement sur le long terme et l'ampleur des incendies non maîtrisés a conduit à lancer un programme de gestion du feu commencé par l'équipe de gestion des zones de pâturage. Celle-ci a compris que la gestion du feu mise en place par les communautés locales était la première étape vers la conservation des ressources naturelles d'une manière générale. On organisa des séminaires, auxquels participaient des représentants des différents utilisateurs des ressources naturelles des différents villages, le personnel des collectivités locales, le conseiller local, les chefs de village et le chef de la zone, pour débattre des pratiques du feu. La politique consistant à accroître la responsabilité et l'autorité des communautés locales reçut l'approbation de tous. Dans tous les séminaires, il a été décidé que le Royal Establishment tiendrait à nouveau un rôle central dans la gestion du feu et dans les pratiques de conservation. À l'issue des séminaires, les participants ont convenu de passer l'information aux autres habitants des villages. Ils ont mis sur pied les comités des ressources naturelles du Silalanda, chargés d'approfondir la politique en matière d'incendie, de sensibiliser les villageois à cette problématique, et de faire en sorte que les habitants soient présents et assurent la surveillance pendant les incendies et quand on décide du sort des auteurs de délits. La première tâche de ces comités a consisté à élaborer des règlements fondés sur les débats tenus pendant les séminaires. Une réunion tenue avec les autorités du district et les autorités traditionnelles a permis de vérifier que les règlements étaient compatibles avec la législation gouvernementale et traditionnelle. Au cours d'une réunion suivante, les règlements ont été présentés et approuvés par des membres de la communauté. Ensuite, les comités ont lancé une campagne active visant à faire connaître les règlements à toute la communauté, ainsi qu'aux personnes étrangères à la communauté qui passaient dans la région. À la fin de la saison sèche, on a tiré la conclusion que le nombre des incendies avait radicalement baissé et que, partout dans

Silalanda, les populations avaient pris conscience de l'importance de la maîtrise des feux. On a aussi mentionné d'autres avantages : par exemple, on disposait d'une surface accrue d'herbage pour le bétail qui, en conséquence, se portait mieux.

*Isaac Nyadi Debrah* (Ghana) fait remarquer qu'à Accra, à cause de la pression de la mondialisation et depuis l'arrivée de populations chrétiennes, la population locale a des difficultés à respecter sa culture.

*Peter Fowler* précise que, malgré la reconnaissance, en 1992, de la validité des modes traditionnels de gestion par les *Orientations*, il n'est pas logique de passer des valeurs locales aux « valeurs universelles exceptionnelles » dans le cadre de la *Convention du patrimoine mondial*.

*Sarah Titchen* répond que la signification de « valeurs locales » est couverte par l'article 5a de la convention qui dispose : « Les États parties à la présente Convention s'efforceront ... d'adopter une politique générale visant à assigner une fonction au patrimoine culturel et naturel dans la vie collective ».

Le modérateur des troisième et quatrième séances, *Peter Fowler*, conclut que trois grands thèmes ont surgi :

### Les ressources

- Les pratiques traditionnelles de gestion, qui se caractérisent par un enracinement dans les valeurs locales, représentent un processus d'adaptation environnementale qui est efficace dans un endroit particulier (mais pas forcément ailleurs) ; elles constituent un processus adaptatif qui a plutôt tendance au changement qu'à la stabilité et qui implique l'accès aux ressources de base telles que l'eau (par exemple l'irrigation) et à l'approvisionnement en denrées alimentaires (par exemple des mécanismes tels que le pâturage saisonnier, les droits communs, la transhumance), ainsi que le contrôle de ces ressources et de cet approvisionnement.
- Dans de nombreux endroits, la guerre et d'autres causes de désordre ont interrompu l'accès aux ressources naturelles et empêché qu'on en prenne soin.

### Les populations

- Les structures sociales sont capitales dans la gestion traditionnelle des terres et devront presque inmanquablement s'adapter à de nouvelles circonstances pour se maintenir dans un mode « traditionnel ».
- Le patrimoine peut être soutenu par des croyances, un régime foncier et un héritage traditionnels, et par des structures hiérarchiques de l'autorité interne.
- Les valeurs traditionnelles ont probablement déjà subi des changements ou bien elles sont en cours de changement, sous des influences externes, par exemple les répercussions du matérialisme ou de la conservation sur les valeurs spirituelles.
- L'évolution démographique actuelle, surtout l'exode des jeunes vers les villes, a également des conséquences sur l'utilisation des terres.

- e. La notion de « patrimoine » est susceptible d'interprétations diverses et farouchement défendues ; il convient donc de la définir en termes clairs.
- f. Il faut recenser l'ensemble des « parties prenantes du patrimoine », y compris celles qui se trouvent à l'extérieur du site, et les impliquer dans n'importe quelle situation locale, dans le respect des opinions traditionnelles, en s'attendant à ce qu'elles soient diverses et même qu'elles s'opposent par des divergences de vues.
- g. Les intérêts externes dans une situation locale, même s'ils relèvent de bonnes intentions, doivent être respectueux, patients, personnels et visibles.

### La gestion

- a. La gestion traditionnelle doit toujours être respectée mais elle peut avoir besoin d'être renforcée face aux changements socioéconomiques ou encouragée pour s'adapter aux circonstances contemporaines. Par exemple, il peut s'avérer trop onéreux de survivre sans procéder à des changements, parce cela exigerait trop de main-d'œuvre.
- b. L'utilisation traditionnelle des terres s'est souvent traduite par une forte valeur de conservation qui l'emporte sur le but immédiat, comme dans le cas des forêts sacrées.

## Cinquième séance plénière. La gestion des sites et le renforcement des capacités

La modératrice, *Bénédicte Selfslagh* (Belgique), ouvre la séance en rappelant aux participants que le renforcement des capacités est l'un des quatre objectifs stratégiques fixés par le Comité du patrimoine mondial lors de sa 26<sup>e</sup> session tenue à Budapest en 2002. Il s'agit de savoir, dit-elle, s'il suffit ou non d'Envoyer des experts internationaux pour renforcer efficacement les capacités locales n'est peut-être pas toujours la meilleure solution ?

### Débat

*Bénédicte Selfslagh* invite les participants à formuler des recommandations sur le renforcement des capacités.

*Dawson Munjeri* souhaite que le renforcement des capacités soit centré sur une meilleure compréhension des scénarios. Il pense que c'est à cette condition seulement que nous pourrions adopter des stratégies suffisamment souples pour englober la diversité de notre patrimoine.

*Tim Curtis* fait observer qu'un engagement sur le long terme et un dialogue réciproque constituent les facteurs essentiels du renforcement des capacités. Les enseignants doivent reconnaître qu'ils ont aussi beaucoup à apprendre.

Pour *Caroline Smook*, il est impératif d'étudier la population multiculturelle de la région d'Amsterdam et de découvrir comment le site peut avoir un sens pour elle, de même que pour la population autochtone néerlandaise.

*Bénédicte Selfslagh* ajoute que de nombreux pays sont confrontés à cette problématique.

*Seema Bhatt* (Inde) partage son expérience au parc national des Keoladeo Ghana (Inde). Quand il a été déclaré parc national, en 1982, il a été interdit d'y ramasser du bois de feu. Un conflit a alors éclaté entre les communautés locales et les autorités, qui s'est soldé par des morts. Elle fait remarquer l'approche de la gestion héritée de l'ancienne puissance coloniale. Il est impératif que toutes les autorités, y compris les gestionnaires de sites, comprennent le sens des diverses conventions. Elle souhaite que le groupe cible de l'autonomisation par le renforcement des capacités soit les communautés locales. En Inde et dans les pays en développement, la clé de la réussite en matière de conservation est l'établissement d'un lien avec les moyens de subsistance. Faire les récoltes en Inde est un point sensible car diverses communautés croient fermement que cela détériore les sols. L'auteur ajoute que le tourisme peut être bénéfique aux communautés, mais que les guides devraient être recrutés dans la population locale qu'il faut former à cette fin. De même, le suivi et l'évaluation devraient être effectués par les communautés locales. En conséquence, il faut considérer le savoir et les pratiques traditionnels et indigènes comme une partie essentielle de la gestion. Cependant, ils ne sont pas toujours compatibles avec l'approche scientifique, comme dans le cas du feu, qui est un aspect important de la conservation pour les populations indigènes, tandis que les gestionnaires de sites n'y voient qu'une menace.

*Marine Kenia* (Géorgie) évoque les centaines de tours maisons qui ont été construites du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle pour servir de postes de défense contre les envahisseurs dans le village de Chazhashi, situé dans les montagnes caucasiennes du Haut Svaneti. Elle fait observer que le Comité national géorgien pour Icomos, en collaboration avec les populations locales, les autorités compétentes et grâce au soutien financier du programme Getty Grant, a établi un plan de préservation et des recommandations pour la gestion du site, qui favoriseront également le développement du tourisme et apporteront des avantages économiques. Elle insiste sur le fait que, dans le cas du Haut Svaneti, le développement par la conservation est la seule possibilité de développement durable de la région : l'amélioration de l'environnement culturel et naturel accroîtra le tourisme et créera des possibilités d'emplois. Elle recommande que le Centre du patrimoine mondial mette en place un réseau pour les établissements du patrimoine mondial situés sur des hautes terres, à l'instar de celui des villes, qui offrirait aux États parties une plateforme d'échange d'idées.

*Weber Ndoro* (ICCRUM) fait observer que le renforcement des capacités est un processus sans fin. Il devrait renforcer le dialogue entre les gestionnaires de sites et les communautés qui les entourent ; commencer à différents niveaux, à la fois techniques et politique ; s'appuyer sur la sagesse et les ressources humaines existant déjà dans les communautés locales.

*Gaballa Ali Gaballa* attire l'attention sur la gestion du changement. La principale difficulté, estime-t-il, est de faire comprendre aux populations locales la *Convention du patrimoine mondial*, les *Orientations*, les programmes et les recommandations formulées lors des réunions. Le Centre du patrimoine mondial pourrait examiner la possibilité de réunir des groupes de personnes et de leur transmettre les informations d'une manière qui leur soit compréhensible.

*Dawson Munjeri* dénonce le fossé qui sépare « ce que nous disons » et « ce que nous faisons ». D'après lui, les points discutés pendant les réunions ne sont pas traduits dans la pratique sur le terrain.

*Sarah Titchen* explique le système de présentation de rapports périodiques du patrimoine mondial, qui suit un cycle de six ans, dans un cadre régional. Les rapports ont déjà été achevés dans les États arabes, l'Afrique et la région Asie-Pacifique. Après avoir évalué les besoins signalés dans les rapports de l'Afrique et des États arabes, le Comité du patrimoine mondial a pris conscience de la nécessité de passer à l'action et a décidé d'instaurer un suivi dans chacune de ces régions au moyen d'un programme d'action concertée visant à évaluer en particulier le renforcement des capacités et la sensibilisation. Le cadre du suivi dans les États arabes a été développé. Certaines idées ont fait l'objet de débats au sein du Centre du patrimoine mondial pour l'Afrique et seront prochainement discutées avec les États parties et les organes consultatifs. La constatation principale révèle que toutes les parties prenantes doivent être associées au programme d'action concertée. Mme Titchen précise que la stratégie de formation doit s'attaquer aux besoins mentionnés dans les rapports périodiques, région par région, sous-région par sous-région. La stratégie de formation est actuellement traitée séparément et l'éducation doit y être intégrée d'une manière ou d'une autre.

*Albert Mumma* fait remarquer que la revitalisation des communautés est le moyen par excellence d'améliorer le renforcement des capacités. Il est important de se rendre compte que le renforcement des capacités n'a pas forcément besoin d'être axé sur des points techniques ; il porte souvent sur des formations apprenant aux individus à traiter des questions plus abstraites, telles que la démocratie, la responsabilité et la visibilité.

*Bénédicte Selfslagh* attire l'attention sur l'importance d'utiliser les capacités disponibles au plan local et d'en tirer parti. Elle conclut qu'il incombe aux professionnels du patrimoine de garantir que la conservation du patrimoine soutient le développement.

### Visite sur le terrain

Les participants se rendent à Fort Nigtevecht, qui fait partie de la ligne de défense d'Amsterdam. La province de Hollande septentrionale et la ville d'Amsterdam y travaillent en collaboration à un plan unique pour l'emploi

qui propose à des jeunes de participer à des travaux de maintenance et de remise en état. La fondation *Herstelling* offre à ce groupe cible une occasion de se préparer à un emploi régulier ou à une formation professionnelle. Après la visite de Fort Nigtevecht, les participants vont dîner à Fort Pampus, un autre élément de ce site du patrimoine mondial. Fort Pampus a été construit en 1895, sur une île artificielle, pour défendre la ville d'Amsterdam contre les vaisseaux de guerre ennemis qui attaquaient à partir du *Zuiderzee*.

### Sixième séance plénière. La gestion des sites et les partenariats

La modératrice, *Claudia von Monbart* (Banque mondiale, Paris), ouvre la séance en mettant l'accent sur l'importance des partenariats pour un renforcement efficace des capacités.

#### Débat

Commence alors une discussion animée sur des questions relatives au renforcement des capacités et aux compétences en gestion. Les participants mettent l'accent sur : 1. l'aptitude à travailler avec des personnes et les échanges d'information ; 2. la participation active des populations locales à la désignation et à l'évaluation des sites du patrimoine mondial, qui peut se faire par l'« autonomisation » ; 3. la question des droits de propriété intellectuelle sur l'information qui est échangée.

Les participants abordent aussi le principe de l'« appropriation », réaffirmant qu'il est indispensable de donner aux institutions locales le pouvoir de faciliter la communication entre toutes les parties prenantes.

Certains expriment des inquiétudes, concernant par exemple le risque d'exagérer l'importance de la participation des communautés locales en tant que partenaires dans le processus décisionnel, l'importance accordée aux sites du patrimoine mondial qui entraîne une perte d'intérêt pour le patrimoine non inscrit sur la liste, et la nécessité de trouver les éléments immatériels du patrimoine matériel. Parmi les autres critiques, citons le fait que la gestion du patrimoine au plan technique est souvent le fait d'instances supérieures, d'organisations telle la Banque mondiale, sans implication des spécialistes locaux. La question de la valeur spirituelle que les individus, dans le monde entier, associent à leur terre est abordée plusieurs fois au cours du débat.

Le principe du partenariat fait également l'objet de discussions et les participants font observer qu'il est aussi très important de former des partenariats entre des scientifiques et des personnes actives dans le domaine de la culture et de la nature. Selon l'impression générale, le secteur de la nature bougerait beaucoup plus vite que celui de la culture. Il faut donc recourir à une approche intégrale pour gérer le patrimoine. Dans le cadre de cette approche,

il faudrait également envisager l'amélioration de l'infrastructure, de l'éducation et des services de santé dans l'élaboration des plans de gestion du patrimoine. Il convient également de centrer davantage l'attention sur la coopération à l'échelon local, pour déterminer comment la population locale peut tirer profit de la culture et du patrimoine, puisqu'il apparaît que, bien souvent, les intérêts nationaux ne coïncident pas avec les intérêts locaux.

*Claudia von Monbart* résume la discussion du panel comme suit :

- La conservation du patrimoine nécessite des partenariats à tous les niveaux.
- Le partage des expériences et de l'information est indispensable pour la conservation.
- On constate un besoin de structures de soutien et de financement durables, générant des avantages et des situations gagnant-gagnant pour tous, afin de passer d'un financement strict à des mécanismes intégrés.
- On constate également un besoin d'intégrer la conservation et les mécanismes de coordination, en s'appuyant à tous les niveaux sur les principes d'un développement du partenariat holistique, global, participatif, fondé sur le long terme et l'appropriation.
- La communauté internationale doit envisager la situation dans un cadre plus large. Nous avons besoin d'intégration à tous les niveaux, dans tous les secteurs et dans tous les groupes concernés. Nous parlons ici de complexité, d'interdépendance et de continuité. Nous devons prendre appui sur les similarités et sans cesse partager, apprendre et écouter.

Puis elle clôture la séance.

### Séance de clôture

Le président, *Rick van der Ploeg*, présente les conclusions et les recommandations qui ont été formulées par le comité de rédaction. Il invite *Bénédicte Selfslagh*, rapporteur du Comité du patrimoine mondial 2002-2003, et les autres modérateurs de formuler des commentaires sur les recommandations. Puis il demande aux participants de formuler des commentaires et de proposer d'autres recommandations. Après un débat animé, il est décidé de se rassembler pour le lunch tandis que les rédacteurs mettront la dernière main à la formulation des recommandations. Après le lunch, une nouvelle version préliminaire des recommandations ayant été présentée, le président propose aux participants de donner mandat au comité de rédaction de mettre au point le plus rapidement possible une version définitive des recommandations.

Après approbation de cette proposition par tous les participants, *Rieks Smeets* exprime sa reconnaissance au nom du comité organisateur à tous les participants pour leur contribution aux résultats de la réunion, et remercie le ministre néerlandais de l'enseignement, de la culture et

des sciences pour son soutien, ainsi que le Centre du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO, la province de Hollande septentrionale et le Comité néerlandais pour l'UICN.

Au nom du Centre du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO, *Mechtild Rössler* exprime sa reconnaissance au gouvernement des Pays-Bas et à la Commission nationale néerlandaise pour l'UNESCO pour avoir accueilli la conférence qui apportera sa pierre à la mise en œuvre de la *Convention du patrimoine mondial*.

*Gaballa Ali Gaballa* exprime ses remerciements au nom des participants au gouvernement des Pays-Bas et au comité organisateur pour leur chaleureuse hospitalité et pour le cadre stimulant qu'ils ont offert aux débats.

Le président clôture officiellement la conférence. Il remercie les participants d'être venus aux Pays-Bas et félicite le comité organisateur pour le parfait déroulement de la réunion.



## Abstracts

## Abstrait

### M. Faisal ABU-IZZEDIN

*Traditional Systems of Land-Use in Desert Landscapes of the Middle East: The Hima System and Mountain Terraces*

Le système hima est essentiellement un système communautaire de conservation des ressources naturelles et de gestion du terroir, avec des antécédents socio-culturels, qui pré-datent l'avènement du Christianisme et de l'Islam. Le système fonctionna dans la péninsule arabe jusqu'à une cinquantaine d'années lorsqu'il fut remplacé progressivement par des systèmes occidentaux de gestion des aires protégées qui, jusqu'à présent, ont eu un succès limité. Bien qu'il n'y ait aucun site du patrimoine mondial qui l'utilise, la tradition ancienne fournit un véhicule idéal à partir duquel développer des mécanismes institutionnels modernes. Les montagnes en terrasses incarnent un système autochtone ultra perfectionné de gestion du territoire, qui persista durant des siècles dans les zones montagneuses du Moyen Orient. Il s'agit d'un système extrêmement bien ajusté aux contraintes environnementales de la région, et la valeur des terrasses pour la production de nourriture, le contrôle du pâturage nomade, la gestion de l'eau et la conservation de la bio-diversité a été identifié par de nombreux chercheurs. Cependant, leur potentiel pour la recherche et le développement écologique et le socio-économique a reçu moins. Tout comme le système des hima, les terrasses représentent de vénérables traditions et des initiatives de base de gestion traditionnelle du territoire et de l'eau de valeur sociale et économique considérable.

### M. Ricardo AGURCIA

*Archaeology and Community Development in the World Heritage Site of Copan, Honduras*

La recherche archéologique, financée principalement par le gouvernement de Honduras, a mené à un développement sans précédent à l'ancien site Maya de Copan à l'ouest de Honduras. Depuis 1975, ce site du patrimoine mondial a été le point de mire de recherche scientifique majeure, ainsi qu'un développement d'infrastructures rudimentaires pour le tourisme. Récemment, une série de programmes expérimentaux ont été développés pour assurer que l'énorme succès économique de ce travail puisse atteindre les groupes les plus vulnérables de la région, particulièrement les populations autochtones. Cette contribution démontre que Copan est un exemple réussi du développement d'une ressource culturelle pour l'avancement économique et social des communautés qui l'entourent.

### M. Alfredo ARELLANO

*Site Management and Partnerships: The Sian Ka'an Biosphere Reserve Experience*

Le processus pour déclarer la Réserve de Biosphère de Sian Ka'an une aire protégée et un site du patrimoine mondial

et sa gestion sur plus de 17 ans ont subis des changements institutionnels importants. Dès le début, il y eut des partenariats entre l'agence gouvernementale responsable de la gestion de Sian Ka'an et d'autres agences gouvernementales, ONGs, instituts de recherche scientifique et organisations des communautés locales, ainsi que plusieurs accords de coopération internationale. Certains aspects de la législation mexicaine favorise ces partenariats, établissant ainsi des initiatives à leur participation. Malgré quelques difficultés, les partenariats démontrent la signification de la collaboration afin d'intégrer l'administration territoriale dans les politiques publiques, ainsi que de convaincre la société, pour un véritable renforcement de pouvoir.

### Dr Christina CAMERON

*Involving Aboriginal People in Site Management*

Cette contribution présente une vue d'ensemble des efforts de Parks Canada pour impliquer les peuples Aborigènes dans la gestion des aires protégées du patrimoine au Canada. L'article débute par un bref récit de la place spéciale qu'occupent les Aborigènes au Canada et quelques informations statistiques sur leur situation actuelle. Ensuite, les principes et pratiques adoptés par Parks Canada pour les engager dans cette entreprise importante sont examinés. La dernière section met l'accent sur les opportunités spécifiques pour impliquer les Aborigènes dans la gestion des parcs nationaux et des sites historiques nationaux du Canada.

### M. Lassana CISSE

*La participation communautaire à la gestion du site de la falaise de Bandiagara: le projet "Ecotourisme en pays Dogon"*

In 1989 the Cliffs of Bandiagara were inscribed on the World Heritage List as a Mixed Site. In 1993, the Government of Mali established de-centralised institutions for the management of sites in order to protect and promote national sites inscribed on the World Heritage List. These institutions, the "Cultural Missions", are directly linked to the Ministry of Culture and their principal function is to ensure the conservation and promotion of heritage. In 1999, the Cultural Mission of Bandiagara, in co-operation with the German Agency for Development (DED) set up the project "Ecotourism in the Land of the Dogons". Shortly after, the first operational activities of the project were put in motion with the construction of a community museum at Nombori; the construction and rehabilitation of encampments; support to a group of women working in the dye industry; the restoration of the architecture of the gin'na of the ancient site of Teli; the establishment of an experimental sewerage system in certain villages; and the construction of an arts and crafts museum at Enndé. Prior to the implementation of this

project, the Cultural Mission had executed missions to identify the preoccupations of the communities with regard to the preservation of their cultural and natural resources. The Cultural Mission also made huge progress in the inventory and documentation, published a book and organised exhibitions at the national and international scales.

#### **M. Tim CURTIS**

*Vanuatu Cultural Centre's 'Fieldworker Network':  
A Successful Community-Based Heritage Network*

Cette contribution présente le réseau de chercheurs de terrain ('Fieldworker Network') du Centre Culturel de Vanuatu. Il s'agit d'un projet très réussi où les membres des communautés locales sont formés chaque année pendant deux semaines dans les techniques des recherches anthropologiques, archéologiques et linguistiques. Les chercheurs collectent des données sur leur culture locale et les enregistrent utilisant différents médias. Le réseau fonctionne depuis plus de deux décennies et fournit un modèle innovateur qui pourrait être appliqué ailleurs, particulièrement dans la région du Pacifique tels que sur le site de Malekula à Vanuatu.

#### **M. Philippe DELANGHE**

*World Heritage: A Process of Understanding and Choices*

Dans une série d'exemples, tels que Borobudur et Sangiran (Indonésie), les Eglises Baroques des Philippines, et le site de Tutuala (Timor de l'Est), l'auteur démontre que les gouvernements et les communautés locales ont certaines difficultés à appréhender le concept de patrimoine mondial et ne font pas toujours les meilleurs choix en matière de sélection et de gestion.

#### **M. Mamadi DEMBELE**

*Le Hogon, d'hier à aujourd'hui, les pérégrinations de la chefferie traditionnelle chez les Dogon au Mali*

Elected by a council, in accordance with divining practices, the Hogon is the political and spiritual head of the community in the Land of the Dogons. Chosen amongst members of the clan, the village or a group of villages, the Hogon is responsible for the cult of Lebé, considered to be the mythical ancestor incarnating the Earth's nourishing forces. The Hogon represents the most important person in Dogon territory. However, since the colonial era, his power has gradually deteriorated. This paper provides an overview of the history of the Dogon, examines the reasons for the decline of this traditional chiefdom, and suggests some solutions for its re-activation, principally within the scope of prevention of community conflicts.

#### **M. Cor DIJKGRAAF**

*How World Heritage Sites Disappear: Four Cases,  
Four Threats*

De nombreux monuments et villes sont inscrits sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial. La Liste ne cesse de croître. La majorité de ces sites sont dans les pays développés du « Nord », mais il y en a un nombre croissant dans le « Sud ». Bien que l'UNESCO et les organisations internationales telle que l'ICOMOS reconnaissent l'importance de ce

patrimoine culturel, les communautés et les gouvernements locaux n'en sont pas toujours conscients. La conservation et la rénovation de ce patrimoine ne fait pas partie des priorités des habitants. Ce conflit d'intérêts est illustré dans quatre cas d'études: Elmina au Ghana, Zabid et Sana'a au Yémen et Galle au Sri Lanka. Cette contribution préconise que le patrimoine, et particulièrement le patrimoine colonial partagé, sont une responsabilité réciproque.

#### **M. Bryan DRAKENSTEIN**

*Natural Heritage in Suriname and its Benefits for the  
Local Communities*

Ce cas d'étude démontre d'une part comment les communautés indigènes bénéficient de la Réserve Naturelle du Central Suriname (CSNR) par les opportunités d'emploi et les systèmes de transport améliorés, et d'autre part comment la CSNR bénéficie des communautés locales en termes de main d'œuvre, de gestion des ressources naturelles du patrimoine, de connaissance de la région et de biodiversité. Le cas de la Réserve Naturelle de Galibi est évoqué pour illustrer les enseignements tirés de l'expérience. Un programme de consultation et de participation directe des populations locales est le pré-requis fondamental pour le double objectif de conservation et de développement.

#### **Prof. Eric L. EDROMA**

*Linking Universal and Local Values for Sustainable  
Management of World Heritage*

Cette contribution présente la situation des valeurs attachées aux sites du patrimoine mondial par les communautés locales et par les autorités de gestion. La relation entre les valeurs universelles et locales est examinée. Lorsqu'il y a convergence entre les deux séries de valeurs, la gestion devient harmonieuse et efficace. En revanche, toute divergence entre ces valeurs crée une situation de contestation, de ressentiment, de conflit et un avenir sombre. Divers types de systèmes de gestion des ressources naturelles sont examinés. L'auteur préconise une combinaison dans les approches de gestion pour assurer la conservation des ressources naturelles et le développement économique et social des populations locales.

#### **M. Justin HANDO**

*Community Conservation Services: Lessons from  
Serengeti NP, Tanzania*

L'auteur affirme que la pauvreté est le pire ennemi de la conservation, car elle contraint les populations locales à s'engager dans une utilisation négative des ressources environnementales, telles que le braconnage, pour s'assurer des gains à court terme. Le programme de participation communautaire à la gestion des ressources naturelles du parc national de Serengeti vise à améliorer les services de base à la communauté, ainsi qu'à renforcer les capacités locales par des programmes d'éducation et de formation en micro-gestion et en techniques de surveillance. Les populations locales participent à la conservation des ressources naturelles en exécutant des patrouilles de mise en vigueur de la loi et de surveillance de la loi.

### **Dr María-Isabel HERNANDEZ-LLOSA**

*Proposed World Heritage Cultural Landscape in Argentinian Andes and the involvement of Local Communities: Pintoscayoc, A case-study in the Quebrada de Humahuaca*

L'implication des communautés locales dans la gestion du patrimoine en Argentine est généralement insuffisante, et les contextes régionaux et national font preuve d'un divorce entre politiciens, scientifiques et communautés locales. Cette contribution présente une vue d'ensemble de ces problèmes et un cas d'étude de la Quebrada de Humahuaca. A Pintoscayoc, le Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET) dirige un projet, en collaboration avec les communautés locales, qui vise à unir toutes les valeurs du patrimoine et les résultats de la recherche scientifique dans une stratégie globale de gestion pour le développement durable. Cet objectif se fonde sur la création d'un Centre d'Interprétation et d'un musée gérés par la communauté locale. Ce projet pourrait être utilisé comme modèle pour faciliter le dessin d'un plan de gestion dans lequel la communauté joue un rôle actif.

### **M. Bulu IMAM**

*A Case-Study for the Protection of Living Heritage in India: The North Karanpura Valley*

La vallée supérieure du fleuve Damodar dans la province de Jharkhand au nord-est de l'Inde est la scène de projets colossaux d'exploitation d'industrie du charbonnage et de construction d'un barrage énorme qui détruiront une partie du fleuve, les forêts, la biodiversité et plus de deux cents villages en déplaçant les populations. The Upper Valley of the river Damodar in Jharkhand in Eastern India has been the scene of a massive opencast coalmining project which will completely destroy the upper watershed of the river, its forests, biodiversity, wildlife corridors and over two hundred tribal villages, whilst displacing their populations. Cette contribution attire l'attention sur les menaces qui pèsent sur les forêts sacrées, aux terrains d'enterrement, aux terrains de danse et aux sites de peinture rupestre de la région, ainsi qu'aux arts vernaculaires et aux manifestations culturelles des communautés des villages.

### **Mme Beatrice KALDUN, représentant Dr Richard A. ENGELHARDT (UNESCO Regional Advisor for Culture in Asia and the Pacific)**

*Partnerships for Empowered Participation: Mainstreaming a Community-Based Paradigm for World Heritage management*

La réussite d'une stratégie utilisant le patrimoine comme outil pour le développement nécessite une base solide de gestionnaires qualifiés du patrimoine culturel et naturel, enracinant des politiques de planification du développement formelles et non-formelles, et des structures de gestion communautaire. Dans cette contribution nous examinons le programme de l'UNESCO en Asie au cours des dix dernières années, qui préconise un changement fondamental dans les stratégies de gestion des biens culturels et naturels, allant d'une planification centralisée élitiste vers une responsabilisation communautaire. Nous passons en revue la méthodologie qui a été développée

pour renforcer les capacités, à travers la formation en gestion, des spécialistes au sein de la communauté qui œuvrent dans le cadre des institutions culturelles traditionnelles. Dans cette méthodologie, l'accent est mis sur la validation du savoir-faire local et des pratiques culturelles traditionnelles, ainsi que sur l'utilisation de bases de données et d'outils d'information plus modernes. La mise en œuvre à répétition de cette méthodologie a permis de structurer des stratégies pour résoudre des problèmes liés à la tension entre conservation et développement sur les sites du patrimoine mondial et des listes indicatives, et a mené à la formulation de modèles pour guider les diverses tâches de gestion nécessaires sur les sites du patrimoine mondial avec des indicateurs enchevêtrés qui permettent de surveiller les progrès et d'évaluer les résultats. Des exemples de l'utilisation de ces modèles sur des sites du patrimoine mondial seront présentés, et utilisés pour démontrer comment ces modèles peuvent être intégrés dans le courant général de la politique du patrimoine, tout en faisant partie de la planification du développement, et particulièrement dans la conduite d'évaluations de l'impact culturel. Enfin, le rôle des partenariats institutionnels dans ce processus est étudié et la structure de la toute récente UNESCO-ICCROM Asian Academy for Culture Heritage Management est introduite.

### **M. Juan MAYR**

*The Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta (Colombia): Indigenous Territories in a Complex Scenario*

La Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta est une chaîne côtière de montagnes qui inclut toute la gamme climatique des tropiques des Amériques et une grande diversité de faune et de flore. La région est actuellement habitée par quatre groupes ethniques principaux, diverses communautés paysannes et des propriétaires terriens privés. Plusieurs groupes armés sont également présents dans la région, et l'agriculture de plantes illicites est largement répandue, faisant de cette région une zone de conflit social, politique, économique et environnemental. Cette contribution met en lumière la manière par laquelle les territoires indigènes (*resguardos*), les parcs nationaux et une variété d'acteurs avec des vues politiques et culturelles différentes ont pu, en plein conflit, œuvrer ensemble pour définir le chemin le plus adéquat pour le développement durable de la région.

### **Dr Albert MUMMA**

*Community Based Legal Systems and the Management of World Heritage Sites*

Le rôle des valeurs et des normes communautaires dans la gestion du patrimoine mondial, et la manière par laquelle promouvoir et assurer celles-ci dans la loi, sont examinés. L'auteur préconise une symbiose entre les systèmes légaux de l'Etat et les systèmes légaux communautaires. Typiquement, le système légal de l'Etat, qui est hégémonique, nuit aux systèmes légaux communautaires. Ceci a aggravé le déclin des valeurs, traditions, normes et structures d'autorité locales, car celles-ci ont été remplacées par les lois et les structures d'autorité de l'Etat. Cela résulte en un affaiblissement important des normes de protection qui jusqu'ici sauvegardaient des précieuses ressources

naturelles et culturelles, y compris les sites du patrimoine mondial dans les sociétés les plus démunies où les systèmes et institutions de l'Etat pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine sont insuffisamment développées et financées. La reconnaissance de la nécessité de gérer et protéger les sites du patrimoine de manière holistique pose la perspective d'une ré-examination de la relation entre les deux types de systèmes légaux, et l'introduction d'une harmonie entre les deux. Ceci pourrait être établi à travers un pluralisme légal. La réintégration de normes légales communautaires requière la régénération des communautés comme des entités intégrales dans un pas fondamental vers la protection des sites du patrimoine. Cependant, afin d'être soutenables, les communautés régénérées doivent insérer leur site du patrimoine mondial dans une symbiose comprenant non seulement la protection environnementale, mais également la croissance économique et l'équité sociale.

#### **M. Dawson MUNJERI**

*Anchoring African Cultural and Natural Heritage: Significance of Community Awareness*

Le renforcement des capacités pour la gestion d'un site du patrimoine mondial devrait commencer par un programme de sensibilisation, où les autorités reconnaissent et apprécient les valeurs patrimoniales des communautés locales. Le rapport périodique d'Afrique (2002) indique que ceci est rarement le cas. Cette contribution illustre que la prise de conscience des valeurs implique de les connaître et d'accepter les normes de la société. Le renforcement des capacités devrait désormais consolider ces trois piliers (valeurs, normes et société), ainsi que d'introduire des mécanismes techniques de renforcement de pouvoir. Afin de réaliser cela, l'auteur préconise l'adoption d'une stratégie ancrée dans la communauté locale en 5 étapes, impliquant les communautés locales du stade conceptuel au stade d'exécution, c'est-à-dire du développement de la liste indicative jusqu'à l'exécution du plan de gestion.

#### **Dr Webber NDORO**

*Traditional and Customary Heritage Systems – Nostalgia or Reality?: The Implications on Managing Heritage Sites in Africa*

Dans un nombre considérable de pays africains, les plans de gestion actuels tendent à exclure les systèmes traditionnels comme n'étant pas viables. Cette conception émane en grande partie de facteurs historiques tels que la colonisation et l'introduction de nouvelles valeurs éducatives et spirituelles. L'auteur prône un rapprochement entre les systèmes modernes et traditionnels pour la gestion du patrimoine. En utilisant des exemples de Zimbabwe, de Tanzanie et d'Uganda, l'auteur démontre que les deux systèmes doivent se reconnaître afin de mieux préserver le patrimoine immobile. L'exemple des Tombes des Buganda à Kasubi en Uganda démontre que le dialogue entre les deux méthodologies s'avère efficace si la volonté politique existe. Par ailleurs, il est indispensable de reconnaître que les traditions sont dynamiques et ne peuvent pas être figées dans le temps.

#### **Mme María ONETTO et Mme María Mercedes PODESTÁ**

*The Role of Local Communities in the Management of World Heritage in Argentina: The Case of Cueva de las Manos*

Cette contribution analyse le rôle des communautés locales dans la gestion de Cueva de las Manos en Argentine. Depuis plusieurs la zone protégée est en interaction constante ses environs, en raison de l'activité touristique qui s'y est développée. En effet, les communautés locales et les tours opérateurs démontrent un nouvel intérêt pour ce site depuis son inscription sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial en 1999. Cette contribution traite des défis que les autorités doivent surmonter pour adaptés les priorités des populations locales aux notions d'authenticité et d'intégrité. Un projet de conservation des peintures rupestres y a été initiée par l'Instituto Nacional de Antropología y Pensamiento Latinoamericano (INAPL) en 1995. Ce projet souligne la nécessité de dialogue et de consultation entre les autorités et les communautés locales.

#### **Dr Mechtild RÖSSLER**

*Managing World Heritage Cultural Landscapes and Sacred Sites*

Les paysages culturels représentent les "ouvrages combines de la nature et de l'homme", tels que définis dans l'Article 1 de la Convention du patrimoine mondial, et expriment une longue et intime relation entre les habitants et leur environnement. Certains sites reflètent non seulement des techniques spécifiques d'utilisation du territoire et de ses ressources naturelles qui garantissent et maintiennent la diversité biologique, mais sont également associés dans l'esprit des communautés avec des croyances puissantes et des coutumes artistiques et traditionnelles. Ils incarnent la relation spirituelle exceptionnelle des gens avec la nature. Cette contribution met en évidence le concept évolutif du patrimoine et les liens entre le matériel et l'immatériel dans les sites du patrimoine mondial. L'auteur insiste sur l'union des valeurs d'un site à sa gestion dans divers contextes. La conservation du patrimoine mondial peu jouer un rôle phare dans la protection de la diversité des valeurs culturelles et naturelles dans le monde, et dans la promotion de la reconnaissance de l'interaction entre le tangible et l'intangible.

#### **Ms Anna SIDORENKO-DULOM**

*Projet-pilote "Sauvegarde et développement des villes du patrimoine mondial en Mauritanie": exemple d'une coopération tripartite UNESCO-Gouvernement mauritanien-Banque Mondiale*

As a component of the UNESCO intersectorial project « Management of World Heritage Sites for Poverty Reduction », the objective of the pilot-project « Safeguarding and Development of the World Heritage Towns in Mauritania » is to design a strategy aiming to slow down the process of rural exodus of the local populations and, as a consequence, the abandonment of the historic centres of Oudane, Chinguetti, Tichitt and Oualata, inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1996. This strategy for the rehabilitation of the historic centres of these towns will lead to the social and

economic development of the local communities. Elaborated at the demand of the Government of Mauritania, this Pilot-project is co-financed by means of a tripartite Convention between UNESCO (World Heritage Fund and France-UNESCO Convention), the Government of Mauritania and the World Bank. The continuity of this project should be ensured by the establishment of a de-centralised cooperation and twinning between European cities and the four ancient towns, on basis of the reforms and de-centralising process that Mauritania is currently undergoing.

### **Dr Caroline SMOOK**

*De Stelling van Amsterdam: Built to Protect People, Sustained to Connect People*

Aujourd'hui les fortifications d'Amsterdam forment un paysage artificiel, partiellement caché dans une des régions urbaines les plus densément peuplées des Pays Bas qui évoluent le plus rapidement. Cet environnement dynamique exige une attitude flexible et ouverte envers la préservation et le développement du Stelling, permettant une adaptation et de nouvelles fonctions là où cela convient. Au cours des deux dernières décennies, la Province Noord-Holland en coopération avec d'autres participants, a initié et exécuté plusieurs plans et projets pour revitaliser le Stelling afin d'en faire bénéficier les communautés locales dans la région d'Amsterdam. Hormis le manque d'engagement, la participation active et les ressources financières, la plus grande menace à l'avenir soutenable de ce site du patrimoine mondial est qu'il devienne un vestige isolé sans aucune relation avec les besoins et les demandes de la société actuelle.

### **Prof. Sharon SULLIVAN**

*Local Involvement and Traditional Practices in the World Heritage System*

L'auteur met en évidence quelques obstacles à la pratique de la conservation du patrimoine culturel et naturel, notamment que celle-ci émane d'une vision occidentale et comporte plusieurs de ses caractéristiques. Celles-ci comprennent une certaine rigidité, la centralisation, et un certain biais envers la vision occidentale de ce qui constitue le patrimoine, principalement les monuments et la nature vierge. Ceci résulte en de nombreuses difficultés dans l'intégration des valeurs locales et des systèmes de gestion alternatifs. Cette contribution souligne, dans plusieurs cas d'études, que la participation communautaire et l'utilisation bénéfique de pratiques traditionnelles jouent un rôle essentiel dans la conservation et la gestion durables du patrimoine mondial.

### **Dr. Martine TAHOUX-TOUAO**

*Contribution des sites sacrés à la conservation et la gestion durable des ressources naturelles en Afrique : Le cas de la Côte d'Ivoire*

African societies, before the colonization, had implemented a local and efficient apparatus of sustainable management of environment throughout sacred areas. The management and the use of those areas fell to the responsibility of the local authority. The sacred forests have conserved a great biodiversity and represent a prominent

part of the country's cultural heritage. Their management is depends on a well structured social system in accordance with the traditional customs and values. This scheme focuses on the efficiency of traditional strategies for conservation of natural resources and takes its impetus from two examples : the sacred forest of Kolodjo village of Tabagne, near the Comoé National Park World Heritage Site, and the sacred forest of Zaïpobly, adjacent to Taï National Park. The local people, aware of the threats (social, cultural, strife, etc.) to their heritage and livelihood resources (social, cultural, strifes, etc.), have requested help to reinforce the apparatus of their areas. Therefore, some lines of action (protection and integrated development by area according to the approach of Biosphere Park) have been proposed in a project in which several local national and international NGOs collaborate with the government. However, the success of these actions and the future of sacred areas must take into consideration the essential values of the populations which are poverty reduction, the equitable sharing of the profits drawn from the resources exploitations and the continued traditional use of sacred areas. This involves a revision of approaches and conservation methods and a real dialogue at local, national, regional and international levels.

### **Mr Tumu TE HEUHEU**

*The Role of Maori in New Zealand's World Heritage Management*

Les Maoris de Nouvelle-Zélande descendent des premiers colons du pays, arrivés il y a plus de mille ans. La relation des maoris avec la terre évolua avec le temps et fut interrompue par la colonisation britannique qui résulta par le Traité de Waitangi, signé en 1840 par les chefs maoris et la Couronne britannique, et définissant les règles par lesquelles les deux communautés pouvaient co-exister. En 1887, le chef de la tribu de Ngati Tuwharetoa, Te Heuheu Tukino, confia les montagnes sacrées de son peuple à la Couronne britannique. Ces montagnes forment le cœur du parc national de Tongariro, le premier parc national de Nouvelle-Zélande. Aujourd'hui, ce don et la relation entre les maoris et la couronne détermine comment les parcs nationaux sont gérés. En effet, l'Acte de Conservation de 1987 Exige que l'agence gouvernementale responsable de l'administration des parcs nationaux agissent de manière conforme au Traité de Waitangi. A ces fins, le Ministre de Conservation nomme des représentants maoris à chacun des corps de surveillance national et locaux.

### **Ms Josie WENINGER**

*Operational View of Managing World Heritage Sites in Canada*

L'auteur fournit une vision opérationnelle de la gestion de Sahyoue-Edacho, le parc national de Nahanni et le parc national de Wood Buffalo au Canada, et souligne que la participation des Autochtones dans le processus de gestion constitue un véhicule pour l'expansion des parcs nationaux. Les avantages de l'approche participative et les conséquences du manque de participation locale sont examinées, ainsi que les opportunités de formation, les partenariats et le partage des frais.

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